



Left: Hawke and Hayden, rivals to run social contract. Right: militant 1973 Ford strike, sold out by AMWSU's Carmichael, key man in social contract.

Social Contract, Wage Cuts, War Plans

ALP Bids to Police Capitalist Crisis

The central lesson of last month's ALP national conference is that the Labor leaders are indeed "preparing for government". Amidst escalating preparations for anti-Soviet war and a convulsive economic crisis deepening the almost decade-long stagnation in the international capitalist economy, the Labor leaders are determined to show their loyalty to their capitalist masters. This means commitment to wage cuts, further slashing of social services and preparing the country for anti-Soviet war. The captains of industry were assiduously courted to attend this conference and watch the Labor "opposition" go through its paces. And over 100 "official observers" from every major bank and corporation in the country turned up, to be feted at special lavish "businessmen's breakfasts" to speeches from Hayden, Hawke and other shadow ministers.

Two weeks before Hayden had been slapped into place by Australia's US imperialist patron when the Americans finally carpeted the Laborites on their "independence" and pacifist "anti-nuclear" whining around the visits of US warships to Australian ports. Hayden/Bowen snapped to attention for ANZUS while the "lefts" went to ground and stayed quiet (see article page 2). All wings of the Labor Party know that the price of "running the country" is first of all unquestioning acceptance of Australia's craven junior partner role to Washington.

As for "responsibility" to their domestic masters, the conference succeeded in its goal of removing or neutralising all

contentious issues — at least on the surface. Motions on a capital gains tax, against ASIO and, of course, "principled opposition" to uranium mining, were all soundly defeated. But these were side issues, more trials for "moderation" than anything fundamental. For it is the ALP's "prices and incomes" policy, the social contract it promises with the unions, the pledge to police class peace and wage cuts, that is feeding the growing mood in ruling class circles to consider a Labor administration for the next period.

The detailed package for this deal is still being drawn up by a special ALP-ACTU committee including Hawke, Hayden and shadow treasurer Ralph Willis for presentation to the unions this month. But the essentials are already clear. Hayden/Hawke threaten that without pledges from the union bureaucracy to hold back wage demands and enforce no-strike "agreements" there cannot even be hope of promised tax cuts, lower interest rates on housing and social service relief. But as noted by all knowledgeable bourgeois commentators the current severe recession leaves no room for even such trifling concessions. Thousands of jobs have already disappeared in steel, manufacturing and mining over the past months with no end in sight to the slide. Bankruptcies and mass layoffs are the order of the day. The present now "official" crisis has been precipitated by the worldwide recession, drastically cutting export trade, investment in resource projects, sharply squeezing profits and intensifying protectionist sentiment to further

prop up Australia's uncompetitive manufacturing industry.

Like the Liberals the ALP is committed to the boosted \$5 billion military budget and Washington's preparations for war, which for Australia means ANZUS and the US bases. Similarly the ALP's response to such government handouts as Fraser's 19 July \$1 billion "investment package" in giveback concessions to business was that it was "too little, too late". The 24 June *Financial Review* bluntly stated the ruling class' position: "the central problem, the key to the recession in Australia, remains wages", calling for measures to "redistribute income from wages to profits". And the ALP tops came through at the national conference. A left motion calling for full quarterly indexation of wages was voted down and both Hayden and Hawke have threatened the union bureaucrats that without an "incomes policy" the ALP will be forced to resort to what Hayden called "extraordinarily brutal and inequitable" monetary policies, ie, the policies of the Liberals. For the ruling class the road out of economic chaos will be on the backs of the workers, minorities

and poor, whether through the axe of deflationary policies or the knife of inflation. The next ALP government will not be one of Whitlam-style reform, but one resembling a combination of the Scullin government of the Depression and the Curtin administration of the second imperialist war.

Hayden vs Hawke: "lefts" needed to sell social contract

The narrow defeat of Bob Hawke's challenge for the Labor leadership tore the mask off the sharply polarising factional situation in the ALP. Behind the "leadership crisis" in the ALP a partial if still diffuse class polarisation is being fuelled by the Reagan administration's drive toward World War III and the world economic crisis that lies behind it. Hawke's "popularity" amongst the bourgeoisie and middle classes rests on the fact that a figure of "national unity" is now needed to enforce the necessary "sacrifices". Hawke, the former Rhodes scholar, has already proved his class credentials in his 10-year stint as ACTU President, as an effective "Mr Fixit"

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ANZUS: ALP Called to Order

It has always been true, but the ANZUS/nuclear ships furore in June made it crystal clear once again — that a Labor government no less than a Liberal had better not meddle with the strategic interests of its US imperialist "ally". After maintaining for about two weeks that he would ban nuclear-armed warships from Australian ports, a few sharp words from the US sent Labor leader Hayden into an ignominious backdown. The 25 June *Financial Review* caught the flavour: "the Americans cracked the ANZUS whip — and the Federal Opposition jumped through the alliance hoop."

The uproar began with a letter to the Federal Government by newly-elected Victorian Labor premier John Cain outlining his intention to declare Victoria a "nuclear-free zone" and to ban US warships from Victorian ports if they were either nuclear powered or armed. Fraser, sensing a gift election issue, immediately leaked the letter to the press, proclaimed ANZUS at risk while Defence Minister Sinclair raved about the "Cain Mutiny". Cain, the hero of the "anti-nuke" liberals, dived for cover leaving Hayden holding the bag.

Then the heavy ammunition arrived for the annual ANZUS Council meeting

in the form of US Deputy Secretary of State Walter Stoessel and State Department official John Holdridge. They met privately with Hayden just before the meeting and acquainted their aspiring junior partner, reportedly in "belligerent" fashion, with the facts of life. Stoessel's soft version, for public consumption, was that the US would "work effectively" with anyone who "wishes to work effectively with us". Wooing support from the Labor left Hayden has recently been indulging in pacifist-nationalist rhetoric about Australia's "national sovereignty". The ALP had its fingers burnt before when Whitlam was thrown out in 1975 after questioning CIA activities at Pine Gap. So Hayden last year "cleared" the CIA-run bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. But he is still talking about Australian "right of veto" over US nuclear firing orders that are relayed via the US base at North-West Cape. However the US operates its bases on a "need to know" basis, and it figures that its lackeys down under need to know nothing. Following the Stoessel meeting Hayden meekly announced that ANZUS "secures Australia's sovereignty and independence".

Only days after Hayden had come to heel Fraser announced the visit of the

US guided missile destroyer USS Goldsborough which will dock at Australian ports in late July/early August. He refused, in line with US policy, to say if the ship was nuclear-armed. The Melbourne branch of the Waterside Workers immediately announced they would strike in protest. Such strike action should be extended throughout the labour movement. But US imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive will not be stopped in the name of petty-bourgeois pacifism/ecology and reactionary Australian nationalism, only by proletarian class struggle against the US imperialists and their Australian junior partners. Smash ANZUS! US Bases Out! Defend the Soviet Union!

If there was any substance in the Labor "lefts" opposition to ANZUS there would have been uproar at Hayden's abject capitulation. But no. Like Hayden the "lefts" know the ground rules. At the national conference only one, presumably uninformed, "left" delegate demanded Hayden reveal what was said by Stoessel behind closed doors. Hayden ignored him. The "lefts" "opposition" to ANZUS is just a petty nationalist attempt to pressure for better terms, their cheap chauvinist anti-Americanism nothing

more than frustrated and totally impotent nationalism. In this the "lefts" reflect that section of the Australian bourgeoisie that resents being a third-rate power. The 23 June *Financial Review* moaned through clenched teeth that the US "should not presume to treat Australia as a satellite". No-one likes being a total lackey.

Only a scratch beneath the "lefts" sugary liberalism is white racist chauvinism. The move to drop ANZUS from the ALP platform was motivated by Victorian "left" Jean McLean on the basis that "the US is not a reliable ally", echoing Hayden's earlier worries where he cited US support to Sukarno's Indonesia over West Irian in 1962 against the Australian-backed Dutch colonialist remnants. At bottom the "lefts" fear a US betrayal of White Australia to an Indonesian or Japanese threat, but haven't the stomach for the massive militarisation and nuclear armaments their reactionary "non-aligned" utopia would entail. The future for the working people of this country lies not with the craven impotence of pernicious White Australia nationalism but in fighting solidarity with the toiling masses of Asia. For a racially-integrated workers Australia, part of socialist Asia!

