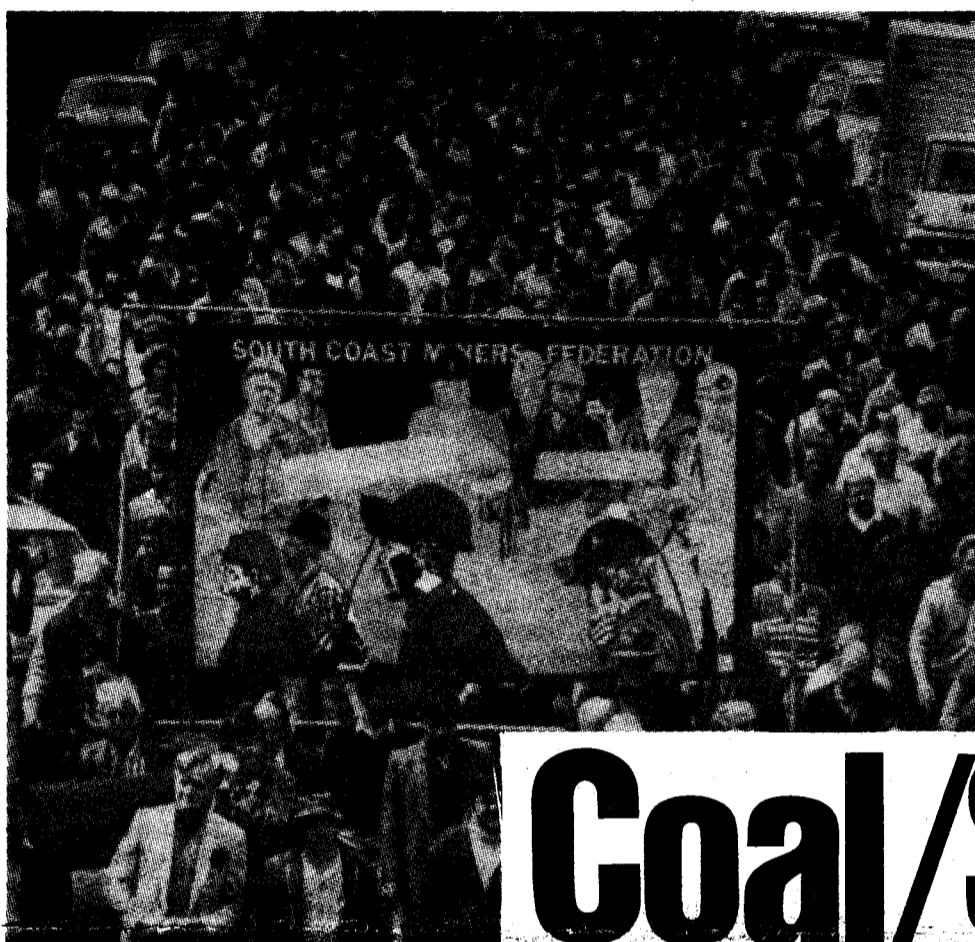




## Not ALP Protectionism but Sit-Downs to Save Jobs!

Sydney Morning Herald



October 15: Miners march through Wollongong in support of Kemira occupation.

October 26: Angry BHP workers bust through cop barricade at Parliament House.

# Coal/Steel: Strike BHP!

In the last months close to a hundred thousand jobs have gone as the latest international recession crashed into Australia's highly protected and uncompetitive manufacturing industry. Steel, coal, the metal and car industries, textiles — you name it — as official unemployment figures soared to 540,000, 8.2 percent of the workforce. And there is no end in sight. Liberal Employment Minister Macphie predicts it will be over 9 percent by February. With the massive sackings, talk of an ALP-brokered "social contract" has now shifted to open wage-cutting and the widespread introduction of a four-day week, effectively a one-day lockout, as the bosses declare class war on the unions.

While the Labor Party talks about putting a protectionist "wall around this country" to protect profits, Fraser's Liberals have set their sights on a wage freeze compact with the State Labor premiers for both government and private industry. A workers' counter-offensive is desperately necessary. And the will and the power is there to fight, especially in the coal and steel towns of Wollongong and Newcastle. Over 6000 jobs have already gone in BHP's steel plants with thousands more to go by the end of the year. These powerful labour towns face social devastation with unemployment already driving toward 20 percent. But steel and miners' union bureaucrats have done everything possible to sabotage a real fight against BHP, channelling workers anger into impotent "lightning strikes" and the racist poison of protectionism, begging Fraser's union-busting government to prop up BHP profits.

We say down with the chauvinist lie of pro-company protectionism! The main enemy is at home! What is badly needed is an all-out joint coal-steel strike against BHP, coupled with mass sit-ins at plants and mines threatening sackings or closure, shutting down Wollongong and

Newcastle and backed up by a national miners strike. No sackings! No more job losses through "voluntary redundancy" or "natural wastage" — every worker out the gate weakens the unions' fighting power! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! No wage freeze! For a big wage rise and a full automatic cost-of-living escalator! A hard strike against the steel bosses could provide the muscle and backbone for a workers' offensive across the country against sackings and givebacks.

The Kemira sit-in strike on the NSW South Coast against BHP's sacking of 384 miners could have been the signal for a tough fight against the steel-coal bosses. When news of the occupation first spread through the southern coalfields, 5000 miners walked out in solidarity. Three days later they were sent back — to give "moral and financial assistance". But what worried the bureaucrats wasn't financing a strike, but protecting BHP's profits. A Spartacist telegram of solidarity sent to the Kemira men read: "to defeat BHP sackings sit-in must spread throughout the mines but also to BHP steel plants. Steelworkers must follow

your lead." But the powerful action of workers occupying capitalist property was contained and subverted into a pro-BHP protectionist protest.

And the miners knew it. "We've tried, now its your turn", was how one miner bitterly described management's attitude. BHP hated the sit-in, of course, but as long as it remained isolated and a pressure tactic for more protection of their profits it was tolerated; meals were allowed in and the power and ventilation was left on. Finally, after 16 days underground, the 31 Kemira men were ordered up by union officials in exchange for a two-week stay-of-execution handed down by the one-man Coal Industry Tribunal.

The bureaucrats betrayed and then baptised it a "victory". But BHP ignored the Coal Tribunal's next order for a further week's delay, sacking the 384 miners on 12 November.

The 21 October 5000-strong joint mass meeting of miners and steelworkers in Wollongong gave a glimpse of the class power in this labour town. Twenty thousand were on strike that day. But the union tops, "left" bureaucrats like Miners president Bob Kelly, or Nando Lelli, the Ironworkers (FIA) secretary on the South Coast, stand in the way of mobilising this power in struggle against the company. Instead they sent 2000 workers to Parliament House in Canberra to demonstrate on 26 October for more import protection for BHP. But even this stunt got out of hand as hundreds crashed through the locked doors to confront government ministers, shattering the glass doors and easily sweeping away a line of cops barricading them.

Over six decades ago the great American workers leader Daniel DeLeon spoke of the labour bureaucracy as the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class". One could hardly think of a better description for the poisonous-protectionist fever and givebacks pushed by the trade union and ALP tops. The "left" leadership of the Metal Workers Union (AMWSU), like the "Euro"-Communist Party of Australia's Laurie Carmichael, accept the four-day week as a "lesser evil" to sackings while

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## Protectionist Poison ... page 4

# Strike BHP...

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tying any action by workers to calls for more handouts to manufacturing industry and union bans on imports. As equally anti-strike are the bureaucrats of the Telecom unions. Under the gun of union-busting, job-slashing Davidson Report proposals, they laud the state-run telecommunications monopoly as a great Australian "nationalised" industry providing the "cheapest (!) and most efficient (!) service".

Support for high levels of protection and White Australia racial exclusionism has historically constituted the main pillars of chauvinist Australian Laborism. Naturally Hayden is even more pro-BHP than is Fraser, who thinks that BHP doesn't deserve more protection because it should have updated its plant and re-trenched thousands of workers years ago. In fact the *Financial Review* (27 October) reported ALP officials red-baiting the miners who stormed Parliament, claiming that they were really "Communist seamen" in disguise.

The miners didn't like appealing to Fraser for handouts for their hated BHP masters. "It turns my stomach", one miner told us. BHP's labour lieutenants said it was the only way to save jobs, which the Kemira sellout exposed for the lie it always was. BHP has made it crystal clear that whether or not it gets the protection it wants, thousands of jobs will go. It cannot compete with Japanese or Korean steel imports because it has refused to plough back its gluttonous oil and mineral profits to replace its decrepit and outmoded steel plant. Its application to restrict imports to a maximum 15 percent of the domestic market is a demand for massive indirect subsidies at the expense of the rest of the economy. The inevitable trade retaliation by Japan, Australia's largest market for coal and iron ore exports, would be disastrous for mineworkers. Protectionism is the road to further industrial rot, paid for by continued mass layoffs and the immiseration of the working class.

Above all it is the Labor Party which puts itself forward as the most virulent advocate for chauvinist protectionism, once again lining the workers up behind their capitalist oppressors for war. In the 1930s anti-Japanese protectionism and trade war produced by capitalist economic crisis led straight to imperialist war, workers shooting workers. In World War II Australian workers fought against the Japanese for their capitalist masters and the miners got their "reward" for the wartime anti-strike policy imposed by their Stalinist leadership when the Chifley Labor government ordered troops into the mines to smash their strike in 1949. Coal miners and

steelworkers: no faith in the ALP traitors! Remember 1949!

