



Imperialists, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!



Zionist Holocaust

It was the Zionist holocaust that so many feared, but one that everyone knew had to happen. Thousands of Palestinian civilians were left defenseless when late last month PLO commandos in west Beirut were disarmed and expelled by the American, French and Italian "peacekeepers". So long as the PLO forces guarded the refugee camps, the Israelis, fearing they would take too many casualties, did not go in. They urged their collaborators in the Lebanese Christian militias to go in and "mop up". But they too would not do it — not until the US Marines, French Foreign Legion and Italian commandos did their job first.

Then the massacre was set up. The Israeli army surrounded the camps of Shatila and Sabra and on September 15 loosed its local butchers, Major Saad Haddad's "Lebanese Forces" and the Damuri Brigade of the fascist Phalange, to murder the defenseless Palestinians. After the massacre was exposed, Begin defended himself, as always, by charging the gentile world with anti-Semitism: "Goyim kill goyim, and they immediately come to hang the Jews."

The horrors committed at Shatila and Sabra reminded the world of nothing so much as the Nazi holocaust. The victims, mainly women, children, the elderly,

were shot at close range; many of the women were raped in 36 hours of torture and mass murder. The journalists who entered Shatila and Sabra right after the massacre could have been writing about the Nazi death camps:

"The medical teams, wearing gas masks to fend off the sickly stench that hung over the area, and plastic gloves, went about the horrible task of unlocking the bodies that had been lined up against the walls and executed. Their arms and legs had become frozen in the grotesque attitudes of death...."

— *New York Times*,
20 September

The dead number in the thousands. The Lebanese Red Cross estimated 1,800 killed and more are being discovered daily. Just how many Palestinians were massacred at Shatila and Sabra will never be known. For as the *New York Times* (20 September) wrote:

"... no one has any idea how many

bodies were taken off in the scoops of bulldozers, how many were driven away and killed outside of the camp and how many were buried under buildings that were intentionally bulldozed to cover up bullet-ridden men, women and children."

In any case, while the Zionist racists have routinely murdered ten or even 100 Arabs for every Israeli soldier killed by the PLO, this was certainly genocide: the bloodiest massacre yet in the bloody oppression of the Palestinians.

The Uzi submachine guns in the hands of the sadistic killers of Shatila and Sabra are in large part paid for by US imperialism because Israel is a crucial anti-Soviet ally in the Near East. The Israeli war machine is supplied by a huge inventory of American military hardware: from the cluster bombs which rained terror on the Lebanese and Palestinians to the F-16s which wiped out the Syrian aircraft and bombed Palestinian camps. The massive

US aid to Israel amounts to between \$3,500 and \$4,000 for every family of five in that small country. This is more than unemployed auto workers in Detroit get. We say: Never Again! Not one bullet, not one plane for the Israeli butchers!

Begin and Sharon have tried to sell their genocidal invasion of Lebanon to Washington as the spearhead of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East by casting the PLO and Syria as Russian surrogates. This sales job was initially successful as Reagan gave the June invasion the green light. But the US opposed the Israelis' takeover of west Beirut because it undercut efforts to cement an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" with other Arab regimes in the region. When Israel seized west Beirut on September 15 they seized the Soviet Embassy, an incredible provocation against the USSR. The fanatical madmen who run Israel today are trying to overcome their rift with US imperialism by humiliating the Soviet Union, even if that means provoking a nuclear showdown between the anti-Soviet fanatics in the White House and the USSR.

Now once again US and allied imperialist troops are landing in Lebanon to support the Zionists' "New Order", to

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Australian/US Troops Out of Sinai!

Witchhunt Brews at Sydney University

Letter to Honi Soit

Following the 200-strong anti-fascist rally last March, initiated and built heavily by the Spartacists, Sydney University became "backlash campus". With lightning speed slanderous "rumours" of "Spart violence" spread through the campus political milieu — both "left" and right — and no less than 3 letters in *Honi Soit* (5 and 27 April) called for getting "the Sparts". "Obviously", we commented at the time, "some people don't want to see the fascists driven off campus" (see "Anti-Red Smears at Sydney Uni", *Honi Soit*, 7 June 1982).

Now the anti-red smear campaign is on again. A nasty collection of campus reactionaries, including the traditionally super-pro-Establishment Zionists, have recently crawled out from under rocks. Throughout the Israeli Blitzkrieg in Lebanon the campus Zionists have aggressively championed Begin/Sharon's genocide through leaflets, posters, meetings and a special "information" display designed to convince the campus population that the only good Palestinian is a dead one. Emboldened by the Zionist Holocaust, these junior prophets of genocide would now, evidently, like to "purify" Sydney University.

Thus at a recent SRC meeting (7 October) campus Liberal Mark Heyward,

the president of the Liberals' "Students Against Extremism", backed up by Zionist Nita Derman, launched a red-baiting assault on the Spartacist Club which he slanderously dubbed "violent extremists". What the "anti-extremist" Heyward most vehemently objected to, however, was the exclusion of a self-declared supporter of Bashir Gemayel, the now-demised boss of the fascist Lebanese Phalange, from a public Spartacist meeting in defence of the Palestinians. Only days after the Zionist-engineered massacre at the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila — carried out by Major Saad Haddad's Lebanese Ustashi and the Damuri Brigade of the Phalange — *Honi Soit* printed a full-page tribute to the fascist fuhrer Gemayel submitted by the Lebanese Students Association. No doubt Liberals like Heyward were delighted with this outrageous provocation against all those who oppose Zionist genocide and defend the national and democratic rights of the Palestinians.

Just prior to the SRC meeting Heyward drafted a letter to the administration calling for the disaffiliation of the Spartacist Club. Most uncoincidentally, a letter by one "Harold Watson" was printed in the 21 September edition of *The University of Sydney News* charging the Spartacists with tossing "a number of waterbombs" into a Commercial Law lecture. This malicious little slander

piece, including its call to "stamp out" the Spartacists, was picked up by the big bourgeois press — notably the labour-hater Murdoch's *Australian* (28 September). Murdoch's hack-writer ought to be more careful with his sources, though. For a later issue of the *News* (5 October) carried a letter by John Mackinolty, Dean of the Faculty of Law, who discovered that "there appears to be no such person as 'Harold Watson'" and writes:

"It seems most regrettable that a deplorable incident should have been used to mount an apparently anonymous attack on a group against which, as far as I know, there is no evidence suggesting its implication."

The non-existent "Harold Watson" brings to mind the provocateur who last March penned a letter to *Honi* under the pseudonym "George Revel". A self-described "socialist", "Revel" called for driving "the Sparts ... virtually a mirror image of society's fascists" off the campus. Who is "George Revel" and why does he conceal his identity, we asked then, noting that:

"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."

The same could be said of "Mr Watson" fascist Jim Saleam, a Master of Arts history student at Sydney University who

at last knowledge was fuhrer of the National Action (NA) which emerged from the breakup of the Progressive Nationalist Party (PNP), threatened to sue the SRC for defamation for publishing photographs and a caption, submitted to the campus paper by the Spartacist Club, showing Saleam at PNP bookstalls this year and in 1975 dressed in full Nazi regalia (see *Honi Soit*, 26 July). Through his lawyers, Saleam admits he is in all three photos and whines that they "had the effect of holding him up to contempt and public ridicule", demanding that *Honi* retract our description of him as a fascist who stands for "racist genocide, barbed wire, death camps".

The truth of Saleam's record as an active Nazi is well-documented. For example, the first (October 1975) issue of the swastika-emblazoned *Australia Awake*, "Official Viewpoint" of the Australian Nazi Party, lists James Saleam as editor. Seeking respectability for his native Australian PNP/NA brand of fascism, Saleam wants to ditch the embarrassing "foreign" Nazi swastika and suppress his Nazi past, exposure of which graphically emphasises that the PNP/NA stand for fascist genocide and must be crushed in the egg. Yet, while the stage is being set for anti-Spartacist witchhunts and frame-ups and the Zionists and their Lebanese allies on campus flaunt their genocidal ambitions, the SRC is actually considering printing a retraction and apology to this fascist!

Capitulation to this Nazi creep would

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Holocaust...

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impose a Phalange fascist regime and push forward the anti-Soviet war drive in the region. For the Palestinians, "Pax Americana" means more massacres. This imperialist military mission of war in the name of "peace" must be opposed. US troops out of the Near East!