ALP...

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for the bourgeoisie, a man long known as a traitor and a demagogue in the militant ranks of the labour movement. But Hayden's win was no "victory", as claimed by the "left" unions and Labor factions that backed him, or their "Trotskyist" camp followers like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Qaddafiite Socialist Labour League (SLL) groupings who alibied the bloc against Hawke on the grounds of "outside influence" from the press and big business. From ANZUS to the social contract there are no differences between Hawke and Hayden. Both have openly wooed big business. In fact, the Fairfax press empire openly pushed for Hayden.

The Hayden win signified that a bloc with the Labor left (and the "left" union bureaucrats who back them) is seen to be necessary to sell the agreement to the union ranks and thereby make it credible to a suspicious ruling class. Hawke is rightly feared by the Labor left who know that he is both willing and capable of witchhunting them out of the ALP. Hawke's NSW ally, Centre-Unity faction leader Paul Keating, laid the basis for a future counter-attack in his statement backing the Hawke challenge, attacking the Labor left's support for Hayden "which has in turn been dictated by Messrs Carmichael, Halfpenny and their associates outside the Labor Party". Keating's red-baiting was of course seized upon by Fraser who

has long tried to paint Hayden as a "prisoner of the left".

Now all warring Labor factions are talking "unity" as Fraser threatens an early election run on Cold War support for ANZUS, against a Labor Party "soft" on communism. Hayden is no prisoner of the left. Quite the reverse — his left social-democratic supporters, snivelling in the face of Cold War reaction, are now locked in and will be driven hard to the right defending Hayden's "social contract" — with Hawke ready in the wings.

AMWSU Elections — Courts and Social Contract the Only Winners

Hayden's alliance with the "left" leaders of the AMWSU is key to selling the ALP's "incomes policy". Laurie Carmichael, the AMWSU's most prominent official and a leading member of the Eurocommunist Communist Party of Australia (CPA), along with ALP AMWSU officials, lobbied heavily for Hayden amongst the "left" unions in the week preceding the ALP leadership challenge. In return they hope to pressure social reforms from a future Labor government, via the AMWSU's so-called "social wage" campaign, a cynical hoax presented as a trade-off for holding back wage demands.

Carmichael and the CPA jumped in as willing lawyers when Hayden first mooted his "prices and incomes" policy at the 1981 ACTU Congress. But it was last December's "historic" Metal Industry Agreement which opened the road to realising the ALP's social contract. *Australian Business* (10 June), previewing the contenders for the national AMWSU elections, characterised the agreement as "a revolutionary document which effectively enshrines a no-strike clause for its 12-month duration". Key to the 38-hour/wages package was a "no extra claims on the award" clause. This same business journal commented,

"This year metal union officials have had a police role. Where shop-level demands have cropped up AMWSU officials, even at State level, have been steadfast in telling the workforce to stick by the agreement."

The metal bosses have hailed the agreement, claiming that "not one single dispute concerning over-award payments or wages has broken out since the agreement was made" (*Financial Review*, 10 June), and the Metal Agreement has pioneered similar "no claims" deals throughout industry.

The recent AMWSU national elections

sharply posed the question of the developing social contract and court intervention into the unions — both key questions for the class struggle in this period. In a big voting turnout assistant national secretary Carmichael and national president, ALPer Dick Scott, narrowly retained their positions against a red-baiting "Reform Group" campaign led by "independents" Rod Kelly and "Dusty" Miller. But between the "lefts" Carmichael/Scott and the anti-communist opportunists Kelly/Miller there was no choice for metalworkers. The real winners in these elections were the courts and the cause of the social contract.

The elections were ordered by a Federal Court judge who upheld, on a technicality, a challenge by Kelly to Carmichael and Scott's unopposed reelection in 1980, and were run by the government's Australian Electoral Office. While the Carmichael/Scott wing attacked Kelly for dragging the union into the bosses courts they did nothing to resist the courts' incursion. Nor were they ever likely to, having just finished an unsuccessful attempt to use the courts to bludgeon the Waterside Workers Federation in the recent demarcation dispute over coverage of waterfront tradesmen. A fighting independence of the workers organisations from control by the class enemy and its legal arms is a precondition to any effective defence of the working class.

Both groupings pledged themselves to the no-strike deal. But Carmichael/Scott were the undoubted candidates of the "social contract", campaigning on the great "victory" of the Metal Industry Agreement and utilising to the full Hayden and the ALP's endorsement of their "social wage campaign". The Kelly/Miller "Reform Group" ran a virulently anti-communist campaign — ironically painting Carmichael/Scott as "strike-happy militants". Kelly, a shop steward at Kraft in Melbourne, is a shameless opportunist who broke with the "lefts" some years ago, Miller a cynical ex-Maoist turned anti-communist. In several elections, usually featuring the courts, Kelly's shadowy "Reform Group" has only narrowly lost, failing by only 400-odd votes to topple John Halfpenny in the Victorian AMWSU last year. Kelly's "group" also seems to have big money available but little organised base. The ALP right could well be financing him and the secretive Catholic National Civic Council (NCC) of B A Santamaria aggressively cam-

aigned for his team, not denying that they had provided money or manpower. "We have done everything we can to support the anti-communist team", said Santamaria (*Australian*, 3 July). In today's rightward-moving climate of Cold War anti-Sovietism, opportunists on the make like Kelly/Miller sense, like Richard Nixon, that witchhunting is just the thing to base a career on. And the NCC, in its element, finds plenty of anti-communist allies in the ALP right-wing, just as it did thirty years ago in the official ALP industrial groups.

The "left" leadership in the AMWSU is in trouble. Long held up as a "militant" union, the AMWSU is in fact very much a creature of Arbitration, historically using its strategically based tradesmen in key industries as militant pressure groups to set the pace for its skilled workers while refusing to mobilise the mass of its heavily migrant and female unskilled workforce, most of whom exist on poverty-level wages. The big vote for Kelly/Miller undoubtedly tapped a real anti-communism and conservatism but there is multi-sided discontent across the board in the union. As for the MTIA bosses, they were quietly backing Carmichael/Scott. They worried openly about the competence of Kelly/Miller, ie, their ability to maintain "industrial peace" and more importantly, are looking ahead to the next agreement. What they want was made clear by MTIA president J B Martin who called for the metal unions to "tailor their future expectations to the drastically reduced economic capacity which now exists in our industry" and for "long-term stability in labour relations" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June).

Vulnerable to rising anti-communism on their right, allied with the employers and a Labor Party hell-bent on policing wage-cutting and austerity, "left" bureaucrats of the Carmichael/Halfpenny ilk will demonstrate ever more clearly in the coming period they are no different from the "right" — both willing labour lieutenants for decaying capitalism. From Hawke to Hayden to Carmichael all the labour traitors proclaim their opposition to wage cuts as they prepare to carry them out. But what of those on the left who criticise the Labor "lefts" or denounce the social contract? The AMWSU elections provided the real test. Genuine opposition to the "social contract", in deeds

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Australasian SPARTACIST

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Spartacist League Forums

Fighting Cold War II

We reprint below an abridged version of a talk by Steve Hooper of the Spartacist League Central Committee given at forums in Melbourne and Sydney in late June.

The topic tonight, comrades, is fighting Cold War II. That there's a Cold War again is generally accepted by most people. Most people know that Reagan/Haig want to get the Russians. When Reagan visited Europe about two weeks ago and visited Westminster he talked about putting communism on the "ash heap of history", at the same time negotiating Cruise missiles into Western Europe. With Poland they said it was the end of the road for communism. So that question, and that showdown, dominates everything today and all political questions.