The chauvinist filth bred by protectionism is particularly dangerous in Wollongong where a large minority of Vietnamese had got jobs in the steel plants and the town. At the Kemira pithead signs read "Stop Korean Steel Imports" and one miner claimed he wanted to "put Asians against a wall". In league with anti-Soviet warmongering the "yellow peril" racism that inevitably accompanies protectionism in this country provides a fertile climate for the growth of White Australia fascism, the mortal enemy of organised labour.

The defeatist union bureaucracy openly write off the jobs of their members, focusing on better severance deals, longer notice etc. As the bosses threaten and implement massive givebacks and wage cuts the bureaucrats' lie that mass strike action will only play into the bosses' hands. Or they say workers can't afford to fight. Reformist trade unionism says that what workers can win is limited by the state of their employers' balance sheet — in bad times this means *nothing*. Communists say all-out class struggle can win concessions from the bosses and defend jobs. BHP made \$360 million profit last year from its oil and minerals, not to mention the enormous wealth of the rest of the capitalist class. Damn Fraser's \$4.6 billion war budget aimed against the Vietnamese and Soviet workers states!

The only pretence of opposition to the FIA bureaucracy is a grouping known as the Militant Action Campaign (MAC), supported by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). For months now they've pushed the lie that "only a Labor government can save jobs" presenting "industrial action" as an adjunct to this parliamentary cretinism. For a brief period following the Kemira sit-in (which they too called a "victory" — a line that only traitors or fools would hold) MAC called for an "indefinite stoppage" until they hit a wall of bureaucratic hostility and dropped it like a hot potato. The only time they ever raised it was at the 21 October mass coal-steel meeting in Wollongong where MAC tried to amend the bureaucrats' motion for impotent "lightning strikes". "The officials have tried everything they possibly can", said a MAC spokesman at the meeting, alibiing the bureaucrats' sell-out "strategy" to divert workers anger into poisonous protectionism.

Lelli & Co are now waging a campaign against MAC (who are running against Lelli in the current FIA elections), threatening to drive them out of the union and dubbing them "splitters" as punishment for even talking strike. Who us, says MAC, responding with a disgusting "unity" plea:

"Whatever our disagreements in Port Kembla, can we at least agree to get the right-wing out nationally and in Newcastle?"

— *Direct Action*, 9 November 1982

But MAC got the message, and at the 14 November FIA mass meeting in Wollongong there was not a word from the MACers about striking. Instead they moved for "an industrial and political campaign" to "convince (!) these [state] Labor governments to act in our interests (!) and take over BHP". The real face of this slavish and idiotic Laborloyalism is the 10,000 state railworkers now under the gun of Wran's job-slashing and wage-cutting, the hundreds of Newcastle dockyard workers already sacked by Labor. *None* of the candidates in the current FIA elections are worthy of workers' votes.

After the Canberra demonstration Bob Kelly complained that Fraser accused him of "creating a revolution". Fat chance. The anti-strike, pro-protectionist Kelly, like the CPA and pro-Moscow Socialist Party, says that only socialism can provide full employment... but since this is capitalism the unions have to roll over and play dead. Socialist economic planning is necessary, and it will take workers revolution to get it. The great Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky showed how it's done and the kind of party that's necessary to lead it.

## "The Partnership of Labour and Capital is a Lie"

Below we reprint excerpts from an article on the 1936 US maritime strike by James P Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, which simply and clearly explains the political understanding necessary for victory in any serious class battle.

★ ★ ★

"San Francisco, November 28, 1936 — The maritime strike of the Pacific Coast, now four weeks old, is still stalemated and is clearly becoming a test of strength and endurance. A good deal is said about strike 'strategy' — and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits — but when you get down to cases this strike, like every other strike, is simply a bull-headed struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's damn is the strategy that begins with this conception.

"We pass over entirely the question of who is 'right' in the maritime strike, for we believe with Ben Hanford that the working class is always right. From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand — not merely the shipowners; all bosses are alike — would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their

places when they drop in their tracks.

"Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; 'justice' has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world. The demands of the workers in a strike are to be judged solely by their timeliness and the way they fit realistically into the actual relation of forces at the time....

"The strikers have to battle the shipowners, plus the government, plus the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. That's the score... And it ought to be painfully apparent to all that the administration at Washington [Franklin D Roosevelt's 'New Deal' Democrats], which was sold to the workers as a 'friend of labor' in one of the biggest skin games ever put over, hasn't made a move to help the strikers get their extremely modest demands. 'Expectations' in this regard have been cruelly disappointed. And the worst is yet to come.

"But in spite of all these powerful forces arrayed against them, the embattled maritime workers have better than a fighting chance to win. As a matter of fact, once the actual line-up is clearly understood and this understanding is consciously incorporated into the strike policy of the unions, the victory is two-thirds won. For that will mean that the strikers see the real issue clearly, rely solely on themselves and the support of their fellow workers in other trades and dig in for a bitter-end struggle."

— *Notebook of an Agitator*

Indeed, as the economies in the capitalist West go to hell, the imperialists scream all the more loudly about the "imminent collapse" of the Soviet economy while preparing for war in order to bring the "prosperity" of Detroit, Liverpool and Newcastle/Wollongong to Gdansk, the Urals and the Don Basin. But it isn't Soviet mine and steel workers who are being thrown on the industrial scrap heap.

Across the board the trade union bureaucracy is a nest of pro-capitalist defeatism. It must be swept away and a class struggle leadership forged with the will to fight and a program to win. Key elements of such a program are:

- 1) A shorter working week with no loss in pay ("30 for 40") to defend and create jobs. For a full automatic cost-of-living adjustment to protect real wages from inflation.
- 2) Mass organisation of the unemployed under leadership of the trade unions. For unemployment benefits at full union wages.

3) Against chauvinist trade protectionism. Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers. Fight all forms of racial and sexual discrimination. For international working-class solidarity.

4) Defend the Soviet Union, Vietnam and all the deformed workers states against imperialism. Not a man, not a penny for the Australian imperialists' war machine. Down with the anti-Soviet war drive. Smash ANZUS! US bases out of Australia and the Indian Ocean!

5) Class independence of the trade unions from the bosses state. Courts out of the unions. Down with Arbitration. For industrial unionism.

6) Break with Labor reformism. Oust the sellout union bureaucracy from Short to Lelli/Kelly. For a revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.

7) Expropriate capitalist industry and finance without compensation. For a planned socialist economy to end unemployment, inflation and poverty. For a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia. ■

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# Reagan/Begin Reign of Terror

## Imperialists, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

OCTOBER 11 — In the final hours of the grisly massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, the remaining Palestinian men tried to make a last stand. They went searching for guns but found virtually none. The Palestinians had been disarmed by the imperialist "peacekeepers" — the US, French and Italian troops who had "escorted" the PLO soldiers out of the country only a few days earlier. The imperialists' "gun control" paved the way for the Israeli invasion of West Beirut and the Zionist-organized mass murder of the unarmed Palestinian refugees.

Now the bloody "peacekeepers" have returned to complete the job of disarming and terrorizing the Palestinians and Lebanon's Muslim majority. They are there to shore up the new Gemayel regime which is based on the same Phalange killers who carried out the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Not surprisingly, the "multinational force" did not occupy the Phalangist stronghold of East Beirut. Instead the French Foreign Legion — murderers of Algerian women and children and countless other colonial peoples — occupied Muslim West Beirut; US Marines, who have not seen active duty since their Vietnam "search and destroy" missions, set up a staging area at the airport; and the plumed Italian Bersaglieri commandos, who specialize in terrorizing civilians during raids of Red Brigades hideouts, held the Burj al Brajneh Palestinian camp.

In recent days French marines and paratroopers actively participated with the Christian-dominated Lebanese army in house-to-house searches of West Beirut, detaining thousands of Palestinians for "questioning". Many of these refugees without passports are threaten-

ed with expulsion. In the southern suburbs the US and Italian troops watched as Lebanese army bulldozers destroyed "illegal" homes and shops belonging to Lebanese Muslims. The American embassy clearly approved of the searches, while issuing a cynical public relations comment, "Don't be too rough". Like My Lai.

Meanwhile, Begin's *Blitzkrieg* invasion and Nazi-like massacre of Palestinians in Lebanon has fueled fascist, anti-Semitic terrorist attacks in West Europe. These outrages echo the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. The labour movement must mobilize to crush these fascist killers at the same time as taking vigorous class-struggle action to solidarize with the defense of the Palestinians from Zionist genocide. For an unlimited boycott of military goods to Israel and to the imperialist troops in Beirut! Boycott all Israeli cargo and transport until Israel gets out of Lebanon!

The US, French and Italian troops are paving the way for more massacres, furthering the Israeli aim of terrorizing Palestinians into fleeing Lebanon altogether. Elementary defense of the Palestinian people's right to exist, as well as the advance of proletarian revolution in the Near East, demand first of all: Marines get out! No imperialist "peacekeepers"! Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories! West Beirut — Never Again! Not another dime or bullet for the Zionist butchers!

