



The Only Road to Peace: Proletarian Revolution!



Germany: Anti-Soviet arsenal



El Salvador



Reagan and Schmidt

Smash Reagan/NATO Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The following statement, signed by the European and American sections of the international Spartacist tendency, was distributed at the protests against Reagan's visit to Europe in early June.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Ronald Reagan is coming to Europe to beat the war drums for anti-Sovietism and whip his NATO allies into line. The US imperialist chief's talk of "winnable" nuclear war has millions of Europeans scared out of their wits. Hundreds of thousands have marched against the introduction of additional nuclear weapons into Europe.

Reagan's June tour will be met with mass protest. But only victorious working-class struggle against American imperialism and against America's imperialist rivals can bring peace to this planet. The drive toward war is as inextricably rooted in the capitalist

system as the drive to increase profit. The working-class misleaders who preach "Europacifism" and enforce reformist prostration before the mythical "national interest" serve only their own ruling classes. What is required is an international party whose program of defending past proletarian gains and struggling for their extension is the means to unite the workers of all lands against imperialism.

Capitalist America is the number one enemy of the world's working peoples. But "anti-Americanism" does not equal anti-imperialism. In the mouths of social-democrats and Stalinists, anti-American rhetoric only serves to amnesty one's own bourgeoisie. Opposition to US policy in Central America is fully compatible with the social-democratic line of "political solution" to cheat the Salvadoran masses of victory and pave the way for more slaughter at the hands

of the military. "Anti-Americanism" is supposed to drown out the social-patriots' silence over German arms to the murderous Turkish junta, French neo-colonialism in Africa or Britain's military occupation of Northern Ireland. In Liebknecht's words, "the main enemy is at home!"

Down with NATO and the Common Market!

Both the Pentagon's scenario of defeating Russia in a nuclear war "limited" to the north European plain, mainly Germany, and the "Europacifist" notion of a "superpower" war fought entirely overhead with ICBMs are absurd. Naturally this talk has terrified the German people. In contrast, since de Gaulle took France out of the NATO military structure, the French believe they will be immune when missiles start flying between the American-led alliance

and the Warsaw Pact bloc. But there can be no "nuclear free zone". World War III will be a northern hemispheric holocaust at least.

The driving force toward World War III is anti-Sovietism. It has been, ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the dominant goal of imperialism to overturn this greatest victory for the international working class. Despite the USSR's Stalinist degeneration, the social gains of that revolution and their international extensions remain the property of the workers of the world. Those who do not defend these historic gains will never lead the victories of the future!

In World War II, 20 million Soviet workers and peasants died defeating the onslaught of German imperialism. America emerged the hegemonic imperialist victor, able to impose its terms on

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war-devastated Europe. The subsequent monetary treaty sanctifying dollar hegemony at Bretton Woods symbolized the so-called "American century". America's unquestioned leadership of the "free world" included wholesale splitting and wrecking of European unions in the aim of destroying Stalinist influence. This US-orchestrated campaign was eagerly carried out by the social-democrats, who contributed the "democratic" rhetoric as well as laundering the CIA funds. Together the social-democrats and the CIA campaigned for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc as they wielded goons and gangsters against West European workers. Today's pro-Solidarnosc crusade, employing the same "captive nations" pitch and even some of the same personnel (like the American AFL-CIO's notorious Irving Brown), is the fitting continuation of that unholy alliance between imperialist revanchism and the Second International.

But American imperialism finds itself today in a vastly weakened position economically. And the "Europacifist movement" is fueled not only by fear of Reagan/Haig's first-strike bellicosity but also by renescent European nationalism. Recognizing the US as now only the quantitatively most powerful among rival imperialist powers, ambitious social-democratic politicians like Tony Benn and Erhard Eppler believe the future of their own capitalist states lies in greater distance from the US. They too are committed to getting East Europe "back" for capitalist exploitation. But they know how to profess "neutrality". Particularly in Germany the "peace" movement has revived the old Social-Democratic program for a "reunited neutral Germany", a thinly veiled call for capitalist restoration in East Germany.

Social-democrats like Benn or Willy Brandt would prefer to undermine the deformed workers states in East Europe by encouraging *internal* counterrevolutionary forces such as developed in Poland through Solidarnosc. The "Europeanization of Europe" takes place both on the Rhine and the Vistula, proclaimed Erhard Eppler last October, while Benn used a "disarmament" rally in London to incite Poles toward "independence" from Russia.

Stalinism is in no position to combat the imperialist-orchestrated mobilization for Solidarnosc, the company union for the CIA and Western bankers, except by repression. After three decades of

hideous economic bungling (including mortgaging the economy to the German banks), bureaucratic inequality and heavy-handed suppression of political and cultural life, Stalinism has driven the Polish masses toward Wojtyla's Vatican, the Common Market and NATO. Trotskyist propaganda cells must be created among the historically socialist proletariat to combat the Polish masses' current infatuation with "free world" imperialism and restore the deep and rich Marxist tradition personified by Rosa Luxemburg.

Defend the Workers States Through Proletarian Political Revolution!

The crisis of Polish Stalinism illustrates once again that the Stalinist schema of "socialism in one country" feeds the most deadly enemies of socialism. The

ist governments. In Portugal in 1975, American imperialism assisted by European social-democracy underlined its refusal to tolerate governmental coalitions with Moscow-allied parties. But this has hardly muted the Stalinist sellouts' efforts to prove themselves "reliable" coalition partners by chauvinist displays, for example the French CP's support for the nuclear "force de frappe" pointed at Moscow or its anti-immigrant campaign kicked off by the CP's provocation at Vitry last summer.

Not "Disarmament" But Class Struggle!

While Margaret Thatcher is a rabid Cold Warrior of Reaganite stripe, the Britain she rules is now a third-rate power. Its once mighty fleet is straining to prevent Argentina from holding the Falklands/Malvinas' 650,000 sheep and

Che Guevara's slogan for "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!" But now virtually every "left" current has enlisted in the resurgent Cold War as proponents of new popular fronts from El Salvador, where the FDR's Guillermo Ungo already has the masses' blood on his hands, to the United States, where the Democratic Party of the Bay of Pigs and the Vietnam escalation is supposed to lead an "anti-Reagan peace movement".

For the United Socialist States of Europe!

West Germany, of late Washington's most loyal NATO ally, is today the most detente-minded. But behind the "peace-loving" image of Brandt/Schmidt's *Ostpolitik* stands the appetite to reverse the outcome of World War II and recreate a unified capitalist Germany as the dominant European power. With the growth of Polish Solidarnosc, West German imperialism could almost taste the prospect of capitalist restoration in East Germany. These appetites are further fueled by the Lutheran church-based agitation in East Germany which, based on the call for withdrawal of all "foreign" troops, would leave the East German deformed workers state defenseless before resurgent German imperialism.

Today, as in the 1920s, Germany is the key to Europe. The division of Germany into two states of counterposed class character symbolizes the inextricably linked tasks facing the European proletariat. Any attempt to deny the unity and centrality of the German proletariat (eg, the French Stalinists' chauvinist "produce French" campaign) represents an attack on the socialist future of Europe. For revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in West Europe and political revolution in East Europe!

Germany is the leader of Europe — for socialism or barbarism. The Common Market, supposed to prevent capitalist economic crisis but in fact a mechanism for generalizing crises, represents an attempt to do by pan-Europe bourgeois agreement what the German bourgeoisie has twice failed in trying on its own — unite Europe under German leadership. This program is utopian, not merely because of what Willy Brandt termed "deep-seated mistrust, in the East and West, toward the Germany which twice in half a century has engulfed Europe in war". Imperialist competition between rival national bourgeoisies is inherent in decadent capitalism. Only the workers of the world, who in Marx's words "have no country", can establish an equitable and harmonious international division of labor based on socialization of the means of production. The alternatives are nuclear barbarism or revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a socialist united states of Europe.

Reforge the Fourth International!

On the eve of World War II, Leon Trotsky wrote: "The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership". Today an even greater catastrophe than that war hangs over our heads. International social-democracy, long ago passed over to direct

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From El Salvador to Berlin and Dresden: Defend the Soviet Union!

Pilsudskiite nationalism, anti-Semitism and clerical backwardness pushed by the Polish Stalinist party found massive expression in the anti-socialist Solidarnosc, which threatened to overturn proletarian property in Poland and create an imperialist-oriented Polish state on the western border of the USSR. The re-forging of anti-imperialist solidarity between the Russian and Polish workers demands proletarian political revolution led by Trotskyist parties against the Stalinist usurpers in Moscow and Warsaw.

Trotskyism, the internationalist program of authentic Leninism, stands counterposed to the suicidal "detente" illusions of Stalinist bureaucrats whose competing nationalist programs set the deformed workers states against one another in competition for imperialism's dubious favors. It was our Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism which enabled the Spartacist tendency in the aftermath of the 1965 Indonesian massacre to predict the emergence of an alliance between the Chinese Maoists and US imperialism, an alliance tested in blood in Angola and most strikingly reaffirmed by the 1978 China/Vietnam conflict and the China/US support to the mass-murder Pol Pot regime. Our program for the destruction of Stalinism by the revolutionary proletariat derives its force from our intransigent defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism worldwide, from Central America where we insist that "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" to Afghanistan, where we hailed the Red Army's intervention as leading to the liberation of the Afghan masses, particularly the women, from pre-feudal enslavement and backwardness.

Outside the deformed workers states as well, the nationalist perspective of the Stalinist parties stands flatly counterposed to the mobilization of the working masses against all imperialism. The growth of "Eurocommunist" currents signified further social-democratization of the Stalinist mass parties in hopes of participation in "People's Front" capital-

three million penguins. The decline of America as "world policeman" is aptly illustrated by Reagan's inability to force two of his important allies to put aside their differences in the interests of global anti-Soviet unity. The Argentine dictatorship undertook the adventure as a diversion from unrest at home, where massive, militant strikes rocked the regime only weeks before. Nor could Britain resist taking up this challenge to her imperial prestige. Those who object, like Tony Benn, show themselves to be more farsighted guardians of bourgeois British interests — for surely the British working class should have no objection if the imperialist butchers of Northern Ireland choose to engage with Argentina in a demonstration of the only real form of "disarmament" under capitalism, by destroying one another's navies.

Now Mitterrand's "Socialist" France has emerged as the major West European partner for Reagan's war drive. Only in France were there large-scale pro-Solidarnosc demonstrations uniting fascists with social-democrats in reaction to the Polish army crackdown against Solidarnosc's attempted coup. Meanwhile, Mitterrand would like to broker an Algerian-style "political solution" in Central America to keep the populist insurgencies within capitalist bounds. Calculating capitalist politicians like Mitterrand fear that Reagan's intransigence toward El Salvador will push Sandinista Nicaragua firmly onto the "Cuban road" — ie, the destruction of capitalism in sheer self-defense. It's no accident that Mitterrand is joined in his "peace" initiative by the president of Mexico, who fears the spread of revolutionary struggle to the powerful Mexican working class and hopes to extend Mexico's own sphere of influence in competition with the US.

And rallying behind "political solution" are American capitalist politicians who fear another *losing* military adventure like Vietnam. Only a decade ago many thousands of radical youth throughout West Europe and America solidarized with the Indochinese revolution and with

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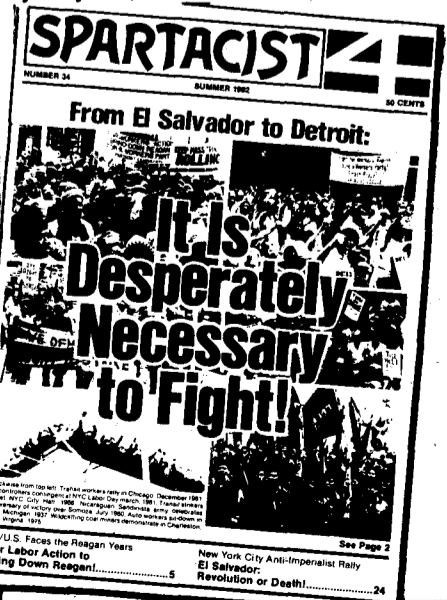
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★ From El Salvador to Detroit: It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!

