



Racists shoot down hundreds

Anti-apartheid struggles sweep South Africa

SEPTEMBER 1 – The determination of South Africa's black masses to destroy the apartheid system root and branch is evident in the wave of plebeian rebellions that continue to convulse African townships from Johannesburg to Cape Town. In the face of overwhelming military force and armed with nothing more than sticks and stones, African youths have struck out with increasing boldness and organization.

Weeks of demonstrations and brutal police terror culminated last week in a three-day general strike by Soweto workers, who comprise the bulk of the industrial workforce for the nearby Johannesburg area. The white supremacist regime in Pretoria has responded with a few window-dressing concessions and sharpened repression, including the arrests of over 2000 black militants in the space of a week, among them Winnie Mandela, wife of long-imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The general strike in Soweto, where the ten-week old revolt originated June 16, followed two weeks of protests which had for the first time spread to the black townships surrounding the coastal cities of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

Eighty per cent of the 250,000 black workers who daily commute to nearby Johannesburg stayed home. The strike, which began Monday August 23, was organized at the weekend by the distribution of thousands of leaflets, reportedly signed by the ANC, throughout Soweto. The first day saw bus and train services

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International defence campaign victorious

Mario Munoz is safe!



Hubert Schatzl

Munoz greeted at airport by Austrian representative of the Committee to Save Mario Munoz.

After spending more than 130 days in hiding from the Argentine police, Mario Munoz arrived at Schwechat airport in Vienna, Austria August 4. As the persecuted Chilean miners' leader emerged from customs he was surrounded by a crowd which had come to greet him. Among them were fellow Chilean refugees, Munoz' fellow militants in struggle, who embraced their comrade. Ever since the junta's manhunt began on March 29, they had lived in fear that they would never see Munoz alive again.

A worldwide campaign had been built to save Munoz from the blood-drenched Argentine military dictatorship, which had alternately threatened to shoot him on sight or deport him to Chile, where he would face certain imprisonment, torture and possible death at the hands of Pinochet's butchers. The campaign of militant labor solidarity -- co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) in the US and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile -- had obtained an Austrian visa and aid from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), enabling Munoz to leave Argentina under UN auspices.

On hand at the airport to meet Munoz was a delegation organized by the Committee to Save Mario Munoz. His comrades clung to him for several minutes in an emotional reunion. Then a welcoming speech was made by Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of the Austrian Socialist Party. Munoz expressed gratitude that the Austrian government had agreed to receive him and thanked

all those whose solidarity with the campaign had saved his life. He expressed concern for the fate of his companera and their children who have not yet been able to leave Argentina and for all the victims of right-wing repression still trapped in Argentina.

Two days later, on August 7, the Committee to Save Mario Munoz held a press conference at the Cafe Landtmann in downtown Vienna. Present were representatives and correspondents of *Le Monde*, the *Vienna Kurier*, Austrian Press Agency, *Workers Vanguard*, CISNU (an Iranian student group), *Rot Front* (of the Austrian GRM), *Permanente Revolution* (of the IKL),* and *Rearme*, a Chilean exile publication. Munoz began by thanking the hundreds of left and labor militants and prominent individuals whose support for the campaign had brought him to Vienna to tell the true story of the vicious reactionary terror regime in Argentina.

In his presentation Munoz spoke of the bloody repression which still endangers tens of thousands of Chilean political refugees trapped in Argentina. "It is necessary to develop an even bigger campaign to save the workers' leaders", he said, stressing the need for international protest and pressure on behalf of those threatened and victimized by junta terror.

Tracing his own history, Munoz described his perilous escape from Chile following the September 1973 coup. "My exit to Argentina was decided by a plenary meeting of miners'

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Defend Ignazio Salemi

On 13 August a deportation writ was issued for Ignazio Salemi, an Italian journalist working with FILEF (Italian Federation of Migrant Workers and Their Families). Salemi has now been forced into hiding, despite two applications for permanent resident status since his arrival here in 1974. The last one was turned down even though it was submitted earlier this year under the Government's "amnesty" for illegal immigrants.

