Hayden/Hawke's answer: two more years of Fraser

Don't let the horror budget go unchallenged

For a general strike now!
Let the ALP take power!

Australian workers aresmarting under the most vicious austerity budget in decades. On 15 August the Fraser government set out to boost capitalist profits with a series of arrogant and brutal attacks on poor and working people. Medibank -- the only significant reform of the Whitlam government -- abolished; university fee packets stained by sharp tax rises designed to fall most heavily on low incomes; drastic cuts in already limping social services; a freeze on unemployment benefits while prices continue to rise; even a means test on further cost-of-living increases to the pitance doled out to old-age pensioners -- the message couldn't be clearer: the oppressed are to be mercilessly sacrificed on the altar of "business confidence". The bosses were over-

Racist white rule in Rhodesia nears bloody end

The guerrilla war against Rhodesia's white colonial rule, which began in the bush more than a generation ago is now spreading waves of panic among the residents of Salisbury's posh suburbs. Outside the capital, farmers nightly huddle over their machine guns in fortified compounds knowing that it may not be long before Salisbury begins to look like Saigon in the final frantic days before the Americans pulled out. Already white settlers are abandoning their swimming pools and tennis courts, leaving the country at the rate of 1000 per month. The sagging morale of the once-cocky colonialists was further weakened with the revelation that the chief of Rhodesian Customs and the Undersecretary for Defence, together with four businessmen, had been arrested for diverting millions of dollars in arms funds into Swiss bank accounts in preparation for a quick getaway.

Rhodesian leader Ian Smith pronounced the raid a success and was no doubt encouraged by the fact that while the bombs were falling in Mozambique, the American House of Representatives was preparing a small bombshell of its own: a vote to lift trade sanctions against Rhodesia if the elections promised by Smith and his three black front men are held as scheduled in December. The House action was a vote of confidence in the shaky Salisbury "transitional government" produced by the 3 March "internal settlement" which brought Bishop Abel Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and ex-ZANU leader Rev Ndabaningi Sithole onto the four-man Executive Council with Smith. But while the House was acting to prop up the colonial settlers, the Carter administration, which has written them off as a lost cause, continued its efforts to forge a compromise between Salisbury and the Soviet-armed Patriotic Front Alliance of Mugabe's ZANU and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo.

Ian Smith and his three stooges

The fraudulent nature of the "internal settlement" and the hollowness of the claim that it represents a genuine sharing of power in a country where blacks outnumber whites 19 to 1 was revealed by the fact that Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau were not even told about the latest raid until after it had already begun! This, however,

Port Kembla pig-iron boycott of 1938

... see page 6
Continued from page one

joyed. The stock market shot up the day after the budget was released. For their actions, what even the right-wing press called a "horror budget".

In parliament were some of the budget's pro-
visions that the press barons had been warning Fraser to get tough on, without considering the economy or our system of wages and prices.

The passage in the budget that promises to stimulate the economy. For three years Fraser has promised that he would bring down inflation and unemployment and restore the economy. For three years unemployment

lowers. For three years Fraser has promised that lowe

"violent" some demonstrators may have been goaded into

fence on Town Hall. Close Hayden in Parliament, these

on the working class, they claim to represent ex-

honest to take office themselves because they

self-defence. Workers cannot afford to wait two

party to assume capitalist slavery in a different guise.

society (although undoubtedly some petty-

one of his specialty sellouts to defuse the po-

of course homosexuals come from all classes of

view that Fraser could "ride out" a one-week 'general

shack up with Fraser refusing to say whether or not he had

on social services made by the Fraser

imal workers, who want Fraser out. Enough

whereabouts of the profit
tivity which, though not a stra-

voidance of the gay movement is a

of workers revolution" was

structure, not a series of four-hour stoppages!

accompanying scandals --

The Liberal government and its policies stand

clearly exposed as the dirty work of the profit-

ary quartering Fraser's own testimony to

that Fraser could "ride out" a one-week 'general

of the gay movement is a

society (although undoubtedly some petty-

of workers revolution" was

of workers revolution" was

of workers revolution" was

shack up with Fraser refusing to say whether or not he had

on social services made by the Fraser

imal workers, who want Fraser out. Enough

whereabouts of the profit
Stalinist invasion of Czechoslovakia “remembered” — Maoists rally for NATO

The trendy, small-"l" liberal Nation Review devoted its 11-17 August issue to commemorating the 40th anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries. Among the contributing authors was one Albert Langer, described as a "political activist Communist Party member" and "former resident of Cold Warrior, Frank Knoopfelmacher, sounds positively pacifistic. Langer painted a picture of a "Fascist" Russia, even more malignantly at work in the Soviet Union, and bent on world war III against the "Soviet threat."

