



US Out of Near East, Central America!



Shi'ite militiamen in Beirut.



USS New Jersey pounds Druze villages.

Reagan's

Lebanon Mess

"I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."
— Israeli soldier in southern Lebanon

FEBRUARY 12 — "We are making progress in Lebanon", proclaimed Ronald Reagan in his State of the Union speech in late January. A week later he baited Congressional Democratic leader Tip O'Neill for proposing

to pull the Marines out of Beirut: "He may be ready to surrender, but I'm not." Yet within days the macho man president was forced to eat crow, ordering the besieged Marines evacuated to warships offshore within the next few weeks. And to make it look like he didn't "cut and run", he ordered the Sixth Fleet to open up with the USS *New Jersey's* 16-inch guns,

killing who knows how many hundreds or even thousands of Druze villagers.

With consummate cynicism Reagan offered naval and air cover to the British, French and Italian contingents of the "multinational force" he was leaving in the lurch. The British bugged out the next day, the Italians ordered a "gradual" pullout and the French replied, "thanks, but no

thanks". If Mitterrand wants to regain some credibility he might throw in with the Shi'ites and Druze and start shelling the US fleet.

Almost all Americans want out of the bloody mess Reagan has gotten himself into in Lebanon, but some right-wingers were shocked that their hero came off looking like a paper tiger in his first serious test. The ultra-hawkish *Wall Street Journal* (8 February) wrote in dismay:

"President Reagan's decision to move US Marines from Beirut to ships off the Lebanese coast is a stunning defeat for his Lebanon policy and a haunting reminder of the Carter administration's failure in Iran. "... the Reagan administration, for all its tough talk, was unable to succeed in its most visible foreign-policy venture."

Ronald Reagan's Lebanon adventure has turned into a first-class debacle. The self-appointed sheriff of world imperialism shot himself in the foot and is hobbling away. But the global repercussions are by no means all to the good. The Reagan gang will want to wipe out their humiliation by launching a bloody adventure somewhere where the odds are more in their favor. Remember how the US raped the tiny black West Indian isle of

Australia Out of Sinai!

As the world watched the collapse of the Beirut "peacekeeping" force, that other imperialist military bridgehead in the Near East, the 2,600 strong US-led Sinai force, is digging in for a long stay. Hawke dumped Labor Party policy for withdrawal of the Australian contingent one year ago, on the eve of the 1983 election which brought his slavishly pro-Reagan government to power, but formally it remains on the ALP's books. Australian imperialism's commitment of some 100 air force men and eight Iroquois helicopters expires this April, two years after Fraser first sent them in. So last month Foreign Minister

Hayden went on tour to the Near East to prepare for his government's intended renewal of its troop commitment.

En route to Egypt Hayden praised the Australians for their "excellent service" in maintaining the "peace". Everything went fine until he decided to visit a Palestinian refugee camp on the West Bank. Though his intention was simply to throw a bone or two to the Labor "lefts" back home, the Foreign Minister succeeded only in provoking the Israelis, whose spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Ranaan Gissin bluntly spelled out what Hayden had been at pains to deny:

that the "smooth operation of the multinational force" in the Sinai was a "confidence-building measure" for Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon. Continued Gissin:

"The fact that Egypt had been withdrawn out of the military confrontation state provided us with some strategic advantage not just vis-a-vis the Lebanese situation but the whole Arab world."

— *Australian*, 31 January

Set up to police the 1979 Egypt-Israel peace treaty, the "multinational" Sinai force is the southern anchor of Zionist expansionism,

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Lebanon . . .

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Grenada in order to divert attention from the devastating truck-bomb attack on Marine HQ in Beirut last October. Lebanon was a long-shot gamble in the anti-Soviet war drive, one which the Pentagon always considered a no-win situation. The humiliation in Beirut will intensify the Reagan gang's drive to drown in blood the insurgent masses of Central America.

Unlike the squalid communalist bloodletting in Lebanon — between Christians and Muslims, Shi'ites and Palestinians, Druze and everyone — in Central America a potential social revolution is at stake. Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting (and beating) a blood-drenched oligarchy and its Yankee protectors. A rout of the puppet dictatorship by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador would pose the threat of direct US military intervention. The CIA's *contras* are now ravaging Nicaragua, while 5,000 US combat troops are poised for attack across the border in Honduras. While the Democrats and reformist leftists see the Marine withdrawal from Lebanon as a retreat from foreign military adventurism, in reality it only makes more urgent the need to organize working-class opposition to the American war drive in Central America — boycotting military cargo bound for right-wing regimes, and labor strikes against US intervention.

Lebanon: Not a Country But a Deal

The workers of the world have a side in the revolutionary struggles now engulfing Central America. But they do *not* take sides in the Lebanese blood feuds, the endless succession of communal massacres and retaliations. Lebanon is not a nation nor even a country, but a deal among the imperialists (1919) and between the imperialists and the various Christian and Muslim clan chiefs (1943). One is reminded of the description of Austria between the two world wars as a "situation [that was] fatal but not serious".

The entity known as Lebanon was created by the French, who together with the British carved up the Ottoman empire in the Near East after World War I. They sought to fashion a pro-Western enclave in the Levant by combining the predominantly Christian Mount Lebanon with a subordinate Muslim hinterland, part of it (notably the Bekaa Valley) extracted from the province of Syria. The French colonialist system of Maronite privilege was preserved after Lebanon became independent. Under the so-called National Covenant the president would always be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, the head of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim, and so on. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament, and more importantly the officer caste of the Lebanese army was

drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

Since the Muslims' birthrate outstripped the Christians' for a couple of generations, the deal that was Lebanon fell apart by the beginning of the 1970s. The mass of impoverished and downtrodden Shi'ites, who had become the largest sectarian/communal grouping, demanded a change in the constitution to redress the balance of political and economic power in their favor. Further, the OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center and entrepot for the Arab East, widened the disparities between rich and poor in this bankers' republic. Shi'ite peasants from the countryside and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and other port cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. American liberal academic Stanley Reed described Maronite-dominated Lebanon on the eve of the 1975-76 civil war:

"The conflict occurred because Lebanon's political and economic structure cheated too many people in too many ways. The Maronite businessmen and bankers who dominated the country refused to part with any of their huge profits derived from handling oil money . . . The system that gave the presidency and the command of the army to the Maronites became a symbol of injustice to the have-nots and the leftists, both consisting largely of Moslem city dwellers . . . What began as a social revolution has obviously taken on many other meanings. For instance, the leftist militia leaders who set out to topple the old warlords have wound up emulating them."

— *New York Times*, 9 July 1982

In early 1975 Lebanon stood on the brink of a revolutionary upheaval which could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending itself to Syria. But a revolutionary outcome was diverted by the traditional Muslim clan chiefs (abetted by the Palestinian nationalist leaders) into a decade-long series of bloody squabbles between the various communal groups. The

Levant correspondent for the snide London *Economist* (5 November 1983) neatly captured the essence of Lebanese politics when he wrote of the "national reconciliation" conference in Geneva last fall:

"To compare this week's conference of Lebanese faction bosses in Geneva with a gathering of Mafia godfathers might be unfair to the Mafia, because it has never eliminated several hundred victims in a single day. There can seldom have been so many delegates around a table who were directly and personally responsible for killing the followers of fellow delegates."

All Sides Squalid

Today in Lebanon the Reaganites present the Druze and Shi'ites as nothing but surrogates for the Syrians, who are in turn labeled surrogates for the Soviets, while the Maronite Christian Phalange are supposedly the true defenders of Western-style democracy. The reformist left, on the other hand, presents the squalid communal fighting in Lebanon as a war of national liberation in which the entire people rises up against Yankee invaders. Thus Sam Marcy's Workers World Party wrote:

"Different religious and ethnic groups, different political parties ranging from conservative to revolutionary, have united in their opposition to Gemayel and his US, French and other imperialist backers."

— *Workers World*,
17 November 1983

The reality looks considerably different from these fictions. The myriad ethnic/religious/communal groups in Lebanon, far from being united, have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous alliance with and against every other one. Let Lebanon be Lebanon and this is what you get.

Take supposed Lebanese "progressive" leader Walid Jumblatt, a vice president of the Second International. His "Progressive Socialist Party" is actually a communalist party of the estimated 350,000 Druze (an esoteric

sect derived from Shi'a Islam) in Lebanon. In the 1860s some 10,000 Maronite peasants were massacred when they rose up against Druze landlords; and last fall the Druze besieged some 20,000 Christians in the town of Deir al Qamar. In the mid-'70s Walid's father Kamal Jumblatt was head of the largely Muslim National Movement, allied with the Palestinians in the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. With the Israeli invasion in June 1982, however, the younger Jumblatt declared, "The PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] as it used to be in Lebanon is finished", and told PLO fighters to lay down their arms. The Druze chieftain established friendly relations with the Israeli occupying army, and last summer promised to keep Palestinian guerrillas out of his feudal fiefdom in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the Shuf. Due to Phalangist president Gemayel's refusal to cut a deal, Walid is currently aligned with Syrian president Assad, who, however, was responsible for the assassination of the elder Jumblatt.

The estimated one million Shi'ites are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, but the notion that they are agents of an international Communist conspiracy run from Moscow (or alternatively a patriotic leftist force) is even more absurd. In the '75-'76 fighting the Shi'ite "Movement of the Dispossessed" (which later became the Amal) was loosely associated with the Palestinian-Muslim bloc. Yet on the eve of the June '82 Israeli invasion the Amal was engaged in bloody battles against the PLO and the Lebanese Communist Party. They were pushed into opposition by the Zionist army terrorizing their stronghold in southern Lebanon. Only when Gemayel's army began indiscriminately shelling the Shi'ite suburbs of Beirut at the end of January did they finally "unite" with Jumblatt & Co. Shi'ite militiamen celebrated their "liberation" of West Beirut by smashing all whiskey bottles — shades of Khomeini! Any Soviet KGB

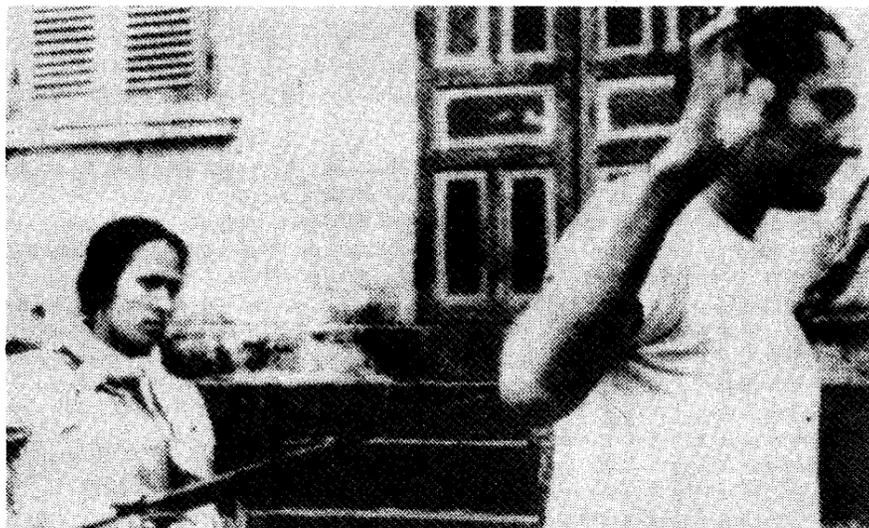
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International Women's Day - March 8

For Women's Liberation Through International Proletarian Revolution!

"A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: 'If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!' Women and teenage children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today — or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments — there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the 'terrible nations' of the revolutionary proletariat."

— V I Lenin, from "The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution"



Heroic Vietnamese woman captures US B-52 pilot. Defend Vietnam/USSR against US and its Australian junior partner's war threats!

IWD FORUMS

Uni of NSW

1pm, Thursday 15 March
Room 209A, Matthews Building
Sydney

7pm, Friday 16 March
Room 2, 2nd floor,
Teachers Federation,
73 Bathurst Street

IWD TOAST

Melbourne Spartacist League
Toast to IWD

5.30pm, Saturday 10 March
For more information
phone: 654 4315

Australasian

SPARTACIST

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In Melbourne months of campaigning by reactionary bigots to "Save Our Children" took a sinister turn late last year. On November 5 Victoria's "Delta Task Force", a special cop "morality" squad set up under Labor Premier John Cain, arrested eight homosexual men (another was arrested in Sydney) for "conspiracy to corrupt public morals" (a charge originating in medieval England when untold numbers of women were burned at the stake as witches). The nine men are supporters of the tiny Paedophile Support Group (PSG), a self-support group for taking up the socially explosive issue of consensual cross-generational sexual relations between adults and "under-age" youth.