There's Central America. You could also look at China and Vietnam. Peking's alliance with American imperialism is really a trump card for Washington. The Chinese Stalinists not only menace Vietnam in the north, the Soviet's key ally in Asia, but the US is promising nuclear weapons to use against Moscow. You could also look at the Middle East, you could look at a number of other places. But still very important, and what has far more shaped this period, is Poland. For the imperialists the rise of the clerical-nationalist Solidarity was indeed a heaven-sent opportunity — it wasn't pre-feudal tribesmen in faraway Afghanistan but the workers against communism and the chance for the imperialists, their best since World War II, to break through to the Russian border. For we Trotskyists, Poland is the most graphic proof of the bankruptcy of Stalinism, which through economic stupidity mortgaged the economy off to the Western banks, and through a combination of conciliating reaction internally, in particular the Church and its base in the peasantry, through breaking promise after promise of reform and liberalisation and on top of that flaunting bureaucratic corruption and privilege, drove the Polish working class into the hands of the clerical nationalists.

When the Polish military cut off Solidarnosc's move to power, it not only greatly frustrated the imperialists' hopes for a nationalist bloodbath against Soviet troops, it also gave a real cold shower to some of the more fanciful infatuations amongst the Polish workers. There wasn't much resistance. About ten died. The crackdown has solved nothing in the long term of course, and the Stalinist party and the bureaucracy they represent cannot turn things around. They are at the centre of the problem and must be swept away through political revolution, and that revolution must reach beyond Polish borders into the Soviet Union. The crackdown has bought time for underground cells of a Marxist/Trotskyist vanguard to intervene into the inevitable re-questioning that must be going on in Poland, and regroup a nucleus for a new party. Central to that is Russian/Polish workers unity based on defending the Soviet bloc against NATO and a very sharp struggle against clericalism and Polish nationalism. The Trotskyists in Poland will be steeled in the struggle both against counterrevolution and against the Stalinists, who of course set up that situation and today continue to conciliate it, both internally and externally.

Now outside, in the rest of the world, Poland really began a metamorphosis if you like, along class lines in terms of response. In this country not a lot happened. But what did happen was fairly instructive. The so-called "democratic" socialist left, the reformist left, many with a "Trotskyist" label, turned out on

the streets with the anti-communist right, including the fascistic "Captive Nations". The Socialist Workers Party, the International Socialists, and the CP got into that as well. But there was only them and the anti-communists. The important thing for us to note is that there was a different response from different classes. The anti-Soviet hysteria is mainly in the petty-bourgeois left — apart from the anti-communist right.

For us, a small propaganda group, the effect of Poland came home in a real way through engagement in struggle. At Melbourne University, a real upper-class snotty institution, some combination of the so-called left, the right wing and Administration has been attempting all year to drive us off. Harassment, but also aiming to try and set us up for some form of repression. And we're genuinely hated there — we're a brazenly pro-working-class political tendency that defends the Soviet Union, on this very elitist, very right wing campus. Most hysterically by the campus left, the social-democratic left. Some years ago these people used to call us "sectarian", "irrelevant" and "purist". Now we are "Soviet imperialist", "Stalinist" of course, and vicious "thugs" because we will not be pushed around and are determined to militantly defend our rights. When we organised and led a mainly student rally to deny the fascist, anti-Asian Progressive Nationalist Party a platform at Sydney University, we were accused of attacking our own demonstration by these people. It was just a lie. And we were called "thugs" because we said the fascists have to be stopped — now — and — through mobilising not only students but the organised labour movement and migrant minorities in this country.

But what's happening more broadly in this country in the face of this Cold War? There's been an economic slump in this country since about 1974, at least. Not sharp or savage like the United States or Britain. Rather, slow grinding austerity, a lot of social services being dismantled.



SL marches against anti-Soviet war plans, for a workers Australia, part of Socialist Asia!

The "resources boom" that was supposed to be the big out, went to hell, the bottom fell out of the market internationally and that's no more. And the austerity is going to get a lot worse. Everybody admits that.

They're also moving against the unions, mainly through the agency of the courts at this time — these Royal commissions into "crime" and "corruption" which of course is just a veneer for union-busting for the bosses. The courts are also running the metal workers' elections. There's a story to do with the Builders Labourers that captures what's going on. The BLF, through its Federal Secretary Gallagher, was threatened with jail. They went to the Victorian Trades Hall Council. They tried to get the question of the fines and the jailing on the agenda. It got voted down, no opposition. Then one hour later, who comes in but new Victorian premier John Cain and members of the

Labor cabinet to a standing ovation. Because Gallagher and the Builders Labourers union are a sacrifice, a pledge to the government that there will be "responsible" unionism. Because it is the Labor Party that is going to run this wage and service-cutting austerity under the name of a "social contract". And it will be policed by the union bureaucracy in league with the courts — and if necessary of course, the cops.

The Australian bourgeoisie is weak, and that necessarily makes it a lackey of a bigger imperialist power, presently the United States. Very anti-communist, very conservative, but also wary of a strong labour movement. That's where the Labor Party comes in because they are let into power when the bourgeoisie is in trouble and their role is to control the organised labour movement; that's the job of capitalism's labour lieutenants.

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Drive ASIO Recruiters Off Campus!



Melbourne University — In the last week of June the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) held a recruitment campaign on this most snotty upper-crust university. This provocation, which would have been unheard of a decade ago, is testimony to the growing right-wing climate of Cold War anti-Sovietism. But ASIO's visit did not go unchallenged. The Spartacist Club held a militant protest in the Union Building where speakers attracted a large crowd and consider-

able controversy, finally leading its supporters on a march to the Administration's Appointments Board out of which the ASIO recruiters were operating. The large Spartacist banner spelled out the protest's demands: "Abolish the Imperialist Secret Police! Drive ASIO Recruiters Off Campus! Down with Anti-Soviet Cold War!"

A counterdemonstration turned up led by anti-Spartacist witchhunter and Liberal student Bill Royce and his cronies together with a handful of

creeps dressed up as "ASIO agents". A trade-unionist speaker nailed these supporters of the ASIO criminals and slammed their supposed "satirical theatre" trivialisation as an apology for the murderous appetites of ASIO, the "hired thugs and potential assassins directed at the heart of the labour movement". Of course the campus "left", whose unity with the anti-communist right in anti-Soviet frenzy over Poland led to their complicity in the attempted witchhunt against the Spartacist Club earlier this year, boycotted the protest. The ALP-led Students Representative Council (SRC) kept their protest on paper, passing a motion opposing recruitment by "any(!) intelligence organisation" — at Melbourne University. Significantly the anti-communist Socialist Club did not even voice opposition to ASIO's presence. And the SWP's *Direct Action* (23 June) praised the "strong opposition" of the SRC to ASIO in its call for the "university authorities" — big industrialists whose class rule ASIO is designed to defend — to "ban any ASIO activities on campus" (our emphasis)!

Freedom from the repressive instruments of the capitalist state will be obtained only when workers establish their own class rule. Smash ASIO and all the bosses' secret police! Forward to a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia!

Stalinists Can't Duck Russian Question

No Detente in the SPA

For well over a year now the Moscow-line Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) has been in the throes of intense factional war, pitting the SPA's top NSW-centred trade-union bureaucrats, led by Pat Clancy, against the Symon/McPhillips/Miller central leadership. Last March we detailed how the internal split exploded publicly over the Xmas/New Year period when SPA oppositionists on the Sydney executive of the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) launched a spectacular campaign against the SPA on the docks in response to SPA opposition to WWF raiding of metal tradesmen in the AMWSU (see "SPA Faces Split", *Australasian Spartacist* no 92). Numerous job resolutions demanded that "no financial and other assistance is to be given by our Branch executive and membership to the Socialist Party" and SPAer Tom Supple, Sydney WWF Branch Secretary, equated the SPA with "right wing groupers".

"No Stalinist party can long tolerate a factional opposition that works openly against it with dominant forces in the trade union bureaucracy", we wrote then. Sure enough, just after we went to press the SPA Central Committee expelled Supple and read the riot act to his fellow WWF oppositionists. In a 20-page statement read and distributed at his trial, Supple, whose bottom line defence is that he was only doing his job, described how the notification of charges was personally delivered to him by Miller and Symon at Sydney airport where Supple was about to catch a flight to the Moscow-line "Tenth World Trade Union Congress":

"This was regarded by me and the members of the delegation as a cold and inhuman action, handing such a document to a trade union representative proceeding to a most important trade union congress."