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Falklands/Malvinas Diversion



Sink Thatcher! Sink the Junta!

Her Majesty's ship Antelope goes up in a ball of fire

MAY 24 — With the "peace" missions and diplomatic expeditions shot down, the nowhere war over some jagged windswept outcrops in the South Atlantic escalated to a new bloody level over the weekend. While Margaret Thatcher talked of high moral principle, "the rule of law" and "self-determination" for the Falkland islanders, British imperialism pursued its perceived military advantage with a moonlight landing on May 21 at the isolated settlement of Port San Carlos. The Argentine troops who six weeks ago seized the archipelago, proclaiming the liberation of the Malvinas from British colonial rule, are dug in at Port Stanley, some 50 miles away across the swampy peat bog by road, except there is no road. Argentine planes have damaged several British ships, sinking a second, though suffering considerable losses themselves. The British easily established their beachhead and have reportedly packed it with men and sophisticated weapons. To date this absurd war has claimed almost 400 Argentine lives, most of them in the sinking of the cruiser *General Belgrano* early this month. Reported British deaths are about 70.

Speaking for American imperialism, the *New York Times* takes the British military emplacement on the Falklands/Malvinas as an opportunity to promote "peace" now that the Union Jack is one of the two flags to fly over the islands. And the Argentines are acting as if they might welcome it. But while Galtieri grasped the pope's sermonic plea for a cease-fire, Britain's Tories want no peace, no truce, no cease-fire. Using the 1,800 Falklanders as an excuse, they have refused to accept anything short of British sovereignty. The junta wants to use its troops to pressure for negotiations; the British say they will drive them into the sea. And that, much to the discomfort of US Cold Warriors who want to get on with a serious anti-Soviet war drive, is clearly where Margaret Thatcher intends to make her stand.

But there's also the home front, which

is none too secure in either country. British leaders are promising to have it over in a matter of "days not weeks". The media of both countries are telling the folks back home that their side is winning. The Argentines are told to expect another Dunkirk for the British. The staid *Sunday Times* of London features a comic-book-style bang-pow front-page illustration/map of the recent landing with the headline: "Next Stop Port Stanley". On either side in this miserable little war the people will be shocked and angry at their own government if it should lose. The hope of revolutionaries is that both sides lose — and lose badly.

Whoever Wins, US Imperialism Loses

"Events around the Falkland Islands could scarcely be more distressing: British and Argentine seamen sinking in watery graves, ships and planes being destroyed that better could be deployed against the Soviet Union, a basis for lasting enmity being laid — all over a 150-year-old claim to some island sheep farms."

So a *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) editorial expressed US imperialism's dismay that its strategic plans have been upstaged by the theater of the absurd in the South Atlantic.

Margaret Thatcher's Britain has been Washington's most fervently loyal ally in NATO Europe; its hysterical anti-Sovietism abroad and union-busting austerity at home have made it a favorite ideological partner for the Reaganites. Galtieri's Argentina — land of *los desaparecidos* (the disappeared) — was slated by Washington to play a key role in suppressing the leftist insurgencies sweeping Central America. So when the Argentine junta seized the Falklands/Malvinas in early April, despite the US president's personal appeal not to, and the "Iron Lady" responded by sending an armada to get them back, Reagan could only declare lamely: "We're friends with both countries."

But this kind of quasi-neutrality couldn't last long. With Thatcher pushing British imperialist pretensions to the hilt, the Reagan administration was forced to choose between the anti-Communist junta to the south and the anti-Communist Tories across the Atlantic. And it had to choose its more important ally, Britain. Just before Her Majesty's fleet arrived in the islands, Haig announced Washington's support to Britain, and the US Senate voted 79 to 1 for a pro-British measure.

The lone dissenter was, predictably, right-wing fanatic Jesse Helms, who doubtless admires a country where leftists and other "enemies of Christian civilization" disappear in the middle of the night never to be heard from again. The senator from the Moral Majority is by no means an isolated figure in the Reagan camp. According to well-informed Republican columnist William Safire, a pro-Argentine tilt "is rampant, though unexpressed publicly, at the Defense Department" (*New York Times*, 10 May).

What distresses these Pentagon hawks is that by supporting Britain the US will alienate not only Argentina but other Latin American juntas near and dear to their hearts. On the sacred cause of the Malvinas, Washington is isolated in its own ministry of colonies, the Organization of American States (OAS), where every Latin American government except Chile and Colombia voted to assert Argentina's sovereignty over the South Atlantic battleground. Tiny Costa Rica is even talking about moving the OAS headquarters out of Washington.

The two British torpedoes which sank the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* (formerly the *USS Phoenix*, a survivor of Pearl Harbor) likewise torpedoed for now Reagan's efforts to forge a grand alliance against "red revolution" in Central America extending from the butchers of Buenos Aires to the Venezuelan social democrats. As one senior US official lamented, "Whoever wins the battle, the winner of the war will be

the Soviet Union" (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 May). That this bloody, irrational adventure in the South Atlantic upsets Washington's drive for World War III against the Soviet degenerated workers state is all to the good.

Perfidious Albion and its Bennite Defenders

For Margaret Thatcher no less than for General Galtieri, the South Atlantic adventure is but a maneuver in her fundamental war against the British working people. She hopes that the shadow of imperial glory will distract attention from the rotten state of Britain, which since she came to power has experienced an economic collapse, comparable to the Great Depression of the 1930s. With their typical insufferable hypocrisy, the British rulers are dressing up this colonialist diversion as a defense of "small peoples", international law and even civilization itself.

In World War II it was not Nazi Germany but "democratic" Britain which began the mass bombing of population centers. In the South Atlantic war too Britain started the mass slaughter. On May 2 the submarine *Conqueror* located the *General Belgrano* about 35 miles outside the 200-mile "war zone" declared by London. Disregarding this formality, the British launched two long-range torpedoes. Within hours the second largest ship in the Argentine navy went down. Over 300 sailors were killed. The British naval officers, who carefully cultivate a reputation for honor and "fair play", made no effort at all to rescue the survivors huddled together in lifeboats to avoid freezing to death, as many did. But when a few days later an Argentine fighter-bomber sank the destroyer *Sheffield* with only 20 casualties, British politicians and the press started wailing about the loss of "our boys" and the horrors of war.

While the right and center wings of

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Anti-Communist Hysterics

at Melbourne University

Hate Russia, Hate the Spartacists

Last April the Spartacist Club at Melbourne University was disaffiliated as part of a two-month long anti-red smear campaign. Now the Cold War witchhunting has escalated from the backrooms of the campus bureaucracy to a barrage of red-baiting, violence-baiting slander in the campus press (*Farrago*, 5 May). With 4 letters, an editorial "news" article and numerous cartoons depicting the Spartacists as "extremist thugs", the *Farrago* editors figure that if they can say anything about us — and get away with it — then anything can be done to us.

The front page list of contents beckons readers to turn inside for detailed coverage of how "Spartacists violently ejected right wingers from last week's 'Defend the Spartacist Club' meeting". And page two of this mouthpiece for anti-communist backlash features a fantasy comic strip. Here "Batman — Defender of Human Rights" (in drag) is shown slugging a "Spart Heavy": "And another for Lech and the boys", says Batman. That the witchhunters link "getting the Sparts" to the cause of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc is certainly fitting. But wanting and getting is not necessarily the same thing, as Ronald Reagan (and "Lech and the boys") found out in Poland last December.

What really set the witchhunters howling was a public Spartacist Club meeting held 27 April where, after undue patience, we ejected Liberal Club member and chief "investigator" Joe De Simone and his side-kick Bill Royce, (who came dressed like a cop-spy, in trenchcoat and dark glasses). A *Campus Spartacist* (28 April) graphically described how Liberal/NCC supporters at the meeting "laughed, clapped and cheered at the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants in El Salvador". As with our letter to *Farrago* (5 May), the leaflet details how De Simone and Royce "continually heckled, spoke out of turn and in general tried to wreck the meeting".

So when De Simone attempted to take over the chair (a fact reported even in the *Farrago* account) workers democracy was effected and he was removed. When Royce tried to follow De Simone's example, he went out the door too. Later that day De Simone challenged the Spartacist League to "debate openly the issues involved", a move that was hardly consistent with portraying "the Sparts" as an "outside" group of "violent thugs". The Spartacist Club took up the challenge, with only two conditions: a mutually acceptable chair and a democratic floor discussion. De Simone rejected this second condition; "democracy is a process of disclosure, not 'wanking'", he said. Besides, De Simone finally blurted out, "you Sparts are KGB agents, Joe Belbruno told me".

The "source" fits the slander, for Joe Belbruno — the Socialist Club member who first initiated the witchhunt in early March — is a self-admitted liar. After demanding that the Spartacist Club be driven off campus as a "violent" "outside" group of "infiltrators" who "disrupt meetings... which have anything to do with Russia", the dubious Belbruno later contacted us through an intermediary (Isi Unikowski) to explain that



Farrago: they say anything about us so that anything can be done to us.

his only concern was the "rapidly dwindling amount of money" which he feared the Spartacist Club would claim from Activities.

While De Simone was busy dodging a public debate with the Spartacist Club, he did manage to make a 28 April Activities Committee meeting with a "suggestion" to discuss the deregistration of the Spartacist Club for nipping his attempt to disrupt our meeting (and "stretching his jumper" in the process). Faced with opposition and the presence of Spartacist Club members, De Simone then demanded that the question not be discussed at all. Intimating that the Magistrate's Court may have something to say about any positions his colleagues might take, he declared, "I have other communist organisations to witchhunt" and promised to "bring hand grenades" to our next public meeting. Not to be outdone by this orgy of self-exposure, the Activities Committee, after endless gyrations, voted down a motion to stop harassment of the Spartacist Club.

The sequel to this sordid tale was an ill-attended meeting on "The Sparts" on 6 May, advertised that morning by a flyer produced by Royce and De Simone. Sponsored by "The Anti-Communist Witchhunt Pty/Ltd — a division of the Anti-Soviet War Drive Incorp. (Aust)", the flyer includes a disgusting cartoon of De Simone with an ice-pick in his head, reading: "Just because I've got an icepick in my head, doesn't mean I'm a Trotskyist." This,

then, is Guiseppe (G.A.) De Simone. Pure filth.

Farrago: House Organ of the Witchhunters

Through what they choose to print ... or suppress, the *Farrago* editors want to create the impression of a solid anti-Spartacist consensus, all the better to portray us as isolated "extremists", undeserving of existence let alone democratic rights. Thus 3 letters protesting the witchhunt and De Simone's provocation at the 27 April meeting, from History staff member David Packer, Cheryl Wragg (the daughter of a Latrobe Valley trade unionist) and an individual member of the Resistance Club, are simply not printed. A letter from academic staff members John Pottage and D Chakrabarty, protesting the "*Farrago* Editors' scandalous scrawling of 'CIA Propaganda' atop a letter" submitted earlier by David Packer against the witchhunt is red-baited with cartoons of a witch and a hammer and sickle and titled by the editors, "Quite a Short Spart Letter". Then, beneath a letter from the Spartacist Club an American flag is printed (so now we are supposed to be simultaneously agents of the CIA and the KGB!). And Swinburne lecturer Henry Zimmerman and former AUS president Chris Hobson, guest speakers at the 27 April Spartacist Club meeting, are slandered in a letter from

student Carlo Carli as Spartacist "dupes".

Apparently, our refusal to allow De Simone to run amok at our meeting was his first taste of workers democracy. "I was physically and violently evicted from the meeting", he writes, warning that "legal action is being considered" (a threat repeated in the *Farrago* account of the meeting). Feigning indignation, De Simone continues: "I feel unable to defend myself from these attacks.... My time must be spent in study. I hope I am not condemned in my absence for things they wrongly allege that I did." Sure enough, a chorus of red-baiters step forward in the letters column to applaud De Simone and vent their spleen against the Spartacists.