### World Imperialism's Policeman on the Beat

By sending in the Marines on an open-ended mission in the Near East, Reagan has brazenly reasserted US



Imperialist troops paved the way for the Zionist organised mass murder of disarmed Palestinians.

imperialism's role as world gendarme. Considering that the US now also maintains an 800-member battalion of the 82nd Airborne Division in the Sinai as "peacekeepers", it is clear that Washington has sharply escalated its direct military presence in the region. Certainly this is related to the fact that Lebanon's neighbor Syria is the principal Soviet client state in the Near East and that the Soviet border itself is but a few hundred miles away. The US forces in Lebanon are a beachhead for large-scale military intervention in the region — directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III. No US "strike forces" and bases in the Near East! US Navy out of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean!

The collection of warring feudal fiefdoms known as Lebanon has long provided an opening for direct US intervention. In 1958 Eisenhower sent the Marines to help suppress an uprising by the Muslims against Christian Maronite domination. But today, unlike 1958 when Arab nationalists violently opposed Washington's intervention, the Arab regimes, including the "radical" Syrian

Ba'athists, welcome the Marines. So, too, the left cheerleaders for a mythical "Arab Revolution". The *New York Times* "national security adviser" and former Pentagon spokesman Leslie Gelb expressed pleasant surprise at the new-found respect for the butchers of Vietnam:

"A most striking thing about the events of last week was how Arab and Israeli leaders alike readily accepted and even sought the renewed American military presence in Lebanon. For one reason or another — Israeli dependence on American ties and military aid, the futility of the military option for Arabs now, the fact that only Washington might be able to pry negotiating concessions from Israel — the United States has fallen into and assumed the role of Middle East policeman."

— *New York Times*, 3 October

Some "peacekeepers"! Washington applauded and aided Israel's destruction of the PLO forces and its humiliation of Moscow military client Syria. As Russian diplomat Andrei Gromyko noted in a UN speech, it is the anti-Soviet "strategic

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## Australia Pays its ANZUS dues ...

# Australian Troops Out of Sinai!

In the wake of the Zionist Holocaust the Palestinians and Muslim poor in Lebanon face a reign of terror under imperialist occupation. Today US Marines, French Legionnaires and Italian Bersaglieri together with the Maronite-dominated Lebanese army replace the Zionist butchers in the continued disarming, terrorising and expulsion of the defenceless Palestinians, imposing a government of the fascist Phalange in Beirut. Jet-setting between New York, Paris and Rome in October, newly "elected" Lebanese President and Phalange leader Amin Gemayel called for expanding the imperialist force from its present 4000 to 30,000 troops, — to ensure "independence". The *Age* (1 November) reported that "Western diplomats" are openly canvassing Australian participation in this new "peace" force.

Publicly, Canberra is stalling — at least for now — arguing that Australia is "already making its contribution to the search for peace (!) in the Middle East" through participating in the Sinai "peace-keeping" force. But Canberra will do as it's told if its US godfather turns on the heat, just as it did last October. Then, after months of stalling by Fraser on US demands that he commit troops to the

Sinai force, it was enough for Haig to deliver marching orders to deputy PM Anthony in Cairo for the Australian government, days later, to abruptly about-face and announce its troop commitment.

Australia and New Zealand sent a token contingent of a hundred-plus men and some helicopters for air support duties, to lend the force some necessary "international" credibility. Established to oversee the 1979 Camp David Egypt-

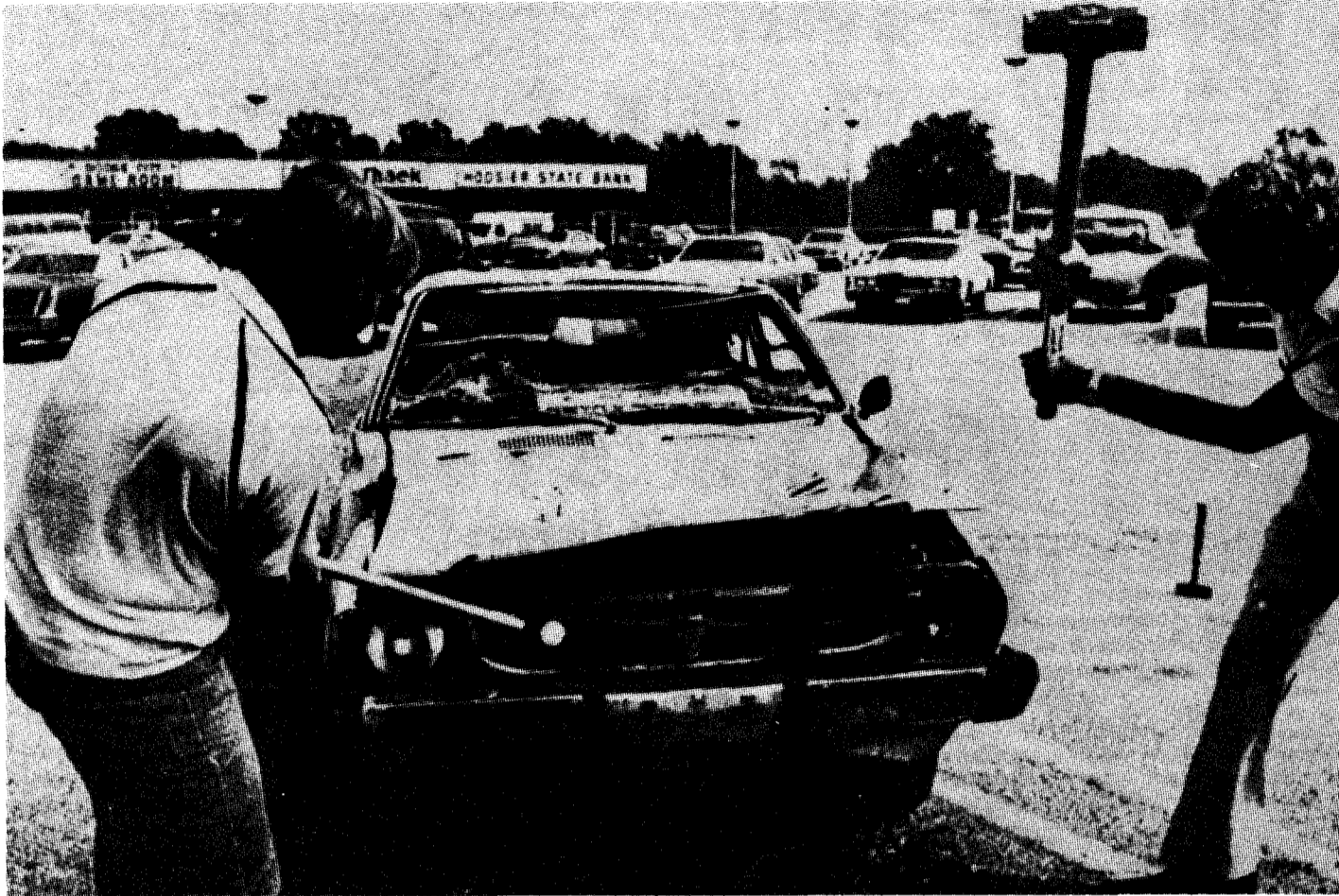
Israel "peace accords", the Sinai force is the southern anchor of US imperialism's anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East, a key part of its preparations for World War III. It secured Israel's southern border, freeing Israeli divisions for the genocidal war in Lebanon, where US imperialism with its Zionist/Phalange butchers is imposing its bloody "Pax Americana" on the region. The Sinai force is also explicitly a forward base for the US Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), a 300,000-strong army held in readiness for "emergency" intervention into the Near East/Persian Gulf region. While Canberra brazenly out the "peace-keeping" lie and denies any link to the RDF, it is no secret that the Sinai force includes a battalion of the US 82nd Airborne Division, an openly designated part of the RDF. We say, smash "Pax Americana" and Reagan/Begin's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East! Defend the Palestinians against Israeli/imperialist/Phalange terror! Israelis, imperialists, get out of Lebanon! Australia, stay out! All imperialist troops and bases out of the Near East! Australian/NZ troops out of Sinai!



November 11, 1981: SL contingent opposing Australian troop commitment to Sinai.

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# Workers Beware:



Trashing a Toyota: Democrats, bureaucrats have no answer to capitalist depression except flag-waving chauvinism and trade war against Japan.

## Protectionist Poison

"We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag!... what do we want out kids to do? Sweep around Japanese computers?..."

"We have got to get tough — and I mean *really tough!* — with nations that use our markets but deny us their markets! And I'll tell you today that if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

— Democratic Party leader Walter Mondale to a recent convention of the International Union of Electrical Workers

In nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe it was common to blame Jewish bankers — especially the Rothschilds — for all economic ills: depression, inflation, bankruptcies, pauperization. When times got hard Jewish merchants and pawnbrokers were attacked, mobs invaded Jewish ghettos. That is why the old German Marxist August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools". Today, with the capitalist world suffering the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930's, it is becoming common in West Europe and the US to blame it all on the Japanese. Taking a leaf from Bebel, one can call anti-Japanese protectionism "the economic planning of fools". Ultimately, as the quote from liberal Democrat Mondale

suggests, this reactionary program to "solve" the capitalist crisis by exporting it leads straight to imperialist war.