The PSG was formed in 1980 at a National Conference of Homosexual Men and Lesbians in Canberra and is patterned after similar groups overseas, notably the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), itself the target of a vicious FBI frame-up and witchhunt.

On November 5 police smashed their way into a meeting of the group in the Melbourne suburb of Clifton Hill (and raided a house in Sydney's Glebe), arrested all those present, ransacked the houses and seized any and all material they could find on the subject of sex (even Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics*). The arrests were preceded by months of prying "observation" into the lives and activities of the group by a police informer working for "Delta" who infiltrated the group early in 1983. As well as the outrageous "conspiracy" charge the cops also laid phony charges like "child stealing" and "indecent assault of a child" against the PSGers in a vindictive attempt to smear this small group of homosexuals as child molesters and sex criminals.

The PSG's "crime" is their preference for an unusual mode of consensual sexual activity not condoned by the state, church and reactionary bigots who see in this witchhunt an opportunity to inflame the poisonous fears and vicious repression that underly official bourgeois morality, particularly against homosexuals. The case goes to trial in early March and if the PSG supporters are sent to jail their very lives may be at stake from a depraved alliance of brutal elements on both sides of the bars. The defence of the PSG is an urgent duty for all those who defend democratic rights.

The guiding principle for sexual relations between people (which includes youth) should be that of effective consent — that is, nothing more than mutual understanding as opposed

Down with Cain's Anti-Gay Witchhunt!

Defend the PSG!

to coercion. This ought to be the guiding principle not just for Marxists but for any democrat on such social questions. The case is also a test of elementary political decency, as most feminists and the reformist left are washing their hands of this small and vulnerable group, if they are not actively egging on the witchhunters. Down with Cain's puritanical witchhunt! Drop the charges!

Down With Reactionary "Age-of-Consent" Laws!

After busting the PSG the police held a press conference, crowing that they had smashed a "child sex ring". The bourgeois media swung into slanderous action, from the yellow scandal sheet *Truth* with its six-inch front-page headline "EVIL SCUM" to the more "respectable" Melbourne dailies who ran "investigative" articles on allegations of "child sex rackets". Meanwhile TV channels broadcast addresses and descriptions of those arrested, pogrom-style.

Hysteria redoubled when radio 3AW's Derryn Hinch, a notorious union-hating, anti-gay bigot, interviewed Gay Legal Rights Committee spokesman Alison Thorne, a school-teacher at Glenroy Technical College. Thorne's accurate statement that "the age-of-consent laws are in themselves reactionary" and her assertion that youth between the ages of 10 and 16 could be capable of consenting quickly became the basis for yet another witchhunt. Hinch attempted to incite his listeners to mob Thorne's school that afternoon while the Liberal Party opposition in State parliament howled for her dismissal. The next day, following a "Sex-at-Ten Teacher Outrage" front-page headline in the Melbourne daily *Sun*, Thorne, a prominent gay activist and supporter of the tiny US-based Freedom Socialist Party, was suspended from teaching duties.

The Technical Teachers Union of Victoria (TTUV) leadership (who have their own sell-out "social contract" with the Cain Labor government) refused to take any action to defend Thorne, hiding behind a statement that merely defends her right to "express views" in a "vexed area". Gay teachers in particular have always been a prime target for witchhunting bigots. It is vital that the union fight for Thorne's immediate reinstatement with full back wages and seniority. Moreover the union should fight for Thorne to get a public apology from Cain's government and some hefty financial compensation for their contemptible victimisation.

As for the reactionary age-of-consent laws, they recognise no possibility of consensual sex. As the Spartacist League/US wrote in defence of NAMBLA:

"The fact is that age-of-consent laws (which have their roots in the "bride-price" guarantee of virginity of women in arranged marriages) do not protect children. They are designed to repress the sexuality of youth with the power of the state. They enforce the reactionary morality of the bourgeois nuclear family, an institution at the core of the oppression of women, homosexuals and children. It is within the family that most brutality and rape against children occur."

— "Defend NAMBLA!", *Workers Vanguard* no 321, 14 January 1983

Melbourne is the seat of an overwhelmingly Protestant, prudish and pretentious bourgeois establishment, whose smug hypocrisy and oppressive morality is aped by the social democracy. Cain's insufferable blend of Victorian-era puritanism and "modern" eco-faddism has made life for the citizens of this aptly named state ever more unbearable, for example, slapping an extra 40 cents tax on cigarettes to punish smokers, even declaring a special non-smoking day complete with "Big Brother is Watching You" type TV ads and posters. Meanwhile, entire suburbs of Melbourne are pub-free "dry areas". Cain, as you might have guessed, doesn't touch the stuff. According to

bulk of feminists, many of whom in years long gone marched in protest against girls being locked up in "homes" like Sydney's Bidura precisely for being under the age of consent and "exposed to moral danger", have lined up with the state and religious bigots in this witchhunt against the PSG. In good part this is because feminists view men as the enemy, and see women, and in this case youth, only as victims, so entrapped by their conditioning in a sexist society as to be incapable of exercising effective consent. Just as they have lined up with the camp of reaction in "Reclaim the Night" anti-porn marches, calling on the state to censor pornography, their lack of a class analysis of women's oppression once again leads them to backing the most hideous forces of clerical and male chauvinist reaction. These witch-hunting feminists should appreciate Khomeini's Iran where they really respect women — no porn there!

Like the Festival of Light types the Laborites uphold the sanctity of the bourgeois nuclear family, denying working women easy access to abortion, refusing the dole to married women, relegating thousands of migrant women to be victims of super-exploitation as "out workers" in the garment industry etc. As a recent *Sydney Morning Herald* (22 February) survey on child care pointed out, facilities in this wealthy but deeply male chauvinist country are virtually unavailable to most working women. Yet even the *Herald* was forced to admit that in Vietnam, devastated by decades of hideous imperialist bombings and carnage but where a victorious social revolution defeated US and Australian imperialism, great resources are devoted to child care as a means of bringing women into productive labour alongside the men, and out of the stultifying isolation and backwardness of "family life". In Vietnam between 25-60% of children under five (depending on the locality) are provided for by creches and kindergartens, compared to a pitiful 3% in this "lucky country". Even in priest-ridden Poland women have been able to obtain abortions for years, thanks to the bureaucratically instituted social revolution carried out after the Red Army routed the Nazis in 1945.

The reformist left's disgusting refusal to defend the PSG flows from their capitulation to social backwardness and fawning loyalty to Labor. After all the Cain Labor government is their government. Foremost amongst the "socialist" bigots is the SWP. Reportedly the SWP's suppression of an article defending Thorne from *Direct Action* has led to quits amongst the dwindling survivors of earlier gay purges in the SWP. But then what did they expect from an organisation that includes open anti-gay bigots in its leadership like Andrew Jamieson? At the SWP's Kari Marx Centenary Conference in Melbourne last year Jamieson told Thorne that NAMBLA were "child-fuckers" who "should be shot", winning him a back-slapping notoriety amongst his fellow SWPers. The SWP has always defended the age-of-consent laws, ludicrously com-

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Workers Vanguard



SL opposes reactionary age-of-consent laws.

press reports of the Premier's recent trip to Peking, the Chinese Stalinists had to give him soda water so they could share a toast (no doubt to the struggle against vodka-swilling Russians and the Soviets' Vietnamese allies).

This Victorian prudishness is but the surface veneer atop the brutal reality of Australian society, where wife and child-beating are a "normal" part of life. Paedophiles are smeared as child abusers and treated like rapists. The puritan bigots and the Catholic Church above all push the big lie that all homosexuals are degenerate subverters of youth, who are not admitted to having any sexual feelings or preferences at all. Like homosexuality, paedophilia is a variation of human sexual behaviour dating back to antiquity. Perhaps one of the better known paedophiles in recent history was the Reverend Charles Dodson, who under the pen name Lewis Carroll wrote some of the most captivating children's books in the English language.

As Marxists we do not presume to advocate any particular mode of consensual sexual behaviour. We oppose any attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed "norms". We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own concern, and the state has no business interfering in human sexual activity. State out of the bedroom!

Life for working-class youth in this country is bad enough — the schools are lousy, the few apprenticeships available are largely restricted to males and pay slave-labour rates; the unemployment benefit for youth under the age of 18 is a miserable \$45 a week. Sex at least doesn't cost money. But it's no joke screwing around if you're under 16 when if caught the state can lock you up and make your life a living hell. Grotesquely, the main

Journal of the Women's Commission SL/US.

Women and Revolution

In Honor of the Women of the Paris Commune

International Women's Day 1984

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1981 Fight on Russian Question Vindicated — Applications to Rejoin the Spartacist League

"Some Thoughts on Australia Ten Years Later"

ASp photo

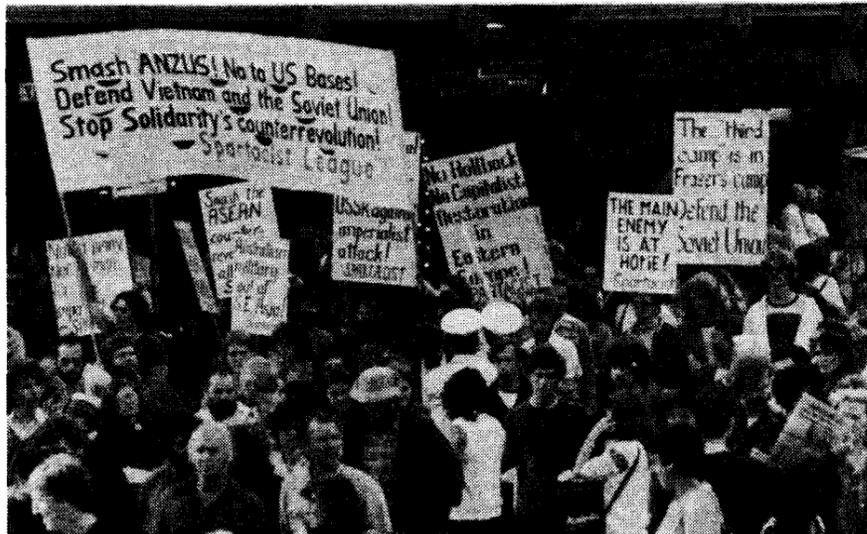
What is clear is that it's either going to be socialism or barbarism (or perhaps more likely nuclear annihilation). The question is what to do about it. That is, what is your program? One can either struggle for proletarian revolution or go over to some variant of reformist anti-Soviet nationalism . . . I want to be part of the struggle against the impending scenario of *On the Beach*. And there is a way, through the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League.

In the "Lucky Country" (lucky, that is, if you are a white male), the social democracy through the Labor Party stands as the strategic obstacle to the struggle for proletarian revolution. That is explicit on all the key issues. They hate Russia. They are deeply immersed in the institutionalised class-collaboration of the Arbitration system. And above all they fear and hate the non-white masses of Asia ("only 600 kilometres from Darwin").

The central question internationally is the Russian Question. As James P Cannon said, when you touch that question, you touch a revolution and it's not to be played with. If you claim to stand for the unconditional military defence of the USSR against imperialist attack, then it must be concretely expressed *where you are*. To counterpose defence in some other place (ie, El Salvador) to the necessity for defence in your region (ie, Pine Gap, the Indian Ocean, Trincomalee and of Vietnam) is to deny it. To disappear it for a "united front" with Third Campers is not only criminal, it is stupid.

In Australia, the US bases are key. To say that opposition to them could be construed as some kind of Maoist nationalist position turns reality on its head. It says that those bases are not important (Gough found out different and the fact that Pine Gap was apparently the main monitoring point of the Soviet air-ground communications during the KAL 007 provocation only underscores their importance to the US imperialists in their insane drive toward nuclear war). It also is a capitulation to the anti-Americanism of the "left" (both within the ALP and outside it) since they oppose the bases from a perspective of opposition to the "superpowers" since Australia is a nice country that does not do the bad things that the big mean Americans do (a lot of people in Papua-New Guinea would have a different view). *The main enemy is at home*. And Hawke is Reagan's man in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific. Since Curtin jumped His Majesty's Ship for the protection of the American Eagle, the Australian bourgeoisie has been a loyal junior partner and done all kinds of leg work — from Korea to Vietnam to the Middle East (and now maybe even Grenada). The "lefts" deny this talking about the Reagan anti-Soviet war drive, carefully leaving out the local running dogs, and attacking the Liberals with "Malcolm's wool keeps the Russians warm". If the Stalinists are the syphilis of the workers movement, then these characters are the herpes.