First there is Jim Jenkins, "Treasurer of the Russian Club". Jenkins likens himself to fellow club member Ian Burgess-Simpson, a South African "liberal" racist who sneered at black oppression in the US in his earlier contribution to the witchhunt (*Farrago*, 7 April). "We would bypass Democracy itself to destroy" the Spartacists, Jenkins boasts in his foot-in-cheek "polemic". Belinda McNeil, on the other hand, believes that "Democracy itself" will only be saved if the "Sparts" are destroyed.

McNeil writes that she believed the Spartacists to be a "fairly moderate group" but instead "found out at the [27 April] meeting" that they are "a collection of extremist thugs who have no understanding of democracy". While she would "never vote for the Liberals", McNeil is full of admiration for the "bravery of the De Simones and Royces of this world" who "refuse to be intimidated by people who do not believe in democracy". De Simone, in turn, admires the butchery of the Salvadoran junta. Is it any wonder then, that this "moderate" young lady "would be happy" to see "these Trotskyite shits" "kicked off campus"?

Then there is Carlo Carli, insisting that the disaffiliation of the Spartacist Club has "nothing to do with a supposed anti-leftist witchhunt", while, like sister McNeil, pointing his finger at "the Sparts" — "the real enemies of democracy". After all, Carli is himself a "leftist", even if, as he adds in an injured tone, "some claim[ed] I was not as left a student as I made out". Carli describes with relish how he had to "rush into a pack of Spartacists" at the 27 April meeting "to save liberal student Joe De Simone from further physical attack". Carli's real-life antics were somewhat less colourful, however. After Spartacist supporters put De Simone outside the meeting room, Carli scurried over to the still steaming De Simone to tell him to "cool it".

Most of Carli's time at the meeting was spent interrogating Spartacist supporters, repeatedly asking them to produce student identification, a classic red-baiter's theme played to the hilt in the *Farrago* account of the meeting:

"[De Simone and several other right wingers were] initially disruptive but they became rather more sedate after a number of very large Spartacists were placed around the room. Farrago asked one of these very large Spartacists whether he was a Melbourne University student and whether he could produce his Union Card and were told to 'fuck off'. During the meeting someone else asked one of them to produce his Union Card and was told to produce his CIA identity first."

Removing De Simone and Royce from the meeting was bad enough, but to bring "outside" trade unionists onto "their" campus — now this was insufferable! No doubt the prospect of just such an outrage must have been what ALPer and SRC President Bill Watson had in mind when he announced at a 24 March Activities meeting that Spartacists "do not have the right to destabilise the political comment on this campus... one of the fears that many members of this committee and other people have".

When it comes to safeguarding Melbourne University's ivory towers, the campus "left" can't be beat. Naturally, since these snotty elitists and assorted careerists are thoroughly integrated into

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Anti-Red Smears at Sydney Uni

A slightly abridged version of the following article was printed in the 7 June issue of the Sydney University campus newspaper, *Honi Soit*.

Following the 200-strong anti-fascist rally outside Fisher [Library] on 23 March three letters appeared in *Honi Soit*, all with the same theme: "get the Sparts". Obviously some people don't want to see the fascists driven off campus, particularly at the initiation of communists. In keeping with this spirit, the most recent of the letters (27 April), submitted by the International Socialists (IS) reads like an apology for having "participated" in the demonstration, initiated and built centrally by the Spartacists around a clear call to action: "No Platform for Fascists — Drive the PNP off Campus!"

"Because of the controversy it generated", writes ISer Steve Sherlock, "we feel we should set out the workings of an anti-fascist campaign". What we get instead is the "workings" of an anti-red smear campaign. Sherlock's real target becomes clear when he holds up with horror the "paramilitary exercises and attacks on the left in which the Spartacists indulged" giving "the whole campaign an air of gang warfare".

"Paramilitary exercises"? The fascists didn't show outside Fisher on 23 March and the demonstration occurred without incident. So what is Sherlock talking about? He says the PNP "could have been escorted off the campus by the assembled crowd". What he doesn't say is that one hour before the demonstration the IS joined with the CPA in voting down a Spartacist motion to do what the demonstration was called to do: deny the fascists a platform and drive them off campus.

By insinuating that we attacked the demonstration that we built — producing and distributing thousands of leaflets, successfully seeking modest trade union endorsement — the IS liars want to do more than obscure their own miserable role. The "gang warfare" slander, like the entire letter, serves to alibi the fascists while setting up their intended victims and militant opponents as "violent extremists".

What does the IS counterpose to the Spartacist perspective of militant student-labour-minority action to stop the fascists? "Education through action", writes Sherlock, like the IS campus forum on "Fascism and Nationalism" held two days after the 23 March demo. So what was the "action" about at the "public"

IS forum? (a) The IS tried to exclude Spartacists and their supporters; (b) One of our supporters removed an ISer who was blocking the door; (c) The IS went hysterical — "violence!", they screamed — claiming that Spartacist "thugs" are the "flip-side of the coin" of the fascist PNP (which according to Steve Sherlock, "hadn't even done anything yet").

The second example Sherlock outlines is "giv(ing) people an awareness of their collective strength" by appealing to the

Soviet Union) and "abusing other sections of the left" (ie politically nailing the reformist saboteurs). His "protest" is, however, a pale reflection of "George Revel's".

"Revel" "viewed from afar" the "various Trot factions (many of whom were not students) justifying their political existences" at the 23 March anti-fascist rally:

"Where were the representatives of the Asian students...? This is no criticism of

ASp photo



The demo the reformists hated: 200 rally to drive the PNP off campus, Sydney Uni, 23 March.

Administration's Union Board to suppress the PNP, the student-parochialist's version of calling on the racist bourgeois state to ban fascism, a recipe for repression against the left, labour and minorities, while the cops protect the fascists. Example no 2 is the corollary to targetting the "Spartas" as Enemy no 1. Hatred for anything "Russian" (ie for the dictatorship of the proletariat) and touching faith in the capitalist state (ie the dictatorship of capital) is what has always defined the IS's world view.

In concluding his letter, Sherlock explains that the 23 March anti-fascist rally convinced him and his co-thinkers that measures had to be taken at once to stop the Spartacists. Huffing and puffing, he announces that "we in the International Socialists together with Left Action and the Socialist Workers Party have resolved to exclude Spartacists from all meetings that we hold". Except that, in fact, Spartacists — indeed anyone "suspected" of being a Spartacist — have been excluded from IS and SWP "public" meetings for years. And Left Action (the political inheritors of the 1978 Broad Left scab protection society) has virtually since its inception had an anti-red clause to bar Spartacists from its "non-sectarian" meetings.

Here is what is meant by "honour among thieves". All three groups are anti-Soviet, anti-Spartacist and anti-action to stop the fascists. The 23 March demo is a case in point: The CPA refused to endorse and then tried to channel the demo into "strictly non-violent protest", the SWP ostentatiously hid behind their lit table at a safe distance from the crowd after withdrawing their endorsement the night before and the IS scrambled to maintain its bloc with these open saboteurs.

A look at some of the IS's other friends is no less illuminating. A couple of issues earlier (5 April 1982) *Honi* printed side-by-side two other red-baiting letters, one signed by "George Revel" without the customary department or club identification, the second by Peter Elliffe, an apparently unaffiliated "progressive". Elliffe says the "the Spartacists may have a point in insisting that the insanities of fascism will not go away merely by willing it", but his real concern is the "way they assumed leadership of left students while carrying banners reminiscent of Stalinism" (ie defending the

them. The fact is that once again a legitimate campus issue has been given the kiss-of-death by the Spartacist League. Frankly, who wants to be associated with them... The Sparts want dictatorship of the proletariat... support the repression of Polish workers... are virtually a mirror-image of societies fascists... no more than another 'faceless face in the street'... God help us if they ever gain a tiny portion of power!"

The parallels in Sherlock's snivelling piece and this stream of vitriolic red-baiting are striking enough, but "Revel" goes out of his way to recommend the IS as a favourable alternative to the Spartacist League. And why not? The IS is doing exactly what "Revel" appeals

for: anti-communist "unity" to exclude "the Sparts".

"While there is no reason why the local Christians couldn't work in with, say, the International Socialists, there is damned good reason why they couldn't work in with the Sparts. In fact, who can work with them? ... I only hope that democratic left clubs will get their acts together..."

"George Revel", a self-described "socialist for most of my life and an Australian of non-Anglo-Saxon, non Celtic origins" who "wants to fight racism and fascism", is careful to conceal his identity. Why? The PNP fascists have more than once postured as "leftists", using false names and fake mastheads in order to act as provocateurs in a manner suggested by the "Revel" letter. Following the 23 March demonstration "Smash Spartacism" signed by "National Action" (the PNP) was painted up around campus. Who the sinister "George Revel" is remains a mystery, perhaps, but what he wants is crystal clear.

The anti-Spartacist "People's Front" at Sydney University is trying to set the stage for an anti-communist witchhunt on campus. Meanwhile, our comrades at Melbourne University are denied affiliation as part on an orchestrated 2-month long campaign by that university's aspiring Menzies and McCarthys. Chief Prosecutor is Liberal Club member Guiseppe De Simone, notorious for his attempts to strangle the tame-cat AUS, which from his standpoint, in the orbit of the NCC, is a nest of "communist subversion". At his side stands rightwing ALPer Warwick Frost, one link in a chain of complicity extending through the various permutations of Laborism on the campus to the fanatically anti-communist Socialist Club and their IS hangers on. It was from the ranks of these "Dishonourable School Boys" that the dubious Belbruno, initiator of the witchhunt, emerged before De Simone popped up to take his place in what is, after all, a division of labour.

Belbruno's "case" against the Spartacist Club was a J Edgar Hoover-style collage of red-baiting lies and slander, portraying the SL as a "violent", "outside" group of "infiltrators" who "disrupt meetings... which have anything to do with Russia". Of course, the

continued on page nine



Fascist provocateur: On right in full Nazi regalia at Chile demo in mid-70s; (above) now PNP/National Action leader, here at UNSW on 18 May this year.

ASp photo

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French Trotskyists vs CP on Poland

Anti-Soviet Thugs Foiled at Tolbiac Campus

Since the Polish counter-coup against Solidarnosc's attempt to seize power, French campuses have seen numerous anti-Communist attacks reflecting the Cold War hysteria whipped up by the Mitterrand government. During the university elections at the Tolbiac campus of the Pantheon-Sorbonne University in Paris, ten members of UNEF-Renouveau, one of the student groups of the Communist Party (PCF), were forced to take refuge in a campus office by an attack of goons from the social-democratic Lambert group. A similar incident was reported by the UEC (Union of Communist Students) in Aix-en-Provence.

In January, the Ligue Trotskyste (LTF, section of the international Spartacist tendency) proposed to the Union of Communist Students at Tolbiac a public debate on Poland. When the UEC rejected the proposal, claiming the LTF "doesn't represent anything", the Trotskyists announced an "open-chair debate" to be held March 2. The meeting took place under a virtual state of siege as 30-40 goons of the "left" groups tried to storm the door of the lecture hall to bust up the meeting. Defenders of the meeting maintained a degree of order and a lively discussion on Poland took place. But after the meeting, the *vigiles* (campus cops) joined with goons drawn mainly from the *autonomes* (anarchists) in a vicious assault on some 20 comrades as they were leaving. The *vigiles* were seen kicking an LTF supporter in the head and two comrades had to be treated at a hospital after they had been tear-gassed by the ultra-dubious *autonomes*.

Perhaps the emboldened social-democrats expected the LTF to disappear leaving the campus to them. Instead, teams of LTF supporters distributed thousands of leaflets at Tolbiac and circulated a protest petition among students, faculty and campus unionists.