What made the Langer piece so interesting was the (unmentioned) fact that he is the leading public spokesman and chief "theoretician" of the Maoist Movement for Independence and Socialism (MIS). The MIS and its associated "cadre-type" organisation, the Red Eureka Movement (REM), split last year from the Peking-London Communist Party of Australia (Maoist-Leninist) (CPA[ML]), claiming that China under Hua Kuo-feng is on the "capitalist road", Langer's journalistic debut preceded an MIS forum and rally to commemorate the invasion and (in the words of an MIS leaflet) "to highlight the increasingly aggressive nature of Soviet imperialism."

While wanting to distance themselves from some of the more embarrassing aspects of the Chinese line for Australia (eg fervent support for Fraser's "positive side") the MIS/REM have from inception been keen on proving their anti-Soviet credentials. Last year, in an article entitled "Remember Czechoslovakia" (NBR, 24 October 1977) the MIS castigated "those" (meaning of the more embarrassing aspects of the Chinese invasion) as "a Genocidal, Imperialist, and Fascist state". The invasion was condemned "as a capitalist conquest. His "solution" was clear: make Czechoslovakia part of a superpower version of "socialism" in which the Prague regime would have a "socialist" state, pushing "through a petty bourgeois road", pulling the "socialist roadism" in Maoist terms. In this it is certainly not "confusing". It is merely a call for "unity" with "socialists", not a call for "socialism". The absurdity of this theory was the lack of an actual "socialism". Indeed, Langer lamented the lack of an actual "socialist" state, pulling the "socialist turn" in the development of workers councils that sought to throw off the Stalinist bureaucratic yoke while maintaining capitalist counterrevolution. Stalinists were to claim twelve years later, had the Dubcek regime stood as an absolute barrier to the further advance of world socialism in Czechoslovakia toward an international socialist society.

The primary impetus for the Soviet invasion was not fear of a military threat from West Germany (as the Kremlin claimed), much less the Maoist fantasy of a Soviet drive to maintain its "colonialist economic exploitation". Rather, Brezhnev feared the possibility of political revolution in Czechoslovakia which would mortally threaten his own position. As the 1956 Hungarian revolution eloquently demonstrated, the Stalinist bureaucracies -- precisely because they are parasitic excesses rather than new, historically necessary, ruling classes -- are extremely brittle in the face of any real political upheaval.

The Spartacist tendency unambiguously condemned the Soviet invasion. To the Warsaw Pact trotskysists would have explained, "You should be in Vietnam fighting the imperialists". While vigilantly defending the nationalised property forms, Trotskyists would have fought for the perspective of political revolution to sweep away all wings of the bureaucracy -- a struggle which by its very nature could not have been confined to the borders of Czechoslovakia -- to establish real democracy based on workers councils.

NATO "Maoist-Leninist"

In his Nation Review article Langer cited as proof of the "aggressive intentions" of the USSR the numerical superiority of Warsaw Pact troops, tanks and planes in Europe and the growth of the Soviet arsenal. He neglects to mention the record: that the CPSU has not offered any political analysis of the "Prague Spring". Dubcek's "socialism with a human face" was neither a decisive break from Stalinist rule in the direction of proletarian democracy nor "capitalist counterrevolution", but rather one of the most dramatic of the periodic attempts at bureaucratic self-liquidation foisted on the ruling castes in Eastern Europe. By 1968 the Czech economy was in crisis, after years of stagnation and by the end of 1968 Novotny was in power and embarked on a program of economic reforms whose central features included speed-up and productivity deals in the factories, increased wage differentials for professionals and technicians and the introduction of various "socialist market" schemes pioneered by Tito in Yugoslavia and Kadar in Hungary -- archetypal "capitalist roadism". In August 1978, in exchange Dubcek was forced to tolerate a series of significant political concessions, most notably the relaxation of political censorship. But faced with workers' resistance to his policies Dubcek would inevitably have resorted to repression as did the once-"liberal" Gomulka regime in Poland in 1971. Every bit as committed as the Kremlin to accommodation with imperialism and to "building socialism in a single country"...
The coal strike of 1977-78 posed in its most dramatic form in recent years in the United States. Coal miners of all sections -- from Kentucky to West Virginia, from Illinois to Pennsylvania -- were joined by miners of the UMWA in a united battle against the bosses.

The underlying cause of the strike was the coal companies' determination to reduce wages and working conditions. This led to a series of bitter battles, culminating in the 1977-78 coal strike.

The strike was fought by the miners against the bosses and the union bureaucracy, which had allowed the coal companies to dictate terms. The miners were joined by other workers and trade unionists, who supported the strike as a battle against the bosses.

The strike was a significant event in the history of the labor movement in the United States. It showed the strength of the miners and their willingness to fight for their rights.