In the current period, Afghanistan



Melbourne, 20 November 1981: SL/ANZ contingent in antiwar demonstration denounces social-democratic pacifism and "little Australia" nationalism.

and Poland fairly clearly express the contradictions of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In Poland, the corrupt bureaucracy drove the workers into a situation of looking to the anti-Soviet clerical nationalists of Solidarnosc as an alternative. And while Jaruzelski and company had enough of a sense of self-preservation to step in at the last moment, they cannot resolve it. Afghanistan, on the other hand, is a situation where they are carrying out a progressive war against the reactionary mullahs and their hideous oppression. At best they can carry out a social overthrow and set up a deformed workers state but that would be good. The Red Army is to be hailed in this case. To call instead for "victory" and on the basis that to do otherwise would express confidence in the Stalinists is to blunt the point and is a capitulation to the pressure of

social-democratic hysteria. The Red Army is doing a good thing and it's welcome. Both of these examples point to the need for workers political revolution in the deformed workers states in order to put a stop to internal counterrevolution and to put their resources at the disposal of the struggle for proletarian revolution.

The ostensibly non-Labor left in Australia really have a kind of conception of strategic critical support to the ALP. They cannot break with it because they share its fundamental basis. That infects the whole scene. To not be a loyal opposition is simply beyond the pale. An argument that the ALP is the party that the workers look to in spite of what they say and do and that therefore we have to support them is simply crass Laborism. And I don't care if they have been out of

"The Main Enemy is at Home"

Dear comrades,

I have been actively working again with the SL for over a year and seek to rejoin the tendency.

In the period since I resigned there has been ample opportunity to watch the burgeoning anti-Soviet war drive, marked in all imperialist countries by increasing nationalism and the emergence of fascist groups. In this country the Spartacist tendency, weak in numbers, but having defeated and purged the social-patriotic opposition which erupted from within its established leadership in 1981 with a bid to abandon Soviet defencism in the region, has been able to stand out against the insular social-imperialist "left" like a beacon.

The Hawke/Hayden government draws on the whingeing anti-Americanism of the middle class and the White Australia traditions of the labour aristocracy to serve its lackey-imperialist designs. Hawke trumpets the tradition of Curtin who engineered the alliance with the US in the Pacific War against Japan, an alliance of blood, race and anti-communism;

while Hayden harks back to Evatt, the "libertarian" who presided over the UN during the Berlin Airlift.

The SL's call for "No Vote to Labor" exposed the totally national-parochial perspectives of the reformist Laborite left who are committed to the survival of their "own" bourgeoisie and to its anti-Sovietism. But despite years of entrenchment in the trade union centre-bureaucracy the SPA, sensing the anti-Soviet character of the impending government was forced to make a show of independence from it.

Since attaining power the Labor Government has been at pains to demonstrate its slavish commitment to the US alliance and the guaranteed security of the US spy bases. And they have been quick to reveal aspirations to share control of the Indian Ocean, and wrest back the hard-won gains of the workers and peasants of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Only the SL was able to call Australian workers to defend the Vietnamese revolution from the Hawke/Hayden government's schemes and stand on the past actions of class-solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution in this country.

The international campaign of the iSt in defence of the Tamil people of Lanka was augmented by work in the Australian situation and the prospect of class solidarity in action with the South Asian proletariat was raised. The social-chauvinism of the reformists was again sharply revealed. Those Australian petty-bourgeois radicals best represented in the CPA showed by their indifference that their concern for the hapless East Timorese is but a peg on which to hang their nationalist hostility and fear of Indonesian power.

The program expressed in the work of the SL on these questions shows the way for revolutionaries in this country . . .

The main enemy is at home, but the effective struggle against our own bourgeoisie can only be from an international perspective. In Australia, whose establishment under paternalist rule, protection and privilege has allowed the bourgeoisie to corrupt and smother the workers movement while filling the role of jackal/lackey to a greater imperialist power (today the US), the state machinery has been well

supplied with bureaucrats, judges, ministers and loyal labour lieutenants who once claimed the red flag. This country buys its continued existence as a white imperialist enclave by providing the sites for the US spy bases which are part of the military encirclement now threatening the USSR. Opposition to the bases means smashing the ANZUS pact and burying White Australia, support to the struggles of the oppressed in South Asia and Indonesia and defence of Vietnam and the USSR. This is the only road forward for the workers movement in this country: the alternative is the protectionist mire, vicious anti-Asian racism and nuclear armageddon.

The choice for me is to fight alongside comrades here and internationally, to build the Leninist/Trotskyist vanguard. A party that can derail the imperialist war drive; reach out to the Asian proletariat and defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam, not only in word but in deed.

Phillipa N
29 October 1983

Australasian Spartacist

office for a long time and haven't really had a chance to betray or be exposed. Sure, the ALP is contradictory and there may be times when it might be of value to give it critical electoral support, but the onus is on them to indicate why that might be the case, not the other way around. To have supported them in the last election would have been to embrace austerity, nationalism and anti-Sovietism and the left all did it. Now they whinge that "Hawke betrays Labor policy".

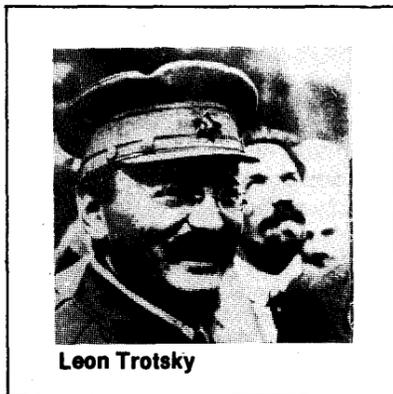
And what is Labor policy? In this remote, white imperialist enclave (an excellent characterisation) the historic basis of the ALP has been "socialism" and White Australia combined with economic protection. And that has been the basis for a working class that, while quite militant, has been bought off. And at the core is the Arbitration system which is seen as the giver of lurks and perks. With the defeat of the strike wave of the 1890s, the labour movement turned to "political struggle" — the Labor Party in Parliament and to the Arbitration system to "impartially" review "industrial disputes". And that is why you get a lot of two-bit strikes that don't go anywhere — except back to the learned judges. It's always to impress the Commission which writes up 900-page awards that only wig-wearing QC's can understand. You don't fight this stuff by calling for 88 varieties of general strike which are either simply more "militant" or to bring the ALP to power either. What it means is a struggle in the unions to break out of Arbitration and to fight for *real* (not metaphysical) picket lines and a struggle to break the working class from this racist, white pig society, to struggle for international workers revolution.

Probably the hardest question in this country is race. Unlike the United States, the race question here has had (although it is slowly becoming less white) an external character. The Aborigines were massacred and hideously brutalised and broken and the Asians were simply kept out. And while at points there have been struggles against the racism (the Black Armada and Vietnam — both of which came from the base and either opposed or sold out by the misleaders), it has held. It's no accident that various American reactionary types (particularly in the South) who want to get away from Social Security, food stamps, TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority], creeping socialism and in their words "uppity niggers" don't choose South Africa. They all want to emigrate to Australia which they see as having less chance of being overrun by hordes of non-white people.

The left capitulates to the despair expressed in "back to the tribal ways" and has a disgusting paternalistic position which says "you can't tell blacks what to do". It is going to have to be a hard fight in this country against the racism and to win blacks to the SL...

Regarding the quitters of the ET [the self-styled "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency"] stripe — those "good people" who were brutalised by the vicious SL regime. As I remember, in 1939-40 there was a lot of this stuff around and a lot of those types ended up as State Department socialists and worse. Unlike earlier times, revolution is no longer trendy and things are increasingly hardening up. Well, as a former PM said: "Life wasn't meant to be easy". There are in political organisations truly evil regimes — Wohlforth comes to mind — but the "loyal opposition" (that has a peculiar ring to it anyway) uses this charge as a cover for their real politics and impulses. I figure that their Stalinophobia, the howls of dismay at the "Yuri

"The Best Type of Bolshevik"



Leon Trotsky

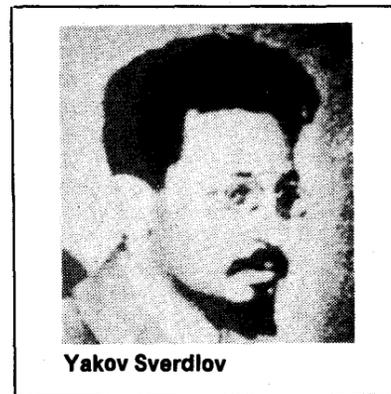
Up to the spring of 1919 the chief organizer of the Party had been Sverdlov. He did not have the name of General Secretary, a name which was then not yet invented, but he was that in reality. Sverdlov died at the age of 34 in March 1919, from the so-called Spanish fever. In the spread of the civil war and the epidemic, mowing people down right and left, the Party hardly realized the weight of this loss. In two funeral speeches Lenin gave an appraisal of Sverdlov which throws a reflected but very clear light also upon his later relations with Stalin. "In the course of our revolution, in its victories", Lenin said, "it fell to Sverdlov to express more fully and more wholly than anybody else the very essence of the proletarian revolution". Sverdlov was "before all and above all an organizer". From a modest underground worker, neither theoretician nor

We reprint below an appraisal by Leon Trotsky of Yakov Sverdlov, a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee during the October Revolution. Renowned for his outstanding organizational capacities, Sverdlov held the post of Chairman of the All-Union Soviet Executive Committee after the revolution until his death.

The following passage was written in 1927 and is presented here as it appeared in Fourth International, November 1946.

writer, there grew up in a short time "an organizer who acquired irreproachable authority, an organizer of the whole Soviet power in Russia, and an organizer of the work of the Party unique in his understanding". Lenin had no taste for the exaggerations of anniversary or funeral panegyrics. His appraisal of Sverdlov was at the same time a characterization of the task of the organizer: "Only thanks to the fact that we had such an organizer as Sverdlov were we able in war times to work as though we had *not one single conflict worth speaking of.*"

So it was in fact. In conversations with Lenin in those days we remarked more than once, and with ever renewed satisfaction, one of the chief conditions of our success: the unity and solidarity of the governing group. In spite of the dreadful pressure of events and



Yakov Sverdlov

difficulties, the novelty of the problems, and sharp practical disagreements occasionally bursting out, the work proceeded with extraordinary smoothness and friendliness and without interruptions. With a brief word we would recall episodes of the old revolutions. "No, it is better with us." "This alone guarantees our victory." The solidarity of the center had been prepared by the whole history of Bolshevism, and was kept up by the unquestioned authority of the leaders, and above all of Lenin. But in the inner mechanics of this unexampled unanimity the chief technician had been Sverdlov. The secret of his art was simple: to be guided by the interests of the cause and that only. No one of the Party workers had any fear of intrigues creeping down from the Party staff. The basis of this authority of Sverdlov's was *loyalty.* ■

Andropov Battalion" and the PATCO stuff and the "worries" about trade union work bear that out. I wonder by the way what they think of the Hungarian Revolution. At bottom it seems like a fear of being isolated from the "left" and union bureaucrats so they cannot piss in their pockets that motivates these characters. I had occasion to talk to an ex-member a while back who seems to have their line down pretty pat. I came away with the feeling that he saw the SL as being overrun by blacks, women, Asians and other undesirables and that it was no place for a good, upstanding Australian white man.

Anybody who wants to be a revolutionary in Australia has a hard row to hoe. The terribly deforming pressures of life on this far away island are subtle and deep.... But it is possible to struggle against it and one of the basic requirements is internationalism and an international party.

Finally, being born and raised a white American southerner, when I saw the *WV* [Workers Vanguard], "Finish the Civil War", I knew in my bones what it meant and that the SL was my party and that sooner or later I wanted to go back. And over the last period, working a bit and listening to reports of the SL/US Conference, simply confirmed that and these are my people. I guess I kind of always knew that anyway, I just "forgot" it.

John S
Sydney
30 October 1983

Defend the PSG...

continued from page three

paring them to child-labour laws, hoping to demonstrate their bourgeois respectability in this Cold War period to their real audience, the reformist labour bureaucracy. Although it may be a revelation to some members of

the SWP, consensual sex is not labour. Some even consider it pleasurable, a fact of life no doubt recognised by those SWP youth who squirm trying to defend this hypocritical puritanism.