Warning that "when the campus cops impose political censorship on campus, watch out", the campaign successfully exposed and isolated a small hard core of enraged anti-communist provocateurs and reaffirmed the LTF's right to organize around its political views at Tolbiac.

"Will the UEC Dare to Take Its Seat?"

The mood of Cold War hysteria has the PCF on the run. The fundamental class collaborationism of the PCF, a mass workers party which is no less reformist than Mitterrand's Parti Socialiste (PS) but which continues to enjoy the support of the most advanced workers, disarms the PCF in the face of a "socialist" government headed by one of Europe's leading anti-Soviet Cold Warriors. The Polish events capped by the imposition of martial law in December fueled social-democratic moods of anti-Sovietism to white heat. With Mitterrand in office and the PCF in the "ghetto" of isolation, anti-Soviet crusaders including the social-democratic "left" and the extremely suspicious *autonomes* feel the wind in their sails.

The LTF, a small Trotskyist organization, has fought back. Exposing the Solidarnosc "free trade union" as a company union for the CIA and German/US bankers, the LTF forthrightly opposes the imperialists' plans for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe, expressed

through the clericalist/nationalist Solidarnosc. On the campuses the LTF fights to break students from support to the capitalist Mitterrand government and win pro-socialist youth to the internationalist perspective of Trotskyism. Over Poland the LTF has campaigned on the slogans: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution! Not the Pope's Poland but a Workers Poland! For Revolutionary Unity of Polish and Russian Workers Through Political Revolution!" The LTF's perspective is for



The Polish proletariat needs a Trotskyist vanguard party imbued with the internationalist spirit of Polish socialist martyr Rosa Luxemburg.

a working-class vanguard party in Poland based on the Polish proletariat's recovery of its proud socialist traditions, systematically destroyed by Stalinism.

It was as part of this political campaign that the LTF challenged the Tolbiac UEC to a public debate over Poland. The debate challenge dated 15 January sparked considerable interest among the young Stalinists on campus and one UEC honcho complained that the LTF had done such a good job getting the challenge into the hands of rank-and-file UEC members that the UEC would have to make a formal public response, for a change. To nobody's surprise, the response was: no.

Of course, the Stalinists are in no hurry to debate the crucial questions posed by the Polish crisis. More than three decades of Stalinist rule imposed from the top down on a country which never underwent an indigenous proletarian revolution have alienated every section of society from Polish "socialism". The economic mismanagement and corruption, the mortgaging of the planned economy to Western bankers, the inequities of bureaucratic privilege, the capitulations to the Catholic Church and the smallholding peasantry, the fostering of reactionary nationalism including feeding virulent anti-Semitism — these are among the crimes of Stalinism which have pushed an evident majority of the Polish working class into the arms of pro-imperialist Solidarnosc. The UEC has no answers for how this situation could have come about and no program for what to do about it.

But it is not just Poland that the UEC is afraid to confront. For half a century

the French Stalinists have sacrificed any vestige of class principle to the aim of "unity" with the so-called "progressive bourgeoisie". Seeing themselves as a "militant" pressure group on Mitterrand, for whom they of course hustled votes in the presidential elections, they are in no position to mount an opposition to his Cold War offensive. Under their disgraceful slogan of "socialism in French colors", they can hardly masquerade as internationalist defenders of the Soviet bloc against French imperialism. They can mutter against Mitterrand but they cannot mobilize against him.

At bottom, the PCF "perspective" is one of passivity and defeatism. Despairing of the possibility of breaking French workers from their "own" imperialism, they dare not campaign for the defense of the gains of October but must simply retreat before the Cold War tide. At Tolbiac, they retreated from the campus in the face of Lambertist-led provocation, with an apparent "perspective" of hiding out in the cafes until "detente" comes back into fashion. Seems to us they might have to wait a long time.

The LTF reissued the debate challenge to the UEC as a leaflet and on 23 February announced an "open chair debate" in a leaflet titled, "Will the UEC Dare to Take Its Seat?" which linked the PCF's domestic class collaboration with its bankruptcy over Poland:

"The PCF is sick over Poland. Its militants are debating between the grotesque 'solution' of reforming the PUWP [Polish Stalinist party], the 'solution' of extending the Berlin Wall from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and the 'solution' of embracing social democracy. How can you reconcile 'defense of socialism' in Poland with four [PCF] ministers endorsing the anti-Soviet, anti-communist politics of Reagan's lieutenant in Europe, Mitterrand; with supporting the war machine draped in the national 'colors of France'; with co-administering the anti-working-class austerity program?"

The leaflet reaffirmed the offer to share the platform with the UEC:

"Trotskyists struggle for clarity and political debate.... We will hold our

public meeting and will leave an open chair at the podium so that the UEC and its members may come forward to defend their position. The opportunity for political debate is offered to them; will they take it?"

The March 2 meeting was held without the benefit of a UEC spokesman at the podium, but some individual UEC supporters attended along with a couple dozen other students.

LTF Campaign Against Anti-Communist Violence

A barrage of anonymous phone calls and threats had not deterred the LTF from attempting to hold its meeting on March 2. The savage gangster attack on LTF supporters as they left the meeting was intended to effectively intimidate the Trotskyists where threats had failed and drive them off the campus. Though the sinister *autonomes* and the campus cops were the spearhead of the violence, the way had been prepared for them by the social democrats — who are simultaneously a reformist working-class current and a reservoir of irregular troops to defend a capitalist government in power — through their anti-Soviet hysteria over Poland. The LTF responded with an aggressive campaign to mobilize student support for our democratic rights. A leaflet dated 5 March described the attack in detail and laid the responsibility at the door of the PS and its "left" camp-followers, the Lambert group and the LCR of Ernest Mandel:

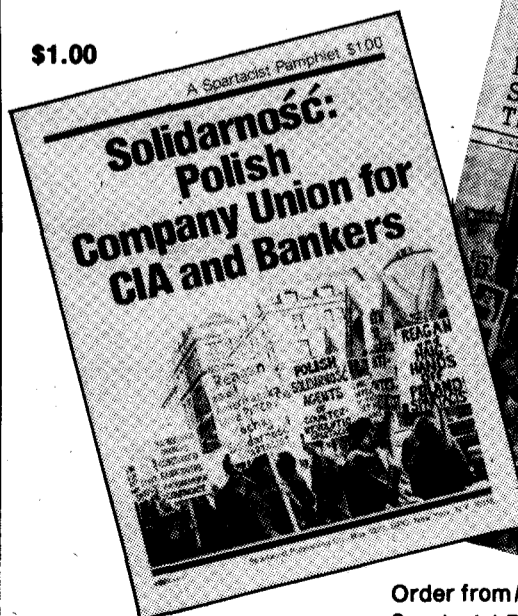
"You are politically responsible for this violence. You slander the revolutionists to cover your support to Mitterrand's Cold War. Your miserable *union sacree* goes from the 'far-left' to the far-right! Now it's clearer than ever: behind your talk about 'democracy' in Poland stands white terror!"

The energetic work of the LTF established the facts of the incident and rallied student opposition to anti-communist violence. Although the *vigiles* had started self-serving slander stories about the incident, claiming for example that the LTF had attacked an

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LCR member forcing the cops to intervene, these lies got no currency on campus and were soon dropped.

Within days after the attack, the LTF was circulating a petition against the anti-communist violence. LTF supporters were able to make presentations on the petition to eight classes on the campus, gathering dozens of signatures from these students. More than a dozen professors also signed the petition and several campus union officials asked for an accounting from their Lambertist-dominated organization.

Although the LTF is too small to cover the Tolbiac students on a one-to-one basis, the petition campaign enabled the Trotskyists to discuss the incident with many hundreds of students. This proved an extremely valuable barometer of student opinion. As befits the petty-bourgeoisie, the sector of society which is generally quickest to pick up and articulate the prevalent bourgeois moods, most students seem quite strongly anti-Communist and few are sympathetic to our view of Lech Walesa's Solidarnosc. But perhaps half the students we spoke with were willing to sign our petition. Thus the mood at Tolbiac is still a far cry from the situation which prevailed on American campuses in the 1950s, when politics was a dirty word and the mass of students were unwilling, often aggressively unwilling, to defend the rights of free speech and assembly for avowed communists. Tolbiac students who sharply disagreed with our views on Solidarnosc were not averse to signing the petition and many seemed pleased with the chance to discuss Poland with the LTF petitioners.

The goons who expected Tolbiac students to rally round them when they targeted the LTF for physical attack found themselves isolated instead. The provocation which they had thought would win them support in their hoped-for role as the students' thought-police had to be condemned even by their co-thinkers.

Indicative was a phone call made to the Tolbiac organizer of the PS youth group. "After the incidents", he told us, "we asked everyone to calm down a little", thereby implicitly disavowing his own supporters. "I hope that this campus does not become the battleground between people who may not agree but can respect each other's rights", he added.

Indeed, the PS is shrewd enough not to take responsibility for the indefensible, preferring to claim for example that individuals involved in the attack were really Lambertists wearing PS buttons. But the treacherous LCR was too stupid to take refuge in hypocrisy. They embraced the role of lawyers for anti-communism, painting the gangster campaign against the LTF as a spontaneous reaction of outraged "masses". After giving us the runaround for a couple of days, an LCR spokesman was finally pinned down for comment on March 4. "In light of the positions that you have on Poland", he told us over the telephone, "we think that it is quite possible that in some places you could be thrown off the campuses or the high schools, etc... the masses could throw you off the universities". As a public service in the interests of the workers movement, the LTF published the complete transcript of the phone call as a leaflet on the campus.

The UEC of course instructed its Tolbiac members not to sign our petition. The official line as stated by the UEC leader at Tolbiac was that the LTF meeting should have been banned in the first place: "The administration is not fulfilling its responsibilities. You're just anti-communists, provocateurs; you're cops!" But at least a dozen UEC supporters, far-sighted enough to recognize the attack on the LTF as a trial balloon of anti-Soviet repression, signed the petition anyway. And many more are grudgingly admiring of the Trotskyists for having stood our ground against numerically stronger forces. The UEC leadership has proclaimed discussion of the LTF a taboo subject, but the questions raised by the LTF around Poland

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British CP Member Speaks Out on Poland and Hungary

Reprinted below is a contribution by a 40-year long British CP member to a recent Spartacist League/Britain national educational weekend.

"Well, I thought I should make an intervention into this discussion because I am a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain — have been a member for forty years....

We read them [the Khrushchev revelations] in various newspapers and we heard little bits. And most of us were in a state of shock. In fact many of us couldn't believe it because like the previous speaker said about Harry Pollitt's adulation of Stalin, myself and many of us had the same adulation — we were dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists. And we couldn't believe the Khrushchev revelations, and in fact many of us said that Khrushchev was a revisionist and in fact some went as far as to say he was probably counterrevolutionary. This is how we felt....

The discussions [in the party branch] were mainly around the distortions that took place in Hungary. It was critical discussion but not critical in a deep political sense. It was critical in that they felt that there were mistakes made; there were deviations from the normal democratic processes, but that these were understandable under the circumstances. And although we didn't condone the mistakes mainly it was due to the cult of the personality and also the evil man Beria. This is the sort of general discussion and we felt that in the situation that developed in Hungary, many of the old fascists of the Horthy regime were out in the streets stirring up counterrevolution; there were many emigres, armed, coming from Austria. Also we felt that the imperialist powers were using these emigres, they were financing them; and the revanchists from West Germany and that were taking part in all this, sort of stirring it up, at the time. We felt that the CIA had a role in this, and also understood that the situation was getting so terribly out of hand that not only the secret police but very good Communist Party members were being strung up to lampposts.

And we read that even Tito was critical of the situation at the time and said that anybody that wore brown boots, because apparently the secret police used to wear brown boots, anybody that wore brown boots was strung up to the lampposts. We were told that Nagy was bringing into his government many reactionary elements and not only these reactionary elements he was bringing in but that he also was doing a deal with Cardinal Mindszenty to get Cardinal Mindszenty into the government. We felt a counterrevolutionary situation had developed and, therefore, there was every justification for the Soviet Union to march in.