The strike was also a test of the strength of the union bureaucracy, which had allowed the coal companies to dictate terms. The miners' victory was a testament to their determination to fight for a better future for all workers.
against its opponents in the UMWA similarly ends in a class struggle. While paying lip service to the principle of trade-union independence from the state, the petty-bourgeois SWP entirely subordinated this to some classless conception of "democracy." For Kramer, the Trotskyist position that the achievement of genuine workers' democracy is integrally linked to the struggle for trade-union independence is dismissed as "sectarian.

The SWP and the labor bureaucracy

Kramer attacks this position as follows:

"But not by the sectarians' logic. According to their rule book, the trade union struggle must proceed in two distinct stages. First come the fight for trade-union independence. Then, and only then, are workers allowed to fight for democracy in their unions..."

"The preoccupation for union democracy... according to Workers Vanguard, 'is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state'."

Ultraleft? Sectarian? Here's what Trotsky wrote on this issue in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay".

"The slogan is: trade-union democracy. This second flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete elimination of the imperialist or colonial state." (Our emphasis)

Thus, in addition to the SL and thousands of coal miners who support Miller, Kramer may well add to her list of "sectarians" Leon Trotsky.

"It is in fact not the SL but Kramer and the SWP who have a two-stage conception of trade-union work -- who believe that independence of the trade union is prior to class struggle. The Transitional Program can be justified in favor of the reformist slogans of liberal bureaucrats like Miller and Sadowski. Kramer takes as good cause the claims by Arnold Miller that he instituted democracy in the UMWA. Her proof? Miners have the right to ratify their contracts. Of course, under the law, this right is guaranteed. But this existence is hardly proof that union democracy is flourishing. East Coast longshoremen, truck drivers, [truck drivers] have the right to ratify their contracts; does Kramer believe that Teddy Gleason and Frank Fitzsimmons run democratic unions?"

The absurdity of abstracting a particular supportable demand from the context of the class struggle is shown by the miners strike itself. The strike was, in fact, conducted in an extraordinary manner. The miners were exploited by the leadership of the UMWA. Bargaining was conducted, as Kramer admits, behind closed doors; the rank and file had no power to choose their negotiators or to formulate strike strategy and strike demands. Eventual, after 100 days of a heroic battle and after rejecting two of Miller's sellout proposals, the miners exercised their right to ratify -- by voting for a deal that gave up their miners' health card and still did not include the right to strike. As a result of the UMWA sellout, the miners gained the right to strike. Thereafter, the miners voted to strike. (Unfortunately, the miners did not vote Miller supporters in.) Why did miners vote for this contract they despised? Because they had no other choice. The withdrawal of union support might have won more, but they saw no way to replace this leadership. As Trotsky continually emphasized, the fight for workers democracy is inseparable from the fight to build a class-struggle leadership of the unions. The labor bureaucracy, which is wedded to the maintenance of private property, must desperately seek to stifle the militant instincts of the rank and file. In the UMWA, the decisive issue was upon the SWP's reliance on the bourgeois state. From the time Miller was boosted into power by the Labor Department in 1972, he has assiduously demonstrated his fealty to the capitalist legal order, repeatedly demanding that wildcats be stopped in accord with anti-strike court injunctions. This culminated in the current contract battle, where Miller and the majority of the UMWA district officials literally took their marching orders from Carter and the Labor Department.

In order to carry out their policies, Miller and the UMWA bureaucrats have time and again clashed with the miners. Does Kramer wish to deny the considerable evidence of bureaucratic suppression of democracy in the UMWA:

- Rebelling of opponents and militants
- Formulation of the notorious ten-point program designed to discipline participants in wildcats.
- Attempted suppression of one wildcat after another, including dispatch of goon squads to dismantle picket lines.
- Expulsion of the left press from the 1976 UMWA convention.
- Behind-closed-doors contract bargaining, both in 1976 and 1977-78, with the railroadline of sellout deals. No provisions for elected strike committees, etc.

None of this matters to Kramer and Arnold Miller. According to them, miners can vote on contracts and therefore there is "democracy" in the UMWA. As for the SL, we have no intention of allowing the union hacks and their "left" lackeys to claim democracy.

Dunne brothers -- Trotskyist leaders of 1934 Minneapolis strike. SWP leader quoted: "That Miller's pistol-packing strong-arm turgery, secrecy, rebating and strikebreaking add up to worker democracy."

The SWP goes to considerable lengths to find a precedent for using the unions. Accompanying Kramer's article in the SWP's SWP was a box entitled "Minneapolis Teamsters and the Courts", which boasted of the role played by the Minnesota governor Stassen's "slave-labor law", against Teamstrer president Dan Tobin. At that time Tobin was in jail running the Minneapolis truck drivers, who had just disaffiliated from the [conservative, craft-union based] AFL Teamsters and affiliated with the [newly formed industrial] Teamsters Union. The failure of this vicious witchhunt launched by Tobin's act was "magnificent in the White House, Franklin Roosevelt, which culminated in the famous Minneapolis: sedition trial of 1941 and the imprisonment of 18 Trotskyist leaders. As one could readily surmise from the circumstances, the appeal to the courts and the government against Tobin was to be四是 (a fact which the SWP will not let anyone know)."