Despite his self-portrait as a simple trade unionist all starry-eyed about a stint to Havana, Supple, by all accounts, has revelled in the role of martyr, continuing the factional struggle on the waterfront under the banner of "independence of the trade unions from domination or dictation by any political party", and playing to the hilt his expulsion in the recent WWF elections where he shared the winning ticket with SPA oppositionists.

Immediately following his expulsion Supple struck back with a statement in the *Branch News* (No. 1784) dubbing the

trial "a real Kangaroo court" printed alongside three job resolutions "condemning the expulsion of our Branch secretary" and demanding his re-admission into the SPA. This time the SPA managed to get the upper hand. In the following *Branch News* (No. 1785) Vice-President and SPAer Jim Donovan officially closed "discussion of these matters": "Tom Supple is free, as are other forces, to seek to harm the party, to bring it into disrepute or to weaken support for it. But he is not free to do it as a member of the SPA." Factional peace, however, turned out to be as illusory as "detente".

It is not only the factional turmoil on the Sydney waterfront that recalls the pre-split activity of that wing of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) that went on to form the SPA in the early 70s. In May the opposition launched a semi-public front, the "Australian Marxist



Pat Clancy: Stalinists head for cover in face of Cold War anti-Sovietism.

Forums", ostensibly for "educational purposes" and not intended to "compete with or replace any existing organisations". What makes this especially provocative is that the "forums" were jointly sponsored by key figures in the ALP and "Euro"-Communist Party of Australia. The founding meeting on 16 June looked like an opposition open house, with Seamen's leader Pat Geraghty, Bill Brown and the *enfant terrible* Supple sipping coffee and munching sandwiches with ex-CPA Teachers Federation top Jennie George, CPA and FEDFA leader Jack Cambourn and ALP academic Ted Wheelwright among others. The initiating document, signed by Clancy and Freda Brown from the SPA, Bernie Taft (who couldn't make the meeting) from the CPA and ALP's Wheelwright, David Northey and Hal Lashwood, was dotted with code-words echoing the Aaronsite CP's break with Moscow in 1968-71. Elliptical references to "various models of socialism in the world" and "differences in their evaluation" were pointed concessions to the anti-Soviet CPA and ALP while the statement that "no single Australian organisation... has a monopoly on the correct interpretation of socialist theory, of proven capacity to effectively apply socialist theory to the realities of Australian life" was a direct challenge to the SPA.

So far the opposition has carefully avoided tweaking Moscow's tail, choosing instead the terrain of trade union "autonomy". Thus Supple's 27 February statement notes that the goods on the Xmas/New Year factional outburst were sent by the WWF to the "Ambassadors and Consuls of the socialist countries". And he goes out of his way to highlight his resolution in support of martial law in Poland passed by the Sydney WWF

executive after the union's federal office declared a week-long protest ban on Polish ships last December. Supple actually claims that the waterfront/metal trades dispute was a "diversion of party forces" from its "most important task" on the Polish question! (Of course, he fails to mention his own support, along with the entire Sydney executive, of the Federal Council's resolution opposing all "outside interference in Poland", ie, a possible Soviet intervention against Solidarnosc.)

Though neither side in the SPA factional war has generally raised the Russian Question, except in the most timid, evasive manner, it is nonetheless the Russian Question that is wreaking havoc in the SPA. As we wrote last March:

"The waterfront explosion made it clear that at least a section of the SPA's trade-union bureaucrats are aggressively willing to put their narrow bureaucratic interests and working relations above and against any party ties. For Stalinist and social democratic parties this is always part of the overhead for opportunism. But what has fuelled these tensions to their present feverish state is the changed international climate in which detente has given way to intense anti-Soviet militarism producing a sharp shift to the right in bourgeois circles domestically and among their lieutenants in the labour movement."

Above all the opposition expresses fear of isolation from the mainstream labour bureaucracy in face of Cold War II. Opposition documents charging the "left-sectarian" — and above all, "authoritarian" — McPhillips with responsibility for the defeat of SPAers in recent AMWSU and AFULE elections give the game away — the bureaucrats are worried about their jobs. With red-baiting on the rise in a number of key unions, they have launched their own red-baiting campaign against SPA "outside domination".

The Symon/McPhillips/Miller faction is even less willing than is the opposition to pose the real issues ripping apart the SPA — the Russian Question and Cold War II. Accepting the chosen terrain of the opposition, they have appealed almost exclusively to party loyalty and discipline. Thus the central point made by Symon at the founding meeting of the "Australian Marxist Forums" was to pathetically complain that he "personally did not receive an invitation", limply adding that "our party" already has the library and study groups proposed by Clancy & Co. Down the line the Symon wing has been on the defensive, reacting with increasing impotence to every new provocation of the opposition. Obviously, they want to avoid a split, and not only because the opposition has the big guns on its side. For Symon shares the same fears and rotten aspirations of the Clancyites. Indeed, we recall that when it came to Poland, Symon was quite prepared to pay tribute to trade union "autonomy", refusing to comment on the WWF ban on Polish ships on the pretext that it was an "internal" union affair.

Our analysis of the factional split touched a raw nerve in the SPA, sparking a polemic in their youth press, *Youth Voice* (May 1982). Headlined "Whom the Trotskyists are Fighting Against," its theme is as old as Stalinism itself: "their revolutionary sounding words... are only a camouflage for their anti-Sovietism and anti-Socialism". Yet although the Spartacist League is mentioned repeatedly throughout the article, *Youth Voice* conspicuously fails to address our Poland line, targeting instead the Qaddafiite Socialist Labour League (SLL), and concluding, "together [all "Trotskyist groups"] represent a network of deception".

Unfortunately for the SPA, our slogan



Trotskyists demonstrate against pro-Imperialist

"Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" is well known amongst SPA supporters, many of whom have bought our Poland material. When one SPA waterside worker refused to buy a copy of the SLL's *Workers News* at the April 4 "peace" march because of its support to Solidarnosc counterrevolution and CIA-backed Islamic insurgency in Afghanistan, he was told: "You Sparts should all be shot!"

Taking on the Healyites is one thing, debating the crucial questions posed by the Polish crisis with Trotskyists is quite another. Decades of Stalinist misrule — the economic mismanagement and the mortgaging of Poland's economy to the Western bankers, the conciliation of the Catholic Church and capitulations to the smallholding peasantry, the corruption and broken promises, the fostering of virulently anti-Semitic Polish nationalism — have driven the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of reaction.

The Stalinists can only rely on a thoroughly discredited bureaucratic caste which has twice before purged, "reformed", and "liberalised" itself. One way or another, the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy is doomed. The future of socialism in Poland depends upon the forging of a genuinely communist (ie, Trotskyist) vanguard, tempered in the struggle against counterrevolution and armed with a program for political revolution through Soviet-Polish workers unity. No wonder *Youth Voice* didn't take up our Poland line — to do so the Stalinists would have to confront their own utter bankruptcy.

As part of its attempt to make an amalgam between the SL and the anti-Trotskyist social-democratic groupings



Leon Trotsky addressing Red Army soldiers abo

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Stalinist Polish Solidarity, New York, 1981.

Workers Vanguard

"answer" to unemployment is poisonous nationalist protectionism and government bail-out schemes. Equating sitdown strikes against layoffs with "public disorders", the Stalinists explicitly disavow the use of "physical violence":

"The Spartacist approach, for instance, to the appearance of neo-fascists at Sydney University was to bash them up. They scorned attempts to build a broad anti-fascist unity of students."

Obviously, the SPA didn't write this piece for anyone at all familiar with the 200-strong anti-fascist rally initiated by the SL at Sydney University on 23 March. Thousands of leaflets building the action were handed out over a couple of days and every single labour endorsement of the demo was organised by the SL, including those of SPA trade union officials — not to mention the YSL which finally asked that its name be added to the sponsors' list. The campus YSL tried to subvert the action, called around the slogan "No Platform for Fascists — Drive the PNP off Campus!", by insisting that there be no "confrontation", even arguing against marshalls to defend the demonstration. "Its like nuclear disarmament", one YSLer said, underlining the no-struggle defeatism that shapes the SPA's world view from fighting fascism to defending the Soviet Union.