Now in recent months, myself and other comrades have been looking at the situation in Eastern Europe and reading and studying a lot more than we have done in the past, especially over the current Polish situation because it's not just happened in 1956. It's happened four times in Poland there's been an uprising so there must be something more than just mistakes taking place. And obviously, we haven't had any real — at least in my experience — we've never had any real deep analysis of the East European states or indeed of the Soviet Union. Every distortion that took place is put down to mistakes due to the civil war, the wars of intervention, the second World War, the Western powers and the CIA....

Of course there was obviously some opposition, I mean everybody didn't swallow everything in the Party; there was opposition to the party line. We read about this in some of the party journals; we never got everything



Hungarian Revolution, 1956: Stalin's statue dragged through the streets of Budapest.

because we do know from hindsight that a lot of the correspondence, a lot of the letters were suppressed at the time. But there was opposition, but we felt mainly, I say we — I can only speak for myself — felt mainly that these people were only woolly intellectuals, you know, and so what, we lose some of them from the party. You know, well, just too bad — we let them go....

In 1978, my wife and I spent two weeks in Poland on holiday.... We were only there for two weeks and we were on holiday. We weren't there doing an analysis of the situation or even going to party discussions; we were just wandering around, sight-seeing. But what we saw there, you know, the markets, the street markets, the fiddling that went on outside the markets, the currency deals — every other person accosting you for money, for foreign currency, beggars in the street, the uneconomic strips of land we saw with people with just two cows and two sheep on a bit of land and, you know, hand ploughs and we could see that there was nothing like socialism in Poland and we were only there, as I say, for a fortnight on holiday.

And this started me to think, and in the last few months I've read quite a number of Spartacist publications on the situation in Poland and I think I've understood more now about the East European states, of what's happening and a deeper political understanding of what's happening than I've ever had in the past. It's far more than just a few mistakes, there's obviously something politically wrong; there's a wrong political sort of system that's operating there. And obviously — it's understandable when the people revolt and try to change the system.

Now obviously we know that the situation in Poland is different from the situation in Hungary, in the sense that Solidarnosc is obviously based on the Catholic Church and on a lot of the emigres and dissident organisations within Poland. And, therefore, it's not, in my opinion, a popular uprising in the same way, when I read in hindsight of what the Hungarian situation was. It's definitely counterrevolutionary....

I feel that probably if the Polish situation had simmered down, hadn't developed as it was, perhaps some of

us would still be thinking in the same old way. But it has sort of spot lighted the problems within those countries, because this is the fourth time that this has happened in Poland. The fact that they had to clamp down and declare martial law in what has always been called a socialist state really makes you wonder what's going on.

In hindsight, reading your publications, reading other publications, reading Peter Fryer's book — Peter Fryer was at that time a respectable member of the Communist Party. Remembering also at the time Derek Kartun wrote a book, *Tito's Plot Against Europe*, which analysed the fact that Tito was spreading out and forming cells within all Communist countries to create counterrevolution. And Derek Kartun afterwards left the party because he found out afterwards that what he'd written was incorrect. Derek Kartun did it on the initiative of the party. He was asked to write the book. He was a journalist. He'd visited these countries and saw these trials take place. He believed what he was told by these people. And he came back and the party also asked him to write this book and when he learned the truth, the Twentieth Congress and things like that, he realised what was wrong. And obviously the man, I don't know where he is now, but at that time he was honest enough to say he was wrong and he left the party. But that was the situation we were in, very difficult....

We believed in the party, we believed in Stalin. But now obviously, we believe we've got to question things. But we don't think we should go the whole hog as some that have said the party has done. The party now is beginning to question the Soviet Union. But it's questioning it on everything and everything the Soviet Union does is criticised. Not that you shouldn't criticise, but it condemns. It condemns the intervention in Afghanistan. It condemns the martial law in Poland. It supports Solidarnosc. Everything is going almost in the opposite direction — from an adulation of Stalin to sort of, in a way, an anti-Soviet position. It worries me, you know...."

— Reprinted from *Spartacist Britain* no 42, May 1982

SPARTACIST LEAGUE PUBLIC FORUMS

Fighting Cold War II

— SYDNEY, 25 June

AMW&SU Bldg
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7.30pm

— MELBOURNE, 24 June

YWCA
Rm 7 and 8 3rd floor
489 Elizabeth St City

7.30pm

BLF...

continued from page twelve

lements their desire to police economic austerity for the ALP against the working masses in the service of anti-Soviet Cold War.

This is the first time the ruling class has attempted to use the hated penal powers in Victoria since a 1969 near-general strike freed Tramways Union official Clarrie O'Shea, jailed for refusing to pay similar court fines. The 19 May *Australian Financial Review* editorial recalled those events, seeing the prospect of a Gallagher jailing as a hoped-for turnaround:

"A public spirited individual paid the fine and Mr O'Shea was released from jail. Thus was averted a major trial of strength between the union movement and the Government and the courts. It was, however, really a victory for the unions. For the affair really represented the end of enforceable, compulsory arbitration in Australia... Since then compulsory arbitration in Australia has been a sham."

A similar explosive upsurge was what the ACTU tops feared when they urged Gallagher to appeal. They didn't want "martyrs". There were a lot of nerves in ruling-class circles, and for good reason, as thousands of angry BLs walked off in all states when the news hit, over 500 converging on the Master Builders offices in Melbourne the same day. Any militant leadership worth its salt would have called for shutting down the entire building industry and fought to extend solidarity strikes into the rest of the labour movement. That task still remains and building workers of all unions must drive back any moves against Gallagher and the BLF through immediate joint strike action.

But instead of fighting, the BLF Federal Management Committee met and stalled for three days only to capitulate to the ACTU's "cool it" advice and appeal. Since then they have called off all action "while the matter is before the court". Now the soft underbelly of the Maoist bureaucrats is really showing. They have set up a "public appeal" fund suggesting they may even pay the fines and Federal President Vince Dobinson was quoted in the *Age* (22 May) as saying "What we are looking to the MBA [Master Builders] to do is make every endeavour to ensure that Mr Gallagher doesn't go to jail!"

On 1 June an article in the Melbourne *Age* announced that \$100,000 in court costs had been ordered against the BLF for two earlier and unsuccessful "contempt of court" actions. These were brought by the union against the *Age* and *Herald-Sun* for editorials written against the BLF's court challenge of the deregistration proceedings. BLF members whose hard-earned dues go into lining the wallets of the media barons' army of Queen's Counsels and their legal lackeys will not appreciate this ill-needed lesson in ruling-class "jus-

tice". This is not a question of illusions in what BLF rhetoric correctly labels the "bosses courts", but political cowardice in the face of the class enemy, the class-collaborationist flip side of Gallagher's "militant" business unionism.

As is obvious to any class-conscious worker the target of the ruling class' Royal Commissions has nothing to do with "corruption" and everything to do with shackling the workers organisations to their repressive state apparatus. The courts are at the centre of this strategy. The Royal Commission on "crime" in the Painters and Dockers is proceeding apace; and the AMWSU bureaucrats have already kowtowed to the capitalist courts' so-called "right" to run the union's elections. As Trotsky said in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay", written in the 1930s, the ruling class seeks a road out of economic crisis and decay by welding the unions into the state apparatus in order to better police the working class, a process carried to its ultimate conclusion by



Birds of a feather: Aspiring Royal Commission Informer Jack Munday at his book-launching with Mr Justice "Diamond" Jim McClelland, lawyer for Grouper's 50s witchhunts.

fascism. Open capitalist class intervention into the labour movement through the courts sharply poses working-class independence, the axis of any class-struggle strategy that all wings of the labour tops tread into the mud at every step.

What the ruling class hates in the BLF is not Gallagher's beach house at Yarram or the piddling amounts of payola involved in the allegations but the union's record of using its industrial muscle to rip higher wages and better conditions out of the super-profits of the genuinely corrupt "property developers" in this notoriously dangerous and insecure industry. The BLF is a thorn in their side. What's more its "go it alone" tactics and gangster-style demarcation raiding of other unions has isolated it among the mainstream labour bureaucracy. If the government/courts/bosses think they can take the BLF out, it's mainly thanks to the treacherous complicity of Gallagher's bureaucratic rivals.

The line from the Ironworkers Federal Secretary, rabid anti-communist Laurie Short, is "jail him". Short's FIA has lost

out badly in demarcation clashes with the BLF. Scarcely different is the presently pro-Moscow aligned bureaucracy of the Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU), bitter foes of the Maoist BLF for decades. Initially whining that they "had not been consulted" (about what?), Federal Secretary Pat Clancy declared that the BWIU "don't feel ourselves obliged to support the union on this particular issue" (*Age*, 19 May). Two weeks later, in accord with their social-democratic "allies" in the rest of the union bureaucracy, the Stalinists' position had hardened considerably.

A brief article in the 2 June *Socialist* (paper of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia) disgustingly headed "Union principles — yes. Defend Gallagher — no" lyingly claims that "defence of the trade union movement... is not the issue" and baits the BLF as "enemies who hide behind trade union labels". These craven labour traitors are running point for the Fraser government. What these reformist bureaucrats are angling for, along with the bureaucrats in the FIA

and the Australian Workers Union (AWU), is to move in and clean up on a deregistered and beheaded BLF, a task they will be happy to have enforced by the courts — and its cops.

This has always been the strategy of the contemptible Jack Munday and his dwindling Communist Party "rank and file" group (a more accurate name would be "Courts Into The Unions Incorporated"). Following their bureaucratic expulsion from the leadership of the NSW BLF by Gallagher's federal intervention in 1976 the Munday/Owens gang have never been out of court actions against the union. Pressure from the ruling-class courts — not the mobilisation of the union ranks — eventually forced Gallagher to back off and readmit them. Now Munday is playing the same card hoping for a free ride back into leadership of the union. At the Sydney May Day march his "rank and file" group gave out a sheet demanding that Gallagher answer the "serious allegations" made in the Fraser-Viner Royal Commission while saying not one word in defence of the union.

In an interview in *Penthouse* magazine (May 1982), when asked "would you accept the authority of the court to question you about corruption" Munday replied, "Of course", later pondering that Gallagher "seem[s] to be getting away with it at this present stage". The Liberal government probably missed a bet in not asking this would-be informer to testify in their union-busting operation. Once a militant reformist unionist who led important struggles for wages and conditions in the NSW building industry in the late 60s/early 70s, Munday personifies in his degeneration into patronising "ecologist"/fink the nauseating petty-bourgeois course of those who embraced the CPA's "values revolution" in their social-democratic break from Stalinism.

As for the Maoist bureaucrats who run the BLF they are proving that under the gun their narrow trade-union reformism has the same cowardly face as the social democrats they so despise. It is ironic that the Maoists' rabid anti-Sovietism, their applause for Fraser's anti-Soviet, anti-communist tirades, their ideological backflip in fighting for the honour of building the US Omega base in Gippsland, didn't stop Fraser from targeting the BLF.

Workers should remember that the Maoists are those who pimped for a stronger ASIO against the "Russian threat" and applauded the deportation of Italian CP and FILEF organiser Ignazio Salemi in 1976 because of his pro-Soviet leanings. These same people thought nothing of collaborating with the Master Builders and the courts in crushing the CPA-led NSW branch in 1976. Nor in enforcing a no-strike contract in return. They are rotten to the core.

We are now seeing just the beginnings of a serious escalation of class war against the unions. The background is imperialist preparations for anti-Soviet war. In the present period the bourgeoisie hopes to police the unions through the arm of the courts and utilise the union bureaucracy to enforce capitalist austerity in exchange for "social reforms" that the crisis-ridden capitalist economy cannot and will not provide. That is the paper-thin illusion the Laborites hope to ride to power on — a fast-downsliding Wran's NSW on a national scale.