When opinion against Tobin, though incorrect and contrary to the Trotskyist program, was a minor incident in the history of the SWP's work in the Minneapolis Teamsters. Nor was it the only mistake made by the party in this work; Trotsky, for example, more than once criticized the Teamster fraction for adapting itself to the politics of the pro-Roosevelt trade-union "progressive". But such criticisms in no way vitiate the revolutionary core of the Minneapolis Teamster organizing of the then-Trotskyist SWP. At its high point, such as the 1934 general strike, Trotskyist leaders mobilized the workers directly in the face of the vigilantes, the court injunctions, the National Guard [troops]. Today, the degenerate, reformist SWP chooses to make its point on the "character of the capitalist state not by a struggle to such struggles, but by ou­

un" of the two-bit court suit against the Tobin court injunctions. As a matter of fact, the SWP, before it abandoned the Trotskyist tradition and sank into reformism during the 1960s, fought bitterly against linking to the courts against the union bureaucrats. Today Kramer whines of the SL position:

"By this [his] logic, union militants who protest corruption and fascism, called on steel workers to wage a joint strike with miners, and in the face of Taft-H}

Continued on page nine
The past decade has seen a proliferation of campaign for economic boycotts of various sorts. Reformists and liberals have urged consumers to boycott South African sardines and diamonds; multinationals have joined in and boycott "racist" profits by divesting themselves of South African shareholdings; the new wave of "democratic" bourgeois governments to impose "no aid, no trade" or "cut all ties" with Chile, South Africa, Indonesia and a host of other repressors.

Reformists and liberals have urged consumers to shareholdings; the SS Dalfram, Japanese imperialists, similar appeals were raised for consumer boycotts, trade-union bans and League of Nations sanctions.

Whether or not socialists support such boycotts depends in the first instance on who is using them for what aim and with what effects. Most recently, there has been an anti-communist outcry for a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, ostensibly as a means of securing "human rights" for Soviet dissidents, but in fact as part of an international imperialist offensive against the Soviet degenerated workers state which has nothing in common with the struggle for genuine workers democracy in the USSR. Obviously such a boycott would be thoroughly reactionary and unenforceable.

Similarly, we give no support to imperialist trade sanctions. Boycotts carried out by imperialist powers, or combines of imperialist powers like the League of Nations or the United Nations, are for the sole purpose of defending imperialist interests, interests ultimately defended through war. The working class does not take sides in inter-imperialist conflicts, in attempts to divide and redivide the world for markets and exploitation, even when, as they usually are, carried out under humanitarian guises like "combating" fascism, "making the world safe for democracy" etc. The Australian bourgeoisie is no more "progressive" than the Indonesian; British imperialism was no more "democratic" for its colonial subjects than Japanese -- the oppressed millions of the black, white and yellow who were clear about that. Earlier on the colonialist scene than Germany and Japan, British imperialism was therefore in a position not of carrying out such boycotts, but of putting those which it had carried out a century earlier.

However in conflicts which are not part of, or subservient to, such an offensive regime -- for example, the struggles against Italian imperialist aggression in Ethiopia and the Japanese rape of China, against the South African racist social revolution in China which a successful mass resistance would inevitably have unleashed. But Australian capital recognised that its central, long-term interest lay in opposition to Japan. The inter-imperialist war which was looming would find Japan pitted against the militarily weak Australian bourgeoisie's dreams of the crumbling British empire and the rising American one, in a struggle for domination of China and the Pacific.

The small Trotskyist Workers Party (WP) responded to the invasion with agitation for class-struggle opposition to the Japanese aggression. The international proletariat had to take its stand against the fake-Trotskyist revisionist critique of the Stalinised Comintern through American seamen docking in Sydney. Uniquely within the Australian labour movement, the Trotskyists refused to succumb to the chauvinist tide ushering in the coming inter-imperialist bloodbath or to renge on their internationalist responsibility to the Chinese workers and peasants.

Following the outbreak of war in China, the WP addressed a leaflet (dated 13 October 1937) to Sydney watersiders raising the slogans: "Defeat Japanese Imperialism -- Support the Japanese Revolution"; "For the overthrow of Chiang K'ai-shek -- Power to the Workers and Peasants of China!" The Trotskyists called on the wharfies to "Refuse Japanese goods on 1 January 1938. To and from Japan -- Don't buy Japanese Goods", and later to boycott a workers' act ion are fire and water; they cannot combine. The Kembla boycott demonstrated that support to the Workers and Peasants of China, the inter-imperialist war which was looming would find Japan pitted against the militarily weak Australian bourgeoisie's dreams of the crumbling British empire and the rising American one, in a struggle for domination of China and the Pacific.