"We were Just Giving Orders"

It is a grim irony that only the language associated with Nazi barbarism can adequately describe the developing Zionist policy: "Blitzkrieg," the "final solution", a "master race" and "purification". The Israeli population must have been stunned with the comparison to Nazi Germany when confronted with the government's claim that it "didn't know" what happened at Shatila and Sabra.

The question of responsibility, however, as it is posed in Israel and the US is

a whitewash of the war criminals. It is not a question of mere "knowledge". Begin and Sharon *planned* and executed the massacres at the Palestinian camps. And all of the Zionist leaders, including the opposition Labor Party, are *directly* responsible for the Shatila and Sabra atrocity along with their US imperialist backers.

The early cover-up stories about how the Israeli military "didn't know" and moved in to protect innocent civilians as soon as they found out have been thoroughly exploded by Israeli as well as Western journalists. Rank-and-file Israeli soldiers reported the slaughter to their superiors, who told them to "forget it". And when an Israeli TV reporter called Sharon on Rosh Hashanah to inform him of the bloodbath, the defense minister's only response was "Good Year".

Letter to the Australian

The following letter has been sent to the *Australian*.

The Editor
The *Australian* 12 October 1982

A report in your newspaper concerning our organisation, the Spartacist League, a Marxist political organisation, has only recently come to our attention. In the 27 September *Australian* an item in your "Australian Diary" column compiled by one Christopher Dawson alleged a case of "anarchy" at Sydney University when "two Spartacists (sic) burst into a crowded lecture theatre and tossed a number of waterbombs. They also threw a custard tart at the hapless lecturer, Mr Carter".

The source you use for these charges is one "Harold Watson, a graduate studying Economics/Law". Indeed this slander was first peddled under this name in a letter to *The University of Sydney News*, the weekly organ of the University administration. What was revealed in a following *News* in a letter from John Mackinolty, Dean of the Faculty of Law, is "after exhaustive search of Faculty and University records, that there appears to be no such person as 'Harold Watson, BEc (Economics/Law)". His letter concluded that "It seems most regrettable that a deplorable incident should have been used to mount an apparently anonymous attack on a group against which, as far as I know, there is no evidence suggesting its impli-

The basic facts are now clear. The Israeli army invaded predominantly Muslim west Beirut, surrounded the Palestinian camps and trucked in their killer-militia from all over Lebanon to do the job. The Israelis ushered them into the camps, provided the staging areas, road signs, food rations and checkpoints, and also lit flares so the butchery could continue into the night. When the sadistic killers became tired they came out to the Israeli command post and lounged around with the Israelis listening to Simon and Garfunkel songs.

The butchers of Shatila and Sabra were not Christian militiamen who got out of hand and went berserk. They were composed of disciplined units *directly* controlled by the Israeli authorities: Saad Haddad's Lebanese Forces and the Damuri Brigade. Despite Israeli efforts to

cover up the fact, there are numerous eyewitness reports that Haddad's men were prominent among the killers in the Palestinian camps. And to get to west Beirut they had to be transported 70 miles from their base in southern Lebanon. As for their acting on their own, Haddad himself declared, "Every move we make has to be coordinated with the IDF [Israel Defense Force]" *Times* [London], 23 September. And so was this one.

The Damuri Brigade (largely composed of survivors of a town where the Palestinians massacred Christians in the 1975-76 Lebanese communalist civil war) is not part of the traditional Phalange. Since the Israeli invasion in June it has been under the direct auspices of Sharon and his cohorts.

In Haddad's forces and the Damuri Brigade, Israel has created its own contingents of local Lebanese murderers for the most bloodthirsty jobs. Sharon and Begin pulled the trigger just as surely as Hitler did for the dreaded Lithuanian and Ukrainian SS Einsatzkommandos, or for the Croatian Ustashi. These East European fascists could be relied on to do jobs that even the German Nazi regulars might not have the stomach for. It was Ukrainian Einsatzkommandos who forced some 50,000 Jews out of their homes in Kiev and marched them to the mass grave at Babi Yar.

The use of Haddad's forces and the Damuri Brigade in the west Beirut massacre is part and parcel of Zionist genocidal policy toward the Palestinian Arabs. Israel's June 6 invasion of Lebanon had as its purpose to "purify" that country of its half a million Palestinians. That is why the ancient cities of Tyre and Sidon were turned into rubble and their surviving populations driven out. With the active intervention of US and allied imperialist troops, the Zionists removed the 6,000 armed PLO fighters from Lebanon, thus clearing the way for their allies, the Christian Phalange fascists, to take over.

In late August the homicidal maniac who ran the Phalange, Bashir Gemayel, was "elected" president of Lebanon at Israeli bayonet point. Begin/Sharon expected their puppet president to initiate the wholesale slaughter of the remaining defenseless Palestinians. But before he could get started, Gemayel was blown away (quite possibly by one of his legion of fellow Christian enemies). The

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SL Polarises Sydney Demo

Smash "Pax Americana" from El Salvador to Beirut!

SYDNEY, 25 September — Over 1500 demonstrated here against the Israeli-orchestrated mass murder of more than 1800 women, children and old men in the Palestinian camps of Shatila and Sabra: the bloodiest massacre yet in the genocidal oppression of the Palestinians. "Defend the Palestinians! Smash Zionist Genocide and its Lebanese Fascists! Imperialists/Israelis Get Out! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" were the slogans on the banner raised by the Spartacist League, the only organisation to denounce the imperialist military mission of war which dares, after setting the stage for Sabra and Shatila, to act in the name of "peace".

Demonstration organisers who earlier hailed the catastrophic defeat of the PLO in Lebanon as a great "political victory" were determined to channel protest against the Zionist holocaust into yet another appeal to imperialist public opinion. No sooner had the Trotskyists unfurled their banner than a member of the Palestine Committee (an umbrella for various Arab nationalist and Stalinist organisations) announced that no political banners or chants would be permitted: this was to be a "silent protest". But anger ran deep in the mainly Palestinian and Lebanese-Moslem crowd that gathered at Sydney's Town Hall. And hundreds of protesters listened intently as a Spartacist spokesman megaphoned from the SL contingent:

"If the bloody scene of the Nazi siege of Warsaw again appeared before our eyes during the Israeli Blitzkrieg in Lebanon, then so too have the Zionists produced their own death camps, this time for the Palestinian people. Now the imperialist powers are going back to Lebanon, once more to save their Zionist allies....

"The imperialist troops are going back now to the Near East to ensure that their Israeli butchers can accomplish their goals... to allow the Israeli butchers to rearm... to ensure that imperialist-capitalist oppression of the Palestinians and barbaric national oppression of the Palestinians and all the toilers of the Near East is continued. The imperialist powers are going back to ensure that the Near East remains a beachhead for anti-Soviet war. We say: imperialist troops get out of



SL pickets US consulate. Our opposition to imperialist troops in Lebanon sharply polarised the PLO nationalists and their Laborite-liberal hangers on

Lebanon! We say: Israel get out of Lebanon! We say defend the Palestinians against Zionist genocide!... We look towards a class struggle perspective in the Near East... towards class struggle within Israel itself to destroy the Zionist monster from within... towards class struggle which will not allow another Black September in Jordan where ten thousand Palestinians were butchered by the Jordanian government! We look to class struggle which will prevent what the Syrians did during the Lebanese civil-war where they came to ensure that Christian-Maronite domination was maintained, where they allowed the massacre of Tel Zaatar by the Phalange just as the Israelis today have prepared the massacre of Sabra and Shatila!

"So we say defend the Palestinians! And defence of the Palestinians must begin with opposition not only to the Israelis but to their imperialist quartermasters. Imperialist troops out!... And it is because of our opposition to imperialist troops... that it is crucial that this program we have talked about, that we are handing out leaflets about and that is on our banner is raised in this demonstration today. Against those who supported the surrender of the cour-

ageous PLO fighters to imperialism, those who by supporting the surrender helped imperialism and its Zionist butchers prepare for Sabra and Shatila!"

Scores of protesters who had gathered around to hear the Spartacist spokesman broke into applause and repeatedly took up the SL chant: "Imperialist troops out — Israel get out!" Hundreds of Spartacist leaflets were distributed and over 130 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and *Australasian Spartacist* were sold that morning.

The program of the Trotskyists sharply polarised the PLO nationalists, many of whom knew in their guts that Arafat's diplomatic "victory" — surrendering the defenders of west Beirut to the US Marines and French Legionnaires — was a terrible betrayal with most bloody consequences. And the organisers knew it too. First they tried to get the SL to take its banner down. Then, frustrated with the receptive response of many protesters to the Trotskyists, they tried to take down an SL placard reading "Smash Zionism! Break with PLO nationalism! For a Socialist Federation of

the Near East!" "Bring it down!" screamed Ali Kazak of the Melbourne-based Palestine Information Office who threatened to call the cops on the Trotskyists.