A November 5 Defence Committee does exist, formed by a few maverick feminists and leftists like Betty Hounslow and Gillian Leahy who at least recognise a need to defend the PSG, and it includes some of the actual defendants and Alison Thorne. But the lifestyle/"consciousness raising" politics of the group's participants are a major obstacle to any effective defence, so far centering almost entirely on a "dialogue" to educate the feminist (and other) bigots who would be quite happy to see the PSG crucified by the state. In Melbourne for example the group initially *refused* to build a 22 March public meeting on the case as a defence meeting around the call to drop the charges for fear that it would cut across the "debate" on paedophilia -- then cancelled it altogether.

From our standpoint this case cannot be seen apart from the climate of growing social reaction in this

country, fed as it is by imperialist anti-Sovietism and capitalist austerity. Democratic rights are indivisible and the PSG is probably the weakest of a weak oppressed group. The defence of *all* the oppressed and exploited demands a Leninist communist party that is genuinely a tribune of the people, defending their rights through the mobilisation of working-class power. It was this understanding that enabled the Spartacist League/US to organise a 3,000-strong labour/black mobilisation to stop a planned Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day in Chicago back in June 1982. And it is only this perspective of social struggle that can not only defend vulnerable groups like the PSG but break the class rule that perpetuates the brutal and deforming life for women, gays, minorities and all of us in this white racist imperialist backwater. Defend the PSG! Stop the witchhunt! ■

The 5th November Defence Committee is calling for donations to conduct a defence of the PSG. Contributions may be sent to: 5th November Defence Committee, PO Box K485, Haymarket, NSW 2000.

To Our Readers and Subscribers

With this issue we are formalising the frequency of *Australasian Spartacist* as a two-monthly. We have always aimed at producing a quality Marxist paper which as a highly polemical propaganda organ intervenes into class and social struggle in order to build the Spartacist League into the nucleus of the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party in this country. Two-monthly frequency at the present time reflects our real forces and capacities as we struggle to consolidate and grow in this Cold War period.

We have always scorned the fake

"mass" papers of the revisionist and Laborite left and our determination to return to not only monthly but more regular frequency will be the outgrowth of deepening our real work and authority in the unions, on the campuses, and in the workers movement generally. All current subscribers will receive their full eleven issues. We also urge all our readers and subscribers to supplement *Australasian Spartacist* coverage by subscribing to *Workers Vanguard*, biweekly press of the Spartacist League/US, as well as other international Spartacist tendency press.

Marxism and Blo

US imperialism's trip wires for World War III extend from one end of the globe to the other. Reagan is now engaged in three wars — in Lebanon, El Salvador and Nicaragua — and in the Caribbean the US troops are finishing off the rape of Grenada. American Pershing 2 nuclear missiles have been deployed in Europe, aimed directly at Moscow — at six to eight minutes striking distance. Decaying capitalism is readying to plunge humanity once again into global war, and lurching toward a nuclear holocaust which threatens the extinction of life on this planet.

Revulsion and opposition to the mass slaughter which is endemic to the imperialists' class rule is a central part of the Marxist vision of and struggle for a classless, stateless society. The hideous threat of World War III and the bellicose policies of Washington today engender justified fears and inchoate pacifistic sentiments among the world's masses, both in the Soviet bloc and the capitalist countries, sentiments which can be turned against the imperialist war-makers. The carnage of World War I gave birth to the Russian workers revolution of 1917 — because the Bolshevik Party won the workers, peasants and soldiers to revolutionary opposition to their "own" government, and ended Russia's participation in the inter-imperialist slaughter by replacing the exploiters' state with a government of the working people.

When over 240 US Marines were blown to pieces at the Beirut airport

challenges a fundamental attitude of Marxism as well as undercutting the central Leninist proletarian strategy to fight against imperialist war. Our critics have nonetheless served a purpose in prompting us to restate some basic Marxist truths, beginning with the fact that Marxists are not bloodthirsty.

We are for the victory of just causes. Necessarily and above all, the centrality of just causes is the shattering of the exploiting and oppressing classes and the victory of socialism. We are socialists not least because we are passionately opposed to war, the gathering together of large numbers of young workingmen to be slaughtered in the interests of the rulers. In this savagely class-divided world, dominated by the mass murderers of My Lai, the struggle for the victory of just causes will have a big physical component. We must stand therefore for the maximum assembling of effective force on the just side, hopefully to demoralize and deter the forces of reaction so that the actual casualties are minimized.

But in Lebanon at the moment, there is little evidence of justice on any side. At bottom, the present fighting there is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. There is no known force fighting against the US imperialists — they are all jockeying for position with the imperialists. Those whose cause is clearest — the Palestine Liberation

group in the country? Shortly before the Israeli invasion of June 1982, the Shi'ite Amal carried out murderous attacks against the PLO in Beirut and southern Lebanon. As for the Syrians, who vaunt their rejection of any negotiations with the Zionists, they made a separate ceasefire with the Israelis early in the 1982 invasion, leaving the Palestinians to fight alone.

To be sure, our Lebanon slogan was highly conjunctural; the situation in the Near East is changing rapidly. The US is already drifting in the direction of a direct conflict with Syria, thanks in good part to the Reaganites' irrational notions of "Soviet surrogateship". Should the US go to war against Syria, a complete reevaluation would be indicated, not least because such a war could become a de facto US/USSR conflict in which Marxists would defend the Soviet side.

Lebanon is a quagmire for US imperialism — and this is a good thing. But we do not gloat over those 240 aluminum caskets, those dead young men many of whom were considered expendable in the first place because they were black. We can only despise those who call for the death of American soldiers for the crimes of their rulers. For Marxists there is all the difference between the men in the field and those who sent them there to die. We are not *per se* interested in the annihilation of everyone who is executing Washington's global bloodthirsty policies. Lebanon has aroused strong opposition in the US population; sending in the Marines was a stupid act which could backfire on the US ruling class.

A very different situation obtains in Grenada, Reagan's diversion from the Lebanon disaster. We viewed the US invasion of Grenada in terms comparable to the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: racist atrocities against another nationality. We had a side in 1982: the defense of the Palestinians against the attempt to wipe them out. And we had a side in Grenada: with the 700 Cuban construction workers who resisted the Yankee invaders. It took 6,000 US troops to "take" Grenada in the face of the Cubans' heroic self-defense, and most of the Cubans were over 40 years old! The same issue of *Workers Vanguard* which our critics believe marks our decisive capitulation to "social-patriotism" hailed the Cuban fighters who — unlike anyone in Lebanon today — fought the main enemy, US imperialism. In Grenada, we had a side, and our call was "US Out, Dead or Alive!"

And in Vietnam! The side of justice there was unambiguously that of the National Liberation Front (NLF)/North Vietnamese forces against US imperialism. At stake were the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the social revolution whose victory was the only way to definitively drive out colonialism. Our call for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" was not bloodymindedness but a recognition of what was necessary to bring peace to Vietnam after three decades of imperialist war. In Lebanon, it is precisely the question of social revolution, or even national liberation, that is missing.

The flip side of the dimwitted New Left bloodlust exemplified by the SDS Weathermen was the Socialist Workers Party's Vietnam slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" Tailored to appeal to liberal defeatism

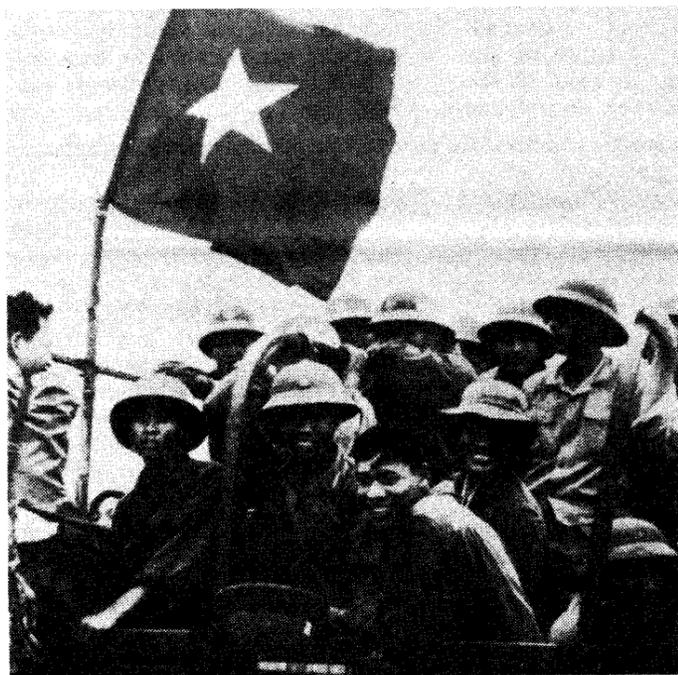


October 23, 1983 bombing of Marine headquarters. Spartacist slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now" outrage against Reagan's criminal and senseless

within sections of the bourgeoisie, the slogan was a class betrayal precisely because the international proletariat had a side in Vietnam — "our" boys were the NLF/North Vietnamese. There were two ways the Americans could come home: withdrawal or in body bags. A common thread runs through the SWP's social-democratic slogan and the New Leftist calls for exterminating the Yankee pigs — both despair of mobilizing the proletariat to wage class struggle against imperialist war, and both renounce appealing to the ranks of the army along class lines.

Imperialism's hemorrhaging in Vietnam and the consequences of its defeat — the profound demoralization of the US armed forces, the convulsions throughout American society, the fear of "another Vietnam" which has stayed the hand of imperialism — were good things from the standpoint of the world's toiling masses. The "Vietnam syndrome" here at home provided a breathing space for national liberation struggles such as those in the former Portuguese colonies of southern Africa, tending to prevent a direct American intervention into Angola in 1975-76. It has inhibited Reagan thus far from trying a wholesale assault with US troops against the Nicaraguan regime and the Salvadoran leftist insurgents. But we do not gloat over the deaths of rank-and-file US soldiers. Among the GIs and Marines who were sent to Vietnam were to be found, as the losing war dragged on, some of the angriest, most bitter and most important opponents of the government's war. Unlike the New Left radicals who went, without blinking an eye, from counseling draftees and giving GIs flowers to glorifying their being blown to bits, we sought to do Marxist propaganda work among the American troops. We said that antiwar youth if drafted should seek to educate their class brothers in the army about the imperialist character of the war and their own interest in opposing it.

The global conflict between the antiquated imperialist order and the emancipation of the proletariat does not reduce itself to a division between "good" and "bad" peoples. In battles between just and unjust causes, Marxists have a side but nevertheless do not propose as our program the extermination of all those sent to fight for the



We are for the victory of just causes. Liberation of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) by the North Vietnamese Army in 1975 was an historic victory for world revolution.

compound in October, the largest number of American troops killed in a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the American public reacted with outrage. There were elements of pacifism, isolationism and patriotism, and there was a broad grasp that the Lebanon intervention was senseless. The outrage was mainly directed at the imperialist commander in chief (who immediately launched the racist bully-boy invasion of tiny Grenada for an easy "victory" to distract attention from the debacle in Beirut). To intersect this conjunctural anti-government sentiment evocatively, the Spartacist League raised the slogans "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" and "US Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" There were those among our readership who — objecting particularly to the word "alive" — denounced our Lebanon slogan as a "social-patriotic" capitulation to American chauvinism, counterposing the supposedly radical sentiment: "the only good one is a dead one". But far from radical, this vicarious bloodthirstiness (reminiscent of some of the more dim and despicable elements of the old New Left — draft-dodgers turned accountants)

Organisation (PLO) — in fact requested the intervention of the imperialist troops (a suicidal demand supported by virtually the entire reformist left in this country, and sharply opposed of course by us revolutionists). Now the US is there, having disarmed the PLO and prepared the way for the Israeli/Phalange massacres at Sabra and Shatila. Arafat's organisation has split into bloody rivalry, dispersed and evacuated (under the UN flag and Israeli shells). The Israelis precipitously withdrew from Beirut, leaving the Americans to take the casualties. The warring Lebanese communal militias can't tell the difference between the Americans and the Russians and couldn't care less. Where is the just, anti-imperialist side in Lebanon today?