In the US the main peddlers of this "economic planning of fools" are the union bureaucrats and "friend of labor" Democratic Party politicians. In fact, more trade protectionism is the Democrats' and pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats' *only* answer to Reaganomics. Liberals no longer talk about a new New Deal, about large-scale public works projects, about rebuilding this country's crumbling highways, urban transit systems and waterworks, about extending education and social welfare benefits. On the contrary, the Democrats' *only* difference with Reagan is over *how much* to cut Social Security pensions, Medicare, food stamps and similar programs in order to build up the military machine for war on the Soviet Union.

The only New Deal the Democrats are offering is a new trade war and behind that a shooting war. Fritz Mondale and Teddy Kennedy are competing for their party's presidential nomination by telling union conventions that nobody, but nobody will be tougher against the Japanese. When Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill spoke in Detroit last March, he blustered, "If I were president... I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March). Remember

that his fellow Democrat Harry Truman dropped two A-bombs on the Japanese!

When United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Doug Fraser is not negotiating giveback contracts — that is, cutting his members' wages and benefits to increase company profits — he is pushing a "local content" bill which would require auto companies which sell half a million or more cars a year in the US (as do Toyota and Datsun) to manufacture 90 percent of the components in this country. This bill is aimed not only at Japanese producers but also at the foreign operations of US companies. For example, this year GM used 400,000 engines made in its Mexican plants in assembling cars in the US. If enacted into law, the UAW's "local content" bill would immediately throw thousands of Mexican GM workers into the streets. The Fraser gang couldn't care less about these Mexican auto workers who would face truly desperate poverty.

The "local content" bill is so extreme and disadvantageous to Detroit's Big Three that at first no one took it seriously. However, UAW and AFL-CIO lobbyists have quietly lined up the endorsements of a majority of Congressmen, though it is unlikely to get through the Senate at this time. In the meantime Reagan is using Fraser's ultra-protectionist bill as a stick to beat additional "voluntary" export restraints out of the Japanese.

The anti-Japanese protectionist drive necessarily appeals to "yellow peril" racism and warmongering. A bumper sticker displayed at the UAW's Solidarity House headquarters in Detroit says: "Toyota — Datsun — Honda and Pearl Harbor". Last year in Milwaukee a group of UAW members slashed and stomped on a Japanese flag. This kind of flag-waving and flag-burning chauvinism also inflames racist attacks on black and Hispanic workers in this country. Even more than the Democrats and Republicans it is the Klan and Nazis who are the real "buy American" fanatics. Remember, Hitler's Germany was a model of national economic protectionism. Black workers who support anti-Japanese trade measures are making common cause with the same racist pigs who mobilize lynch mobs, screaming to send them "back to Africa" or to death camps, with lies that "blacks take jobs away from white people". Protectionism is racist poison.

Protectionism will not bring full employment and economic salvation; it is the road to industrial rot. While building up the imperialist war machine, threatening the Soviets with nuclear holocaust and raining napalm death on Vietnamese peasants, America's capitalists have driven this country's industrial plant into the ground. That's why steel, auto, machine tools, electrical products — the list goes on — can no longer compete in world markets. The necessary re-industrialization of America will *never* happen under this degenerate capitalist regime. The modernization and reconstruction of this country's industrial capacity requires *socialist* economic planning. And that requires a workers revolution.

### The Workers and Poor Pay for Protectionism

To speak about the benefits of the international division of labor may seem abstract and bookish. However, every man, woman and child in this country appreciates this in their everyday life. Millions of American workers, including auto workers, buy Toyotas, Datsuns and Volkswagens because they are cheaper, better quality and less expensive to operate. In their chauvinist frenzy the UAW tops banned foreign cars from the Solidarity House parking lot. This shows that the UAW's own employees, members and even officials find foreign cars good for their *personal* economy. In fact, the clerical workers union at Solidarity House rightly protested the ban.

Why the flood of Japanese auto imports in recent years? Contrary to the claims of "buy American" demagogues, it is *not* because Toyota and Datsun are low-wage companies. Wage rates in Japan were relatively far lower 15 years ago, when Japanese auto imports were minimal. But beginning in the early 1970s the American/British oil cartel (the Seven Sisters) and its friends the Arab sheiks jacked up the price of crude oil by over 1,000 percent! As gas prices took off, US companies were too short-sighted and profit-greedy to retool for the smaller, fuel-efficient cars American consumers were demanding. Almost all imported cars are small-size models, while the US auto plants which have been shut down mainly produced the traditional Detroit gas guzzler which many cannot afford any longer.

If they would not have to worry about foreign competition, what is to prevent the Big Three from charging the moon for the cars they're producing? Nothing. A study done a few years ago by the Congressional Budget Office calculated that a 20 percent cut in imports would add \$4 billion to new car prices and put only 16,000 auto workers back to work. This means it would cost American consumers a quarter of a million dollars (!) for *each* additional job created through auto protectionism.

Access to lower-cost foreign goods is especially important for the poorest sections of the population. Walk down any big street in a black neighborhood and you will see teenagers with Japanese Walkman cassette players. Go into any

ghetto playground and you will see satchel-size Sanyo radios.

### Uncle Sam's Capitalism vs. Japan, Inc.

The American ruling class, especially the Reagan administration, is now making much noise about forcing the Japanese to "open up" their domestic market. Japan, Inc is certainly no paragon of free trade. But the notion that if only Japan dismantled all import restrictions then US Steel, GM and Zenith could effectively compete with Nippon Steel, Toyota and Sony in their home market is laughable. As a *Washington Post* (8 October) editorial observed drily, "It's hard to think that, with the most open market in the world, Japan would buy many American cars". No kidding.

The only American exports seriously affected by Japanese protectionism are agricultural products. Japan's ruling bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party has artificially preserved a relatively large, politically conservative peasantry as a crucial voting bloc against the Socialists and Communists. Thus the Japanese working class has a direct and immediate interest, political as well as economic, in dismantling their country's import restrictions.

Japan is an island which has to import almost all of its energy resources, metallurgical ore, etc. The dollars which Japan earns selling steel, autos and televisions in the US are largely spent buying oil from the Persian Gulf states and iron ore from Australia and Brazil. If American manufacturers cannot compete in these "third country" markets, this failure has nothing to do with import restrictions in Japan.

Between 1962 and 1979 the US share of world exports of motor vehicles fell from 23 to 14 percent, of telecommunications equipment from 29 to 15 percent, of metal-working machinery from 33 to 22 percent, of agricultural machinery from 40 to 33 percent (*Business Week*, 30 June 1980). The same story right across the board. In no major branch of manufacturing has the US increased its share of world exports.

What accounts for the collapse of American manufacturing competitiveness, especially as against the Japanese? In brief, America's capitalists have run this country's industrial plant into the ground. Since the late 1960s they have invested in new plant and equipment at a rate less than one half of the Japanese: 7.5 percent of gross national product compared with 17 percent in Japan. And now they demand protection from superior Japanese competition!

And why the low US rate of investment? Certainly a major factor is the enormous expenditure of limited industrial and technical resources on playing the role of imperialist world cop and striving "to prevail" — Pentagon chief Weinberger's euphemism for holocaust — in nuclear war against the Soviet Union. While Japanese imperialism is now undertaking an accelerated arms buildup of its own, throughout the postwar period it spent less than one percent of total national output on the military compared to 6 to 10 percent for Uncle Sam.

The cream of this country's technical know-how has been devoted to developing fragmentation bombs to slaughter defenseless Vietnamese and Palestinians, neutron bombs to fight a "limited" nuclear war in Europe and MX missiles for a first strike against the Soviet Union. A careful study on "The Impact of the Military Budget on the Domestic Economy" by liberal economist Lloyd Dumas of the University of Texas concluded:

"... the military budget has had an enormously negative long term impact on the functioning of the US economy. By pre-empting one-third or more of the nation's supply of scientists and engineers, the persistent high level emphasis on military-related technological activity produced a serious retardation of the rate of growth of civilian-related technology in the US. This retardation played

a key role in producing a serious slowing, even to the point of reversal, of the nation's productivity growth."

— *Current Research on Peace and Violence* no 2, 1980

### The Road to Industrial Rot

The collapse of productivity growth is the root cause of American industry's loss of competitiveness in world markets and consequently the increased pressures for protectionism. Between 1973 and 1978 US manufacturing output per worker increased at an annual rate of 1.7 percent compared to 3.1 percent in the rest of the capitalist world. Is it any wonder that industry after industry in this country is going down the tubes?

Take machine tools, for example, the core of an industrial economy. A decade ago the value of US machine tool exports was twice that of its imports. By 1978 the US was a net importer of machine tools, principally from Japan. With their more up-to-date facilities Japanese firms can not only undersell US machine tool producers, but can even fill orders more quickly, even halfway around the globe in the American market. According to an executive of Tokyo's Makino Milling Machine Co, "It's much easier competing against US firms. In fact, I don't even think Japanese companies view American

compared with what I was used to working with and what I see here in America today."