The crowning point in the *Youth Voice* article is naturally on the "peace" question: "Peace is to Trotskyists like the crucifix is to Dracula." But the Stalinist "peace" push is in fact a program for class peace. *Youth Voice* could hardly have made this more explicit:

"Then again, there is the Spartacist position calling on the Soviet Red Army to smash capitalism everywhere — a regurgitation of the classical Trotskyist doctrine of 'exporting revolution', and a gross slander of the Soviet Union's stand for peace."

Aside from this "regurgitation of the classical" Stalinist slander of Trotsky and Lenin's Bolsheviks (for example, the 1920 Polish campaign was seen by Lenin as a bridge to the German revolution), the notion of Trotskyists calling on the Red Army of Brezhnev — separated by a bureaucratic political counterrevolution from the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky — to "smash capitalism everywhere" is certainly ludicrous. What *Youth Voice* obviously has in mind is our slogan "Hail Red Army!" raised in the face of imperialist hysteria over the Kremlin's military intervention against CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan.

Our call to "Extend the Gains of October to Afghan Peoples" addressed the necessity for social revolution in breaking the backbone of the old classes of Afghan society and their imperialist patrons. By appeasing mullah reaction through limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Kremlin's policies in

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... about to leave for Polish front to fight Pilsudski, 1920.

Reagan, Begin & Hitler

Searching for the ultimate holocaust. An Israeli general says they are aiming at a "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem". The Israeli army describes its mission with the Hebrew word *letaher* — the "purification" of Lebanon of the PLO. And the Zionists not only use the "master race" language of the Nazis, but also their genocidal practices. An ambassador is shot (not by the PLO) and the Israeli air force bombs Palestinian refugee centers in Beirut, killing 130. The PLO responds by some ineffectual shelling of northern Israel, and Begin launches a (long-prepared) *Blitzkrieg* that has killed more than 10,000 civilians and left an estimated 600,000 homeless.

Whole cities are destroyed on the Hitlerite principle of collective guilt. Begin, playing god, smites Sidon and Tyre, like Sodom and Gomorrah, for harboring sinners. The population, driven from their homes, is kept on the beach for days, guarded by machine guns, without food or water. The men are ordered to take two steps forward. Suspected PLO "terrorists" are marked, not with a yellow Star of David but with a black X across their backs. Then they are sent to concentration camps in Israel. Do they tattoo numbers on their arms? In the mass graves, bodies are piled one on top of another.

Apocalypse now and forever. Begin vows to "purify" Lebanon, Reagan proclaims the US will "prevail" over the Soviets. Last fall he let slip that American policy has long been to fight a "limited nuclear war" in the "European theater". Then came Haig's call for a "demonstration bomb" over the Baltic to "intimidate the Soviets. Again NATO sources said "nothing new". But last month a Defense Department directive stated that henceforth US strategy would not be deterrence, but now was aimed at winning a "protracted" nuclear apocalypse. "The United States nuclear capabilities must prevail even under the condition of a prolonged war." And what does "prevail" mean? "To be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States." Translated from Pentagonese into Reaganese, the psychopaths in Washington intend to bomb the Russkies until they cry Uncle Sam.

The Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, is in danger. These are not just war threats, they are nuclear war plans. Speaking recently at the United Nations, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko read a statement by President Leonid Brezhnev formally pledging "no first use" of nuclear weapons. The US response came in the 17 June *New York Times*. On page A8, a State Department spokesman accuses Brezhnev of lying and cheating (his pledge was "unverifiable and unenforceable"), and the American commander of NATO, General Rogers, says he definitely intends to be the first to use nuclear arms in a conflict with the Warsaw Pact. Meanwhile on page B17 a National Security Council official, in a speech personally approved by Reagan, condemned not only detente but the Truman Cold War policy of containment and said, "Prevailing with pride is the principal new ingredient of American security policy".

The Reaganites' anti-Soviet offensive continues to escalate. Following the policy of bankrupting the Russians through a stepped-up arms race and trade sanctions, on Friday, June 18 Washington forbade all participation by American companies (and their subsidiaries) in the giant Soviet-West European natural gas pipeline. Not only are all Kremlin leaders to be targeted for nuclear assassination ("attacks on political and military leadership and associated

control facilities"), but any attempt by the Russians to recover after nuclear annihilation are to be obliterated ("targeting residual enemy means of reconstitution"). The Soviets are to be wiped out and stay wiped out.

Begin, Reagan and Hitler: for all of them, the end of their class rule is co-equal with the end of the universe. And that makes them exceedingly dangerous.

It's infuriating to observe the calculated politeness of Brezhnev & Co to the endlessly demeaning American insults and responses. One would expect General Haig, once commandant of West Point, to be more polite with a first-year cadet than he behaves toward the Russians. Any self-respecting revolutionary leadership of the Soviet workers state would announce: we of course stand on "no first strike", but if you maniacal mass murderers go ahead and launch one *then let us tell you what our second strike would look like*. So our missiles may not be as accurate as yours (though you've never flown one over the North Pole yet), and maybe we'll miss downtown Detroit with its black proletarian population. But we'll hit the metropolitan areas and wipe out Grosse Pointe and Scarsdale and the rest of those places where the American bourgeoisie lives!

What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese, especially since they are annoyed with Reagan now over Taiwan. Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: "Well, it looks like the US is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess. So you have a grievance; whether it's just or unjust is immaterial to us at this point, within the framework of practicality just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you." That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.

Next, clean up Afghanistan. Recently Kabul government forces and Soviet troops routed CIA-backed Islamic reactionary rebels from strategic positions near the capital. Hostile Western reporters credit the victory to the "people's militias", of course claiming that the Russians bought them off. Sure, with food, education, health, girls in lipstick instead of veils. But instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller and cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudal backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of detente and "two-stage" revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union.

And the true facts of the situation must be communicated to the Russian people. Our country is once again threatened by war; the situation possibly far worse than it was when German tank columns stood 20 kilometers from Moscow city limits. Great sacrifices will be required. It must be made clear to the Poles, liberated from the Nazi yoke by the Red Army, the tremendous subsidies

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Chicago...

Continued from page eight

and defend themselves. "Wherever the Nazis march, that means 'whites only'", they said.

As Ronald Reagan's killer cutbacks and the Klan/Nazi's guns target black and working people, it is clear that there is no future for the oppressed and exploited in this rotting system. As several speakers at the June 27 rally emphasised, the growth of the Klan/Nazis and their increasing boldness is a fringe product of the anti-Soviet war drive backed by both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, a renewed Cold War that seeks to "roll back" not only Communism abroad but every gain won by the union movement and minorities at home. The class-struggle strategy of the Spartacist League/US for labour/black mobilisation to stop racist terror shows how to fight back and win. June 27 proved it can be done.

The targets of the Nazi provocation — homosexuals participating in a "gay pride festival" — are among the most vulnerable and isolated of their intended victims. But when the Hitler-lovers got to the area of Chicago's Lincoln Park where they had threatened to goose-step that day, they found it occupied by thousands of demonstrators brought out by the SL-initiated June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. Unable to enter the park, the two dozen fascists in black and brown uniforms were protected by hundreds of Chicago cops, including a line of mounted cossacks.

The protesters were angry and militant and only the massive police presence stopped them from driving the fascists out. More than 165 uniformed cops were officially on hand, and many scores of plainclothesmen circulated in the crowd. Thirteen protesters were arrested that afternoon, charged with disorderly conduct and released. But the crowd would not be provoked into a disastrous confrontation with the Chicago cops. For an hour the protesters drowned out the Nazis with spirited chanting until the Hitlerites gave up and were ushered away by the cops to a thunderous roar of "Nazis Out! Nazis Out!"

The Spartacist League campaign touched a responsive chord in the city, particularly in the labour movement and the black community. Speakers included Norm Roth (former president, United Auto Workers Local 6) and Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo (vice-president, Steel Workers Local 1010), and the rally was chaired by black New York City transit worker Ed Kartsen. Understanding that labour could be next on the fascists' hit list, the unionists who came out to stop the Nazis were not afraid to defend homosexuals. And they weren't the only ones.