The small Trotskyist Workers Party (WP) responded to the invasion with agitation for class-struggle opposition to the Japanese aggression. The international proletariat had to take its stand against the fake-Trotskyist revisionist critique of the Stalinised Comintern through American seamen docking in Sydney. Uniquely within the Australian labour movement, the Trotskyists refused to succumb to the chauvinist tide ushering in the coming inter-imperialist bloodbath or to renge on their internationalist responsibility to the Chinese workers and peasants.

Following the outbreak of war in China, the WP addressed a leaflet (dated 13 October 1937) to Sydney watersiders raising the slogans: "Defeat Japanese Imperialism -- Support the Japanese Revolution"; "For the overthrow of Chiang K'ai-shek -- Power to the Workers and Peasants of China!" The Trotskyists called on the wharfies to "Refuse Japanese goods on 1 January 1938. To and from Japan -- Don't buy Japanese Goods", and later to boycott a workers' act ion are fire and water; they cannot combine. The Kembla boycott demonstrated that support to the Workers and Peasants of China, the inter-imperialist war which was looming would find Japan pitted against the militarily weak Australian bourgeoisie's dreams of the crumbling British empire and the rising American one, in a struggle for domination of China and the Pacific.
a month later by the ACTU (Derek McCallum, "The Australian Labour Movement and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1938", Labour History no 53, November 1977). But the "leftist" bureaucrats' calls for labour boycotts were meant only for the moment. Their apparent "anti-imperialism" was in fact support to British, US imperialism (they had, of course, never felt the need to utter even a word of solidarity against British imperialist domination of China). The ACTU executive welcomed the "condemnation of Japan" by that "international" dom of thieves, the League of Nations, and the US TLC ('Hands Off China Committee') urged that "Britain should stand with the United States in protesting against the aggression of Japanese imperialism". Both called for government trade sanctions.

The CPA, too, "opposed" Japanese imperialism by supporting its equally murderous rivals. This was the period of the "people's front" in the Comintern, a policy dictated by the diplomatic manoeuvres of the bureaucracy in the USSR. In response to the rise of German fascism and Japanese militarism, the Stalin bureaucracy sought to "defend the national revolution" and "prove" "democratic" imperialism, at the expense of the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists were interested not in independent class action in defence of the Soviet Union and the colonial 1938. Trotsky pointed out in an interview with the CPWA, (Militant, Weekly, 21 January 1938)

Lyons was loyal to his class, to his "people". It was the CPA which was pacifist -- to the working class, the class it claimed to represent. The bourgeoisie could not recognise that patriotism and class struggle were counterposed. As the Sydney Morning Herald (25 May 1938) observed: strikes "might cause serious retardation of the defensive programme, and... should be, according to the patriarchal expressions of the wharf-labourers, the very last thing they would desire."

Boycotts of "war materials"

The Port Kembla action was only the last of a series of largely spontaneous rank-and-file labour boycotts of Japanese commerce expressly in solidarity with China, and often against the wishes of the union officials. On 12 October 1937, members of theRandall Lampers Union refused to load coal onto a Japanese whaling ship; then Geelong workers stopped work to protest against the loading of Japanese wheat. On 19 January the Port Kembla wharfies refused to handle the load of 500 tons of lead for the Melbourne Mara was blacked, followed a week later by a ban on scrap iron aboard the Ataura Mara.

The ban was broadened to include tin clippings when the men on the job decided these had military application. Wool was loaded onto the Melbourne Mara, on the other hand, on the grounds that it "might be used for the civilian population of Japan" (Militant Weekly, 21 January 1938). Admittedly, the wharfies wanted only to prevent Japanese militarism, not inflict hardship on the civilian population, but in war it is hard to draw the line between "civilian" and "military" materials: wool could after all be used for uniforms. The Trotskyists correctly called for the extension of independent workers action against Japan. This included refusal to handle all cargoes 'to and from Japan' (Weekly, 7 February 1938). However it was "impossible in extending the boycott call to include a general consumer boycott". Trotskyists had to admit that it "might be used for the civilian population of Japan."

Pacifist, chauvinist anti-nuclear movement distorts militant tradition of 1938 boycott.
Rhodesia... Continued from page one did not prevent the three black quislings from defending the invasion authored by the all-white Rhodesian regime. Muzorewa, in London trying to sell the British on the "transitional government" masquerade, bravely opened the assault, claiming that, "We have started a democratic process, but there are forces within this country that would like to disrupt that democratic process, so that some time we will do things that we don't like to do normally. As to whether such things are good or bad, that's something that this government will have to decide with the guerrillas for its own masses.