— quoted in Richard Bolling and John Bowles, *America's Competitive Edge* (1982)

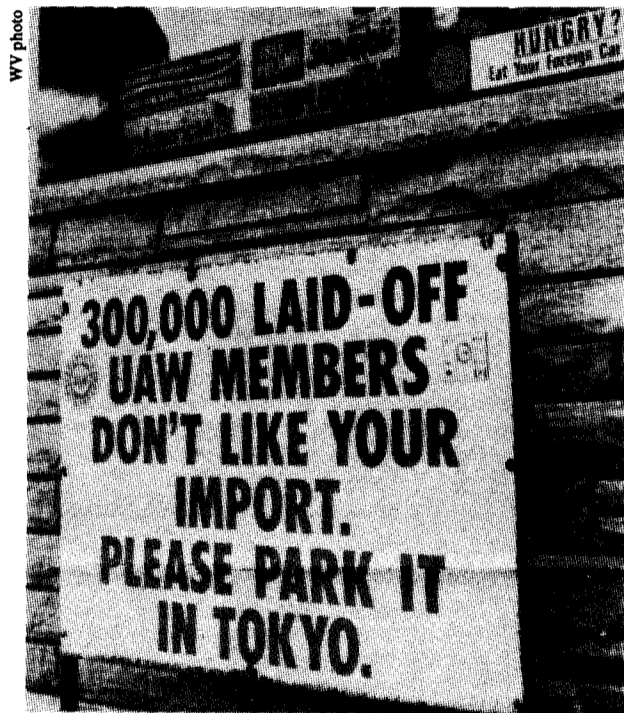
It is important to emphasize here that for the past 15 years the US steel industry has been protected. In 1968 the Nixon gang muscled Japan into so-called "voluntary" export restraint in steel. The Carter administration strengthened this with the Trigger Price Mechanism tariff system. And every year the US steel industry becomes more backward, its plants more dilapidated, productive capacity is cut. Additional protectionism will only perpetuate a high-cost, low-investment steel industry. And the high cost of American steel contributes to the high cost of American autos and acts as a significant drag on the entire industrial economy.

Trade protectionism — "the economic planning of fools" — is the road to industrial rot. To see the long-term effects of trade protectionism, just look at Britain. When British industry reigned supreme in the middle of the nineteenth century, free trade was an article of faith of the British capitalist class. However, with the rapid development of German industry following its victory in the

to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A key link between the Great Depression and World War II was protectionism — "beggar my neighbor" policies.

One year after the stock market crash which began the depression, the US enacted the highest tariff in its history, the Smoot-Hawley tariff. Roosevelt and also Hitler came to power a few years later on a program of economic nationalism. In his inaugural presidential address the great liberal FDR proclaimed: "Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy." The following day another believer in a "sound national economy", Adolf Hitler, was given full powers in Germany. Nazi Germany was even more protectionist than New Deal America. The Nazis regarded foreign manufacturers much as they regarded "foreign" Jews.

The "beggar my neighbor" policies of the 1930s prolonged the world depression and drove the capitalist powers toward war over markets and spheres of colonial exploitation. Japan in particular was hit hard by the worldwide tariff barriers erected against what was then called "the Japanese trade menace". Imperial



Fraser gang in UAW spews racist filth at its Solidarity House headquarters, Detroit (left). Laborite response to 1976 shipbuilding layoffs — racist anti-Japanese pro-company protectionism (left).

companies as competition" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 December 1981).

The decay of American industry is nowhere more striking than in steel, whose owners and union bureaucrats complain most loudly about "unfair trade" and foreign dumping. In 1956 the US was far and away the largest steel producer in the capitalist world. It had a production capacity of 130 million tons; Japan had only 14 million tons. Japan's unit cost was also somewhat higher than the American, although at that time wage rates in Japan were but a small fraction of those in the US. Yet within 20 years Japan not only surpassed the US in steel-producing capacity but did so at a cost per ton almost 50 percent less than in American mills, and this despite the fact that Japanese wages rose far more rapidly than American.

How did this happen? Because the American steel cartel refused to modernize. Since 1960 exactly one — that's right, one — new integrated steel mill has been built in the US (Bethlehem's Burns Harbor works). As a result the largest mills in Japan have twice the capacity of American mills; 53 percent of Japanese steel is produced by continuous casting compared to only 17 percent in the US. When a district director of the Steelworkers, Robert Petris, visited Japan a few years ago, he reacted as if he were visiting a more advanced planet:

"It's unbelievable! The way they are making steel at the new works we visited appears to me to be at least five to ten years ahead of anything we can build here in America even if we start right now.

"... the biggest single difference is the kind of engineering, plant technology, the size of the blast furnaces and the computerized processes that they employ

1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, protectionist pressures emerged and grew in Britain. As Trotsky wrote in his 1925 pamphlet, "Where Is Britain Going?":

"German competition was the first serious warning to British world hegemony, and inflicted the first serious injuries. Free trade encountered the superior German technique and organization... With the middle of the 1870s, poor business sets in; free trade is discredited; the protectionist movement begins; the bourgeoisie is conquered more and more by imperialist tendencies."

Under the impact of the Great Depression in 1932 Britain turned to protectionism, claiming it would "rationalize" its declining industries behind tariff walls. After World War II successive Labour governments nationalized and then subsidized failing or bankrupt industries and firms (British Steel, Leyland Motors). The result of half a century of protectionism is an industrial wasteland, depression-level unemployment and the wholesale impoverishment of the British working people. This is the "future" which the liberal Democrats and sellout bureaucrats like UAW chief Fraser and the Steelworkers' McBride offer to millions of laid-off and concession-ridden workers and impoverished blacks who are suffering from the bankruptcy of American capitalism.

### Depression, Protectionism, Imperialist War

When Fritz Mondale says that sending the US Army into Japan is the only way to end the depression at home, he is reliving an important chapter in the history of twentieth-century American imperialism. There is a direct line from the Great Crash of 1929 to Pearl Harbor

Japan reacted by trying to establish its own economically self-sufficient Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere". American and British imperialism sought to counter Japanese expansionism at first by economic warfare. In July 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill cut off Japan's oil supply. Fighting for its economic survival, Japanese imperialism responded in the only way open to it — by force of arms. From the Smoot-Hawley tariff the road led to Pearl Harbor, December 1941.

Entering World War II from a deeply depressed economic condition, the US was able to combine a vast armaments program with extensive capital renewal, while the other leading capitalist powers were devastated. So after its victory American imperialism was able to impose a free trade regime on its war-damaged capitalist allies and the defeated Axis powers. The 1948 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), dictated by Washington, called for "a substantial reduction in tariffs and other barriers to trade". However, the US commitment to free trade lasted just as long as "the American century" — about 20 years.

As its West European and Japanese rivals rebuilt a more modern industrial plant, beginning in the late 1960s, protectionist sentiment developed in the American capitalist class and even more so among its labor lieutenants. Now with a world economic crisis coming on top of the long-term decline of American industry, their protectionist sentiment has become a kind of hysteria. Look at Mondale and the Solidarity House gang! The American bourgeoisie's only answer to world depression and 10

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# Reagan\Begin...

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consensus" which at bottom unites American imperialism and the Zionist state. But while Washington wants to include various Arab regimes in its "consensus", for Begin and Sharon "the only good Arab is a dead one".

The fanaticism of the Begin/Sharon regime, and underlying this the expansionist dynamic of the Zionist state, cut across US imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive. Hence the present tensions between Washington and Jerusalem. Needless to say, the Reagan "peace plan" for the Palestinians does not even add up to a powerless mini-state, but would simply place the West Bank/Gaza population into a Bantustan existence under the thumb of King Hussein, the butcher of Jordan's 1970 Black September. The fact that the PLO's Yasir Arafat welcomes the imperialist "peacekeepers" and embraces Hussein is dramatic proof of the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism.

The expansionist dynamic of Zionism enormously intensifies the internal contradictions of Israeli society, producing triple-digit inflation, falling living standards, constant military mobilization and a net emigration of Jews. But despite these tensions, the "Labor" Party opposition is scarcely in a position to protest terror against the Palestinians. (This is not a reformist workers party like the British Labour Party, but a pillar of the bourgeois Zionist order.) The very basis of the Israeli state, which "Labor" established and governed for three decades, is the expulsion and terrorization of the Palestinian people. Within the framework of Zionism there is no escaping the monstrous and expanding garrison state. And if all else fails, the crazed Zionist leaders have made it clear they are willing to unleash their ultimate weapon: the nuclear bomb.

## Smash Pax Americana in the Near East!

The accelerating drive toward World War III in the Near East can be countered only by the development of proletarian internationalist parties in Israel, the surrounding Arab states and in the very imperialist countries themselves, especially the US. But at a time when the notion of "radical" Arab nationalism has never been more obviously discredited, most of the American left has followed the Arafats, Jumblatts and Assads into the camp of Reagan's Pax Americana.

Even after [the] Zionist-organised butchery, the cowardly reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) apologized for the withdrawal of the PLO under its US Marine guard. It was, they say, "a remarkable accomplishment under the circumstances". Rejecting the perspective of social revolution in the Near East, overawed by Zionist power, the SWP's *Militant* (8 October) writes: "The only thing a fight to the end would have accomplished would have been to help the Israelis in their aim of destroying the PLO and its forces." In other words, for these reformists Reagan's Marines and the French Foreign Legion acted as the saviours — indeed, the only possible saviours — of the PLO.

Once the Israeli juggernaut crossed the Litani and all the Arab regimes abandoned the Palestinians to their fate, the choices facing the PLO were certainly grim. Yet Begin/Sharon's *Blitzkrieg* halted at the gates of West Beirut. Why? According to the liberal Pollyannas of the SWP, "international public opinion prevented the Israelis from simply breaking off negotiations". Sure, "everyone knows" that the decisive factor in war is ... "international public opinion" — especially for the likes of Begin and Sharon!! On the contrary, these butchers knew well that to destroy PLO forces in West Beirut would have required house-to-house fighting and lots more Israeli soldiers being shipped back to the Zionist "homeland" in body bags. As

we wrote during the siege of West Beirut:

"If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy their own, there could well be a rebellion on the home front against Begin's Lebanese adventure."