Kazak was soon joined by "left" Labor MP George Petersen, surrounded by a cluster of pink-faced Laborite-liberals who alternatively threatened and pleaded: "let them have their day!" Petty bourgeois nationalists like Kazak mirror the arrogant chauvinism that lies just beneath the skin of "White Australia" Laborism. Thus, turning upon a Kurdish worker who joined the Spartacist contingent, Kazak baited him for being "used" and demanded to know his nationality!

Meanwhile the reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Qaddafi's messengers of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) snaked through the crowd, hissing lies and slanders that the Spartacists were "Zionist" and called for "crushing the PLO" — lies that Kazak readily took up. Following the demonstration the Healyite SLL published a smear piece in their press headed, "Zionist Regime's Spartacist Allies", stating that "last Saturday saw the Spartacist League openly demonstrating their support for the Beirut killers with their call for a break with the PLO" (*Workers News*, 2 October). This from the people whose Libyan mentor, the megalomaniacal dictator Qaddafi, called on the Palestinians to "commit suicide so that their blood could rekindle the Arab revolution"! The Healyites have done much, within their capacity, for the Libyan dictator, including applauding the murder in 1978 of 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party, the mass party of the Iraqi proletariat, by the Ba'athist regime. The best thing the Healyites could do is follow their Colonel's "advice" to the PLO.

The SWP and SLL provocateurs wanted badly to set up a bloody clash and exclusion of the Spartacists. But several Palestinian and Lebanese-Moslem protesters heatedly opposed the attempts to suppress the Trotskyists, taking Sparta-

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Spartacist Protests Zionist Holocaust



21 September — Spartacist League protests Zionist Holocaust at Sydney's Israeli consulate. From New York to San Francisco, from Toronto to Paris, sections of the international Spartacist tendency initiated or marched in demonstrations protesting the Zionist-sponsored massacres at Shatila and Sabra.

Reprinted below is the text of the 21 September Spartacist League press release.

One generation after the Holocaust the Zionist terrorists have used their Lebanese SS Einsatzkommandos of Major Haddad to turn the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon into another Auschwitz!

- Never again! Not one US bullet or plane to Israeli butchers!
- No US strike forces targetted on the Near East!
- No US troops or bases in the Near East! Australian troops out of the Sinai!
- US navy out of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean!
- No imperialist troops to Lebanon!
- Israel out! Defend the Palestinians against Zionist genocide and its Phalange fascists and Lebanese Ustashi!
- Smash Reagan/Begin's anti-Soviet war drive from San Salvador to west Beirut!
- Protest Israeli atrocity against Soviet Embassy!
- Smash Zionism! Break with PLO nationalism!
- For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Spartacist League is calling this demonstration to protest the Israeli-engineered genocidal massacre of more than 1800 Palestinian women, children and old men in Lebanon. It is the imperialist powers, especially the US, which disarmed and expelled the Palestinian fighters and equipped and endorsed the Zionist genocide. Begin uses Lebanese fascists to butcher Palestinians the way Hitler used Ukrainian fascists to butcher Jews.

Begin's Blitzkrieg has inflamed anti-Semitism in Western Europe. The labour movement must crush fascist terror! The Israeli occupation of the Soviet Embassy in Beirut epitomises the Reagan/Begin fanatical anti-Soviet war drive which today uses Hitler's methods in Lebanon. Tomorrow it threatens to plunge the world into a global nuclear holocaust.

We reprint below an exclusive Workers Vanguard interview, direct from Israel, with the noted fighter for Palestinian rights, Israel Shahak. A survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp who immigrated to Palestine in 1945, Shahak is chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights. The interview was conducted by telephone on September 22.

* * * * *

WV: The first question is, how planned was this massacre in Sabra and Shatila? How planned was this by the Israeli government?

Shahak: Well, there is no Israeli government in any sense of the word. There is Sharon, Begin and the Chief of Staff Rafal [Rafael Eytan] and the government is a rubber stamp. I think there is no doubt that Sharon planned the massacre and a few people, including Uri Avneri, said that it was with the knowledge of Begin.

The aim of the massacre was very clear. It was exactly like Deir Yassin [massacre of Arab villagers in 1948, by the Zionist terrorist group the Irgun, headed by Begin]. The aim of Deir Yassin, as well as very many other murders, was to cause the Palestinians to flee out of fear. It is known that Begin's government, through the minister Meridor, ordered the Israeli forces and other forces under Israeli control in Lebanon to do everything to push the Palestinians east. This was a declaration of Meridor in Sidon, on June 18, that was reproduced in the Israeli press. I am quite sure that the first aim of Sharon was another step in the genocide of Palestinians, to push the Palestinians east. And not only in Lebanon but also in Palestine, too — because the so-called Village Leagues and Village Associations* are like Haddad's forces, the instrument for an attempted expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

I should add to this that in my opinion and in the opinion of very many Israelis, the actual forces who did this mass murder in the Shatila camp are not the usual Phalangists — not of course that I want to apologize for them — but special units formed by the Israeli government after the invasion. Some of them belong to new militias of Saad Haddad, and part of them belong to what Israel calls Phalangists, but which are also called the Damur Brigade, special units of quasi-Phalangists formed under the auspices and intimate control of the Israeli forces, of the minister of defense Sharon, I should say exactly.

WV: We characterized them as in fact being analogous to Hitler's SS *Einsatzkommandos* in Eastern Europe.

Shahak: I don't deny this comparison but a much more exact comparison is also, by the way, made by several people in Israel, including by survivors, and I can add my voice as a Holocaust survivor to this. Hitler formed very many forces of various degrees of dependence — 90 percent or 100 percent — from the conquered nations in East and Middle Europe. For example, the Croatian Ustashi, the Slovakian forces, the Hungarian fascists and — what is specially important for you, because you are the only paper in the United States I think that mentions this constantly — of Ukrainians and Byelorussians, and Latvians and many other peoples of the conquered USSR. As I can testify, those forces were fully armed and their special units had a very important role in the extermination of Jews (and of course in the extermination of other peoples), and were much more horrible and much crueler than even the SS. I can testify from my own experience as I saw in the Warsaw ghetto, that we used to say that if you are disguised and on one side the control is by Germans, meaning by SS forces, and on the other side by

Ukrainians or Latvians or some others, then always choose the Germans.

If you want another comparison I should also mention that there were very many Jews who also participated in killing Jews. All those pictures of the Holocaust in Beirut reminded me of how I have seen, myself, Jews dragging other Jews to *Umschlagplatz* in Warsaw* or in other places Jews beating Jews to death — of course, on German orders. The ultimate responsibility was on the Nazis who stood aside and looked, and maybe afterwards they said they didn't see anything.

WV: They did more than just stand aside, of course. They used flares to light their way, etc.

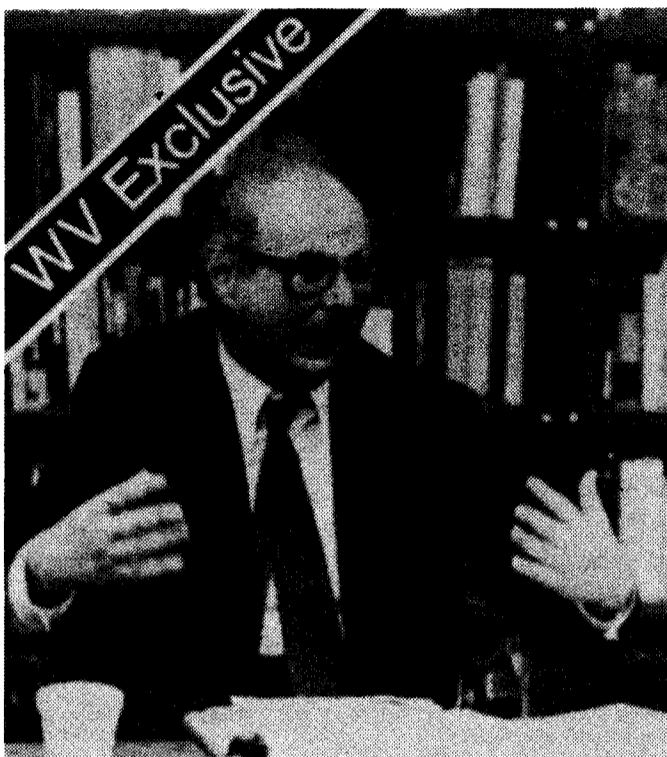
articles to the Israeli press, mainly to *Haaretz*, accusing Sharon of deceiving them during the conquest of west Beirut and generally all the time after the ceasefire under which the PLO forces and the Syrians left. And at least some of the Hebrew press entitled the interview with the Americans "The Fools and Threats". That is, the Americans, in the opinion of the Hebrew press, were fools for trusting Sharon. And now the "fools" are complaining: "We trusted Sharon and Begin, and Begin cheated us". I think that this is exactly the picture.