While the just hatred of the black masses for the bloody-handed white colonialists leads naturally to attacks on the missionaries and the company the imperialists to Africa, there is evidence that Rhodesian claims of guerrilla massacres of missionaries and black villagers are indeed cover stories for the atrocities of the regime's black troops. Sister Janice McLaughlin, a Maryknoll nun expelled from Rhodesia by the Smith government, recently met in the August session of Swaziland's assembly the inconsistency in the government's charge that Catholic and evangelical missionaries suffering government repression for assisting the guerrillas are the victims of massacre by those same guerrillas. McLaughlin reported that pro-government clergy in the Dutch Reformed Church are apparently immune from attack. She quoted the remarks of a French missionary who exposed the Smith government's game as they were stated in an interview with a Paris weekly that, "I have been told that in some operations there were Selous Scouts [a secret counter-insurgency unit] who disguised themselves as Mozambican soldiers or guerrillas to attack the villagers and travelers or kill missionaries."

"Blood rule" - a reformist/imperialist hoax The white settler regime in Rhodesia is a barbaric anachronism. Although detached from Britain by the 1885 "Unilateral Declaration of Independence", Rhodesia remains a relic of the British colonial empire. The "majority rule" advocated by Smith and endorsed by his black front men is a colonialist hoax in which the white population (four percent and shrinking fast) would hold effective veto power over the parliament by their control, directly or by nomination, of 28 of 100 seats. Moreover the army and the police force - the real basis of state power - as well as the upper ranks of the civil service would continue to be dominated by whites for an indefinite period.

The fraudulence of the "internal settlement" as such is further revealed by the democratic aspirations of the black masses of Rhodesia was highlighted by the white regime's "majority rule" now - as "inadequate" (US SWP, 15 April 1977). The SWP called to "smash apartheid" by the US SWP (quoted in Young Spartacist, 20 June 1967)

Even the SWP was compelled to announce the "internal settlement" as a "victory for whites", only a few weeks after it had predicted that "the white regime has been compelled to concede black majority rule by the strength of the Zambian masses" (International, 12 August). No doubt the police force - the real basis of state power - as well as the upper ranks of the civil service would continue to be dominated by whites for an indefinite period.

The road to the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International!...
countries. His long-standing split with Nkombo's ZANU-PF, which he considered a different and independent organization from the ZANU resulting from personal rivalry and above all tribal enmity. Thus, it was not surprising that Nkombo openly condemned the MNLA's betrayal of the SAMWU and ZANU-PF alliance. Indeed, the ZANU guerrillas were as the SMF and GNU. The widespread reports that Nkombo's men are clashing with the ZANU guerrillas as the latter extend their control over southern Mozambique. The defeat of the Smith government would undoubtedly be followed by the eventual demise of the newly-bloated bourgeoisie.

What was true at the time of the 'internal' separation of the SWAP, as a political perspective, was also true today.

**Swaptarianism**

Swaptarianism is a way of thought and action which seeks to achieve the victory of socialism through the use of counterrevolutionary methods and tactics. It is characterized by the following features:

- **Vilification of the Enemy**: Swaptarianism seeks to denigrate and undermine the enemy at every opportunity, regardless of the cost to the cause of socialism.
- **Use of Counterrevolutionary Methods**: Swaptarianism advocates the use of counterrevolutionary methods, such as terrorism, assassination, and other forms of violence, to achieve its goals.
- **Opposition to the Party**: Swaptarianism is opposed to the party, which it considers to be a tool of the enemy.
- **Lack of Unity**: Swaptarianism is characterized by division and factionalism, which prevent the party from functioning as a cohesive and effective organization.
- **Loss of Faith**: Swaptarianism leads to a loss of faith in the party and the cause of socialism, which makes it difficult to maintain a revolutionary perspective.

Swaptarianism is a danger to the socialist movement, as it undermines the unity and discipline of the party, and it is a threat to the revolutionary perspective of socialists.

**Swaptarianism**

Swaptarianism is a term used to describe a tendency within the socialist movement that prioritizes the interests of the party over the needs of the working class. It is characterized by the following features:

- **Lack of Focus on the Working Class**: Swaptarianism tends to prioritize the interests of the party over the needs of the working class, which can lead to a failure to address the root causes of social and economic inequality.
- **Opposition to the State**: Swaptarianism tends to view the state as a tool of the bourgeoisie, and it advocates for the overthrow of the state by force.
- **Opposition to Democracy**: Swaptarianism tends to view democracy as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for the establishment of a dictatorship.
- **Opposition to Peace**: Swaptarianism tends to view peace as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for violence as a means to achieve its goals.

Swaptarianism is a danger to the socialist movement, as it undermines the unity and discipline of the party, and it is a threat to the revolutionary perspective of socialists.

**Swaptarianism**

Swaptarianism is a term used to describe a tendency within the socialist movement that prioritizes the interests of the party over the needs of the working class. It is characterized by the following features:

- **Lack of Focus on the Working Class**: Swaptarianism tends to prioritize the interests of the party over the needs of the working class, which can lead to a failure to address the root causes of social and economic inequality.
- **Opposition to the State**: Swaptarianism tends to view the state as a tool of the bourgeoisie, and it advocates for the overthrow of the state by force.
- **Opposition to Democracy**: Swaptarianism tends to view democracy as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for the establishment of a dictatorship.
- **Opposition to Peace**: Swaptarianism tends to view peace as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for violence as a means to achieve its goals.