— "Zionist 'Final Solution'",  
Workers Vanguard  
no 309, 9 July

Instead, Arafat withdrew the PLO commandos from Lebanon leaving the half million Palestinians to the tender mercies of Sharon's army, the fascist Phalange, Reagan's Marines and the French Foreign Legion.

As long as the Israeli and imperialist forces remain in Lebanon there will be more Sabras and Shatilas. The liberation of the Palestinians — driven out of their homeland by the Zionists, dispersed in the surrounding Arab bourgeois states — is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and for social revolution throughout the Near East. The fissures in Israel provide a crucial opportunity to break through the Zionist garrison state mentality. What is needed is a communist internationalist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Husseins and Assads, who promise only endless bloodletting, and open the road to a socialist federation of the Near East.

— abridged from *Workers Vanguard*  
no 315, 15 October 1982

## Poison...

continued from page five

percent unemployment is trade protectionism first and war second. Liberal Democrat Mondale's talk of conquering the Japanese auto market with the US Army is no joke. Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed inter-imperialist war and the barbarism which such a catastrophe would bring.

The working-class answer to mass unemployment and competitive wage-slashing is not protectionism. It is the expropriation of capitalist wealth and the establishment of a planned economy. An internationally planned socialist economy would not only secure permanent full employment but would do so with a greatly reduced work year and a far higher standard of living for working people throughout the world.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*  
no 315, 15 October 1982

## Sinai...

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For the Australian ruling class, the Sinai commitment is the dues it must pay to US imperialism in exchange for the uncertain, yet indispensable, protection afforded to capitalist White Australia by the ANZUS alliance. Australia's foot-dragging last year over Sinai contrasts with its enthusiasm for the expanded military role that Washington demands of it in the South-East Asian/Pacific region, where its own regional imperialist interests are directly involved. The ALP opposes the Sinai force only out of concern that these interests would be better served if the bourgeoisie saved its army for its own sphere of influence. The ALP supports the US anti-Soviet global war drive and is just as committed to the ANZUS alliance. In government its pledge to withdraw from the Sinai would likely go the way of its "opposition" to visits by nuclear-armed US ships when the US cracked the whip.

## Weinberger's "Six Pillars" in Asia

On his recent Asian/Australasian tour US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger mended forces with the Labor Party. He met with Hayden and Bowen and reportedly "volunteered the opinion that the relationship between Australia and the US would continue at its present strength regardless of changes of government on either side" (*Financial Review*, 8 November), assuring the

# Full Citizenship Rights to Pacific Islanders!

# Smash the NZ Citizenship Act!

On 14 September the Muldoon National Party government in New Zealand enacted a Citizenship (West Samoa) Act aimed at driving tens of thousands of Pacific Islanders out of the country. The Act was brought in specifically to overturn an earlier British Privy Council decision that ruled all West Samoans born before 1949 and their families were automatically NZ citizens. The Act automatically disenfranchises almost all the 100,000 population of the West Samoan neo-colony and directly threatens an estimated 40,000 in New Zealand itself. Since the Privy Council decision an almost total clamp on Samoan immigration has been in force while those presently in NZ have only the formal right to apply for citizenship under the Act.

The Act culminates years of cop raids and deportations from the 1974 Labour Party-led dawn raids and bashings of Tongan "illegal" workers and their families to tightened immigration restrictions and intensified harassment and deportations of "overstayers" under Muldoon. For New Zealand capitalism the Pacific Islanders constitute a super-exploited, mainly unorganised reserve army of labour, even more so than the native Maoris. Numbering over 100,000 the Pacific Islanders (the majority Samoan, the rest Cook Islanders, Tongans and Fijians) were either brought to NZ on short-term work permits or escaped their impoverished islands and "overstayed" their 3-month "visitors permits". Now with sharply rising unemployment and austerity in welfare and housing the White New Zealand ruling class wants a scapegoat. In the 1970s when the Islanders provided cheap labour to keep NZ capitalists "competitive", ie, profit-

able, the government "regulated" their migration; now the economy has gone bust they are to be driven out, deported back to their desperately poor islands where the raw materials and their labour are similarly superexploited as neo-colonies of Australian and New Zealand imperialism in the Pacific. It is the urgent duty of labour to protest this racist Act for it and the deportations that will inevitably follow are an attack on the whole workers movement.

Not surprisingly the NZ Laborites have backed Muldoon's racist offensive. Deputy parliamentary leader David Lange praised Muldoon's stand as "conciliatory" and to emphasise their bipartisan stance on the expulsions accompanied Muldoon's attorney-general to West Samoa to pressure government acceptance of the Act. In 1974 the NZ Labour government reached an agreement with the Whitlam ALP government in Australia to introduce passports for Australia-NZ travel with the aim of excluding "illegal aliens", ie, to keep the Pacific Islanders out of Australia. And the only real time Islanders have been allowed in White Australia was their forcible importation as slave labour in the Queensland canefields at the turn of the century.

In New Zealand, like Australia a white imperialist enclave in Asia and the Pacific, the racist chauvinism of a ruling class in crisis sees in the Islanders its most vulnerable target. Defence of the Pacific Islanders, as it is with all foreign workers, is the precondition to any fighting working-class unity. No deportations! Full citizenship rights to all Pacific Islanders and their families! Smash the Citizenship Act!

anxious Bowen that the US had no problems with any aspect of ALP policy. The main purpose of his trip was to demand "increased vigilance" against the "Soviet threat" in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. He also filled in the US's regional allies on their roles in revised US military plans, revealed earlier this year in a leaked "Defence Guidance Document" for 1984-88. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (18 June) this document outlines a shift in US priorities away from North-East Asia to South-East Asia to combat the "two-fold threat" of "Vietnamese expansionism" and "the Soviet naval threat" to the critical sea lanes linking US forces and bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Speaking in Tokyo last March, Weinberger laid out the "six pillars" of US policy in Asia along these lines: 1) the US intends "to remain a Pacific power", explicitly reversing the post-Vietnam "Nixon doctrine" of retreat; 2) a rearmed Japan; 3) strengthening South Korea; 4) "military assistance to China"; 5) strengthening the ASEAN states against Vietnam and developing their capacity "to support the projection of US power from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean" and the Gulf, based on a series of interlocking military pacts such as the Manila Pact (US, Thailand, Philippines), ANZUS, and the Five Power Defence Agreement (FPDA, also known as ANZUK) which comprises Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore; 6) reinforcement of the RDF to enable its deployment in Asia.

The strategic importance of Australia to US imperialism's global war plans is firstly the more than a dozen key military bases it hosts, among them super secret submarine communications and navigation facilities like NW Cape and Omega and ground stations for intelligence/early warning satellites like Pine Gap and Nurrungar. US warships use Cockburn Sound in Western Australia while nuclear-armed B-52s have landing rights at Darwin and overflight rights, recently extended, for training to bomb the USSR. These connect US bases in Japan, Guam

and the Philippines with the strategic Indian Ocean base at Diego Garcia. Two hundred miles from the latter, in the Maldives, the Australian government stepped in with a grant of "aid" to block a Soviet offer to lease the former British port and airbase on Gan Island (*Age*, 25 October) and has frustrated similar Soviet attempts to woo Pacific Island states like Tonga.

## US Stalking Horse in Asia

Australia is playing an aggressive role as the stalking-horse for the US in South-East Asia, attempting to draw in the ASEAN states into a new system of "separate but interlocking" military alliances under US aegis. A particular focus of diplomatic efforts, including tours of the ASEAN states by first Fraser, then Defence Minister Ian Sinclair, has been its attempt to reactivate, under Australian leadership, the near-defunct ANZUK pact. ANZUK, a product of the old Australian "forward defence" policy and the British withdrawal of most of its forces east of Suez in 1971, was set up to protect British imperialist interests in its Malaysian neo-colonial creation and serve as a bulwark against Asian communism. ANZUK was nearly dead by 1975 but a New Zealand battalion remains in Singapore and two Australian squadrons of Mirages (two-thirds of its tactical fighter force) have shared the Butterworth Airbase near Penang with the Malaysian Air Force ever since 1967. Now Canberra has announced it intends to station a squadron of F/A-18 Hornets, now on order from the US, at Butterworth, has staged joint military manoeuvres with its ANZUK partners and is expanding military "aid" and training to Thailand and the Philippines. An Australian defence official captured the role Australian imperialism is playing in South-East Asia on behalf of its US big brother:

"All non-Communist governments in South East Asia value the FPDA. There is a lot of feeling in ASEAN government and defence circles that Australia and New Zealand have such good links with

**Australasian Spartacist**

the US through ANZUS that in dealing with Australia, they are dealing with the US by proxy. The difference is that Australia's military presence in Malaysia is acceptable, whereas an American military presence would not be."