The Greek-American Union threw its support behind the action, printing a statement in the national Greek-language daily *Proini* calling for the "full participation of the Greeks of Chicago". At the moment of Zionist terrorist Begin's monstrous crimes in Lebanon, the question of opposing the Nazi murderers at home sharply split Chicago-area Jews. One B'nai B'rith chapter named for Warsaw Ghetto uprising hero Janusz Korczak sent out a notice "calling on you to be present in Lincoln Park", and a Palestinian support group turned out as well. Long-time Chicago anti-fascist activist Boris Ross, who fought for the Red Army in the Ukraine in 1918 during the civil war, was among the speakers. And while the major TV stations and daily newspapers maintained a conspiracy of silence about the anti-Nazi demonstration — later engaging in a violence-baiting media campaign against the 3000 protesters — every black radio station in the city picked up the news and broadcast it around Chicago.

Black participation in the demonstration was key. To come up from Chicago's South Side to Lincoln Park on June 27 took not only commitment but guts. Black people have been stoned by racist mobs when they marched for integration. Terrorist nightriders have firebombed their homes when they

moved into the "wrong" neighborhood. Blacks remember the cop murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as he lay in his bed. They remember the Nazis "white power" rallies in Marquette Park. Jackie Brooks, a young black militant who worked with the June 27 Committee recalled that "even a dog that belonged to a black person wouldn't cross the railroad tracks there". But blacks also know that they are Number One on the Klan/Nazi's death list, and you've got to do something.

But not everyone sought to mobilise mass opposition to the Nazi provocation. Although some feminist and gay groups turned out, the mainstream gay organisations chose to "ignore" the Nazis, making sure that their "gay pride" march didn't arrive at Lincoln Park until after the storm troopers had gone. And while labour officials endorsed the demonstration, many "leftists" did their best to defeat it. The Communist Party got out of the way of the rally, though various CP supporters, like Norm Roth, came and spoke. And when the third-campist Revolutionary Socialist League found that its defeatist-sectoralist policy was swamped by the organizing of the SL-led June 27 Committee, they



Workers Vanguard

US blacks know Nazis/Klan are a deadly threat.

resorted first to provocation, trying to turn the protest into a confrontation with the cops, and then to the Big Lie, claiming that the Spartacists are anti-gay and finger anti-fascist militants to the cops!

June 27 was an important show of force to stop the Nazis; it was built in political struggle against liberals and others who would "ignore" the fascists whose ultimate function is as capitalism's shock troops to destroy the unions, to whip up genocidal racism against minorities. June 27 gave a taste of the social power of a labour/black mobilisation which can sweep away the Hitler punks and defend embattled minorities. A full-scale mobilisation of the workers movement and minorities would send these mad-dog elements of the enraged middle class packing.

Breaking the chains of racist American capitalism means fighting to finish the American Civil War. This is the program of the Spartacist League. The fascists are growing in Reagan's America. They will be defeated not in small-group confrontations with the cops, nor by idiotic appeals to the capitalist state which systematically protects them, but through militant class struggle leading to the conquest of power by the working class.

Victorious labour/black struggle is the only road to preventing race war and destruction, and the key is the forging of a black leadership in a communist vanguard party. Detroit, November 1979; San Francisco, April 1980; Ann Arbor last March and Chicago on June 27 — with only a few hundreds and a growing black component; the Spartacist League has mobilised thousands to stop the Klan/Nazis. With a few thousand militants gained in massive black recruitment, the SL/US can lead the way to black liberation through socialist revolution. ■

Reagan...

Continued from page five

they enjoy at the expense of the Russian working masses. (Incidentally, exiled Polish Solidarnosc leaders are now reportedly condemning the West European "peace" movement, arguing that American Pershings and Cruise missiles must be aimed at the Soviet bloc. Since some of these will fall on Warsaw, Gdansk and Krakow this amounts to a call for genocide of the Polish people in the name of anti-Communist Polish nationalism.)

But all this requires a high degree of workers democracy, combining toughness and generosity in defense of the fundamental conquests of the October Revolution. And this cannot be accomplished without a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who only dream of an accommodation with the imperialist West — call it "peaceful coexistence" or "detente". An authentically proletarian internationalist policy, to mobilize the Soviet working people for greater sacrifice and dedication, can only be accomplished by a leadership committed to advancing the revolutionary cause down the line.

What's needed to defend the land of the Soviets against rapacious imperialism hell-bent on a nuclear showdown requires above all a *rebirth of Leninism*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940): "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

— Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 308, 25 June 1982

Zionist...

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army. Certainly Begin/Sharon would react with savage reprisals as they are now doing with the merchants' shutdown, but the fate of the Palestinian people now hangs in the balance. Defend the Palestinians! Israel Out of Lebanon! US Imperialism Hands Off!

Begin faces not only mounting internal opposition, but also possible problems with his American godfather. Washington has up to now supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Still, this "all the way with mad bomber Begin" line has created serious problems for US imperialism. Certainly Washington is happy to see the PLO destroyed and the Moscow-allied Syrians humiliated and perhaps driven out of Lebanon. At the same time, the Reagan administration has sought to put together an anti-Soviet alliance in the Near East (the so-called "strategic consensus") embracing both Begin's Israel and various reactionary Arab sheiks and colonels. The frustrating efforts to achieve this impossible dream have produced certain, at times sharp, divisions within the American ruling class.

Cracks in the Israeli Juggernaut

If madman Begin has not yet ordered the final assault on west Beirut, this is not due to the minimal American pressure or the mealy-mouthed declarations of the Common Market countries. Rather Begin's adventure in Lebanon has produced a certain disunity within the Zionists' ranks.

Zionist terror against innocent civilians is not at all new. But the scale is unprecedented. The Lebanese invasion has now become Israel's longest war since 1948. Given the chauvinist elitism of its relatively small population, even the 270 Israeli battle deaths are considered

heavy, and there is fear of Lebanon turning into Israel's Vietnam. Although Israel is now up against only Palestinian guerrillas, casualties are climbing toward the losses in the 1967 "Six Day" war, when it fought the armies of several Arab states. And the 2,000 deaths in the 1973 October war led to the fall of the Meir/Dayan government and gave rise to the "Peace Now" movement initiated by officers in the army reserve.

For the first time in Israeli history a large domestic protest movement has broken out in the middle of a war. In Tel Aviv 20,000 people demonstrated under the sponsorship of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon. Typical of their slogans were "How many more dead will it take?" and "We have no future on the graves of the Palestinians" (*Jerusalem Post*, 27 June). On July 3, 50,000 protested in Tel Aviv. Perhaps even more significantly, in Jerusalem a group of 30 soldiers, returned from the front, demonstrated against the war. One of them called it tragic "to confront civilians with our weapons".

But these dovish protests have not escaped the bounds of "left" Zionism, hankering after days when Israel was supposedly a society oppressing no one. But there *never* was such a period. The Zionist state was *founded* in 1948 on the graves of the Palestinians. While Zionist propagandists were producing films about idealistic "socialist" kibbutzim planting orange groves, the Palestinian Arab population was being systematically terrorized into leaving their homeland. Today the "liberal" Zionist picture of Israel lies buried, along with thousands of Palestinians, in the rubble that was once Sidon and Tyre.

What does self-determination for the Palestinians mean concretely? The usual liberal answer is some variant of a West Bank mini-state, with the Gaza Strip thrown in. But this small, impoverished area cannot possibly support the four million Palestinians dispersed throughout the Near East. Even assuming such a state could be created, it would become simply a "bantustan" in which Israel and the neighbouring Arab states would dump their unwanted Palestinian populations.

A genuine solution to the Palestinians' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, through the destruction of the Hashemite monarchy and the Zionist clerical state. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people. While the Hebrew-speaking nation is today an oppressor of the Palestinian

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people, a democratic solution is not one which simply reverses the terms of oppression — that is, an Arab Palestine in which the Hebrews are denied their right to self-determination. Only within the framework of a Socialist Federation of the Near East can there possibly be a just solution to the conflicting national claims of both the Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples.