What about the allies of Arafat's organisation? In Tripoli where he was besieged by Syrian-backed PLO dissidents, Arafat allied with the Islamic Unity Movement of Sheikh Shaaban, which last October massacred some 50 members of the Lebanese Communist Party. What about the Shi'ites, who are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, totally deprived of political power although they are the largest

Bloodthirstiness



quarters in Beirut killed 241 US servicemen. n, Now, Alive!" intersected widespread nseless policy.

wrong side (a program which, if carried out, would long ago have done away with the proletariat of most of the Western capitalist nations). In wars where no side represents an advance for elementary justice, we stand for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. Consider, in addition to Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war. Is it "social-patriotic" to advise the Iranian and Iraqi troops not to slaughter each other for their respective regimes, to turn the guns around and go home? The squalid Falklands/Malvinas war was another such case. Neither the Argentine nor the British working masses had anything to gain from the victory of their "own" murderous rulers in the Falklands; they only stood to lose their lives. (In fact, Argentina's defeat led straight to the downfall of the military regime; Britain's victory led to the re-election of Margaret Thatcher.) Those who want bloodthirstiness must look to Thatcher, who ordered the gratuitous sinking of the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, taking the lives of more than 320 young men in the icy waters of the South Atlantic.

From Verdun to Hiroshima, the imperialists wage their barbaric, cyclical wars for profit, turning entire generations into cannon fodder. Bukharin wrote about the hideous carnage of the first World War:

"The leading characteristic of the war was that it was murderous to an unparalleled degree. The levying of troops advanced with giant strides. The proletariat was positively decimated on the battlefields. The reports show that down to March, 1917, the number of dead, wounded, and missing totalled 25 millions; by 1 January, 1918, the number of the killed had been approximately 8 millions. If we assume the average weight of a soldier to [be] 150lb, this means that between 1 August 1914, and 1 January 1918, the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."

— *The ABC of Communism*

Or as Rosa Luxemburg put it in her *Junius Pamphlet* (1916):

"Dividends are rising — proletarians falling; and with each one there sinks a fighter of the future, a soldier of the revolution, a savior of humanity from the yoke of capitalism, into the grave."

An end to this slaughter is the goal of Marxist revolutionists. And we hope to put an end to the bourgeoisie's rule with as little bloodshed as possible. We wish we could be pacifists, but we can't — the old social order does not give way to the new in a peaceful and orderly fashion. Isaac Deutscher noted that, "In embracing the vision of a nonviolent society, Marxism ... has gone further and deeper than any pacifist preachers of nonviolence have ever done. Why? Because Marxism laid bare the roots of violence in our society, which the others have not done" ("*Marxism and Nonviolence*", 1966).

Certainly, the Russian Revolution was a nearly bloodless event, carried out, Deutscher writes, "in such a way that, according to all the hostile eyewitnesses (such as the Western ambassadors who were then in Petrograd), the total number of victims on all sides was ten". It was when the tsarist generals backed by 13 imperial-

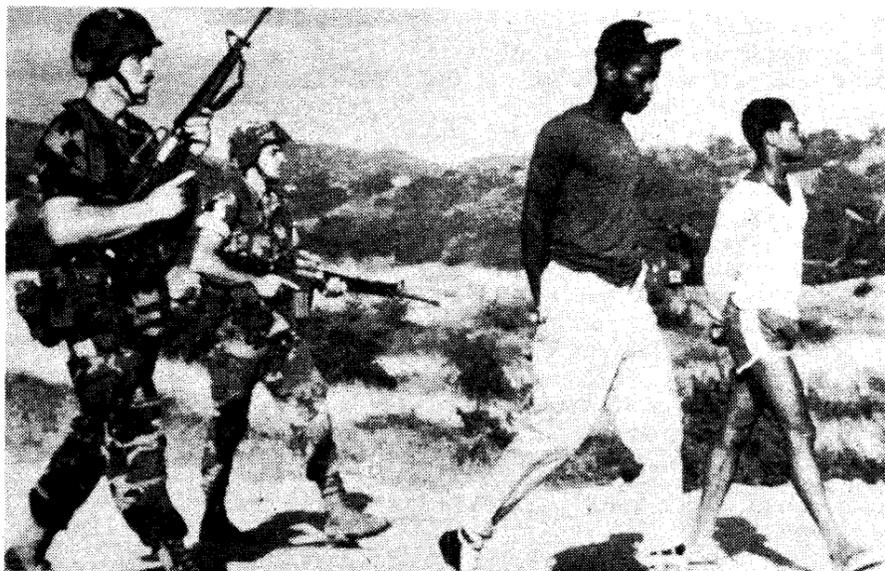
ist armies began the Civil War that the killing really began. In sheer arms, the Bolsheviks were infinitely inferior to the imperialist powers who intervened to crush the revolution along with the *contras* of the day, the White Army. The Bolsheviks emerged victorious; Deutscher wrote: "They agitated, they appealed to the consciousness of the soldiers, of the workers in uniform in those interventionist armies. The French navy, sent to suppress the revolution, rose in mutiny in Odessa and refused to fight against the Bolsheviks ..."

While the bourgeoisie can only maintain its rule over the laboring majority through the massive use of intimidation, force and violence, for Marxists violence is a necessary evil — one imposed upon the defense of the struggle for socialism by the bloodmindedness of the exploiting class in power. After the Cuban people defeated the CIA's Bay of Pigs invaders, the Castro regime traded the captured *gusanos* for needed medical supplies. In El Salvador, the leftist

guided by a rational calculus and not by bloodlust.

There are situations in which insufficient force used initially leads to greater bloodshed ultimately. Had the Nicaraguan Sandinistas beheaded the counterrevolutionary pro-Somocista organizations, eg, by trials of Somoza's torturers by revolutionary tribunals, the Nicaraguan masses today would not be forced to fight and die against the *contra* invaders. We raise the slogan "Kill the Invaders!" not because we want to see a lot of dead bodies lying around, but because if every little band the CIA sends over is wiped out, and the counterrevolutionary capitalist "fifth column" in Nicaragua is expropriated as a class and its power broken, bloodshed will be minimized, while conciliation strengthens the hand of the US-backed *contras* who aim to drown in blood the possibility of socialist revolutionary development in Nicaragua.

Or consider the US' Korean Air Lines Flight 007 Cold War provocation against the Soviet Union last summer,



Reagan's racist rape of Grenada: cowardly Marines round up black Grenadians. SL said "US Out, Dead or Alive!"

insurgents have followed a policy of turning captured enemy soldiers over to the Red Cross unharmed — an effective incentive to mass desertion from the junta's army. Contrast this with the fascistic death squads who operate against the populace under the principle of "the only good one is a dead one". The principal weapon in the proletariat's arsenal is not force *per se*, but the ability to undermine the capitalist regiments by appealing to common class interests. Even in defense of just causes, Marxists are

a grotesque example of the ruling class's willingness to cynically squander human life. The Soviet military took the only course of defensive action possible, under the circumstances — ie, given the refusal of the jet to communicate, the Russians were unable to identify it while at the same time a US spy plane was clearly in contact with it. But we do not "hail" the shooting down of 200-plus innocent civilians; we solidarize with

continued on page eleven

Kampuchean People Now Have a Future

ASp photo

Western Union Mailgram

PRESIDENT HENG SAMRIN
PHNOM PENH
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

GREETINGS ON FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE FROM BARBAROUS POL POT REGIME. HAIL INTERNATIONALIST ASSISTANCE OF VIETNAM THAT SAVED MILLIONS FROM GENOCIDE AND LAID BASIS FOR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION — KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE NOW HAVE FUTURE. FORWARD TO FINAL DEFEAT OF REACTIONARY REMNANTS OF POL POT/SON SANN/SIHANOUK CLIQUES ARMED AND FUNDED BY CHINA AND US IMPERIALISM. HAIL HEROIC PERSEVERANCE OF INDOCHINESE WORKING PEOPLE, INSPIRATION TO REVOLUTIONARIES IN BELLY OF IMPERIALIST BEAST.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY

SUSAN ADAMS
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE

JIM ROBERTSON
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/US



Sydney, 27 September 1983: Protest demands Pol Pot out of UN, seating of Heng Samrin government, real government of Kampuchea. SL said: "Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction — Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!"

Racist Anti-Labour Frame-Up

Lauren and Ray Must Not Go to Jail!

In Oakland, California two militant US telephone workers, Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, are the target of a racist and anti-union frame-up, facing up to seven-and-a-half years in prison for doing their duty as unionists on a picket line during the national Communications Workers of America (CWA) strike last August.

While on the picket line in Ku Klux Klan-infested San Leandro, California, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by a racist scab manager, Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended herself and the picket line and her companion and fellow unionist, Ray, came to her aid, they were fired from their jobs with the Pacific Telephone Company (part of the national Bell system), denied unemployment benefits and arrested on felony assault charges. The racist scab Hansen got off scot-free. The company, the cops and the Alameda County District Attorney (DA) hope to use this gross frame-up to send a message to the US population: black people don't have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don't have the right to defend their picket lines.

But this blatant act of politicised racism in the service of union-busting is being opposed by a vigorous public campaign of protest and exposure. The Phone Strikers Defence Committee (PSDC) has marshalled an impressive united-front defence effort which has been endorsed by labour organisations representing many thousands of workers, prominent public officials, numerous left-wing and community activists. The Defence Committee is demanding: 1) that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay, 2) that all charges against them and all other phone strikers be dropped, 3) amnesty be granted to all victimised phone strikers.

On 29 October last year, 400 mainly black militant trade unionists and socialists demonstrated in Oakland demanding "Stop the racist anti-labour frame-up! Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail!" As they marched through the streets in drizzling rain, the protesters — who included striking workers, interracial couples, people with direct experience of cop violence, as well as organised contingents from locals of the CWA, American Federation of Teachers, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers — chanted, "Hey DA! Workers say: Hands off Lauren and Ray!"

Lauren Mozee, speaking at the rally at the Alameda County Courthouse, explained the stakes:

"As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labour frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant — I said *militant* — trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer — I said firm believer — in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now for these things and



October 29 Oakland march of over 400 mainly black militant trade unionists and socialists. Portraits commemorate black victims of cop terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and machinist Charles Briscoe.

for doing my duty on the picket lines ... I've been victimised. "... It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney."

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of black, Latin and

white unionists who know who the real criminals are. Prominently displayed from the podium at the rally were large portraits and flowers to honour the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old child shot to death by an Orange County, California, cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the



Lauren and Ray on CWA picket line during national strike.

thirty-seven year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops.

Some of the most active workers for Lauren and Ray in the weeks before the demonstration were members of the Labor Black League for Social Defence (LBL). The LBL was formed around the Spartacist election campaign when Martha Phillips ran for Oakland City Council last March. The campaign heavily stressed the hideous pattern of racist killings by East Bay cops and the need to fight Klan terror through labour/black mobilisations like the 5,000-strong mobilisation in Washington on November 27, 1982 that stopped a major planned provocation by the KKK. The LBL also demonstrated with the Spartacist League last September demanding "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!"

The PSDC's demands have been endorsed by more than 20 local unions and over 160 labour officials, by minority, student and civil rights groups, and community activists. Backing has come from a broad spectrum of socialist organisations including Democratic Socialists of America leader Dorothy Healy, Greensboro massacre survivor Nelson

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Telegrams of Support for Lauren and Ray

Protest telegrams have also been sent by the Miners' Federation and Victorian branch of the BWIU.

Plumbers and Gasfitters Condemn Frame-up

Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union of Australia declares support for demands of Phone Strikers Defence Committee.

Urge immediate reinstatement of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero without loss of any entitlements and that amnesty be granted to all victimised phone strikers.

International image of United States is not good in relation to South African-type anti-labour and black frame-up cases.

The Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union of Australia expresses international solidarity with workers on picket line subjected to employers and their agency attacks.

Demand all charges against Lauren

Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all phone strikers be dropped immediately.

George Crawford, General Secretary Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union of Australia

Aboriginal Legal Service backs Lauren and Ray

The Aboriginal Legal Service of New South Wales, Australia, records its solidarity with Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

We have seen 200 years of racist violence and oppression. We know too well what it is to be victimised in the struggle for freedom and justice. We stand together with our American brothers and sisters in their defence against the Alameda County DA and the Pacific Telephone Company.

We note that in persecuting black union members your system indicts itself. We add our voice to the call for

all charges to be dropped and for an end to the racist frame-up.

Lyall Munro Jnr, Chairman Aboriginal Legal Service

NSW ATEA: Injury to One is Injury to All

The Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association, (Technician's Union), stands in solidarity with the campaign to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist union-busting actions of Pacific Telephone Company. We demand all charges be dropped and racist anti-labour frame-up be stopped. Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray. No victimisation of any of the strikers. Injury to one is injury to all. Down with South Africa-style justice.