— Pacific Defence Reporter, October 1982

## Down with Imperialist Conspiracies against Vietnam!

The target of a revived ANZUK and of all the US/China/Australia/ASEAN counterrevolutionary regional alliances and conspiracies, is the heroic Vietnamese workers state. As the USSR's main Asian ally, encircled and war-ravaged Vietnam is a major target of the Reagan/Fraser anti-Soviet war drive. The imperialists allow it no peace, seeking to bleed it white through Chinese military pressure in the north combined with arms and "humanitarian" aid which sustains the Kampuchean guerrillas operating along the Thai-Kampuchean border. A shaky, US/ASEAN-sponsored Kampuchean coalition has been patched together to (successfully) hold Kampuchea's UN seat. It groups the dregs of the previous three overthrown regimes, bloodstained and barbarous oppressors all: the feudal despot and imperialist pimp Sihanouk, the CIA's Son Sann and the genocidal butchers of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Recently the Australian government resumed sending "aid" to the two "non-communist" components of what must surely be the most unsavoury bunch of CIA-blessed "freedom fighters" east of the Khyber Pass. Like the US, Australian imperialism too was defeated in Vietnam and nurtures a thirst for bloody revenge against the Vietnamese revolution.

Australia entered the Vietnam war not simply to serve its US overlord but to defend its own privileged yet vulnerable existence as a white imperialist outpost against the perceived deadly peril of advancing, Chinese-backed Asian communism. Michael Sexton's book *War For The Asking* details how Canberra fought to get an "invitation" to send troops to Vietnam in 1964/5, as part of a strategy of widening the war, bombing the north and hard-line opposition to any negotiations, in order to permanently embroil the US militarily in South-East Asia as a guarantee of Australian "security". Though its military capacity is modest, Australian imperialism has always sought big-power protection by offering its assistance with any imperialist dirty work that needs doing — providing battalions to "fight communism" in Korea in 1950, in the Malayan "emergency" from 1955, in Borneo during Indonesian-Malaysian "Konfrontasi" in 1965, on through to Vietnam. This is especially true when its regional interests are directly involved, but also when they are not, for example in "peace-keeping" forces like Zimbabwe 1980, Sinai today or the proposed UN Namibia force in the future.

The Spartacist League stands for unconditional military defence of the USSR and all the deformed workers states against imperialist attack or internal counterrevolution. This defence begins at home against "our own" ruling class, up to its neck in Reagan's mad drive toward nuclear holocaust. In addition, Australian revolutionaries have a particular debt to repay to the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Through their long struggle and final victory, they stripped the "democratic" mask off the Australian ruling class and dealt it a stunning defeat. Vietnam's victory blew a breach in the wall of White Australia racism and anti-communism and opened up great opportunities for building a revolutionary party in this country. But the overwhelming majority of the Vietnam anti-war movement never broke from the social patriotism and bourgeois defeatism represented by the Labor Party and its left satellites. Today that task still remains as the Laborites join the Liberals in actively backing US imperialism's mobilisation to destroy the Vietnamese revolution and globally destroy the gains of the Russian Revolution. The imperialists' war plans must be smashed through proletarian revolution in Australia and all the imperialist centres. Smash the war drive against Vietnam and the Soviet Union! Smash ANZUS, ANZUK, the Manila Pact! Australian military out of South-East Asia and the Pacific! US bases out of Australia, the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia! Australian troops out of Sinai!

## Racist Murder ...

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Bowen fires the gun, one black gets 7 or 8 pellets and a couple of other people are peppered. All of those affected by the shotgun blast get it in the back. After the shooting by Bowen 17 blacks were herded out toward the mission by police armed with shotguns and taken into custody purportedly under the Intoxicated Persons Act."

Blacks daily face massive harassment and "legal" terror from the racist cops. And for years now in Moree the cops have turned a blind eye as gangs of white racist scum have terrorised blacks, nightriding through the black housing villages rifles blasting. Against these murderous racist vigilante gangs the black communities must have the right to armed self defence! Right now one of the three white youths charged with McIntosh's murder and the would-be murderer Bowen — charged only with malicious wounding! — are roaming the streets of Moree free on bail. Jail Bowen and the killers of Ronald McIntosh!

After the cops had helped set up this murder and then rounded up the surviving victims NSW police "union" president John Greaves announced that "the police themselves are being harassed by a small percentage of Aboriginals in these towns" and called for more cops with full riot gear. When Sydney homicide detectives conducted a re-enactment of the shooting a Moree cop threatened one of the young blacks, "you'll keep", while later that week more than 25 of Wran's racists in blue patrolled the 1200 black mourners at McIntosh's funeral. Nor is this cop terror limited to the rural backwaters. In Sydney's Redfern nothing has changed from the days of the notorious 21 Division under Askin's Liberals to life under Labor for inner-city blacks. In a telegram to Wran, Paul Coe of the Aboriginal Legal Service told of a terror campaign by undercover cops against Aborigines in Redfern including a cop who shot hydrochloric acid into the eyes of a legal service solicitor with a water pistol. The genocidal program of White Australia racism towards the Aboriginal population is most clearly seen in capitalism's guardians of "law and order". "I thought we wiped you all out", one cop said to a Tasmanian black woman arrested during the recent Commonwealth Games.

In the wake of the murder Wran's Labor government is now talking about its long-promised "land rights" legis-

lation that will grant Aboriginal communities freehold title to the wretched reserves. For black activists the focus on land rights is an index of despair in the face of the pervasive Laborite racism that now dominates the organised workers movement. But racist terror and murder in Moree has ripped into the open the racism that lies behind the social-democratic left's cheerleading for land rights. Interviewed after the murder the darling of the reformist left Frank Walker, Wran's Attorney-General and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, smugly claimed that with land rights "many of these problems will disappear overnight", a claim that the Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* labelled "correct". In other words blacks facing white racist terror should be put back on the reserves, out of sight and out of mind.

Ownership of the land on which they live is scarcely even the most elementary justice for blacks on the reserves. But the rigid segregation of blacks under the guise of "land rights" will do nothing to alter the vicious racist status quo, the institutionalised poverty and unemployment of blacks, the cop terror. At best it will only transfer the desperate poverty of the shanty towns and "housing villages" back to the reserves, "community control" of bantustan-like segregation, which will remain just as vulnerable to continuing terror from marauding racist gangs.

White racist reaction is on the rise, and not just in the economically depressed country towns like Moree. In the industrial centres of Newcastle and Wollongong, faced with devastating mass unemployment as BHP declares war on the powerful steel and mine unions, poisonous anti-Asian racism is fuelled by the pro-company protectionism of the labour bureaucracy. Currently black unemployment in towns like Moree is over 90 percent. The Australian Workers Union which covers farm workers must fight to organise blacks in the inland country towns where, like slaves, they are used as a cheap pool of seasonal labour chipping cotton on plantations from Moree to Wee Waa.

The presently entrenched Laborite bureaucracy will not and cannot struggle against racist oppression, let alone to bring blacks into the labor movement. It will take proletarian revolutionary leadership to bring the power of labour to bear against the horrendous poverty, cop terror and racist vigilantism that face the black population. As capitalism drives deeper towards economic depression and war it "befouls the world atmosphere with national and race hatred" the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky said in the 1930s. Only proletarian revolution that totally destroys this white racist capitalist state can produce the necessary revolutionary integration of the black population in this country into all facets of social and economic life. The labour movement must crush racist terror! Jail the killers of Ronald McIntosh! ■

## KKK...

continued from page eight

join a picket line, noting that we had the largest contingent present.

As the Klan marchers neared City Hall Plaza shortly before 2 pm, the crowd saw what was happening and the picket line broke as militants rushed up to stop the KKK. At this point Workers World bullhorners tried to stop them, saying, "Stay where you are, keep the picket line going — That's not the way to fight the Klan, stay on the picket line." Thus they proved that their call to "Stop the Klan" was just empty rhetoric. But the militant elements in the demonstration ignored their advice.

The cops were not able to drive away the anti-Klan protesters, despite their vicious attacks. At one point the cop motor cycles headed straight for the middle of the Spartacist contingent in the hopes of breaking it up. But every time there was an opening, the crowd simply flowed around the cops. After

10-15 minutes of the police riot, demonstrators returned to the plaza where many regrouped around the SL/SYL banner reading, "No Trust in Capitalist Politicians/Troops/Cops! Black/Labour Defence Against Racist Attacks!" In particular, blacks were attracted by the Spartacist soapboxing as union militants from Detroit auto, Chicago steel and New York maritime called for class struggle to smash the fascists. Many joined in our chants, "Smash the Klan, this is the hour — Labour and blacks have got the power!"

Boston is not Klan territory, yet in recent years it has been a hotbed of racist hatred. In 1974, thousands of segregationist bigots led by Louise Day Hicks' ROAR marauded through South Boston and marched on City Hall denouncing "forced busing". Racist punks stoned school buses bringing courageous black children to integrate all-white schools. Paramilitary fascistic outfits like the South Boston Marshals fielded vigilante squads to terrorise minorities. It was this mobilisation of race hate in Boston that spelled the defeat of school integration throughout the North.

Yet in the midst of this race terror, with the lives of black schoolchildren threatened, the bulk of the so-called "left" was just as treacherous as the black and white liberals. While the SL campaigned with mass leaflets for labour/black defence, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed this as "make believe". The "realistic" SWP called instead for federal troops — the armed fist of the racist, capitalist state — as a "real, meaningful solution". (We pointed out that if troops were brought in, it would be to enforce a segregationist "law and order" and prevent any organised defence by black and union militants).