Arab Nationalism at a Literal Dead End

If Begin's invasion of Lebanon exposed the genocidal logic of Zionism, it also exposed the Arab bourgeois regimes, the "radical" ones as well as the "moderates", as his indispensable collaborators. Not a single Arab government has come to the aid of its beleaguered PLO "brothers" in Beirut. "It's not Israel that broke us. It's the Arab world", exclaimed one PLO commando bitterly. Its commitment to Arab nationalist ideology has now led the PLO into a deathtrap, isolated in west Beirut facing eight Israeli divisions. "Curse their mothers", exclaimed a Palestinian militant waiting for the final Israeli assault:

"You see where the Israelis are. Well behind the Israelis is King Fahd and Hafez el-Assad and King Hussein. They are all in this together, and every Palestinian, every child, will know what to do with them."

— *New York Times*, 4 July
But if there is one thing that is now proved, it is that the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO (whatever their personal courage) do not know what to do with Begin's Israel, Hussein's Jordan, Assad's Syria and the rest of the reactionary regimes of the region. Since the calamity of 1948 the Palestinians have suffered defeat after defeat, betrayal after betrayal. How to break out of this tragic cycle?

The liberation of the Palestinians cannot be achieved through a purely national struggle of the Palestinian people, or through some utopian rapprochement between Zionist "doves" and PLO "moderates". It requires that Zionist Israel and the surrounding Arab bourgeois states be exploded from within by revolutionary proletarian struggle. The emergence of antiwar protest within Israel, extending even into the ranks of the army, demolishes the Third World nationalist notion of the Zionist state as a reactionary monolith without deep internal contradictions. What is desperately needed is a communist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Husseins and Assads, who promise only endless bloodletting, and open the road to a Socialist Federation of the Near East.

— *Abridged from Workers Vanguard*
no 309, 9 July 1982

ALP...

Continued from page two

and not just words, means class-struggle opposition to Carmichael/Scott who for the Hayden-led ALP and the employers are living proof that their "incomes policy" can be carried through.

The CPA openly supports the "prices and incomes" policy. The AMWSU remains the CPA's only real national stronghold in the trade-union bureaucracy, and its only real hope of exerting influence in the top circles of the ALP and ACTU. They have tied their badly demoralised party to Hayden's wagon which can only accelerate their disintegration or final incorporation into the Labor Party. The SWP/SLL attack the CPA's support for the social contract but on the spot in the union they of course supported Carmichael/Scott. The SWP even proudly reprinted in *Direct Action* a grovelling telegram of "congratulations on the election of Comrades Carmichael and Scott" to the AMWSU hailing this "important victory against the bosses" — by the bosses' candidates. Similarly both these deeply opportunist organisations bluster against court intervention into the unions. But they supported CPAer Jack Munday's years-long court actions against the Maoist-run BLF, actions which paved the way for the court-led offensive today.

The crisis of leadership in the labour movement must be obvious to any class conscious militant. We face great class battles and those on the domestic front are inextricably linked to the threat of imperialist war against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Only revolutionary class struggle can break the impasse. This first of all demands taking sides — for the military defence of the historic gains of the Russian Revolution, to defend the proletariat against the ravages of decaying capitalism. A fighting communist party must be built through the struggle to politically destroy the class collaborationist and defeatist union and Labor Party bureaucracies, on the road to a genuine workers government. No to the social contract! ■

SPA...

Continued from page five

Afghanistan — one link in the chain of "detente" — are directly undermining the defence of the USSR.

If Vietnam marked the opening of the "era of detente", then Afghanistan marked its collapse less than 10 years later. The SPA's first concern when the Red Army went into Afghanistan was to protect its links to mainstream social democracy through a "peace pact" with the anti-Soviet CPA. And by playing up the "threat" posed to Australia of Soviet nuclear retaliation the SPA feeds the anti-Sovietism that it claims to oppose. Sometimes their efforts to prove that they really do put Australia first takes on an especially bizarre twist, like the front-page blow up of Brezhnev's picture on the 10 March 1982 *Socialist*, headlined, "Soviet Offers Australia Nuclear Peace Pact".

Stripping aside the pacifist/nationalist "non-alignment" rhetoric, the SPA's hoped for road to "peace" and all good things is an ALP government. As much as they'd like to ignore it, even the Stalinists know that American approval, if not blessings, is key for a Labor victory. Thus, in what marks a new low, the SPA now declares that Australia's "close relationship with the US can be used by the peace forces to exert every possible influence to thwart US imperialism" (*Socialist*, 2 June).

By pursuing "detente" abroad and popular-frontist "unity" at home, the Stalinists tell the workers that their class enemy is really their friend. We say the main enemy is at home. Only Trotskyism means class struggle from the imperialist heartland to the desperately oppressed colonial masses, still under the heel of imperialist domination. This is the road to peace: Smash the anti-Soviet war drive through proletarian revolution! ■

Cold War II...

Continued from page three

The question the ruling class is asking now is — have they learnt the lessons of the 1972-75 experience? This time it's not a question of going too fast, I mean they're not really promising any reforms, more in terms of trade-offs, at least on paper. They say they will try and do something with health care and some of the services and the workers, they hope, will agree to no wage rises.

The other lesson was never, never upset the Americans. So there was all this hullabaloo in the last two weeks about nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships being able to dock in Australian ports. That very fast became, are you for or against the ANZUS treaty? Cain and then Hayden backed down very fast with the Americans making public statements that, well, we might be able to work with these people but they have got to toe the line.

Behind this is what the left likes to talk about all the time — an "independent" Australia, a "non-aligned" Australia. What they're talking about is capitalist Australia, a Labor government and it's just a lie. This country is militarily vulnerable, it's a rich, white man's country and it's in the middle of Asia. It's something akin to those other Commonwealth countries in the old British empire — South Africa, Rhodesia, except it's in Asia and that's where you get "White Australia" and the rabid fear of communism from the north and the ANZUS alliance. Those politics are carried into the labour movement by the Laborites. They were the ones who had White Australia as their first plank in the platform in 1900, who set up ASIO, they're the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the labour movement. The only independence from the imperialist system will be through its overthrow — a workers Australia whose real interest will lie with the toiling masses of Indonesia and South East Asia, which is also a starting point for today in our struggles. For the Asians will undoubtedly be the initial racial scapegoat here.

A brief point about the factional alignment within the Labor Party. Things are shaping up for a leadership battle — Hawke and Hayden. In terms of policy it represents nothing really. But its interest lies in that Hayden's power rests on a bloc with the Labor left, which is seen as being necessary to sell a social contract to the unions. The Hawke people, and this encompasses the broad right wing in the Labor Party, think that bloc is increasingly dispensable, in fact a liability, as the stuff with the nuclear ships demonstrated. A move of Hawke into power will also be a fight to purge or reduce to an impotent rump the troublesome left in the Labor Party and moves are already afoot in this direction. It's the opposite to what's going on in the British Labour Party. Here the right wing is on the rise, the targets are people like the petty-bourgeois leftists around Peter Baldwin in Sydney and in Melbourne that wing of the Socialist Left represented by figures like Bill Hartley, Joan Coxledge, George Crawford. The Hawke grouping have been manoeuvring for some time for the reaffiliation of the National Civic Council unions that went out in the DLP split in the 1950s. The DLP's original name before it went officially public was the Anti-Communist Labor Party. If they get back in it will be to finish the job that they started in the 1950s. As is always the case anti-Sovietism abroad will mean get the reds at home. With the ruling class, "reds" can get a fairly broad definition — anyone against the war drive, particularly if you're pro-Soviet, and anyone against what is necessary to implement that in terms of economic austerity. This situation is causing a big shake-up, a big realignment, not only inside, but outside the Labor Party because that's where all the reformist left takes its cues from.