The decision to deport Salemi is a blatant act of political discrimination based upon his work with FILEF and his



Ignazio Salemi, journalist for the Italian migrant organisation FILEF, faces deportation.

support for the Italian Communist Party. It also highlights the vulnerability of migrant workers who are often forced into the lowest-paid jobs and then prevented from organising by the threat of deportation. The labour movement must act to protest against this attack on the democratic rights of working people. While ACTU President Hawke has threatened to pull out transport unions if the Government tries to fly Salemi out no industrial action in his defence has yet been initiated. Emphasising the need for immediate action, the Melbourne branch of the AMWU recently passed a resolution introduced by a Spartacist supporter calling for the AMWU and ACTU "to organise the fullest necessary industrial action in defence of Salemi's rights". The resolution demanded "that Salemi be granted full citizenship rights and that these rights be immediately extended to all migrant workers in Australia".

Unfortunately, FILEF has not attempted to mobilise a public protest campaign to defend Salemi, choosing to rely instead on legal action. At the only public meeting FILEF has held in Salemi's defence, however, a Spartacist League member drew applause when she called for demonstrations, protest telegrams and the implementation of the threatened transport bans and strikes and pointed to the successful campaign to defend Mario Munoz as a model.

Readers of ASp are urged to send telegrams protesting Salemi's threatened deportation to the Prime Minister. The following is a telegram sent by the SL:

"The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand strongly protests your government's deportation order for Ignazio Salemi, leading member of the Italian migrant organisation, FILEF. This despicable act, in violation of your pledge of amnesty for all illegal migrants, is not only a direct threat to thousands of migrant workers but, in view of Salemi's well known left-wing views, an anti-communist act that attacks the rights of all militant workers. Rescind the deportation order! Full citizenship rights for Ignazio Salemi and for all migrant workers in Australia!"

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South Africa . . .

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in and to Johannesburg crippled and white workers in many businesses were forced to take on the menial work usually reserved for blacks. Johannesburg's clothing industry was virtually shut down, with massive absenteeism reported in steel and other industries.

The racist regime signalled its response to the work action with the open, cold-blooded murder of a strike "ring-leader" by a police sharpshooter on the Monday. Recognising that the widespread and effective strike could not be quashed simply with the usual apartheid response of massive firepower, police adopted a tactic of provoking and directing small groups of Africans to go on murderous strikebreaking forays. The alleged "Zulu backlash" trumpeted in the bourgeois press is belied by the very effectiveness of the strike, given that more than half of Soweto's residents are Zulu.

While traditional ethnic rivalries and the inhuman conditions of life in Soweto -- particularly for those Zulus who live in hostels separated from their Bantustan families -- may well have further inflamed the anti-"black power" mobs, they were clearly led and directed by the police. According to reports by witnesses, Zulu hostel dwellers who had been harassed by militant youth for going to work in defiance of the strike were joined by groups of undercover black policemen and urged on by white cops to "kill all" the strike supporters (*Sunday Times* [Johannesburg], 29 August). Police anti-riot "Hippo" vehicles firing ahead led gangs of hostel dwellers on their pogroms while black cops in police vans drove through other neighbourhoods urging residents to arm themselves to fight the "Black Power tsotsis [thugs]". One group of Zulus was overheard being chastised by police for damaging government property when they had been told to "kill only the instigators" (*Star* [Johannesburg], 26 August). The police-led terror left seven dead on the streets of Soweto Monday night -- by week's end the number had mounted to more than thirty, including at least ten shot down by the police.

Pretoria's official kill figure (the actual number is much higher) for the period since June is 291. The week prior to the strike over thirty black protestors were slaughtered in Port Elizabeth and at least twenty-nine more were killed a week earlier by the racist stormtroopers in the African areas of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu outside Cape Town.