Also there is nothing new in this. Remember that during the later phase of the Vietnam War the so-called government of South Vietnam and the so-called

believe that Sharon will allow himself to be deposed democratically from his position. I don't know what happened today in the Knesset. He shouted so much like Hitler that I turned off my radio because I was not able to listen to it. He said that all those who protest the massacre are helping anti-Semitism. At this point I decided I couldn't listen anymore. But the danger of fascistic steps by Sharon in Israel itself is very, very great. I don't know literally what will happen from one hour to the next.

It is very true that there is very big opposition against Sharon, [who is] supported by Begin and most of the Likud, but not supported by a majority of any other party except the Tehiya (Yuval

Fighter for Palestinian Rights Speaks from Israel



Workers Vanguard

Israel Shahak: I Accuse!

Shahak: Yes, and they entertained the killers with water and food and so on.

WV: How much direct complicity do you see for the United States in this?

Shahak: In this, no. There was United States complicity, I think, until the famous and notorious phone call of Reagan to Begin on August 12, during the last bombardment of Beirut. I think from that time the complicity became less and less because Israel became too big for its boots, so to speak. Not of course for moral reasons, but for true imperialistic reasons. During this massacre the Americans did something that they never did in Israel. They leaked

*The railroad switching yard where in the summer of 1942 thousands of Jews were loaded daily into cattle cars to be sent to the Nazi death camp at Treblinka.

government of Cambodia both quite frequently cheated the Americans. I don't want to remove the responsibility, I want only to clarify the last stage.

WV: Well, I do think though that the United States having disarmed and expelled the Palestinian fighters knew that they left these people defenseless and given the history of the region ...

Shahak: You are completely right. But we are saying the same thing from different directions. The United States did what you said and trusted in Begin and Sharon. You can say that in trusting gangsters there they have responsibility for what the gangsters did after.

WV: What impact do you think this is going to have on the survival of the Begin government?

Shahak: Let me tell you one thing, I don't

Neeman and Guela Cohen).* I don't know what the [National] Religious Party will do.

WV: What's been the role of the Labor Party in this massacre — the party of Peres.

Shahak: Well, you know from my material that I am not a friend of the Labor Party, but I must clear them absolutely. The Labor Party was absolutely against the Israeli entrance into west Beirut because it knew that so long as some armed forces remained there, any Phalangist unit would not then dare to attack them. In this respect, the guilt is only on the Likud and especially on Sharon — and on Begin who supported him. And on the few Tehiya and the few supporters they have in the religious parties — but mainly on those that I have said.

WV: But it is also true that in 1978 when Begin withdrew from southern Lebanon he was denounced by the Labor Party for withdrawing under US pressure.

Shahak: You are completely right. The Labor Party was very bad during the whole war until the [August 12] phone call of President Reagan.

WV: Which they took as a phone message for them.

Shahak: And you can also add Peace Now. Peace Now made a famous demonstration of a hundred thousand people, and then around July 23 decided not to hold any further demonstrations or activities and was completely silent during the bombardment of Beirut. But from the time that Reagan phoned Begin — from that time the opposition revived and opposed any other steps.

WV: Well, was this phone call and Reagan's subsequent peace plan, which was very much like the Labor Party plan, is this seen in Israel as pressure to put the Labor Party in the government?

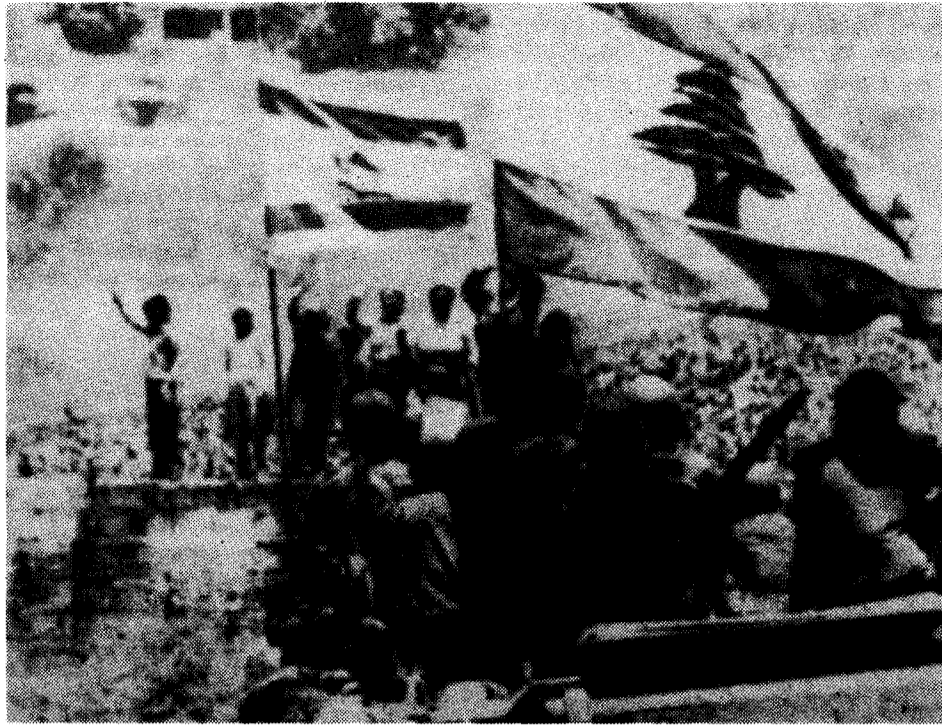
*A rightist split from Begin's Herut, opposed to Camp David.



Furor over Shatila-Sabra shakes Israel

Shahak: Yes, this was the beginning of activity, and obviously the Labor Party implicitly, and Peace Now explicitly support Reagan's plan. But you must also give them their due, that they opposed the conquest of west Beirut on their own account — and that they were truly shocked by the massacre. The massacre, when it became known in Israel, caused a wave of protest from a wide variety of groups, from people who have never participated in any protests whatsoever. Let us say that for the first time in Jerusalem judges sent their wives to protest on this Sunday. This has never happened in Israel before and I don't believe that high judges sent their wives to protest in New York about anything. There have been many such things.

Because the Labor Party is so much closer to the Israeli establishment than the other parties it was affected by the shock — by the very wide shock of the Israeli elite, of the Israeli upper and middle classes. Definitely, there was quite spontaneous shock, much greater than was reported in the United States. Because the United States reported only the demonstrations in which there were problems with the police. But believe me, there are literally hundreds, if not thousands, of examples in which two, three people — in many cases women, because they are wives of people who are working in something connected to the government and the government here has enormous power — but also other people who had signs saying "Begin is a Murderer", or "Deir Yassin, Beirut ..." something like this and who demonstrated and risked clashes with supporters of the government. There is a very large amount of activity like this. I passed in a bus to my home, on the road to the



Israeli Blitzkrieg links up with Haddad forces in southern Lebanon: local pogromists used for the dirtiest jobs, as was Hitler's Croatian Ustashi (right)



third of Israeli society which was very strongly aroused against [the west Beirut massacre]. Begin and Sharon have a third who I really can't describe them as better than Nazis — who delight in the murder, who say it is a very good thing that should be done more and more. And you still have a third in the middle which has hesitated and is torn apart from both sides. This was not mentioned in the American press but you have a large group, as big I think as the opponents of the murders, who are delighted with the murders. In each of the demonstrations for example, apart from the police and border guards

mention briefly. Apart from fascistization of Israel proper, apart from strong actions against Palestinians — you know Palestinians are striking in both the conquered territories and in Israel today at considerable risk — there is also a danger of an attack on Syria. With Sharon you have to understand him according to classical fascist and Nazi-like logic, and their logic is always that if there are difficulties at home — and now there are difficulties at home — then make a war.

WV: Along those lines, how was the Israeli invasion of the Soviet embassy covered in the press — which was an unprecedented outrage.