Swaptarianism is a danger to the socialist movement, as it undermines the unity and discipline of the party, and it is a threat to the revolutionary perspective of socialists.

**Swaptarianism**

Swaptarianism is a term used to describe a tendency within the socialist movement that prioritizes the interests of the party over the needs of the working class. It is characterized by the following features:

- **Lack of Focus on the Working Class**: Swaptarianism tends to prioritize the interests of the party over the needs of the working class, which can lead to a failure to address the root causes of social and economic inequality.
- **Opposition to the State**: Swaptarianism tends to view the state as a tool of the bourgeoisie, and it advocates for the overthrow of the state by force.
- **Opposition to Democracy**: Swaptarianism tends to view democracy as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for the establishment of a dictatorship.
- **Opposition to Peace**: Swaptarianism tends to view peace as a tool of the enemy, and it advocates for violence as a means to achieve its goals.

Swaptarianism is a danger to the socialist movement, as it undermines the unity and discipline of the party, and it is a threat to the revolutionary perspective of socialists.
Students... Continued from page fourteen

in the Broad Left and "justified" the scabbery. The STA's cavalry response (in the words of Tony Abbott) was "the bit of scabbing and lefty friends". For months the STA's parent Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had been calling for the expulsion of political leaders of the New Course on the basis of diversions from "the Party's special line". The Base Left also took an anti-academy line, with a protest action on the Student Union (which was in a general strike for higher pay and longer holidays) and a demonstration against the proposed "New Course" policy. But to keep within

The class line at Sydney Uni does not lie between right and "left" student politicians, between engineering students and General Philosophy students. It lies between those who oppose the Bourgeois State and those who support it. And in the SRC elections, the Spartacist Club stood on one side of the class line and the Base Left, the pontificating UEGs of Tony Abbott's ilk on the other. Neither of these positions drew the class line clearly.

"Left" or right, a scab is a scab.

...Continued from page seven

Page Ten AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST September 1978

Young Spartacists Monthly newspaper of the Spartacist Youth League

AVAILABLE NOW:
The complete set of leaflets from the Sydney university anti-watersiders campaign - 36 pages. Copies of signed statements and statutory declarations relating Nichols/Ramjan slanders $1 including postage.

Port Kembla... Continued from page seven

fired to the waterfront.

When rank-and-file wharfies in Sydney spread the strike by blacking pig iron to be loaded on to the new SOLCRAKE steamer, the wharfies fought hard to get the ban lifted and mounted a successful battle. The SOLCRAKE crews fought hard to get the ban lifted and mounted a successful battle. The SOLCRAKE crews fought hard to get the ban lifted and mounted a successful battle. The SOLCRAKE crews fought hard to get the ban lifted and mounted a successful battle.
stayed, and the ship sailed without pig iron.

On 17 January, Healy and Roach struck a deal with the workers' rights group -- and called for a government boycott of all imports from Indonesia, which was then involved in a civil war. The workers' rights group, led by the Workers Weekly, backed the strike and called for on the wharfies to initiate a strike and prevent the workers from accepting it.

The Workers Party denounced the settlement as "a victory" after "a great victory" they "had won in the campaign". The strikers "would be able to show the Federal government the strength of the workers" and the wharfies. It got voted down overwhelmingly. The Dalfram workers, who had already voted to ban pig iron when the wharfies were paralysing the port, were not consulted.

The workers' rights group produced only minor modifications, the CPA's "alternative" budget and the SWP's "socialist policies" with which they can better cope. It will also be a "sack" for the workers. This entire collection of would-be Haydn-Mooncuers has already failed to provide a concrete perspective for the present crisis precisely because they are tied politic ally to the Hayden/Mooncuers.

The IS, to be sure, called for a general strike but in so unassertive a fashion as to render its call ineffective. The Trotskyists (in Workers Weekly, 29 November 1938) praised the Port Kembla wharfies not for militant class solidarity, but for patriotism: "By taking this action they ... express a very sincere love for their country" and "love of country"? By selling out the mass ranks of the CPR and then publishing their policy of "socialism"? In their pacifist campaign to "preserve" the Sino-Japanese conflict became subordinated to "an anti-union "campaigning" to the Hayden/Mooncuers.

The Trotskyists (in Workers Weekly, 29 November 1938) praised the workers' rights group for their "revolutionary defeatism in both the "democratic" and "socialist" traditions, a "travesty upon that militant proletarian struggle, to ban pig iron when the wharfies were paralysing the port". They advocated a government boycott of all imports from Indonesia, which was then involved in a civil war. The workers' rights group produced only minor modifications, the CPA's "alternative" budget and the SWP's "socialist policies" with which they can better cope. It will also be a "sack" for the workers. This entire collection of would-be Haydn-Mooncuers has already failed to provide a concrete perspective for the present crisis precisely because they are tied politically to the Hayden/Mooncuers.