The Stalinist party is in a big mess, they have no real perspectives and their attachment to the Soviet Union as apologists for the Stalinist bureaucracy, isolates them. They don't like being out there either, they would prefer to be back

with the liberals, but that's out. So they are going to have to confront us more and more. This in no way means that they have shifted left because they haven't, but they cannot answer anything and we can. Moreover we intend to fight and not take a dive. So for a period at least, the Stalinists, mainly their youth, will be open to us. As for the Communist Party, its move to the right really accelerated with Poland and it's just a matter of time before some faction or the whole party goes into the Labor Party. A very demoralised party, very reformist. Now the Socialist Workers Party must be a real contender to fill the CP's niche. Very social democratic, its whole perspective revolves around pressuring the Labor Party tops, doing their donkey work. But whether or not they will be able to take the opportunity is another question because in many ways they are a rather bizarre organisation. They deny the Cold War, they deny that the Soviet Union is under threat. For them, the war drive, which they have just realised — or admitted — is here, is in fact targeting the "world revolution". This "world revolution", which includes Castro centrally (but not his Moscow mentors, the people who pay the bills) most recently included — after Khomeini's Iran and "socialist" Grenada — the Argentine junta, known to Argentine leftists and workers as "Murder Incorporated". This fake anti-imperialism is really just another form of class collaboration, but it is also a fantasy land. Reality will intrude sooner or later and there is going to be a lot of disarray.

So that leaves us pretty far out to the left. We're a small organisation and we're starting to get targeted and what's more, set up by a bloc which includes most of the old radical left because we're "Russia lovers." We have never pretended to fake mass work which is always a cover for opportunism, we fight for our program. We're a fighting propaganda group and at times we get the chance to lead things like this incident with the fascists and implement some of our program in a small way. That is, we can do exemplary work, we can show what can be done. The period ahead is not going to be easy, the political climate is going to get a lot harder, but we intend to use it as we have done over the past year to toughen up and programmatically steel our cadre and our party. And recruit. Because there will be battles. The petty-bourgeois radicals can run and hide but the workers and the minorities in this country, particularly their proletarian section, have nowhere to go. They will fight. When these battles erupt we intend to be there because we are the only ones who do have a program to fight and win. So we are looking for fighters, we are looking for those who want to be communists and understand the necessity to build a new party and a new leadership in the working class. The question of the approaching war really does pose much more point-blank what was always true: that it will either be proletarian revolution or it will be barbarism. ■

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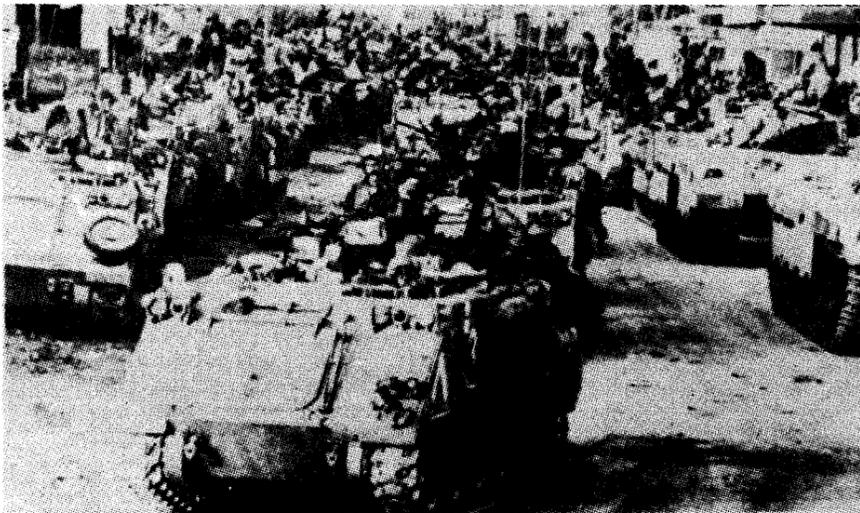
Zionist "Final Solution"

After killing thousands, leaving hundreds of thousands homeless, totally destroying the cities of Tyre and Sidon, the Zionist Blitzkrieg stands poised at the gates of west Beirut. Seven thousand PLO commandos trapped in the city are said to be dug in, vowing to fight to the death against overwhelming odds. Meanwhile, Reagan is talking about sending in the Marines as Eisenhower did in 1958. Zionist expansionism and US imperialism join hands in the rape of Lebanon.

As Israeli planes, tanks and artillery reduce west Beirut to rubble, even one American military officer is reminded of the Nazi Holocaust. "In the end, Beirut would look like the Warsaw ghetto", he predicted (*Newsweek*, 5 July).

Indeed, just as the SS demanded the surrender of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943 in order to "resettle" them at Auschwitz and Treblinka, so the Israelis have dropped leaflets telling the population to move out and have demanded that the PLO lay down their arms and "go to another country". We are "not out to harm innocent citizens", the Israeli leaflets claimed. Tell that to the innocent citizens of what were once Sidon and Tyre, cities totally destroyed by Israeli bombs. Palestinians who managed to survive (and "suspect" Lebanese) were then marked with a black X and shipped to secret concentration camps in Israel. Instead of using boxcars, the Zionists transported the Palestinians in nets suspended from helicopters as if they were fish.

One opposition member of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) protested that "it was as if the Government did not even consider the Palestinians human beings". It doesn't. The Israeli military has



Israeli blitzkrieg levels Sidon. Now poised to destroy west Beirut.

announced repeatedly that the internationally recognized treatment of prisoners of war will not apply to the Palestinians. Hence, no right to contact their families, no right to receive Red Cross parcels, no rights period. The 100,000 Palestinians who once lived in Sidon and Tyre have largely disappeared into the Zionist night and fog — killed outright, shipped to concentration camps in Israel, left to die of starvation and disease wandering in the wasteland of war-battered Lebanon. Even the pro-Zionist *New York Times* (3 July) admits that the Israeli army has "a difficulty in separating the fighters from the non-combatants who support them, or who are their wives and children". "They are all terrorists", in the words of one Israeli officer, meaning the only good one is a dead one.

Why do the Palestinian militants in

west Beirut appear willing to fight against fearsome odds rather than surrender? For one thing, they understand (despite all the rhetoric about "Arab unity") the fate that would await them in Assad's Syria, Hussein's Jordan or Mubarak's Egypt. The Palestinians well remember Black September 1970 when the Jordanian Arab Legion massacred thousands of them with the Israeli army ready to join the slaughter and the Syrians turning a blind eye. "We have nowhere else to go", said a senior PLO official waiting for the end in west Beirut.

The PLO's situation is not as absolutely hopeless as it may first appear. The Palestinians can turn to their advantage the extreme chauvinism and racism of Israeli society, the Zionist belief that one Jew is worth hundreds of Arabs. If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy

their own, there could well be a rebellion on the home front against Begin's Lebanese adventure. And the Palestinian commandos seem to grasp this. As one declared, "Maybe the Israelis will come and maybe they will win here, but I promise you it will be a big cemetery for them" (*New York Times*, 4 July).

Reaction against the atrocities of the Israeli war machine and, more importantly, fear of never-ending casualties in a prolonged occupation of Lebanon have already produced significant fissures within the Zionist camp. Tens of thousands have taken to the streets of Tel Aviv to protest the war. One poster showed defense minister Ariel Sharon drenched in blood with the words: "The Butcher of Lebanon". Another said: "Begin-Sharon — You Murdered My Son". A Rakah (Communist) member of the Knesset shouted at Sharon, "You are the biggest terrorist of all!" It is beginning to dawn on the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel that they cannot conquer and subjugate millions upon millions of Arabs and that the occupation of Lebanon is a sure path to self-destruction. But internal opposition to the war right now depends, above all, on how many Israeli soldiers come home in coffins.

With Israel's economy under siege from the draining of Jewish workers by the army's mobilization, Arab labor from the occupied West Bank assumes an ever greater importance to the maintenance of the Zionist garrison state. If the present general merchants' strike in the West Bank over the Israeli invasion were extended to the 100,000 super-exploited Palestinian migrant workers, this would strike a crippling blow to Israel's economy and further tax its overextended

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Thousands Mobilise to Stop Nazis in Chicago

On June 27 in Chicago, 3000 opponents of fascist terror breached the wall of fear engendered by the racist front extending across the United States, stretching from the Nazis to the White House. It was the biggest militant anti-Nazi protest in the area in decades, and the presence of protesters from a broad cross-section of the Chicago population in a demonstration led by communists is a landmark in anti-fascist actions nationally.

They came from the steel mills of East Chicago and the big Harvester car plant in Melrose Park, from the heavily gay New Town area and the largely Jewish Evanston. There were even East European Catholics from North Side neighbourhoods. But most important in this the most segregated city in the US, with the meanest white suburbs in the country, they came from the giant South Side black ghetto on June 27 to stop the Nazis

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