Shahak: In the Hebrew press there was a tone of deep satisfaction that we have shown the Soviets how weak they are. There was no attempt in the Hebrew press at even the smallest apology. "Now we see what the Soviets in the Middle East are..." You are probably aware that one of the lines of Begin and Sharon is that everything that Israel does in the Middle East is a struggle against the Soviets.

WV: Yes, and I think that they thought they were going to re-cement their alliance with the US by trying to place this once again in an anti-Soviet context. And I can't think why they did that action for any other reason.

Shahak: Yes, from sometime in early August the alliance is falling apart, and I think for the following reasons. Basically Israel wants to be an empire. Of course, an empire dependent on the United States, but an empire. The United States is an empire, and big empires do not like little empires. There is no doubt about it.

We really should see, together with its Middle Eastern role, the Israeli role in the Third World as a leading part of what is called the "Fourth World" of the most fascistic regimes — which are doing things which even the United States and its "polite" allies, so to speak, don't do. And also in the same way this so-called "Fourth World" is trying to push the whole world into as great a confrontation with the Soviet Union as possible and even to nuclear war. In this respect never forget that Yuval Neeman, who is even worse than Sharon potentially, has been put in charge of the Israeli scientific-nuclear programs. Or I can give you another hint, that his good friend in the United States, and an open supporter of Gush Emunim [Zionist clerical fascists] and of his party is Professor Edward Teller, the so-called father of the American hydrogen bomb.

WV: What do you think the reaction to this massacre is going to be in the armed forces, especially the armed forces that are stationed in Lebanon now?

Shahak: You see, Israeli forces are divided socially into Class A troops, elite troops, and ordinary troops who are not so good on a military level but who can be brainwashed. Sharon doesn't attempt to

use the high-level troops now because they are very strongly opposed to him. He uses either the draftees, those who serve their regular service — kids, really, 18, 19, 20-year-old kids — or second grade troops. I don't think that there will be any reaction from them until winter passes. Don't forget that Israel will remain in Lebanon for a long time.

WV: What do you think in general is the opposition within the Histadrut and amongst Israeli workers, the organized industrial workers?

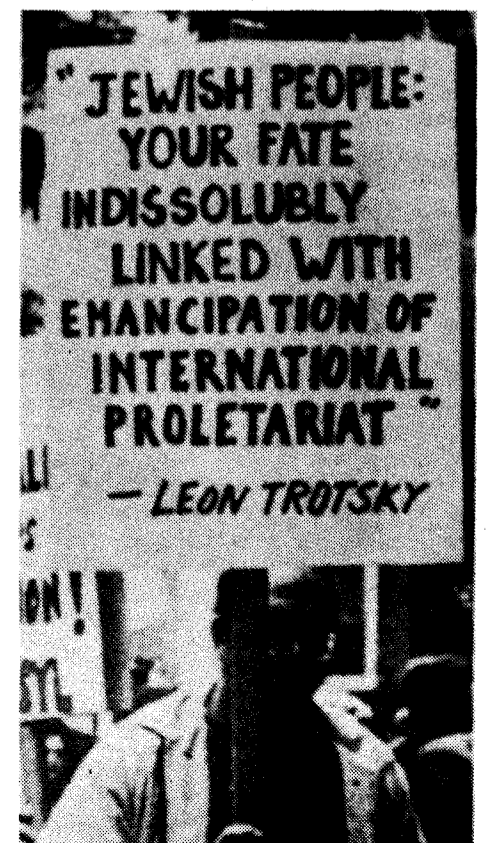
Shahak: This is rather difficult. You mean Jewish workers or Arab workers?

WV: Both Jewish and Arab workers.

Shahak: Jewish workers at the present time I think are, in the majority, the most chauvinistic class in Jewish society. This is because of many problems, the Ashkenazi [European-derived Jews] problem, the control of the mass media, and so on. But there is no doubt of this. In fact, war is still very good for making the Jewish workers support the government, although long reserve service in Lebanon may change the situation. Arab workers don't have proper leadership. Their leadership doesn't call on them to organize and act but to have symbolic strikes every time of one to three days. They obey this. This time the strike of Arab workers is almost complete in the [occupied] territories. But you can't carry on workers struggles on the basis of strikes every half year. There is still no workers organization of Arab workers that really struggles like a workers organization that I can see.

WV: Thank you very much.

— reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 314, 1 October 1982



Shatila-Sabra refugee camp: "I am quite sure that the first aim of Sharon was another step in the genocide of Palestinians" — Israel Shahak

Knesset, I counted at least 12, if not more, small spontaneous groups of two or three people standing with very strong slogans along the whole way to the Knesset — not together so the police will not disturb them. There is no doubt that there was an extreme shock.

WV: I noticed that in the television clips of these demonstrations that they were rather savagely broken up in terms of police action against Jewish demonstrations.

Shahak: Extremely so, extremely so. Let me tell you from my own experience that everyone who goes to demonstrate is risking very heavy treatment by the police. And what's more, by Border Guards. You should say in the name of internationalism that exactly the same Border Guards who beat Palestinians so savagely in the conquered territories were brought to Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa and many other places to beat Jews who demonstrate. These border guards are composed of Jews, Druses, of Bedouins — it is in fact a Jewish/Arab force of oppression.

WV: So what would you say is the response of Israeli society other than the elite and the middle class?

Shahak: Very roughly you have about a

there is a part of the spectators who attack the demonstrators and call them "Arab lovers" and say "you should also be killed" or "we should bring the Phalangists" (because in Israel it is forbidden to mention that some of them were Haddad men so they are called Phalangists). I heard it myself only yesterday — there was another small demonstration in which I participated and a group of people attacked us and shouted "we should bring Phalangists to kill all of you because we don't want to dirty our hands with your blood."

This is by the way a feeling which is very much exploited by Begin. I don't know if it was reported in the US how he yesterday justified the Israeli stance. The sentence is this, it is a quotation: "Gentiles are killing other gentiles. Goyim are killing other goyim, and the anti-Semitic world blames the Jews". And very many people, at least a big group, say that if goyim are being killed it is not for Jews to speak against it. By the way it is also reported that the same feeling is prevalent among very many American Jews. Today the whole Hebrew press reports that the majority of American Jews, I don't know if it is correct, is now supporting Israel more than before.

By the way there is something I'll

Holocaust . . .

continued from page two

Zionist leaders used Gemayel's assassination as a smokescreen to invade west Beirut, setting up the massacres at Shatila and Sabra.

Israel's Labor Party and the US Connection

The Shatila and Sabra massacres have thrown Israel into a full-blown political crisis. Demonstrations of outrage exploded day after day. The police moved in swinging their batons at Jews as well as Arab youth. A cabinet member resigned in protest. More importantly, the commander of the staff college quit over "the events in west Beirut". In late July when Sharon was demanding an invasion of west Beirut, a highly decorated officer resigned over the impending invasion, stating, "I look through my binoculars and I see children." Whole sections of the officer corps have threatened to resign and an elite military unit refused to mobilize. The supreme court chief justice refused Begin's directive to carry out an "informal" investigation. And on September 25 the opposition Labor Party brought nearly 400,000 people — over a tenth of Israel's total population — into the streets of Tel Aviv demanding an investigation of those responsible; many signs called for the resignation of Begin and Sharon. Under the pressure of Zionist military expansionism, Israeli society is becoming unstuck. And the authority of the Begin regime has been deeply shaken.

The furor over Shatila and Sabra is not simply a spontaneous expression of moral outrage. It is also a response to the pressure of US imperialism exerted through Washington's now more-or-less open support to the "moderate" Labor Party opposition. Complaining about US attempts to "destabilize" his government, Begin declared, "Our American friends must know that Israel is not Chile, and I am not Allende." To be sure, the American imperialist rulers, the men of Hiroshima and My Lai, are not "shocked" over Shatila and Sabra. But Reagan cannot easily court Arab sheiks and colonels for an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" while Sharon is ravaging Arab capitals with Pentagon-supplied weaponry.

US imperialism now poses as "peace-maker" in the Near East and turns to the familiar faces of the Labor Party, which ruled Israel for three decades, as the instrument for its policies in the region. What is the Labor Party to weep for Shatila? It was the Labor-Zionists in alliance with Begin's Irgun who in 1948 drove the Palestinian Arabs out of Eretz Israel into the refugee camps. The "Labor" Party is not a reformist workers party, but the party of the European-derived Israeli bourgeois elite which waged the 1967 and 1973 wars. Moshe Dayan, the strutting Zionist Prussian, was appointed commander by successive Labor governments; Sharon was the chief military advisor of the last Labor prime minister, Rabin. It was Labor which occupied the West Bank, Gaza and the Sinai, instituting a regime of police terror over the conquered Arab masses. It was Labor which began the Zionist settlements in the occupied territories.