But the ruling class' plans and the economic necessities that drive them have yet to be implemented — the battles are yet to be fought. From the "militant" business unionism of the BLF tops to the "givebacks" of the Laborites "social contract" trade-union reformism is bankrupt. What is needed is the building of a new leadership in the unions and the labour movement that bases itself on a fighting class-struggle program linked to a Marxist, Trotskyist vanguard that can unite all the oppressed behind the proletariat and direct its struggle beyond piecemeal reforms to proletarian state power and the expropriation of the capitalist class. Smash the court attacks! Defend the BLF! ■

Tolbiac...

continued from page seven

and political defense work will not go away.

Cop-baiting is a PCF reflex, to put it mildly. But it's also a confession of Stalinist political bankruptcy.

UEC militants must break from the reformist defeatism of their leaders. They must recognize that the courage displayed by the LTF supporters in refusing to yield to intimidation and thug violence was political courage, confidence in the Trotskyist program and the ability of that program to actively combat the anti-Soviet "consensus" by mobilizing the working class and its supporters in defense of the gains of October. They must broaden their outlook to an understanding of Stalinism as the "great organizer of defeats", from Hungary in 1956 (when the Russian army intervened



to smash a pro-socialist workers revolution) and France in 1968 (when the PCF criminally sold out a pre-revolutionary situation, ordering ten million strikers back to work) to today, when it undermines the foundations of socialist prop-

erty in Poland and ties the French workers to the class enemy through popular frontism.

The LTF, because of its intransigent defense of socialist property in Poland and throughout the Sino-Soviet states,

remains a visible target for Cold War crusaders and thugs at Tolbiac and elsewhere. But the LTF's determined defense of its democratic rights at Tolbiac must be accounted a rousing success. In the immediate aftermath of the campaign, the LTF held a public forum on El Salvador on the campus on March 25 without untoward incident.

The LTF campaign is a victory for the democratic rights of Tolbiac students against attempted political censorship by the administration and an isolated gang of frenzied anti-Soviet goons. As we said during the campaign:

"We Trotskyists have the right to organize and express our ideas. Marxists who believe that the USSR is on the right side in Afghanistan, who opposed Solidarnosc' counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, who are for the military victory of the leftist rebels in El Salvador, have the right to say so without being the target for an anti-communist witchhunt. And we will fight to defend that right!"

— adapted from *Le Bolchevik* no 32, April 1982

Australasian Spartacist

CPA's Freney: Fingerman for the Fascists

The following letter was sent to Tribune, newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia. Its author was a member of the CPA in the early 70s.

8 June 1982

Tribune

The Editor,

As an act of elementary political sanitation I would like to draw the following facts to the attention of the working-class public. The article on the fascist "National Action" group published in Tribune (2 June) states that these "neo-fascists" can be expected to use the thug tactics traditional with the extreme right. I assume the author of this piece is Denis Freney. Less than a week earlier this man fingered me to a group of these same fascists.

Late on the evening of Wednesday 26 May I encountered Freney engrossed in conversation with the group of five fascists mentioned in the article at the

bus stop near the corner of George and Goulburn streets. I quickly came to realise that these men were members of the Progressive Nationalist Party/National Action. I immediately moved off toward the next stop, disgusted that he was engaging in light banter with these fascist scum. As I turned to leave Freney pointed me out to the fascists and urged them to pursue me. "Why don't you go argue with him. He's with the Spartacists. He likes Russia." He later attempted to justify this by dismissing "National Action" (which incidentally includes ex-Nazis such as Jim Saleam) as "harmless intellectuals". Let Freney explain that to Jewish and European migrants in this country, in or out of the "left".

Freney and the Communist Party are aware that it was the Spartacist Club at Sydney University which took the lead in mobilising for a united-front demonstration (March 23) demanding no

platform for fascists and for driving them off campus. I am proud to have participated in building this action to these ends. You might recall that the CPA recoiled into a position of impotent "non-confrontationist protest" in the face of the fascist encroachment and the widespread and favorable response to the Spartacist Club's call to action.

The post-Poland scramble by "democratic socialists" into the arms of bourgeois "respectability" (ie, anti-communist reaction) is reflected in their increased "Russian agent" baiting and "violent extremists" slanders directed at the communist SL. Freney's contribution has been to collaborate with known fascists to set up his leftist opponents for their "attention". Denis Freney is a leading member of the CPA — can you live with the stench?

J McCarthy

cc: Spartacist League

Sydney Uni...

continued from page five

lies are not so much intended to be believed, but to be accepted as the pretext for a witchhunt. Here enters the IS and SWP. When IS leader David Lockwood was approached with a protest petition he flatly repeated Belbruno's "Russki"-agent-baiting ("you people are Russian imperialist"). The SWP also refused to sign, branding the Spartacists as "violent disrupters", slanders that the SWP has been busily circulating at least since they drew a blood line against the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the El Salvador protests last June.

De Simone (an outspoken admirer of the Salvadoran junta butchers) is quite open about his intention of purging the campuses of all left-wing activity. He has been able to conduct his dirty work thanks to the junior partnership of the anti-Spartacist left. But if the left makes De Simone go, what makes the left go? Answer: Anti-Soviet Cold War. Except for the troubled Socialist Party of Australia — whose Sydney Uni YSL supporters have found "peaceful co-existence" with the hate-Russia IS in a projected "disarmament campaign" — virtually the entire left is part of the anti-Soviet consensus — together with the CIA, Ronald Reagan, Malcolm Fraser and his ALP lieutenants.

The "third camp" IS say there is no difference between the "super powers" and are neutral in the Cold War. The SWP denies that there is a Cold War. And when the going gets tough they both come down hard on the side of "democratic" imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Hoping for a little bit of friendly attention from the party of Lionel Bowen and Clyde Holding, the SWP and IS seized upon the suppression of Solidarnosc in starry-eyed anticipation of a new "mass movement" against Russian occupation of "freedom-loving" Poland. But the Polish army, not the Russians, checked Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary power bid and the bulk of organised labour here refused to turn out for Walesa. The "niche" left for the IS and SWP was alongside the fascistic "Captive Nations" with whom they demonstrated outside the Polish Consulate last 14 December.

Our defence of the gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, in particular over Afghanistan and Poland, has put us in the sights of those who see the drive to anti-Soviet war as a signal to go after the reds at home. For elements of the far right and the social-democratic left, at Sydney and Melbourne Universities, the cutting edge of Cold War reaction is anti-Spartacism. The violence-baiting of the Spartacists — using the code words for bourgeois repression — is designed to prepare violence against the Spartacists. This is what the exclusionism and slander is all about.

Nor is it surprising that the anti-red smears at Sydney Uni have multiplied rapidly in response to the 23 March action, for the struggle against fascism goes to the roots of social reaction. Feeding on petty-bourgeois humiliation at Australia's position as a third-rate power, the PNP seek consolation in fairy tales of massively armed Australia defending white supremacy in the Asian region. Today, the call of their "Australian Students Association" front group to expel Asian students from the Universities is nothing short of incitement to racist terror. Though the PNP occupies only a small spot on the outer fringes of Australian chauvinism, they too have been emboldened by the drive to anti-Soviet war and the strident anti-communism of the reformist left. The counter-position couldn't be clearer: we want to drive the fascists off campus; the reformists and their sinister friends want to drive us off the campus.

Sydney Uni's little Cold Warriors would indeed like to believe that the Spartacists are "no more than another 'faceless face in the street'". They are mistaken. Spartacist supporters have been active at Sydney University for 6 years. The SL/ANZ is now in its 10th year. The SL/US, the oldest section of the international Spartacist tendency, has fought for our communist program for nearly two decades. We take seriously our political responsibility to continue our work and will defend our party, the political nucleus of the vanguard party of the Australian working class. The future belongs to us: Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!■

Melbourne Uni...

Continued from page four

the campus bureaucracy through a Kafkaesque maze of overlapping committees, councils, assemblies and boards extending to the top of this lofty institution. Thus when Socialist Clubber Brunetti appeared at the Activities meeting which voted to disaffiliate the Spartacist Club to demur that his club "does not oppose the Spartacist Club being affiliated", he was quick to add, with the mentality of a petty bureaucrat, "if they don't have enough students they should be kicked out".

Brunetti later confided to a Spartacist supporter that the Socialist Club had disciplined its members to leave if the meeting went "in camera" because they didn't want to be around if the cops were called to "get the Sparts"! Belbruno, we note, didn't share these scruples, but then his orders evidently don't come from the Socialist Club.

De Simone is indeed the archetypical young reactionary, whizzing around to campuses across the country to direct operations against his ALP and Communist Party competitors in the student bureaucracy, striking fear into the hearts of his weak-kneed opponents with

inevitable threats of "legal action" etc. Always in tune with the latest anti-communist fads, De Simone and his NCC "Moderate" cothinkers were the first on the campus scene to sport Solidarnosc T-shirts, which of course quickly became fashionable in the social-democratic left. Now, in the shadow of renewed anti-Soviet Cold War, this noxious red-baiter feels the wind in his sails.

When it comes to witchhunting the reds De Simone's most enthusiastic partners have been his occasional adversaries in the ALP and Socialist Clubs, an unsavoury bunch of petty-bourgeois elitists who share with him the same values and fealty to capitalist-imperialism. Last year when National Country Party minister Ian Sinclair spoke at Melbourne University, fresh from administering Fraser's anti-working class "Razor Gang" cuts, Socialist Club members joined Liberal students, in drowning out the Spartacists with chants of "KGB" (and, of course, CIA). They complained that we broke the "unity" against Sinclair. But their is the unity of anti-communism.

No wonder these campus-bound "socialists" go into a frenzy every time we raise our slogans, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution!" though they are hardly alone in their anti-Sovietism. Hoping to prove their "democratic" credentials to the bourgeoisie and its labour lieutenants, the "third camp" International Socialists and anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are conducting a parallel campaign of slander against the "Russki-loving Sparts". Charges of Spartacist "disruption", long used as a codeword for anti-communist exclusionism, have now been embellished with "violent" and "Russian imperialist" — codewords for bourgeois state repression.

The anti-Spartacist Big Lie is not simply a war of words. Last year Melbourne University's own Dr Strangelove, the irredentist Pole Szrednicki, tried to give us "another for Lech and the boys" by threatening to smash a shifting spanner into the head of a young woman selling Spartacist. Thanks to the timely intervention of another Spartacist salesman, the Polish professor was disarmed. When Socialist Club members and the SWP were alerted to the incident they did not shirk from defending the indefensible: you deserved it, was the response.

The Melbourne University witchhunt is a trial balloon for anti-Soviet repression. First we are dubbed "violent extremists". Then the witchhunters try to create a pretext to take "legal action" against us. While speculation is rife over whether the cops will be called to "get the Sparts", Union Board careerist Robert Chappell is busy maneuvering to set up a pass card system for admittance to the Union building to snare unwelcome "outsiders". We recall too, the campus security cops who turned up at an SWP/CISCAC meeting

on campus early April to harrass a Spartacist Club member. We wonder who called them.

Anything goes to "get the Sparts". Well, we don't intend to be set up by the little provocateurs of this "rich kids" university. We have fought and will fight to remain at Melbourne University to recruit those youth who, spurning the bourgeois careerism and haughty snobbishness that pollutes this venerable institution, want to fight on our side of the class line for a socialist future.■

Reagan/NATO...