On 17 January, Healy and Roach struck a deal with the workers' rights group -- and called for a government boycott of all imports from Indonesia, which was then involved in a civil war. The workers' rights group, led by the Workers Weekly, backed the strike and called for on the wharfies to initiate a strike and prevent the workers from accepting it.
The logic of reformism –
CPA, SRC leaders scab at Sydney University

On 14 July, three weeks before the Student Representative Council (SRC) elections at Sydney University, the two secretaries who staff the SRC office staged a three-hour strike around the demand for job permanency, a vital necessity given the fickle political winds which blow through the SRC. They warned SRC president Barbara Ramjan and acting honorary secretary/treasurer Gary Nicholls, a Communist Party (CPA) member and guru of the pro-CPA campus Communist Group (CG), that if any work was done in the office during the strike they would consider it, correctly, scabbing. When the secretaries returned to their office, they found the shutters unlocked and the phone off night switch. Nicholls and Ramjan — “socialists” — had scabbed!

Nicholls and Ramjan are perhaps the two most prominent figures in the Broad Left, the “progressive” coalition in the elections supported by the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA), the CG, the International Socialists (IS), the Labor Club, the “Harrist-Feminists” etc. The Broad Left knew these two had scabbed; yet for two weeks this information was deliberately suppressed.

On 27 August police surrounded and broke up a march by some 500 participants at the Fourth National Homosexual Conference in Sydney’s Paddington Town Hall. As the marchers were proceeding peacefully from Paddington to Hyde Park in order to protest against a rally by the reactionary Right to Life organisation, the cops moved in, ordering them to disperse and started to drag them off.

The marchers were given exactly seven seconds to disperse from the time the cops gave the second order to disperse. They had in fact already begun leaving as the police surrounded them and began their indiscriminate round-up. When a smaller group of marchers made it to Hyde Park, the cops staged another mass arrest, bringing the total number of protesters arrested that day to 104. In that dragnet they also arrested three Right-to-Lifers as a face-saving show of “imbalance”. So brutal were these thugs in manhandling their victims that even Fairfax’s Sydney Morning Herald was compelled to register a protest at the cops’ treatment of one of their photographers who was mistaken for a demonstrator. Included among the arrested were two supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) and six Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supporters. This brings the number of gay-rights protesters arrested by Wran’s cops in the last two months to a total of 178! All the charges against all the 178 must be dropped! The labour movement bears a serious responsibility and duty in particular to mobilise its unique social power to defend those arrested and demand an end to these incessant attacks. Trade unionists and members of the ALP should condemn and repudiate Wran’s actions, as we have at least two ALP branches in Sydney. At its 4 August meeting the Sorry Hills branch passed a resolution “condemning the arrests staged by Wran’s forces”. Continued on page ten

Defend gay rights protesters — No more sectarian games
Wran stages new mass arrests

For the fourth time in less than two months, the NSW Labor government of Premier Neville Wran has staged a massive crackdown on supporters of hom­osexual rights, rivalling only the openly reactionary government of Queensland premier Bob Skille-Petersen for its flagrant disdain for elementary democratic rights. On 27 August police surrounded and broke up a march by some 500 participants at the Fourth National Homosexual Conference in Sydney’s Paddington Town Hall. As the marchers were proceeding peacefully from Paddington to Hyde Park in order to protest against a rally by the reactionary Right to Life organisation, the cops moved in, ordering them to disperse and started to drag them off.

The police attack was a deliberate trap! The marchers were given exactly seven seconds to disperse from the time the cops gave the second order to disperse. They had in fact already begun leaving as the police surrounded them and began their indiscriminate round-up. When a smaller group of marchers made it to Hyde Park, the cops staged another mass arrest, bringing the total number of protesters arrested that day to 104. In that dragnet they also arrested three Right-to-Lifers as a face-saving show of “imbalance”. So brutal were these thugs in manhandling their victims that even Fairfax’s Sydney Morning Herald was compelled to register a protest at the cops’ treatment of one of their photographers who was mistaken for a demonstrator. Included among the arrested were two supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) and six Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supporters. This brings the number of gay-rights protesters arrested by Wran’s cops in the last two months to a total of 178! All the charges against all the 178 must be dropped! The labour movement bears a serious responsibility and duty in particular to mobilise its unique social power to defend those arrested and demand an end to these incessant attacks. Trade unionists and members of the ALP should condemn and repudiate Wran’s actions, as we have at least two ALP branches in Sydney. At its 4 August meeting the Sorry Hills branch passed a resolution “condemning the arrests staged by Wran’s forces”. Continued on page ten