In the recent Knesset (parliament) debate, Sharon challenged Labor Party leader Shimon Peres over his new-found moral superiority. Referring to the 1976 massacre of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar in Lebanon, Sharon baited the former defense minister: "How come your conscience does not bother you? Thousands of people were slaughtered . . . where were the officers of the IDF on that day?" Thus it now comes out that senior Israeli officers and Mossad (Israeli CIA) agents were in the command posts with the Phalangists when they took Tel Zaatar.

"Peace-Keepers" Make Massacres

Even before the bodies had been unearthed at Shatila and Sabra, Arafat was claiming the United States had betrayed the agreement to protect the Palestinian

camps made by Philip Habib at the time of the PLO withdrawal. Indeed, there was a betrayal with most bloody consequences. The imperialist "peace-keepers" prepared the holocaust by disarming the defenders of the west Beirut camps. But who really expected the US to protect Palestinian refugees? The real betrayal was Arafat's and those who called for the troops which set up the massacre. Yet the PLO leaders have again called for and gotten an "international peace-keeping force" led by the US. Those who look to the US as guarantor for a "negotiated solution" in Central America should look at what is happening in Lebanon. Begin/Sharon, it should be noted, took a page from Reagan's book on El Salvador when they claimed that it was not they who did the massacring, but uncontrolled death squads, just "goyim".

The role of US imperialism in the Near East is the central political question now posed. That the Pentagon would like a military presence in Lebanon is also related to the fact that Syria is the leading Soviet client state in the region and that the Soviet border itself is but a few hundred miles away. Reagan's sending American forces to Lebanon is an attempt to use these forces as a tripwire for large-scale US military intervention in the region — directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III. Significantly, the troops who today come into Beirut as "international peace-keepers" are the same imperialist troops who lost in Vietnam: the US Marines and French Foreign Legion.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO have always seen Palestinian liberation coming about through international pressure, not social revolution in Israel and the surrounding Arab states. Today Arafat is reduced to calling upon Reagan's America to send the Marines to protect the Palestinians! All his diplomatic maneuvers, his waving an olive branch at the UN, have been rewarded with Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its genocidal campaign against the Palestinians. But Arafat the diplomat claims the catastrophic defeat in Lebanon as a great "political victory". Hasn't he had a meeting with the pope in Rome? From the standpoint of appealing to imperialist public opinion, perhaps they will also call the massacre at Shatila and Sabra a diplomatic "victory". But for the Palestinians, with victories like these . . .

In opposition to the fake-lefts, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated and organized demonstrations all over the country around the slogans: Protest Zionist Holocaust! No Imperialist Troops to Lebanon! Once again, on a proposition that should be elementary for self-declared socialists, the Spartacist tendency stands nearly alone on the left in opposition to US imperialism.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

The Shatila and Sabra massacre has exposed to millions the truly genocidal nature of Zionism. But it also exposes the utter bankruptcy of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism. Competing nationalisms exacerbated and exploited by imperialism have left the Near East a bloody mess for generations. Today US imperialism is trying to set itself up as an arbiter between Zionism and Arab nationalism. Arafat's fondest hope is a new Balfour Declaration (in which in 1917 British imperialism promised a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine) for the PLO. But Reagan's "homeland" for the Palestinians under the thumb of Jordan's King Hussein would mean only more massacres and bantustan-type oppression for the Palestinian people.

The Arab military dictatorships and sheikdoms of the region, on the other hand, raised not a finger to aid the Palestinians in Lebanon when they were under the guns of the Israelis. Moreover, these regimes have perpetrated even greater massacres against their own peoples (the Syrians at Hama) and against the Palestinians (Jordan in its 1970 Black September massacre of more than 10,000 Palestinians; and Tel Zaatar

in 1975, where the Syrian army played for the Phalangists the role Israel played for its Lebanese fascist forces in Shatila/Sabra).

Today the Palestinians face the Zionist holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF will be cracked, and then the Begins, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust. On the eve of World War II, Trotsky projected that the Zionist settlements in Palestine would become a deathtrap for the Jews. The bloody terror of the Israeli war machine only makes that fate more certain. If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed.

The Hebrew-speaking working people must be broken from Zionism and the deep-going racist chauvinism that pervades Israeli society, and unite in struggle with their Arab class brothers against the Begins and the Husseins. Palestinian militants must break from their reliance on imperialist and Arab League diplomacy, a dead end both for national justice for the Palestinians and for the liberation of the toilers of the Near East. The few million Jews in the Near East can be a valuable cultural and technical resource in the region, but only in unity with the Arab masses. That unity requires above all the construction of a proletarian internationalist vanguard party that fights for the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations through a socialist federation of the Near East.

— abridged from Workers Vanguard no 314, 1 October 1982

Land Rights . . .

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shanty towns. Indeed the focus on land rights by black activists reflects complete despair in the prospect for fundamental, ie, *proletarian revolutionary* social change in face of the deep-going racism of the Laborite bureaucracy and Australian society. As for the reformist "left", their infatuation with land rights reflects the paternalistic face of racist White Australia, relegating Aborigines to out-of-sight country backwaters to pursue black "culture" and "self-determination" in conditions that no white worker would ever tolerate.

Black demagogues like Gary Foley lauded the Brisbane events as a great "victory", putting the Aborigines "on the same plane as the Palestinians". Such bombast in face of the genocide at Sabra-Shatila, prepared by the imperialists' dispersal of the PLO, all too clearly reveals the utter bankruptcy of a strategy of appealing to imperialist "public opinion". Even now racist reaction in the north is testing the wind to roll back the paltry reforms granted blacks in the past period. In the Northern Territory township of Katherine where a quarter of the 4000-strong population is Aboriginal the Territory's parliamentary speaker recently led what the *Sydney Morning Herald* (4 October) called an "ugly" demonstration of 400 whites against "handouts and land rights" through the town, protesting a black land rights claim on nearby Katherine Gorge.

Queensland and the far north are no reactionary aberration as the social-democratic left like to pretend. Unlike the southern states where the smaller black populations are sharply ghettoised, the black question in Queensland intrudes, even if minimally, into the lives of its cities and towns. The vicious racism meted out to blacks by the Queensland government and cops only gives a taste of the White Australia xenophobia that underpins the ruling class in this white imperialist outpost in Asia.

Only socialist revolution that smashes the white racist capitalist state root and branch will emancipate the desperately

oppressed Aboriginal population. The massive health care, education, housing and job training necessary for a *revolutionary integration* of blacks into the modern proletariat and genuine equality can be guaranteed only under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To lead that struggle an internationalist proletarian party must be built, in struggle against the Australian labour bureaucracy's vile tradition of white racist social-imperialism. Defend the land rights protesters! Drop the Charges! ■

Witchhunt . . .

continued from page two

be a green light for the PNP/NA's program of anti-Asian race-terror and provide a precedent for suppression of anti-fascist material in the campus press. The SRC is quite capable of this, including the "left" who have made it clear they hate the Spartacists a lot more than the fascists. After all, this SRC refused to vote on a simple condemnation of the Sabra-Shatila massacre. They take responsibility for the disgusting eulogy in *Honi Soit* to the homicidal maniac Bashir Gemayel who helped plan it. The counterposition couldn't be clearer. The Trotskyists defend the Soviet Union, defend the Palestinians against Zionist/Phalange genocide and fight to drive the National Action fascist scum off campus. And the red-baiting SRC politicians, the Zionists and their Phalangist friends and the PNP/NA fascist vermin want to drive us off campus. Smash the National Action fascists! Defend the Palestinians against Zionist/Phalange genocide! Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! ■

South Africa . . .

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liberals to display their disapproval of South Africa, concrete industrial action by the workers movement internationally can deal real blows to the apartheid rulers. Victory to the GWU — Recognize the union!

Significantly, a few days before the South African dock struggle blew up, a delegation from the American AFL-CIO was scheduled to arrive in South Africa for a first-ever visit. Lane Kirkland & Co spend most of their efforts supporting the CIA-backed Polish Solidarnosc and running "free trade unions" from the American consulates in Washington's Latin American neo-colonies. Their loyalty to American imperialism has prevented them from lifting a finger for the superexploited black proletariat of South Africa, the apartheid state which has become an increasingly important part of "the free world".