A Douglas, Acting Secretary, Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association, NSW

Lonely Stalinists Embrace Son of Walesa

Readers of the Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* may be intrigued to have found in its pages the speeches of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, some lengthy quotes from the late Yuri Andropov and even reprints from the US Stalinists' *People's World*. Is this the SWP of Jim Percy which screamed "Stalinist lies" when the Spartacist League sharply denounced Polish Solidarnosc as a company union for the CIA and Western bankers, and which counts among its closest friends the Ustasha-loving Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP)? Yes it is, and the reason is that for some months now the SWP has been engrossed in a "unity" offensive with the local pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). So cosy are relationships between the two groups that *Direct Action* is now on sale at SPA bookshops, enabling SPA members to follow the latest developments in the "Croatian national movement" and to read first-hand about how Solidarnosc is really "socialist".

Direct Action (13 December 1983) claims that one of the reasons these birds got together is "to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks and to refute the anti-communist, and anti-Soviet hysteria whipped up by the capitalist media". Can anyone believe this? Things really are at a sorry state for pro-Moscow Stalinism when the only "unity" they can get "to defend the Soviet Union" is with the anti-Soviet SWP. But if there are any in the SPA's ranks who are revolted at this turn of events they should understand that this is a logical end-product (admittedly almost at the level of farce) of traditional Stalinist policies of "socialism in one country" and popular frontism.

The record speaks for itself. Stalinism breeds Eurocommunist desertion to anti-Soviet social democracy. In 1971 a good three-quarters of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) broke to the right from Moscow and the CPA's virulent anti-Sovietism is now taking it rapidly towards liquidation into Hawke's Cold War ALP. Then last year the SPA lost half its membership as almost its entire base in the trade union bureaucracy defected en masse, preferring "unity" within Hawke's anti-Soviet "consensus" to party ties with the Soviet Union. The renegacy of Clancy, Supple, Geraghty and the rest under pressure of Cold War II was prepared by decades of social patriotism and congenial "unity" with the mainstream anti-Soviet Labor Party bureaucracy. What remains of the Stalinist party in Australia which once boasted 23,000 members and led unions covering from 25 to 40 per cent of organised labour? A pathetic rump of a few hundred, whose leadership of Peter Symon/Alan Miller doggedly proceed to do it all again, dragging their long-suffering membership into alliance with the SWP. It's certainly a dog's life being a Stalinist hack.

Let's examine how the SWP-SPA will "defend the Soviet Union", starting with Poland and the rise of the counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc movement. Poland was an acid test for the left in this period of renewed Cold War. Certainly for the SWP it showed their true colours. When the Polish military spiked Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary bid for power back in December 1981 the imperialists let out a cry of rage, and all the anti-communist rabble washed up on these shores came out of the sewers to protest. At Sydney's Polish consulate they were all there — the "Free Poles" and the whole fascistic "Captive Nations" gang. And the SWP was right there in the middle, mingling shoulder to shoulder with these counterrevolutionary scum. At the time SWP leader Jim Percy boasted to

the *Sydney Morning Herald* that they were "the group most closely aligned with Solidarity in Australia".

After that episode the SWP got a little more cautious, particularly when their hopes for an anti-Soviet "mass movement" fell flat, and it was clear to most everyone that Santamaria's NCC and the "Free Poles" (not to mention the CIA) had the real Solidarnosc franchise. But nothing has changed. For example we were amused to hear that SWPers visiting Cuba recently were soundly trounced when they tried to convince their hosts that Lech Walesa was really a Polish version of Castro. The anti-Soviet SWP hasn't changed its spots. Quoting Gromyko, like their adulation of the "non-aligned" Castro, is primarily in the service of their "anti-American" reformist appetites to cut out a niche to the left of Hawke in the Laborite spectrum.

So what exactly are Symon/Miller playing at here? Is this just more stupid opportunism, or perhaps a soft-sell message that the SPA isn't really against "free trade unions"? Whatever the motivation the Stalinists themselves are completely bankrupt on Poland. It was the Stalinist bureaucracy that fostered the counterrevolutionary threat, that disorganised the Polish economy and mortgaged it to the Western banks, that capitulated to the Church and small-holding peasantry, that demoralised the workers in the face of resurgent Pilsudskiite reaction and drove them into the arms of Solidarnosc. Now the SPA can only defend the Jaruzelski regime that continues to conciliate the Catholic Church, the centre of the counterrevolutionary danger in Poland.

We supported the military crack-down in 1981 and the checking of the counterrevolutionary threat, but we made clear that nothing had been solved. It bought some time — nothing more — for a revolutionary socialist solution to the Polish crisis. The defence of the revolutionary gains of October and the Polish deformed workers state against NATO/US imperialism and internal counter-revolution must begin from a perspective of international socialist revolution — proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world, and in the East proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy that at every step undermines the workers states. In Poland it is urgently necessary to build educational and propaganda cells of an internationalist Trotskyist vanguard which can restore to the Polish proletariat the deep and rich Marxist tradition represented above all by Rosa Luxemburg. This is the perspective of genuine communism, of the international Spartacist tendency.

Stalinists Keep Silent on HDP Scandal

The SWP's scandalous courting of the pro-Ustasha HDP is no bizarre aberration, but the *generalisation*, extended to even these openly reactionary nationalists, of its position of support to *all* oppositional movements in the Soviet bloc against the bureaucracy. The HDP are just the Croatian Solidarnosc for the SWP, whose talk of "political revolution" is again nothing but support for capitalist restorationist forces hiding under the

banner of nationalism. Yet despite the uproar in and beyond the left, the SPA has remained conspicuously silent over the SWP's scandalous defence of the HDP and its apologetics for the bloody Pavelic regime in 1941-45 Croatia.

The SWP has seized on the HDP's single-minded hatred of the Yugoslav workers state in order to sell Croatian nationalism as hostile to Yugoslavia's pro-US "non-alignment". Thus we are told that the HDP is very anti-Reagan and very pro-Castro. Have the SPA, like the SWP, actually bought this garbage? If the HDP was successful in carrying out their program to "dis-member" what they call "fascist" Yugoslavia, then in short order NATO's cruise and Pershing missiles would be on the Hungarian border and pointing north and east. Symon/Miller desecrate the memory of 20 million Soviet lives sacrificed in the struggle to defeat Hitlerite Germany and its fascist allies like Pavelic's Ustasha.

Hawke's Loyal Opposition

What really unites these strange bedfellows is their shared appetite to get a position of influence within the labour bureaucracy. The SWP-SPA are very much on the outs looking in, what with the ALP and Communist Party "lefts" busy policing the government/ACTU Accord and keeping the "peace movement" safe for Reagan's man Hawke. Both groups see their "alliance" as a way to capitalise on discontent with Hawke, providing a platform for dissident bureaucrats which will allow them to posture as the Labor-loyal opposition to Hawke.

The credo of this alliance, the "Manifesto of Social Rights" is full of vague "rights", all crowned with the appeal that Hawke's anti-working class, pro-Reagan "ALP government must stick by and defend the working people who elected it". Not one of the key programmatic elements to unchain the unions from their bureaucratic stranglehold — occupations and strikes against layoffs, mass picketing, opposition to Arbitration or protectionism etc — can be found in this sub-reformist document, which concludes with this stirring wet noodle: "See your local Member of Parliament. Tell him or her what you want the government to do." In short, they want a better, more "progressive" Accord from this imperialist government.

To cover the foreign policy angle there's a tiny section on "the right to live in peace" pitched to "little Australia" patriotism: "US bases should go" because they "ensure that Australia will be directly involved if nuclear war occurs." Here there is *genuine* unity indeed — social-patriotic defence of Australian mini-imperialism. From the mouths of social democrats and Stalinists "anti-Americanism" is just a means of whitewashing their own imperialism.

The SPA has long campaigned around the slogan "US bases make Australia a nuclear target". Our Trotskyist opposition to these bases is primarily because they make the *Soviet Union* and its allies like Vietnam a nuclear target! The Soviet missiles aimed at these bases defend the gains of the Russian Revolution and the

toiling masses around the world, from Southeast Asia to the Caribbean, against US imperialism and its allies, including Australian imperialism, the *main enemy* of the Australian proletariat. The imperialist bourgeoisies will never disarm — they must be driven from power. In keeping the nuclear madmen at bay, Soviet military (and nuclear) capacity has bought the world working class precious time to make the socialist revolution, the only road to peace.

As for the SWP they printed a "peace" resolution just over a year ago quoting the late SWP/US leader Joe Hansen's infamous 1977 statement that "it is clear Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament" (*Socialist Worker*, November 1982). Unlike the SWP we condemn the Soviet bureaucracy not because they lack in pacifist idiocy, but because their utopian policy of "disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence" undermines the military defence of the workers states, tying the workers to an illusory "peace-loving" wing of imperialism. In 1916 Lenin wrote, "Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie" ("The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution"). Over 20 years later, on the eve of World War II, the founding document of Trotsky's Fourth International heralded the same message to the world proletariat:

"Disarmament? But the entire question revolves around who will disarm whom. The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers. But to disarm the bourgeoisie the workers must arm themselves."

— *Transitional Program* (1938)

Today in this pre-war period as US imperialism and its Australian junior partner lay the basis for attacking Vietnam and the Soviet Union the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight for this same program. Only international proletarian revolution can bring peace and truly defend the Soviet Union. To do that the social chauvinist leaders of the workers and their "left" advisors like the SWP/SPA have to be unmasked and swept away in a fight to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Declaration of Principles of
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Lauren and Ray . . .

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Johnson and several prominent Communist Party supporters. A number of Democratic Party office-holders, including Congressman Ron Dellums, have endorsed the case. Former world heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali, once stripped of his title for refusing the draft and renowned for his statement "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger", also endorsed the PSDC's demands. Here in Australia, the Spartacist League has obtained support including protest telegrams from the NSW branch of the Australian Telecommunications Employees' Association and the Aboriginal Legal Service (see box). A supporter in Telecom initiated a protest petition on her job and got fourteen signatures.

Among unionists and students, and in the neighbourhoods where supporters got the word out about the demonstration, the victimisation of Mozee and Palmiero has become widely known and broadly opposed. Thanks to the pressure generated by this broad support, the DA dropped one of the felony charges. Meanwhile the phone company is intervening hard to make sure Ray and Lauren continue to be denied unemployment benefits. They and the three teenagers dependent on them have had practically no income except for contributions raised by the PSDC, which has also had to spend thousands of dollars on publicity and legal expenses. The phone company and their government friends are hoping the active support will dissipate and the militants will run out of patience — and money.

In the fighting tradition of class-struggle defence work, the PSDC is pursuing every avenue of legal defence while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. The PSDC charges that there has been a massive conspiracy between the police agencies and the phone company, whereby the cops and courts have acted as strikebreakers in the direct service of Pacific Telephone, picking out and framing up picket-line militants while helping scabs intimidate and assault strikers. The defence motion at a 17 January hearing constituted a forthright political counter-attack against the union-busting courts and cops. It charged that Lauren and Ray were targeted because of their political views and histories and their union activism. Both are members of the oppositional caucus in the CWA, the Militant Action Caucus. Unionists have rallied to their side because of their clear class approach, basing the defence strategy on the crucial right to have real picket lines and defend them. As Ray said at the October 29 rally:

"Because if we can't defend ourselves on the picket lines, then we

don't have picket lines. And if we don't have picket lines, then the right to strike is really meaningless. And if we don't have the right to strike, then we don't have unions. And if we don't have unions, Reagan would be a very happy man. Because the only union he likes is Solidarnosc."

The October 29 demonstration illustrated the Spartacist perspective of forging a multi-racial vanguard party to lead the working class in effective struggle to defend the rights of labour and the oppressed — and to fight for a workers government to put the bosses and their racist and repressive state out of business once and for all. Spartacist spokesman at the rally, Diana Coleman, drew applause as she said:

"Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions . . . You cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labour action to bring down Reagan . . . We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass class-struggle workers party . . . The working people produced everything in this country and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government and you need a workers party to get it."

As we go to press, the next court hearing is due for March 1, where the PSDC, the LBL and the Spartacist League are organising a demonstration to continue the campaign of protest and exposure. ■

Funds are desperately needed for defence expenses and publicity. Send contributions, together with telegrams of support endorsing the demands of the PSDC to: Phone Strikers Defence Committee, PO Box 24152, Oakland, CA94623, USA.