Only the Trotskyist Spartacist League has fought for the program of independent labour/black mobilisation, so sorely needed in 1974 and the key to today's victory. This means a struggle against the capitalist order which breeds racist reaction. Today as the KKK preys on the frustrations of poor whites suffering from massive unemployment and the catastrophic decay of American cities, the Trotskyists call for factory occupations (sitdown strikes) against plant shut-downs; for unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance; for a 30 hour workweek for 40 hours pay and to provide jobs for all.

The Spartacist League fights for a program of revolutionary integrationism and a multi-racial vanguard socialist party. We seek to harness the power of labour in the struggle for black equality, fighting within the unions against the poisonous racism which cripples united class struggle, and for a class-conscious leadership to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats. This is a road of long, hard struggle, to mobilise the workers movement as the vanguard of all the oppressed. But it is the only one which can liberate us all.

For labour/black mobilisations against the Klan! Break with the Democrats, black and white — Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! For black liberation through socialist revolution!

— adapted from Workers Vanguard no 316, 29 October 1982

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# Boston: Protesters Rout Klan, Cops Riot

## Smash the KKK!



Boston, October 16: KKK get cop protection against anti-KKK demonstrators.

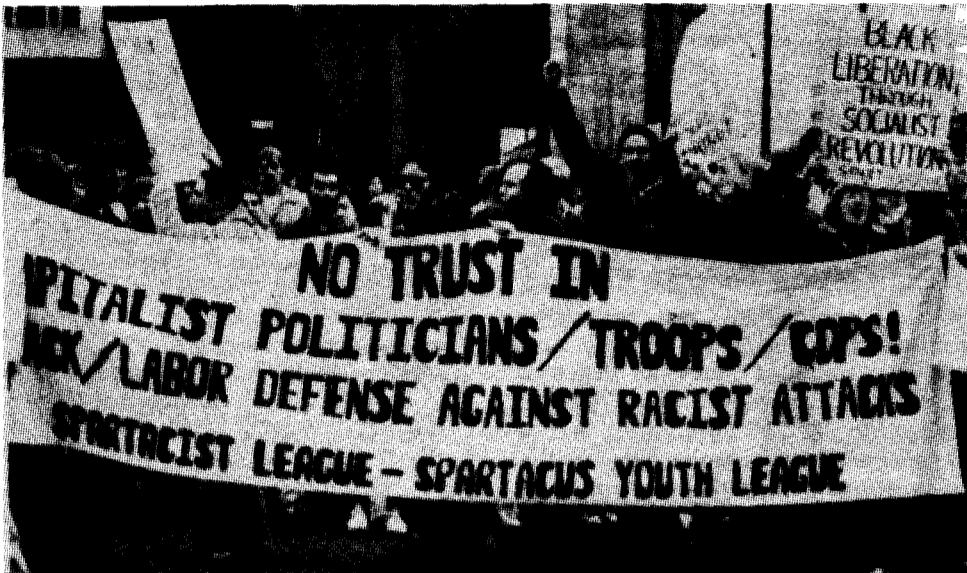
BOSTON, October 16 — Hooded and white-sheeted Ku Klux Klansmen were surrounded by an angry, jeering crowd of 1,500, pelted with eggs, and, scared out of their wits, were run off the streets of Boston today. Not even a full-scale riot by scores of motorcycle and mounted police defending the KKKers could disperse the protesters, who came determined to stop the fascists' provocation. It was the first solid anti-racist stand after years of unrelieved racist terror for black people in Boston. October 16 was a stunning blow against the cross-burners and lynchers that has been heard across the whole country.

Under Reagan reaction, the KKK figures it has a license to spew out its race-hate poison everywhere. A Klan-endorsed president in the White House, Democrats and Republicans united in an anti-Soviet war drive have made it open season on unions and minority rights at home. And Boston is where rampaging mobs of white racists took to the streets against busing. An ideal place for a Klan march, figured "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson. But the all-purpose hate mongers of the KKK not only target blacks, Jews, communists, labour: Catholics are also high on their hit list. So when Wilkinson said he'd parade in front of City Hall on Saturday, they all came out to stop him: Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, Blacks from Roxbury, unionists and others, mobilized in part by several left groups.

The Klan never made it to the plaza. When the robed nightriders appeared in broad daylight a block away from their target, hundreds of anti-Klan demonstrators surged forward and surrounded them (and their police escort) on all sides. Seconds later, the Klansmen were bombarded with eggs, tomatoes, bottles, garbage and anything else that could be found. The KKKers ducked; Wilkinson was shown on nationwide TV cringing. The cops, meanwhile, began beating on anyone around, particularly news photographers. As the crowd threatened to overwhelm the tiny phalanx, the terrified, humiliated fascists were bundled into paddy wagons — under police protection, not arrest — and whisked away. Only the cops prevented them from being stripped of their KKK costumes and pounded into the pavement. As the police

vans left, the protesters cheered their victory. The Klan would not parade its racist terror in the streets of Boston.

But the fight was far from over. No sooner were the Klansmen gone than the racists in blue abruptly launched an obviously planned attack on the demonstration. Mounted police wheeled around their horses and charged into protesters in Cambridge Street. Motorcycle cops roared into the crowd in City Hall Plaza. Then came the club-swinging, mace-spraying riot police, pushing demonstrators into other cops. There were police sharpshooters on the rooftops, plainclothesmen riddling the crowd. For many protesters there was no escape: everyone was fair game. Our own comrades barely escaped serious injury: some were maced, others blackjacked. Twelve demonstrators were hospitalised, scores received lesser injuries. There were two



SL/SYL contingent calls for Black/Labour defence against racist attacks. WV photo

arrests, but all the criminals — cops and Klansmen — went free. For hundreds of anti-Klan demonstrators, the bloody cop attack was a brutal lesson on the class nature of the capitalist state. Cries of "fascists" filled the Plaza, directed this time at the police.

The Klan attempt to march on Boston City Hall came about when Wilkinson appeared on a local television station as part of the KKK's campaign to gain a "respectable" image. The show was stopped as members of the Progressive Labor Party and its International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR) threw eggs and even a few punches at him. Infuriated, Wilkinson vowed to stage a provocation by parading in full Klan regalia.

In response both PL/InCAR and the All-Peoples Congress (APC), a vehicle for the Workers World Party (WWP),

announced counterdemos. At a Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) forum on "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" a class struggle contingent for the Saturday demo was announced and calls were made to mobilise Spartacist supporters. Significantly Boston's establishment black leadership entirely boycotted this crucial protest to stop the KKK terrorists.

When a contingent of several dozen SL/SYL supporters arrived, the police demanded that its signs be taken off the wooden sticks which are standard in Boston demonstrations. They clearly wanted protesters defenceless against what was coming. WWP spokesmen, who have frequently resorted to anti-communist violence to exclude Spartacists, this time invited the SL/SYL to

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## Smash Racist Vigilantism and Cop Terror!

# Racist Murder in Moree

It was premeditated racist murder. In the north-western NSW town of Moree at 1 am on the night of November 4 nineteen year-old Aboriginal Ronald "Cheeky" McIntosh was gunned down and two other blacks wounded in a hail of bullets from a white racist mob. The bourgeois press called it a "pub brawl" and a "race riot". When new Aboriginal head of the NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Pat O'Shane, charged murder, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 November) contemptuously reported it as "the murder". It was murder all right, a cold blooded racist killing that blew away the patronising liberal lies to expose the vicious racism policed by the Wran Labor administration in NSW. In a phone interview with *Australasian Spartacist* Aboriginal Legal Aid Officer, Chris Lawrence, related from Moree what happened that night.

"Nine or ten young Aboriginal men went to the Ned Kelly bar at the

Imperial Hotel. Two went to get drinks. At least one of the two had been barred from the pub, which happens a lot with blacks at that particular hotel. A fight breaks out. On one side between 9-12 Aboriginals, on the other 40-50 white people. The blacks are out-numbered about 4 to 1. The doors of the hotel are barricaded by the whites to stop any other blacks getting in as reinforcements, and so a few came in through a window. The blacks, having defended themselves with vigour, are driven out of the hotel down a nearby lane, which is a few hundred yards from the hotel. They positioned themselves a couple of hundred yards into the lane. They remained there for approximately 1½ hours. During that period, the large mob of white youths were milling around the nearby park and in their cars. A number of the cars regularly came into the lane way, reversing out. A couple of visits are made to the holed-up blacks by local Aboriginal leaders and also by Inspector Goddard, the senior cop in Moree. Generally what the black group is told is go home, but the blacks say it is too

dangerous to move out . . .

A short time after Inspector Goddard leaves, things seem very quiet and so a few of the people in the lane start to move out. They get a few yards and the shooting starts. The blacks don't know who is shooting and where it is coming from and there is pandemonium for a short time. Three people are hit, one is Ronald McIntosh, "Cheeky", hit in the upper chest by a heavy rifle. He dies very quickly. Two is Stephanie Duke, shot in back of the left shoulder by a .22, and another man, Warren Tighe, is shot in the lower right of the back. The wounded and "Cheeky" who is virtually dead, are taken to hospital. The rest of the group head to the hospital and hear that "Cheeky" has died, and there's a bit of a rampage in the main street and some windows get broken. After that a few whites are seen wandering around with shotguns. Some damage was done to the hotel where it all started and Ian Bowen, the publican, comes out with a shotgun. Somebody yells out, 'he's got a gun' and the blacks rush away.

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