One of the leading black establishment papers, the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, exclaimed bitterly:

"Eight black South African miners have been killed while participating in a strike in Johannesburg recently . . .

"Has anyone heard from Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO? Has Al Shanker and the Teachers Union opened a New York office for the black trade union members so they can tell the true story about South Africa?"

With people like well-known CIA operator Irving Brown running their foreign operations, you can bet the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is up to no good in South Africa. While Teddy Gleason's longshore union routinely and repeatedly refuses to load Soviet ships, the head of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Centre, Nana Mahomo, contends nothing can be done to aid South Africa's black unions. Likewise the Fraser gang of the United Auto Workers, with its hundreds of thousands of black members, has not taken a single action in solidarity with the black workers struggling against Ford and General Motors in South Africa.

If Kirkland & Co now take an interest in the burgeoning black union movement in South Africa, it is only to sabotage its struggles and combat any tendencies toward political radicalism. Class-conscious and anti-racist American workers must struggle to support South Africa's black unions against the policies

Fight Steel Sackings! Seize the Plants!

SWP Backs Bureaucrats' Treachery in Steel

The deepening crisis in the steel industry has laid bare the utter bankruptcy of Labor reformism in the face of spiralling unemployment. With 4000 jobs lost already, the Australian steel monopoly BHP announced that another 2500 are planned to go by the end of the year in its "rationalisation" drive. Newcastle, where the oldest and least productive plant is concentrated, will be hardest hit with BHP threatening to close primary steel-making operations in the city entirely. In Port Kembla another 800 to 1000 jobs are slated to go while in BHP collieries on the South Coast, 443 miners face the sack by Christmas. As we wrote last month,

"Steelworkers can only rely on their own organised strength... Immediately they should seize and occupy those plants where jobs are threatened, backing it up with strike action throughout the rest of the industry. No sackings! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay!"

— *Australasian Spartacist* no 97, September 1982

There is a willingness to fight as hundreds of miners showed when they marched through Sydney to occupy BHP offices in protest on 29 September. But the trade union bureaucracy is working overtime to prevent any independent workers' action in defence of jobs. Instead the ACTU and Ironworkers' (FIA) bureaucrats push the reactionary diversion of protectionism, rushing to and fro from conferences and meetings with BHP and the government in a bid to have Fraser reverse his decision not to further restrict steel imports. The "left" Port Kembla FIA leadership of Nando Lelli/Graeme Roberts have backed the right-wing national FIA tops to the hilt. Only on 22 September, after months of stalling, did they finally call a 24-hour strike and mass meeting. But all that the

1500 workers who attended heard from Lelli was praise for ALP leader Hayden's promise of increased protection for BHP and the protectionist resolution of the ACTU executive.

As for Lelli's critics in the mis-named "Militant Action Campaign" (MAC), supported by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), they came out in full support of the bureaucrats' no-struggle line. MAC had issued leaflets such as "Fight Back Now!" (reprinted in *Direct Action*, 28 September) denouncing "our do-nothing leadership, with their ostrich tactics of begging the bosses and Fraser". So what "action" did the MAC/SWP propose... a mass meeting.

Well, MAC got their mass meeting and immediately made their peace with the "do-nothing" Lelli leadership. The official recommendation called for nothing more than overtime bans and campaigning for "proper manning levels in all departments" as well as for "the next Federal Labor government to nationalise the BHP under workers control". MAC of course supported this, merely moving an amendment that state ALP governments take BHP over immediately.

Calling upon Wran to defend workers jobs by nationalising BHP, the MAC/SWP takes reformist illusions in the capitalist state and its ALP servants to ridiculous heights. Few militant workers these days retain any faith in the strike-breaking, job-slashing Wran government. Not MAC though, whose leaflet absurdly states: "It has used emergency measures *against* workers fighting for wage justice in the oil industry. It could use emergency measures to *defend* steelworkers' jobs". Such cretinism defies comment.

MAC's friendly amendment to the

official sellout passed easily of course, though not without some opposition from speakers who, while not attempting to counterpose any fight, had little faith in the nationalisation fraud. One remarked "let's face it, in Britain they've been nationalised for years". FIA official Paul Matters also scored some obvious points against the MAC/SWP: "anyone who believes that nationalisation is going to save jobs this year... is living in a dream world". He noted that "governments beg to BHP, not the other way round" and blustered "we're going to have to fight for ourselves". What this demagogic "militancy" means is leaving each of the over-100 departments in AI&S Port Kembla to fight alone.

The nationalisation fraud, despite the SWP's anti-protectionist disclaimers, is all about protectionism and "saving the Australian steel industry". When one speaker called for "stopping all migration into the country so that our people get jobs first" there were shouts from the meeting of "send them back home". The SWP supporters who spoke following this racist chauvinist outburst maintained a disgusting and complicit silence. In action, the SWP demonstrates its much-vaunted "turn to the working class" to be a bid to enlist as advisers, apologists and foot soldiers for the sellout, national-chauvinist labour bureaucracy.

Protectionist nationalisation means racist chauvinism against foreign, particularly Asian, workers and popular-front national unity at home with the bourgeoisie and its state. Against this the Spartacist League stands for hard class struggle against the steel bosses as the only way to fight to defend jobs, linking it to the struggle for workers power, a workers government which will carry out the socialist expropriation of the bourgeoisie. ■

— either do-nothing or backstabbing — of the Kirklands and Frasers.

The present strike wave comes at the end of a decade of a rising line of black struggle which opened with the Durban mass strike of 1973. At the beginning of the 1970s, active black opposition to apartheid was at a low ebb in the wake of repression of the mass nationalist organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress. The union movement has been the main vehicle for resurrecting militant black struggle. There are now dozens of black unions with hundreds of thousands of members. Another index of the effectiveness of black labor struggle is that the wage differential between black and white workers has decreased in the past decade from 20 to five to one.

Given the savagery and all-sidedness of racist oppression in South Africa, black workers will never be satisfied with narrow economic unionism. They will certainly identify with the broader currents of political opposition to apartheid. Here it is significant that at the mass funeral procession for a white union organizer, Neil Aggett, who was murdered in prison six months ago, militants raised the flag of the outlawed ANC.

The liberal-nationalist ANC has long been in bloc with the South African Communist Party. The ANC/Stalinist strategy is one of pressuring the supposedly "progressive" elements of the white South African capitalist class. Their main candidate for this role is diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer. Thus, the American CP's *Daily World* (14 August), here simply expressing the views of its South African co-thinkers, noted approvingly Oppenheimer's call for "cooperation between unions and management"! The Stalinists' long, one-sided courtship of Oppenheimer has not, of course, prevented him and his colleagues from supporting the basic laws maintaining and establishing the apartheid system, not least the Suppression of Communism Act.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC and the other exile and under-

ground nationalist organizations offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. Moreover, their model for post-apartheid South Africa should they come to power is based on the anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism such as Mozambique's Samora Machel and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

If South Africa's oppressed black masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is the construction of a Trotskyist party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key to socialist revolution throughout the entire economically extremely backward region. The South African proletariat is therefore in the vanguard of social revolution for all of black Africa.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 313, 17 September 1982

Lebanon...

continued from page three

cist leaflets and handing them around while debating Spartacist slogans. Faced with a goon squad mobilised by the organisers in front and the cops in the back the Spartacist contingent marched by separate route to the US consulate where the Trotskyists picketed until the bulk of the demonstration arrived, chanting: "US Marines, French Legionnaires — Imperialist butchers get out of Lebanon!" Spartacist signs included: "No US troops or bases in the Near East! Australian troops out of the Sinai!", "Smash Reagan/Begin's anti-Soviet war drive from San Salvador to West Beirut!" and "Protest Israeli atrocity against Soviet Embassy!" referring to the Israeli occupation of the Soviet Embassy in West Beirut, epitomising the Reagan/Begin fanatical anti-Soviet war drive which, using Hitler's methods in Lebanon, threatens to plunge the world into a global nuclear holocaust.

What unites the Kazaks, the Petersens

the redeployment of forces from France, the US and Italy. Nor did West mention Australian forces in the Sinai, let alone call for their withdrawal.