Lebanon . . .

continued from page two

agent who fooled around with this gang of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists would probably be skinned alive.

The half million or so Palestinian refugees have been largely out of the current fighting, having been disarmed by the imperialists (at the request of the PLO leadership, which chose to run rather than fight the Israelis inside Beirut). Though PLO chief Arafat has long been a hero of Western leftists, in his shifting alliances the nationalist leader has embraced some of the most reactionary forces in the region; in October 1983 Arafat sided with a local sheik in Tripoli as the latter was massacring Lebanese CPers. Currently lacking any military muscle, Arafat is trying to work out an arrangement with the Israelis together with Egypt's Mubarak and Jordan's Hussein, two of Washington's main Arab clients.

On the other hand, the Christian Maronite Phalange is an openly fascist force whose militias have nothing to learn from the Salvadoran death squads when it comes to barbarity. Yet the Phalange hardly represents the whole of the Maronite population; former Maronite president Suleiman Franjeh (whose son was murdered by the Phalange) is currently in Damascus with Jumblatt seeking Syrian favor. And the 500,000 Maronites are only a third of Lebanon's Christian population (which includes Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Armenians and other sects). Moreover, before the communal civil war, the Lebanese leftist groups, notably the CP, typically drew much of their cadre from the Christian communities while many downtrodden Shi'ites were recruited into their ranks. While they sided with the Muslim warlords in '75-'76, the result was the destruction of the left as a

significant political force as Lebanon was increasingly polarized along communal lines.

As for Syria, far from being a Soviet juggernaut in the Near East, the Assad regime is extremely fragile and plays its own game in regional politics. Based on the Alawite sect (only 10 percent of the population), in 1982 Assad destroyed Syria's fourth-largest city, Hama, killing at least 20,000 of its inhabitants, in order to exterminate the Sunni-based Muslim Brotherhood. Syria first intervened in Lebanon in 1976 on behalf of the Maronite Christians with the support of both Washington and Jerusalem. This shifted the balance of forces, setting up the gruesome massacre of Palestinians at the huge Tel Zaatar camp by the Gemayels' Phalange and other Maronite gangs. And who has the Syrian army in Lebanon been fighting in recent months? US Marines? The French Foreign Legion? The Israel "Defense Force"? No, the Arafat-loyal PLO. In December, Syrian-backed forces laid waste to two Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon, killing an estimated 700 and wounding thousands of defenseless refugees and Lebanese Muslims while the Zionists cheered.

In short, the Lebanese political scene is a swamp. While Reagan wanted to use the US "Peacekeeping" troops as a springboard to achieve an anti-Soviet Pax Americana in the Near East, he only succeeded in sinking deeper into the quicksand of Lebanese politics.

Israel Out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!

A few months before the present collapse of the Gemayel "government", former Israeli chief of staff Mordechai Gur warned:

"... the US hope for establishing a strong central government in Lebanon is unrealistic. No foreign military intervention can accomplish that — certainly not the US Marines, whose force is so small that nobody takes it seriously."

— *Newsweek*, 19 December 1983

The Israelis should know, since they tried and failed with far greater military forces to impose a Phalange government on Lebanon. They adroitly sucked in the Americans with talk of an easy anti-Soviet victory. And then to minimize their own casualties, they pulled back from the Beirut area last September to a buffer zone south of the Awali River . . . while Reagan's Marines were left holding the bag. The Israeli generals were no doubt laughing up their sleeves after the Beirut Marine headquarters bombing last October, but now they're getting worried as the US prepares to pull out.

The Israeli army has its hands full with the 700,000 hostile, predominantly Shi'ite Muslim Arabs in southern Lebanon (now called the "North Bank"). The Israelis thought they could treat Lebanese Muslims like they do Palestinians in the occupied West Bank — internal passports, armed searches, wanton brutality against the Arab population. But the Lebanese have not been cowed by almost 20 years of military terror, and they do not live in refugee camps. They own their own land and increasingly they are resisting the Zionist jackboot:

"Many of southern Lebanon's 700,000 Muslims are being radicalized by religious leaders advocating violence, including suicide attacks, as a way of driving out the Israeli occupation force."

— *Los Angeles Times*,
12 December 1983

Israel is paying a high price — far higher than Sharon and Begin expected — in both money and blood for the Lebanon adventure, and this is polarizing the Hebrew population. The

invasion/occupation is sapping the morale of the army, including the cocky world-beaters of yesteryear. *Time* (13 February) recently reported one Israeli soldier in Lebanon crying out: "I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."

The bloody course of Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction. But with madmen like Begin, Sharon and Shamir sitting on a nuclear arsenal, the working masses of the Near East and the world cannot wait for the eventual disintegration of "Greater Israel". The Hebrew working class must be broken from Zionism before it's too late. For a bi-national Palestinian workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East!

Reagan is stung by his debacle in Lebanon, and this could make the imperialist beast even more dangerous. Particularly with the death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, the demonologists in the White House may imagine that the Kremlin will be paralyzed. US imperialism's truly evil empire, the mass murderers of Hiroshima and My Lai, may strike back anywhere on the globe. It could be Central America. Or, as the heavy guns pound away at Syrian positions, it could just as well be in the Near East, where several thousand Russian advisers are stationed less than 100 miles from the Sixth Fleet.

The Near East could be the flash-point for World War III. In point of fact, the most massive mobilization of US naval power since World War II (more than 65 ships in the eastern Mediterranean and off the Persian Gulf) remains in place. As Henry Kissinger (along with many others) has pointed out, the endemic and explosive national antagonisms of the region make it resemble the Balkans before World War I. But unlike the inter-imperialist rivalries that engendered that slaughter, there is a *class line* between the two major world powers presently confronting each other: the bloody imperialist United States and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. We warn of the danger of a new world war, instigated by the capitalists who live in mortal fear of new social revolutions. Most of all, with their military stretched across the globe and the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression still lingering on, the imperialists fear proletarian class struggle at home which could frustrate their war preparations and bring the whole damn system tumbling down. Defend the Soviet Union! US Out of the Near East! Yankee Imperialists — Hands Off the World!

— abridged from *Workers Vanguard*
no 348, 17 February 1984

Sinai . . .

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regional spearhead of Washington's global anti-Soviet war drive. Two months after its arrival, Israel launched its Lebanese blitzkrieg, leading to the entry of imperialist troops into Beirut to disarm and disperse the PLO commandos. The immediate sequel to this "Pax Americana" was the hideous massacre of defenceless Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

The Australian ruling class has Palestinian blood on its hands. The Labor government of this white imperialist enclave is a proven ally of the racist Zionist state, and is now bound even tighter together under the US anti-Soviet umbrella. Thus in contrast to the welcome given Afghan and Kampuchean counterrevolutionaries, Hawke and Hayden refuse to allow the PLO to open a diplomatic office in

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Australia, likewise denying aid to the Palestinian equivalent of the Red Cross, claiming this would amount to recognition of the PLO. Yet there was Hayden in Israel, lecturing the Zionists about "justice and security for the Palestinian people"!

Many in the ALP bitterly resent Hawke's reneging on one plank of ALP policy after another, but the fake-lefts don't want to fight over any question touching the American alliance and Cold War II. Moreover, Labor "left" opposition to Australian troops in the Sinai is above all fuelled by fear (held also in bourgeois ruling circles) that "little Australia" will be embroiled in a US war far away from where its own narrow imperialist interests lie. Thus the entire reformist left, inside and outside the ALP, supported sending the Marines to Lebanon to disarm the PLO, while wanting "their boys" back home, preferably to fight the Indonesians over East Timor.

Australian Imperialism's Deir Yassin

Long before Vietnam, Australian imperialism as lackey of first the British and then the Americans had shown its true brutal face to the non-European peoples oppressed by imperialism, including in the Near East where its army fought in both world wars. The bloody and vicious white chauvinism behind the "democratic" ANZAC myth can be glimpsed even in accounts intended to glorify it, such as Bill Gammage's *The Broken Years*. Gammage recounts a massacre perpetrated by the ANZAC Mounted Division in Palestine in December 1918, after a New Zealander was killed by a thief near the Arab village of Surafend:

"Grimly the dead man's comrades tracked his murderer to Surafend, placed a small picket around the village, and waited for dawn. When they demanded the killer, the sheikhs were evasive, and appeals to the British staff for action proved fruitless. At dusk, therefore, a large number of Australians and New Zealanders surrounded Surafend, passed out the women and children, and fell upon the men. Many Arabs were killed, most of the remainder were injured, and the village and a nomad camp near it were burnt."

Next day the British commander, General Allenby, lined the troops up and reportedly denounced them as murderers but, says Gammage, "no culprits were found". Subsequently ANZAC troops were used to suppress the Egyptian uprising of March 1919. Australian imperialism was well qualified for its role in Vietnam as junior partner of the butchers of My Lai.

As the Reaganites heat up their war drive against the Soviet Union all over the world, the US's smaller "democratic" allies find themselves increasingly called upon to help out with imperialist "peacekeeping" duties. In recent months alone, Australian participation has been canvassed for a mooted "Commonwealth security force" in Grenada, a new UN force in Lebanon and a UN "peacekeeping" force in Kampuchea. The Australian jackal is always among the first the US calls on, mainly to supply some diplomatic cover and often to prod more independent and reluctant allies into doing their bit. Thus if the Australians pull out of Sinai, not only might the Colombians, Dutch, Italians etc follow suit, but their US replacements would be "unacceptable" to the Arab regimes, making the force look too obviously like what it is — the advance detachment of the US Rapid Deployment Force.

Whereas the US had to twist their arms to get them into Sinai, Australian imperialism eagerly volunteers for

imperialist dirty work where their own appetites lie, in the Southeast Asian/Pacific region. Witness for example Hawke's recent offer to send troops to Kampuchea. From Korea to Indonesia to Vietnam, Australian troops and spies have served as the US dogs of war in Asia. Now the Labor government is set to break its pledge to withdraw from the Butterworth air base in Malaysia, planning instead to use their new squadrons of F/A-18s there to preserve the "Five Power Defence Arrangements" with Britain, Malaysia and Singapore. The main enemy is at home, and this means that the Australian working class must lead the fight against the part the Australian bourgeoisie plays in the anti-Soviet war drive and its imperialist dirty work across the world. Australian military out of Southeast Asia! Australian troops out of Sinai now! ■

Marxism...

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the TASS statement of 2 September 1983:

"Tass is authorized to state that in the leading circles of the Soviet Union regret is expressed over the loss of human life and at the same time a resolute condemnation of those who consciously or as a result of criminal disregard have allowed the death of people and are now trying to use this occurrence for unseemly political aims."

Marxists do not support nor advocate the killing of innocent civilians — be it on board KAL 007, an Israeli bus in Jerusalem, a pub in Northern Ireland. With KAL, the fact is that the Soviets did not knowingly down a civilian passenger jet. Had they done so, we said, it would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an idiocy worthy of the Israelis. This seemingly uncontentious position against wanton bloodshed provoked charges of "softness" from critics whose vicarious bloodthirstiness tends to be directly proportional to the distance from their own appetites. From a safe distance, the petty-bourgeois radicals embrace the "good" peoples (if necessary first inventing them, as in Lebanon today) and for the "bad", well, the only good one is a dead one. Reactionary in itself, such an attitude — completely divorced as it is from Marxist class analysis — necessarily gives way to anti-communist public opinion. Thus we see many of yesterday's "radicals" joining up ideologically with US imperialism over the plight of "poor little Afghanistan" and the crushing of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. (In Afghanistan, the "freedom fighters" are fanatical Islamic defenders of the bride price, while the "evil superpower" defends the rights of the Afghan people to emerge from the ninth century, including the right of women to learn to read. In Poland, "underdog" Lech Walesa and Solidarnosc represent the Vatican, Western bankers and the CIA in league against the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, threatening a bloody return to capitalist "democracy", ie, wage slavery and NATO missiles.)

On another level, there is the conflict between the nationalist/Stalinist and the Trotskyist approaches to the anti-Nazi resistance during World War II. The policy of the French Resistance was to attack lone German privates standing out on lonely streets at night trying to pick up girls; a typical "tactic" was to cut off their genitals and stuff them in their mouths. Predictably, this didn't lead to too many German recruits to the cause of the Resistance. The French Trotskyists sought to appeal to the class con-

sciousness of the German soldiers (many of whose parents were Communists and Social Democrats), carrying out at great cost a policy of fraternization. Around the publication of *Arbeiter und Soldat* ("Worker and Soldier"), a clandestine newspaper for German class-conscious soldiers, they formed a Trotskyist secret cell within the German navy at Brest.