Continued from page two

service to imperialism within the workers movement, calls the tune for Stalinism and for the wretched "far-left" as well. The reformists stake everything on dissuading Reagan from his program of nuclear first-strike by backing "enlightened" pro-imperialist politicians who think they can find smarter, cheaper, safer ways than playing nuclear "cowboys and Indians" with Reagan/Haig to "roll back" Communism in the deformed workers states and keep the "third world" masses down. But there will be no new, "rational" leadership for a brutal, irrational social system confronting its death agony. Only successful socialist revolution, not least in the United States itself, can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

The "far-lefts", like the reformists, despair of this, the only solution. Terrified of real struggles, they line up with empty symbols of "anti-imperialism" like the seizure by the Argentinian "Murder Incorporated" regime of the Falklands/Malvinas. Increasingly, they turn their frustration and fury against the revolutionists of the international Spartacist tendency, which dares to take a side in the cold war where it is hottest: Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents — Defense of the USSR, Cuba begins in Central America! The treacherous program of "political solution" is not a naive proposal for the Salvadoran fighters to commit suicide, but a conscious policy to appease Reagan so he won't blow up the world, this time. But those who flinch before Reagan's blackmail then have no option except to become his irregular cops against the colonial masses of the world, and, not least, against the working people at home. The exploited and oppressed masses of this planet will never go along with the "realistic" counsels of these reformist gentlemen, who want them not to rock Reagan's boat. There will be struggles; the point is to forge a leadership capable of winning them.

This is the task to which the international Spartacist tendency is dedicated. The social-patriots who want to "reform" imperialism, as well as their "far-left" lackeys who showed they can't tell a revolutionary leadership from the ayatollah Khomeini, must be exposed and swept aside in the fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

18 May 1982

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Falklands...

continued from page three

the Labour Party opposition are supporting Thatcher's mid-Victorian posturing, left Labour leader Tony Benn, portrayed by the bourgeois press as a veritable "red revolutionary", has emerged as the only rational voice of British capitalism. Unlike the Tory jingoists, he understands that Britain is in no position to fight a protracted war for a group of islands 8,000 miles away. And even if the British task force retakes the Falklands/Malvinas, what is to prevent the Argentines from moving right back once the British forces withdraw? After all, Britain, a country on the edge of penury, can scarcely afford to tie up 40 naval vessels and thousands of crack troops guarding 1,800 "kelpers", 650,000 sheep (or less now that the Argentine soldiers are eating them) and 3 million penguins.

Benn's basic line is that the barren South Atlantic archipelago is not worth the blood of one of "our boys". He declaims: "Those who speak out for peace are called traitors by ministers who sold arms to the fascist junta to kill our men in the Falklands" (London *Guardian*, 24 May). And just who are the Bennites' "men"? While the Argentine troops on the islands are largely conscripts, the British are using their most elite units. These are the same military units which would constitute the shock troops thrown against any revolutionary struggles of the British working people. Prominent in the invasion are the notorious Special Air Service (SAS), lately engaged in hunting down the IRA not



Above: "For God, Country and Anti-Communism!"
Below: "¡Por Dios, Patria y Anti-comunismo!"

why they were not forewarned" (*New York Times*, 22 May). But precisely such a disaster for British imperialism will almost certainly topple Thatcher, throw British political life into turmoil and turn the anger and frustration of the impoverished working masses against their own rulers.

In opposition to the Bennites and other species of social-chauvinists, the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) sees this insane colonial adventure as an

Swedish government is seeking his extradition for his part in the murder of a young Swedish woman in 1977, while the French government wants him for dumping two French nuns out of a helicopter. Hopefully, Astiz will be extradited to Sweden or France, where he might receive some measure of justice, rather than returned to Argentina for a hero's welcome. Then there's the present military governor of the Malvinas, General Mario Benjamin Menendez, described by the *New York Times* (23 May) as "one of the leading planners of the military's successful effort to eradicate the leftist guerrilla People's Revolutionary Army". For this he had at his disposal the infamous "Lizard Battalion", specialists in repression and torture.

So the Argentine officer corps wants the Malvinas. Well, a victorious proletarian revolution in Argentina might just give it to them as a suitable prison camp for Galtieri, Menendez, Astiz and the rest of the murderers and torturers who now run the country.

Groups like the American Socialist Workers Party or British International Marxist Group will not have to pay with their lives for cheering on Galtieri's bloody adventure, but it is particularly grotesque for an Argentine leftist group like Nahuel Moreno's Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), which claims to have lost over a hundred comrades to the junta's terror. The PST admits that Galtieri "aims to divert them [the workers] away from the struggle against their exploiters and the dictatorship", but the Morenoites support this diversion



Buenos Aires, 30 March: Bloody junta represses mass labour protests at home, then whips up a "national unity" diversion over Malvinas.

only in Northern Ireland but also in the sovereign Irish Republic. Then there's the Special Boat Squadron, known as "the dirty bunch" and not just because they don't wash or brush their teeth to avoid detection. What class-conscious British worker would be sorry if the professional killers of the SAS and Special Boat Squadron are wasted in the Falklands/Malvinas?

Contrast Benn's patriotic concern for Her Majesty's armed forces with Lenin, who welcomed the disastrous defeat of tsarist Russia in its 1904 war with Japan:

"It is believed that Russia's loss in naval tonnage alone amounts to 300,000,000 rubles. More important, however, is the loss of some ten thousand of the navy's best men, and the loss of an entire army...."

"The cause of Russian freedom and of the struggle of the Russian (and the world) proletariat for socialism depends to a very large extent on the military defeats of the autocracy. This cause has been greatly advanced by the military debacle which has struck terror in the hearts of all the European guardians of the existing order."

— "The Fall of Port Arthur"

The Little England Bennites seek to adjust the burden of British imperialism to its actual limited and shrinking resources. They understand that Thatcher's anachronistic colonial posturing will further ruin the economy and destabilize the existing order. One of the 34 Labour MPs who voted against the invasions of the Falklands/Malvinas, Frank Allaun, explained: "If it turns into a disaster, the people will resent it deeply, and they will have the right to ask

opportunity to attack British imperialism from within. American television coverage of a May 23 London "peace" demonstration focused on the banners of the SL/B proclaiming: "Falklands: The Workers Have No Side — The Main Enemy Is At Home!"

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Neither Galtieri nor Thatcher really gives a damn what happens to the Falklands/Malvinas. Who does? This bloody adventure is strictly an attempt by two hated right-wing regimes to divert popular hostility into the channel of chauvinist hysteria. Just a few days before it seized the islands, the Argentine junta was confronted with a 15,000-strong demonstration by the General Confederation of Labor in Buenos Aires, which was suppressed with large-scale arrests. Galtieri's Malvinas operation was designed as a maneuver, thus far successful, to outflank the Peronists and Stalinists in phony "anti-imperialism".

The Argentine leftists who have let themselves be swept away by irredentist fervor may discover they are cheering for their own prison. Such isolated bleak locales have often been used as prison compounds, like Chile's Dawson Island, and the Argentine junta has already staffed the islands with the appropriate sub-human wardens. The Argentine commander of the South Georgia Island was Captain Alfredo Astiz, who has been named by many victims as the founder of the infamous torture center at the Navy Mechanics School on the mainland. Astiz is now being held by the British, and the

on the grounds that it is an "anti-imperialist claim" ("Statement of the International Workers League [Fourth International]," *Socialist Organiser*, 6 May). "Anti-imperialism" to go to war over a desolate piece of land on the edge of Antarctica, hundreds of miles from the mainland, with no military bases and no Argentine population for the last 150 years, in order to reclaim the heritage of the Spanish crown? This is disgusting nationalist irredentism.

Interestingly, some of the social-chauvinists in Britain too, most notoriously the fake-Trotskyist *Militant* group in the Labour Party, present Thatcher's adventure as some kind of war of national liberation on behalf of the Falklanders! There are 1,800 of them of British stock. There are now 5,000 British and 10,000 or more Argentine troops on the islands. What does self-determination mean for a group of people so small that many more are killed supposedly fighting over their rights?

In a rational world there is no reason for Britain, Argentina or any other country to have sovereignty over the Falklands/Malvinas. The islanders should be free to fish, graze sheep and host the occasional scientific expedition. Argentines should be free to emigrate there if they so choose. But we do not live in a rational world. We live in a world of territory-grabbing — even of desolate archipelagos in the South Atlantic — to whip up nationalist frenzy in order to dampen class struggle.

We are revolutionary defeatist on both sides in this conflict. The bloody Argentine junta, wracked by massive labor unrest only weeks ago, and the hated Thatcher government which has driven the British people into the poorhouse can be brought down as a result of defeat and humiliation in this war. The best outcome for the international proletariat would be if the war ground up the military machines of both reactionary governments, upsetting US imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive and forcing both governments to their knees before an outraged working class. Down with Thatcher! Down with Galtieri!

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SL Confronts Cold War Socialists

Recently the Spartacist League took part in two radio debates with the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and "third camp" International Socialists (IS). Paul Connor for the SL debated the SWP's Jim McIlroy and Iser Mick Armstrong on Melbourne community station 3CR's "Yarra Bank" show on 30 April. On 7 June, Sydney campus station 2SER-FM's "Politics" show featured a debate on El Salvador between Angelo Rosas for the SL against SWPer Steve Painter and John Minns of the IS.

The SWP/IS have for years excluded Spartacist supporters from their "public" events, using slanders of "disruption" to seal off our Trotskyist criticism. Now, in order to cement their alliance with Cold War reaction over Poland, they lyingly portray the SL as "thugs", "violent", "Russian imperialist", etc. Yet their participation in these debates gives the lie to their set-up slanders; naturally, neither group dared repeat them face to face with the SL on radio.

The Melbourne debate centred on Poland, with Armstrong criticising Solidarnosc, "the most militant, the most democratic union the world has ever seen" for not "smashing" the Polish state. SWPer McIlroy, in tune with fellow Russia-hater "Mick" added that:

"One of the major arguments used by Western imperialists is... look what happened to the Soviet Union, look what happened to Poland. If workers control, workers democracy, were to be established in Poland... then in fact we would have a real weapon to use in our struggle for socialism in this country."

Of course, the Western imperialists who hate the Soviet Union love Solidarnosc, too — precisely because this trojan horse for capitalist counterrevolution posed what they saw as their best chance since World War II to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. Comrade Connor rightly nailed the SWP/IS' support for the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc as "capitulation to Cold War anti-Sovietism and a... left cover for counterrevolution to overthrow the collectivised property forms in Poland and the Eastern bloc". That's why the SWP and IS ended up in Reagan and

Fraser's camp, Connor pointed out, standing shoulder to shoulder with the fascistic "Captive Nations" last December.

In order to duck defence of the USSR, the SWP pretends that the imperialist drive to war and its active backing of counterrevolution in Central America has nothing to do with the Soviet Union.



Polish consulate, Sydney, 18 December: SWP and fascistic Captive Nations in "solidarity" with Solidarnosc' aborted counterrevolution.

So, in the Sydney debate, Painter presented the difference, "particularly with the Spartacist League", in "assessment of the world situation" as:

"We think the working class and the colonial masses are moving forward towards more socialist revolutions, whereas the Spartacist League thinks the Soviet Union's under threat."

Well, Reagan sure wasn't talking about the virulently anti-communist Argentine junta — which the SWP claims is leading an "anti-imperialist" struggle over the sheep and penguin populated Falklands — when he threatened to "leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 June). Nor did he have "polemics" in mind; he intends to use the MX and cruise missiles and Trident submarines targeting Soviet cities. As Comrade

Rosas pointed out, "This is a period of war and the left is running scared".

For Reagan/Haig, Poland was to be a big step towards turning the USSR into an "ash-heap". The checking of Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary power bid by the Polish military frustrated their plans. The military crackdown also gave a sharp shock to the Poles' infatuation

with clerical nationalist-inspired imperialist "democracy" and opened up conditions where underground Trotskyist propaganda cells, forged in the struggle against counterrevolution, can fight for the crystallisation of a Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus and proletarian political revolution against the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracies. Iser Armstrong could have been speaking for the US State Department when he raved that, "the Spartacist League have got the blood of the Polish working class on their hands". What blood? Solidarity was suppressed with only a dozen or so deaths because there was little resistance. It was those who urged Solidarity on toward seizing power who wanted to see a nationalist bloodbath between the Polish workers and the Soviet Red Army engulf Poland, from Reagan/Haig to the SWP/IS.