SWPers rapturously applauded Stewart West's call for a Palestinian "mini-state". For all their enthusiasm over pseudo-guerrillaist pop-frontism in Central America and the Near East, the SWP reformists are hardly less blatant than West in supporting "Pax Americana" in the Near East. Not a single demand concerning the troops has appeared on an SWP banner, placard or leaflet. Trading on the profound defeatism of petty-bourgeois PLO nationalism, they were among those who hailed the dispersal of the PLO by the US Marines as a "victory", describing in glowing terms the "heroes welcome" received by PLO commandos in Arab countries where upon their arrival they were stripped of their weapons and sent to barbed-wire camps (*Direct Action*, 31 August).

Direct Action now talks about demanding the "withdrawal of all the fake peacekeeping forces", at the same time mimicking Arafat's line that they shouldn't have been withdrawn in the first place:

"To make the best of this situation, PLO leader Yasser Arafat insisted in negotiations that the 'peacekeeping force' protect the Palestinian camps from attacks.

"But the imperialist troops showed their true role when, in leaving 10 days early, they gave a green light to Israel."

— (*Direct Action*, 28 Sept)

Who ever believed that US imperialism would "protect" the Palestinians? The imperialist troops fulfilled their "true role" when they *disarmed the defenders of west Beirut*, thereby setting up the massacre!

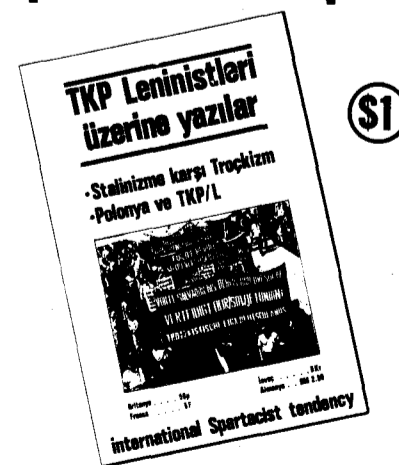
By pretending that the US troops just flunked the test, the SWP attempts to mask the deadly role of imperialism, now the central question in the Near East. Likewise, in El Salvador the SWP has pushed a treacherous negotiated "political solution". When pro-ANZUS/CIA Deputy Opposition leader Lionel Bowen endorsed this "liberal" imperialist program for heading off social revolution in Central America, SWPers thought that they'd hit the big time. In order to defend the cause of the Bowens, Schmidts and Kennedys, the SWP drew a blood line to seal off the Spartacists who marched for military victory to the leftist insurgents. Well, now they have their "negotiated settlement" — *in west Beirut!* And it is to provide service once more to anti-Soviet "Pax Americana" that the SWP now act as provocateurs against revolutionists who say: Imperialist/Israeli troops — Get out of Lebanon!

"There must be a sharp break from Arab nationalism", said the Spartacist spokesman addressing protesters outside the US consulate:

"Only a class-struggle perspective is a struggle to defeat imperialism. Imperialist "negotiations" can only bring more bloodbaths. This is true in El Salvador; it is true in Lebanon."

Smash Zionism! Break with PLO nationalism! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

Spartacist Pamphlet



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For International Labour Action to Support Black Unions!

Black Labour Shakes South Africa

For decades the words "South Africa" and "apartheid" have been synonymous with brutal police-state repression against the black majority. Every day 90,000 blacks are "detained" in South Africa's prisons, and not a few are "found hanged" in their cells. Black leaders like Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress (ANC) have been imprisoned on the infamous Robben Island for a quarter of a century, that is, most of their adult lives. Last month a leading member of the South African Communist Party, Ruth First, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb, undoubtedly sent by BOSS (the South African secret police).

Yet despite the massive apparatus of racist terror, South Africa is now being shaken by the one force too powerful to repress — the superexploited black workers on whom this industrial powerhouse of the African continent rests. From the gold mines of the Rand to the auto plants of the East Cape to the docks of Natal, an unprecedented strike wave is sweeping the apartheid state.

Now is the time for workers throughout the world to strike a blow against this bastion of capitalist racism. Now is the time for American workers to come to the aid of their South African black brothers. International labor action — boycotts and secondary strikes — can be decisive in securing victory for the black unions struggling in South Africa. This is especially the case since some of these strikes are directed against multinational corporations, such as General Motors, Ford and Volkswagen. Smash apartheid — For workers revolution! Black unions are the key!

The recent crescendo of strikes began in the gold mine hellholes in early July.

The death of six miners in yet another fatal accident plus a pay "raise" which was actually a wage cut triggered the walkout of 4,000 miners at West Driefontein mine, part of the richest and largest gold-mining complex in the world. The strikers burned down the company administration building, and the strike quickly spread to three neighboring mines. The police moved in with helicopters, tear gas and guns and murdered ten miners. Black proletarian rage swelled after these police murders. When 12,000 miners were locked up in hostels by the security guards for the night, they broke out and battled with the cops, halting production in another mine. These militant struggles have forced important concessions from the apartheid state. The Chamber of Mines has given permission for the Black Mineworkers Union to recruit members and has recognized for the first time a non-white union, one consisting of Indian and colored (mixed-race) drivers, handymen and painters.

The second phase of the strike wave centred in the auto plants of the East Cape, a stronghold of the new black union movement. Led by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, in late July 10,000 black workers closed down the Port Elizabeth plants of Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen. The strike was called off as the union and companies returned to the negotiating table. When the companies demanded outside arbitration, however, the union adamantly refused and organized a series of mass walkouts throughout August. The situation in the plants remains volatile.

Meanwhile an important battle was developing on the Port Elizabeth docks,



Apartheid capitalism rests on superexploitation of black workers, especially in the gold and diamond mines.

where the General Workers Union (GWU) began a slowdown in early September to demand recognition by the government-owned South African Transport. The GWU is already recognized by private stevedoring companies in the major ports, a testimony to the union's strength. In fact, these private employers have criticized the government agency for refusing to negotiate with the GWU, thus risking a general dock strike. While the capitalist firms are interested in avoiding labor trouble, for the Afrikaner nationalist regime the stakes involved are far higher. To recognise this independent black union would be a major breach in the entire apartheid system. To break the black dockers union the government fired 400

of the most militant workers and is attempting to deport them to their bantustan "homelands". Many of these dockers have gone underground while the GWU threatens a nationwide port strike.

Especially given the division within the South African ruling class over recognizing the GWU, the black dockers can win! And here longshore and transport unions throughout the world can play a vital role in supporting this critical struggle against apartheid by hot-cargoing [black-banning] South African shipping. Unlike the empty boycott/"divestment" schemes favored by

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Defend Land Rights Protesters! Smash Racist Repression in Queensland!

More than 400 Aboriginal activists and land rights demonstrators face heavy fines or jail following mass arrests at land rights protests held in Brisbane during the Commonwealth Games. Black organisers had seen the staging of this colonial sporting relic in the "Sunshine state" as an opportunity for international publicity to expose the apartheid-like treatment of blacks in Queensland. In response Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen and his National Party government launched a vitriolic campaign of intimidation, enacting a special

Commonwealth Games Act that gave police virtually unlimited powers of arrest, search and seizure to combat "terrorist activities" and defend the "security" of the Games. Sale of material or even handing out leaflets in the Games' vicinity was banned, with the cops guaranteed amnesty in advance from any retaliatory civil action against the Act's enforcement.

Most demonstrators, arrested after they refused police orders to disperse their protests, were charged under the Traffic Act. But the more than a hundred protesters arrested on October

4 at a sit-in outside the stadium gates following the refusal of entry to black ticket-holders were charged under the Games Act and face fines of up to \$2000 or two years jail. Now the international spotlight is off, the TV cameras have gone home, and the blacks who stood up in defiance of their Queensland racist overlords will undoubtedly face legal and extra-legal vindictive retaliation. Above all it is the duty of the labour movement to fight racist victimisation of protesters and demand that all these outrageous charges are dropped!

The ever-present white racist face

of the Brisbane police was reinforced for the Games by hundreds of country town cops and an elite "Public Safety Response" squad. From the outset the protests were met with racist provocation from the cops and government — from the police superintendent who charged that the demonstrations were organised by "drunken, rabble-rousing southern stirrers", to the Tasmanian black woman taunted with, "I thought we wiped you all out" by an arresting cop, to Bjelke-Petersen's minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Tomkins, who in a radio interview said Aboriginals were "not advanced enough" to be granted freehold land, that they couldn't deal with money, just "caught birds and goannas and fish and that sort of thing".

The right to own the land on which many Queensland blacks live is scarcely even the most elementary justice. For black ownership of the decrepit reserves and missions will not alter the devastating poverty and oppression suffered by the mass of Aboriginals, the vast majority of whom are rigidly segregated either on the reserves or permanently lumpenised in city slums and country

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