Today there are a half a million young men in the Bundeswehr (West German army) and, as in the past, they are likely to be sent off to fight for unjust causes. We would work for their defeat, but that does not mean that we propose the extermination of every German worker in uniform. We seek rather the bursting asunder *from within*, ie, from below, of the imperialist armed forces as part of the struggle to realize comrade Lenin's profoundly humanist view of the "socialist system of society, which, by abolishing the division of mankind into classes, by abolishing all exploitation of man by man, and of one nation by other nations, will inevitably abolish all possibility of war".

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 345, 6 January 1984

CIA Connection...

continued from page twelve

"... all sections of the labour movement have to grapple with the consequences of Hawke's enormous popularity—and avoid falling into the trap of frontally counterposing themselves to Hawke."

Whereas Jim Percy, leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), formulated his loyalty oath somewhat differently:

"We want a different sort of government, a workers and farmers government.... That doesn't mean we are striving to bring down the Hawke government."

— *Direct Action*, 8 February

A split with Hawke and the CIA-lovers is the *last thing* the Socialist Left want. Their parochial perspective is totally parliamentarist and outside the ALP they face electoral oblivion. But it would certainly serve the class struggle to drag these Laborite nationalists out from under Hawke's skirts and put them on the spot before the working class.

CPAer Laurie Carmichael of the AMFSU deserves the labour portfolio in Hawke's ministry for his pivotal role in braintrusting the no-strike deals that led to the Accord and in uniting the "left" bureaucracy solidly behind it, the crucial factor in Hawke's election victory. But this is Cold War II and instead the AMFSU "lefts" reward is the red-baiting "Reform Group" opposition headed by Rod Kelly, lavishly funded and politically supported by the Hawke forces and Santamaria's NCC. When Reform Grouper Charles Bali soundly defeated CPAer Bob Adamson in a recent election for a national organiser what really tipped the scales was the prominently featured photograph of Bali shaking hands with Hawke.

Hawke and the NCC's anti-union rats and witchhunters should be driven out of the labour movement but to do that an organised and conscious class-struggle fight and leadership in the unions is necessary. Key elements of a program to fight Hawke and the bosses include: strikes against Labor's wage-cutting Accord; plant occupations against layoffs to demand available work be shared through 30 hours work for 40 hours pay; down with Arbitration, courts out of the unions, for industrial unionism; defence of democratic rights against racist, anti-women, anti-gay reaction; no to racist protectionism, for inter-

national working class solidarity; for labour action to drive the US military/spy bases out of Australia and the Indian Ocean; for unconditional military defence of Vietnam and the USSR; for a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government.

At the heart of this program is the need for complete and unconditional working-class independence from the capitalist state. In his "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" Trotsky pointed out that the "neutrality of the trade unions is completely and irretrievably a thing of the past" and concluded,

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of the workers [or]... become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

As for Carmichael and Co who without a fight sold out tens of thousands of jobs while pushing reactionary protectionism and clamping the Accord straightjacket on militancy, their betrayals have only paved the way for the NCC-backed red-baiters and company men. Voting for these types in these elections, no matter how critically, could in no way serve the interests of the union. This question was a real test for those left organisations that claim to oppose Hawke and the Accord. The SWP for example simply evaded a public position on the vote this time around, unlike their obsequious telegram of congratulations to Carmichael two years ago. But their current ally in the "anti-Accord unity", the pro-Moscow Socialist Party (SPA) really grasped the nettle:

"Some militant AMFSU members may decide not to vote as a protest against the leadership's pro-Accord position. This would be dangerous, for every vote is vital. *The issue in this election is not the Accord but defence of the AMFSU against a possible takeover by extreme right-wing forces.*"

— *Socialist*, 15 February (our emphasis)

So fighting Hawke's (and Carmichael's) Accord has nothing to do with fighting Hawke's court-backed NCC saboteurs? At present the AMFSU cannot even wage a *single strike* to defend its members without breaking with the Accord and the two-year no-strike deal enforced by Arbitration (and the "left" bureaucrats). The AMFSU tops of course cannot fight the massive court interference in the union's affairs because that is their own strategy, as they showed by running to the court themselves pleading the Hawke-Bali photo was an election "irregularity".

As the *Socialist* admits, workers disgusted with Hawke/Carmichael betrayals are looking for an alternative. The role of the SPA, SWP etc is to push them back into the arms of Hawke's Labor government and the "left" traitors who prop it up, selling Carmichael and Co as a "lesser evil" to the rightwing. For us Trotskyists our program is there precisely to give conscious expression to such anger and discontent and the inevitable class struggle that will blow apart Hawke's "consensus". This is the purpose of our party and program, to open the road to revolutionary class struggle and to organise and lead the workers to establishing their own state power, an Australian workers republic as part of a socialist Asia. ■

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Down with Hawke! Keep out NCC Witchhunters!

Labor's CIA Connection

When Robert Hawke's Labor government was elected last year we in the Spartacist League bluntly told the truth. The working class and oppressed in this country faced "Cold War Labor in Power", a government determined to prove its loyalty to the American alliance and Reagan's anti-Soviet war frenzy while it enforced wage-cutting austerity at home. Now, one year later, Hawke is putting into effect plans to bolster his Cold War ALP by bringing back those sinister forces for decades openly aligned with CIA "free trade unionism" and the Catholic anti-communist witchhunters of B A Santamaria's National Civic Council (NCC).

A major factional boilover is brewing in the ALP, centred in Victoria where the NCC-led "gang of four" unions — the Clerks (FCU), Shop Assistants (SDA), Ironworkers (FIA) and Carpenters and Joiners — are attempting to reaffiliate to the ALP. These forces for decades buttressed the NCC's fanatically anti-communist electoral front, the now-defunct Democratic Labor Party (DLP), a product of the 1955 ALP split which ended the Industrial Group anti-communist witchhunt in the unions in the late 1940s/early 1950s. Hawke wants these Catholic reactionaries back in the fold to break Socialist Left control of the Victorian ALP, the major remaining obstacle to locking up the ALP along hard pro-ANZUS Cold War lines. The Socialist Left have proven their loyalty to the Hawke government, backing his anti-Sovietism and policing the no-strike, wage-cutting ALP-ACTU Accord. But nevertheless their "anti-American" nationalist leanings make them an "aberrant" factor in this period, particularly in the eyes of

Australian imperialism's US godfather and its CIA. In 1975 the CIA was instrumental in bringing down the Whitlam Labor government after Whitlam threatened to meddle with the US super-secret Pine Gap spy base. And Hawke knows that he must continue to prove to the Americans that he has "learnt the lessons" of 1975 — that Labor can only govern as the US's slavishly loyal junior partner.

Hand in hand with their moves in the ALP the Hawke-NCC axis is on an anti-communist offensive against the Labor lefts' base in the union bureaucracy, a battle now centred on the crucial metalworkers union (AMFSU). Though presently these left-right factional struggles in both the ALP and the unions are intra-bureaucratic brawls, they are fuelled by Cold War II. The bourgeoisie doesn't trust the Socialist Left partly because its leading figures like Bill Hartley make statements like "anti-Sovietism is anti-working class". And the NCC are the perfect example of how Reagan/Hawke's anti-Soviet war drive fuels the most reactionary domestic forces.

Anti-union wrecking, witchhunting, attacks on women's right to abortion and child care, anti-gay reaction, strengthening the imperialist army and police and spy agencies — this is the program of the NCC. The Labor-loyal "left" hate them as the great violators of unity, who kept the ALP off the Treasury benches for a decade and a half. By contrast Santamaria and the NCC have never shared this parliamentarist framework, knowing that the real fight is to be had in the factories, on the campuses etc to isolate, defeat, and destroy all left-wing and militant forces. They represent

organised clericalist anti-communist witchhunting in the unions and we certainly want to deny them official ALP backing for it. Their emergence back into the mainstream of the labour movement, under Hawke's open patronage, only underlines what we Trotskyists have said since Labor came to power. A break from Hawke and his imperialist government of anti-Soviet warmongering and capitalist austerity is the starting point for struggle on every important question facing the working class. *Down with Hawke! Keep out the NCC Cold War witchhunters!*

Hawke deludes himself that the current euphoric mood of "national consensus" will solve all his problems. But courting the widely hated NCC could backfire on him, especially in his own party. Accord or no Accord, the class struggle will not forever cease at his command. The historically militant Australian working class will not put up indefinitely with over ten per cent unemployment, no-strike pledges, and continued grinding away of the wages and conditions it has come to expect. Moreover to fill the slot Hawke has aggressively claimed in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, he's got to overcome Australia's "Vietnam syndrome" — opposition to getting into losing American wars has strong roots in this country's labour movement. Finally, the ruling class drive for industrial "restructuring" poses slashing the tariff barriers protecting Australia's weak manufacturing sector, which would strike at the heart of Laborite chauvinism. Hawke's problems have only just begun.

Australia and the CIA's "Labor Boys"

The US AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy is well known for giving a "labour" cover to bloody CIA subversion, witchhunting and splitting of the labour movement in the service of imperialist reaction and bloody counterrevolution, from post-war Western Europe to Chile in 1973 to supporting Polish Solidarnosc and "agrarian reform" in El Salvador today. In 1960 a key AFL-CIO operator, Harry Goldberg, visited Australia at the invitation of FIA national secretary Laurie Short, and noted in a report to his CIA masters:

"Australia is in a terribly important strategic position and if things went wrong there its negative repercussions on the free world would be great. And the exceptions in the situation, the labor boys especially who are on our side, who are fighting an uphill battle versus the commies, are looking to us and only to us."

— our emphasis, quoted in *The Ultra File*, March 1983

Who are the CIA's "labor boys"? On the one hand those of the CIA-aligned Groupers who went with the DLP splitters in 1955, like key NCC figures John Maynes of the FCU and Jim Maher of the SDA. On the other hand there's

those like Short who decided the better tactic was to "stay in and fight" in the ALP. Their direct descendants are the Harvard-trained Unsworth-McBean Centre-Unity machine presently running the NSW ALP and Labor Council who provide the solid power base of Hawke and the pro-US ALP right wing nationally. Hawke is arranging the reunification inside the ALP of the Centre-Unity and the NCC trade-union base, who have recently split from Santamaria to facilitate this manoeuvre.

Back in 1982 the "left" cheerleaders for Lech Walesa squirmed when these same CIA loyalists ran the Polish Solidarnosc tour of Australia. The tour was an important bench-mark in re-forging an ANZUS/CIA-loyal anti-communist alliance within the union bureaucracy and ALP. As we said, "Solidarity is Poland's DLP/Groupers" — organised Catholic reaction mobilising in the working class against the historic gains of the Polish proletariat. And at last September's ACTU congress this Cold War line-up was up there with Hawke, leading the anti-Soviet hysteria over the US KAL 007 war provocation. More recently, Unsworth and his Harvard-trained cronies in league with the AFL-CIO initiated a Labor Committee for Pacific Affairs (LCPA). Playing a key role in the LCPA is long-time CIA man Gerald O'Keefe, a colleague of John Maynes in the CIA international trade-union front, the International Federation of Commercial, Technical and Clerical Employees (FIET).

While the Socialist Left are shrieking about the NCC danger neither they nor their "left" satellites outside the ALP say a word about the CIA connection that runs straight to Hawke. As far back as 1969 when he won the ACTU presidency, Hawke had the nod from the US embassy's "labour attache" as their favoured labour leader. Now as head of the government he's at the centre of the CIA-loyal wing of social democracy. Worried about their own necks and no doubt remembering the CIA-inspired witchhunt of former ALP national secretary David Combe for his friendship with expelled Soviet diplomat Valeriy Ivanov, the cowardly Socialist Left flinch from pointing the finger at Hawke. Left MP Gerry Hand blustered that the reaffiliation of the "gang of four" could bring down the Cain and Hawke governments, yet in the same breath claimed, "I don't know what individual within the party is pushing it" (*Australian*, 13 February).

Even as Hawke sharpens the knife for their throats the "lefts" try to ingratiate themselves with their "messiah". Typical of this line is the Labor-loyal Communist Party (CPA) whose *Tribune* (22 February) warned:

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March/April 1984



Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov
1914-1984

He sought to curb the worst excesses of the bureaucracy.

He sought to increase the productivity of the Soviet masses.

He made no overt betrayals on behalf of imperialism.

He was no friend of freedom.