On El Salvador, the SL calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents while the SWP/IS through their vehicle CISCAC support the bourgeois leaders of the FDR popular front who want a negotiated settlement of the war. "What a negotiated settlement means is a massacre in El Salvador... There is no middle road except a workers revolution", Comrade Rosas said, challenging the SWP and IS to address the negotiations question. Iser Minns: "We're opposed to a negotiated settlement... The important thing though is not to run around talking about the dangers of a negotiated settlement" but "to build in the mass consciousness an idea that US involvement in the region has to be opposed". He continued: "The government in El Salvador is not prepared to undertake negotiations at this time so there's no danger!... In fact, the so-called danger in negotiated settlement isn't really much of a danger at all". This is the height of cynicism — paper "opposition" to a negotiated sellout, while building a movement on the streets in support of it and the FDR, all the while hoping they won't get the chance to put it into practice! Painter just ignored the issue: "We see the Cuban people in the process of building a socialist revolution... and we see the people of El Salvador in the early stages of what we think will be a similar course". Cuba is ruled by a Stalinist bureaucracy similar to that of the USSR, the SWP's panegyrics notwithstanding — but capitalism has been smashed there, an outcome which the FDR and their liberal imperialist backers hope to prevent in El Salvador through a deal with the junta butchers. In his conclusion to the Sydney debate, Comrade Rosas said of the IS, SWP and their CISCAC creature:

"[They] despair of the possibility of the working class in the United States, and here, and in any other country making a revolution. So their strategy is to pressure imperialism a bit to the left, to choose the more "liberal" imperialists... On our part we base ourselves on the working class and we think there is a real potential... for communist parties to be built all over the world — in this country and the United States" ■

Blitzkrieg...

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drawal from Lebanon (eventually). Washington would like to destroy the PLO, but regrets the fact that the Israeli attack undercuts the US' grand design for a world-wide anti-Soviet "strategic consensus". So after first being rebuffed by Argentina's Galtieri and then Thatcher on the Falklands/Malvinas, Reagan wrote to Begin expressing pious wishes for peace. The letter was conveniently delayed for a significant six hours, leading Begin's Government to believe that "the United States would understand the Israeli action" (*New York Times*, 7 June). Six hours after the letter arrived, Israeli forces crossed into Lebanon.

The Americans, meanwhile, have made one more of their infinite changes of line. Now instead of worrying about the sinister Soviet-backed Iraqis running around the Near East, they are worrying about the sinister Soviet-and-Allah-backed Iranians "destabilising" the region. For Begin, however, the only good Arab is a dead Arab. And since Iranians are non-Arabs, Israel has been arming Ayatollah Khomeini's army in the Iraq-Iran war. But now Shi'ite Iran is proposing to Assad's Alawite-ruled Syria to form a common front against Israel! All Reagan/Haig need now would be for Taiwan to invade China, Spain to go into Gibraltar and Jeane Kirkpatrick to attack Washington. The US' anti-Soviet "consensus" has been broken up on the shoals of national conflict, from the South Atlantic to the Mediterranean.

The war in Lebanon could easily expand into a general Near Eastern war in which Palestinian self-determination would be subordinated. As in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973, no matter who was the winner, the Palestinians would be the losers. But if Begin should somehow succeed in creating a greater Israel, from the Nile to the Euphrates, the two million Hebrew-speaking Jews would be consumed trying to keep down a hundred million Arabs. Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction.

There is an alternative to nationalist genocide: proletarian internationalism. In the northern tier of the Ottoman empire, the Balkans — a historic cauldron of national hatreds, like the Near East — a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party led by the Croat Tito managed to cohere the deformed workers state of Yugoslavia, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even though deformed by bureaucratic rule, Yugoslavia shows the way forward for the "southern tier" as well. Several million Jews in the Near East could well be part of an extremely valuable cultural and technical vanguard. But not separated, counterposed to the Arab population. Only through an anti-Zionist, anti-Arabist Socialist Federation, joining the Arabic, Hebrew-speaking and other working people of the region, can the bloody heritage of genocide be overcome.

The construction of such communist parties must be through a triumphant struggle against Stalinism, which has repeatedly capitulated to the nationalism of both sides. A fine chance for the construction of a workers party in the Near East was in Iraq, where a proletariat

based on the oil workers has a history of militant struggle. The Iraqi Communist Party stood at the threshold of power in the mass upsurge that followed the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958. But this revolutionary opportunity was thrown away by the Kremlin in order to get an illusory deal with the imperialists. Historian Isaac Deutscher wrote that the communists' offensive was suddenly called off because Khrushchev feared that this would provoke renewed Western intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean and wreck his idiot policy of peaceful coexistence (*Russia, China and the West*, 1953-66).

Short of working-class revolution throughout the region, the Arab masses will continue to be ruled by reactionary sheiks and colonels, who repress and oppress the Palestinians; and continue to be beset by Zionist militarists who can dominate only through sheer terror. And before crazed religious nationalist terrorist Begin and his ilk give up one square inch of sacred soil of "Eretz Israel", they are prepared to set the world aflame in a nuclear holocaust that would make the Nazis or Americans look like pacifists. The imperialist "democrats" who today cluck their tongues at communal violence and nationalist terror in the Near East are the descendants of the notorious anti-Semites Roosevelt and Churchill, who laid the basis for the present clash by refusing Jewish immigration to the US and Britain, forcing the refugees from Nazi genocide into the ultimate deathtrap of Palestine.

Time is running out. Even right-wing social-democratic Zionists like Irving Hall are now admitting that Arabs are brutally, tragically oppressed in an Israel

where "democracy" — as in ancient Athens and the ante-bellum South — is reserved exclusively for the oppressors. (Therefore communist parties are tolerated there as long as they "know their place" unlike in the neighbouring states.) Meanwhile, Zionist expansionism could easily unleash something beyond a regional war; the trip wires for World War III are all over the Near East. The endless, hopeless, squalid national wars and Zionist oppression of the Palestinian people can only be broken by united class struggle of the Hebrew, Arab and other workers against their "own" ruling classes. Israel out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories! For a Communist Federation of the Near East! ■

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Israel Out of Lebanon!

Zionist Blitzkrieg!

JUNE 8 — After two days of murderous bombing of Palestinians in Lebanon, killing hundreds, on Sunday Israel launched its long-awaited massive blitzkrieg to smash the PLO. Tens of thousands of heavily armed Israeli troops swept past UN "peacekeeping" forces, overran Palestine Liberation Organisation positions at Beaufort Castle, besieged the gutted cities of Sidon and Tyre and approached the outskirts of Beirut. The Israeli air force dropped leaflets over Sidon giving the population two hours to evacuate before the siege began. Even the pro-Zionist *New York Times* had to acknowledge that the invasion was not "retaliation" for PLO shelling of North Israel, but a carefully planned effort to "crush the PLO". Socialists and all opponents of genocide must demand "Israel out of Lebanon, now!"

The diaspora of the Palestinian nation began with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Irgun terrorist Begin — the butcher of Deir Yassin, who has committed atrocities that would turn even Yasser Arafat's stomach — is now turning Southern Lebanon (and the West Bank) into a vast cemetery for Palestinian Arabs. Every refugee camp is called a "PLO Headquarters". War minister Sharon declares his intention of driving Palestinians out of Lebanon altogether. "Never again", vow the Zionist fanatics, complaining of national humiliation over Sinai treaty obligations and sending in goon squads, mainly organised out of Brooklyn, to gun down Palestinian youth on the West Bank. "Eli the Wolf" was a dangerous, psychopathic fascist killer. But above all how many atom bombs does Begin have at his disposal? This terrorist is prepared to use them.

Acting on the Hitlerite policy that one Jew is worth hundreds of Arabs, Israel

launched a massive air and sea-based bombing and strafing of Lebanon, supposedly in retaliation for the shooting of the Israeli ambassador to Britain. Among the targets were an abandoned soccer stadium where hundreds of Palestinian families live, and refugee camps throughout Southern Lebanon. The PLO denied any involvement in the shooting of the Israeli ambassador. The killing was claimed by a shadowy Arab terrorist group nobody ever heard of, and served the Zionists as an ideal provocation for their invasion plans. To top it off, Thatcher revealed that the assassins' hit list included the London representatives of the PLO!

"This raid reflects the fascist Israeli mentality", was the appropriate comment of Saleh Khaled, number two man in the PLO. Indeed, the indiscriminate bombing and shelling vividly recalled memories of Lidice, the Czech town which was levelled by the Nazis in 1942 on the suspicion of sympathising with the assassination of Hitler's gauleiter Heydrich. Now Begin justifies the Israeli invasion on the basis of PLO shelling of northern Israel. But there was no Palestinian shelling until after Israeli raids had killed 130 and wounded 250 last week.

Hitlerite genocide is not the monopoly of the Zionists in the Near East. In Syria, the Assad regime is based on the Alawite minority, derived from the Shi'ite branch of Islam, which represents only an eighth of the Syrian population. Right-wing terrorists of the Muslim Brotherhood fed off the resentment of the overwhelming majority of Sunni Muslims. In response to a provoked uprising by the Brotherhood in Hama, Syria's fourth largest city, the Assad regime levelled the town. Un-counted thousands were massacred. It



Terrorists with state power: Israeli 175mm self-propelled cannon passes UN "observers" on the road to Lebanon in March 1978

was an act reminiscent of the Nazis' "reduction" first of the Warsaw ghetto (1943) and then of Warsaw as a whole (1944). A western correspondent returned to the city in May and asked an old inhabitant where were all the houses that once stood on the river bank. "You are driving on them", was the reply. And where are all the people who lived here?

"You are probably driving on some of them, too" (*New York Times*, 29 May).

The Israeli invasion represents a complete collapse of the US-negotiated ceasefire of July 1981. This time Reagan gave tacit support for a strike against the PLO by refusing to condemn Israel in a UN resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal.

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Don't Let Them Get Away With It!

BLF: Courts Tighten Noose

Faced with two months jail for a Federal court "contempt of court" charge the Maoist General Secretary of the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) Norm Gallagher lost his nerve. They can come and get me, Gallagher had boasted earlier. But just before their time ran out the BLF Federal Management Committee went to water and in an ignominious backdown appealed the jailing to a higher court. The "contempt" citations, which also hit BLF organiser Brian Boyd and the union itself for \$500 and \$15,000 respectively, are only the latest assaults in an escalating drive by the government/courts/employers to cripple the militant

Federation. And in this premeditated assault, the ruling class has won the open or tacit support of most of the union bureaucracy.

The events at the 20 May Victorian Trades Hall Council (shortly before the BLF filed for appeal) graphically tell the story. The BLF leafleted the 200-odd union officials and delegates calling for solidarity and defence of the union. Their delegates made a weak request that the fines against the BLF and proposed jailing be put on the agenda. This was refused. Tony Vella, THC Assistant Secretary, met no opposition from the delegates when he replied that "at this point of time the executive would not

make any comment". Exactly why was demonstrated shortly after when this crowd gave a standing ovation to newly-elected Labor Premier John Cain and his Cabinet members. Cain dropped in to thank his labour lieutenants for their support... but more importantly for what they didn't do (the 3-month pre-election period was almost totally strike free) and to remind them that "we were elected to govern for all Victorians".

Gallagher's BLF had toed the line for the ALP too, hoping that a change in government would mean Victoria pulling out of both the BLF deregistration proceedings and the BLF Royal Commission into "corruption" which the Vic-

torian Liberals had launched in concert with the federal government. So they got that. Big deal. But now for Cain's social democrats, Gallagher and the BLF are an opportunity for a blood offering to the bourgeoisie, a sacrifice on the altar of the Labor Party's proposed "social contract", a down payment for the federal ministry benches in Canberra. At the time the *Australian Financial Review* (19 May) smirked that "many unions will be delighted to see some punishment meted out to what has become a rogue union bringing discredit upon the union movement". No doubt. Their complicity in this crime comp-

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