Cape Town rebellions follow Soweto

Like Soweto, the rebels at Cape Town organised a school boycott to demand release of imprisoned militants and to protest the rampant inequalities of "Bantu education", the system of retribalisation and ersatz education designed to prevent blacks from ever attaining the technical and cultural skills to advance economically and politically. The first police attacks occurred as students marched from school to school spreading the walkout through the three townships.

The youths answered these assaults by burning government buildings and organising "stay at home" strikes to cut off the city's supply of black labour. Eruptions of anger spilled over as cars and trucks driven by whites along a highway bordering Langa were repeatedly stoned. In one clash police opened fire with automatic rifles on a crowd of a thousand demonstrators, leaving four dead and dozens seriously wounded.

The revolt spread to Cape Town's 600,000 "coloureds" (mulattoes), who live in wretched shanty towns hemmed in between the African townships and all-white areas. The police shotgunned more than twenty coloured protestors last week, killing one, and arrested twenty others. Police broke up an earlier march of coloured students at the University of the Western Cape who demanded an end to racially segregated education and the release of Ben Palmer Louw, a leader in the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Seventy-six protestors were arrested following the fire bombing of campus buildings.

Fearful of a powerful alliance among the blacks and other non-white groups, Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster announced on August 9 that representatives of the 2.9 million coloureds and Indians would be invited into the cabinet in an advisory capacity. Vorster had rejected the same proposal from a government commission only a few weeks earlier.

Soweto once again

The struggle in Soweto, the prison-like township which serves as a vast labour compound (population is estimated at a million) for the mines and industries of the Witwatersrand has continued almost without stop since June when 174 blacks were butchered by government forces. On August 4 a 20,000-strong demonstration made re-

peated attempts to march on police headquarters in Johannesburg, nine miles away, to protest the indefinite detention of scores of black youths.

The number of anti-apartheid fighters held incommunicado under the Draconian preventive detention laws has swelled since mid-July. Exactly a month after the first outburst in Soweto, large contingents of police swept through the township, making arrests and staging a show of force. Other units were placed on standby alert at 20 Witwatersrand townships that had been wracked by anti-government protests sparked by the imposition of Afrikaans, language of the hated Boers, as the instructional language in secondary schools.

The power play backfired within a few days when the reopening of schools, a government "concession" to sugarcoat the repression, provided a focal point for new demonstrations and boycotts. In the Witbank area, a coal mining centre, students from six schools converged in a mass march, shouting anti-apartheid slogans and attacking symbols of racist rule. Offices of the Highveld Bantu Administration Board, the agency which supervises the townships around Witbank, were attacked. Several buildings were put to the torch at Khutsong, a township near Carletonville, scene of the infamous massacre of striking gold miners in September 1973.

Despite arrests, savage baton assaults and killings, the upsurge in the townships shows an increasing level of organisation and combativity, especially among black youths. Even before last week's three-day work stoppage, roadblocks and pickets at Soweto railroad stations calling for a "stay at home" general strike were responsible for massive absenteeism (60 percent according to the *Star*, Johannesburg, 7 August) in area factories and offices.

The coterie of quislings who officially "represent" the black masses have not escaped unscathed. Alongside the 100,000 ramshackle government bungalows crammed side by side in Soweto are a few substantial houses with lawns, television aerials and carports. These homes of black merchants, professionals and officials of the advisory Urban Bantu Council have been targets of attack. Hat-in-hand Mayor T J Makhaya and another member of the Council went into hiding after receiving death threats, apparently not trusting the police protection afforded them after their homes were hit by stones and petrol bombs.

In the so-called "tribal homeland" of Bophuthatswana, the building housing the puppet black parliament was burnt to the ground. Of the chief ministers of the nine "homelands" set up under the apartheid scheme, only Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and the despot Kaiser Mantanzima of the Transkei have endorsed Pretoria's Bantustan "independence" fraud. Thus their administrations are particularly hated by black militants.

The government's hopes of using a layer of collaborationist tribal chiefs and urban petty bourgeois to stifle the upheaval were underscored this week by Minister of "Justice" James Kruger. Announcing his plans to meet with Soweto leaders to discuss their problems Kruger swore his determination not to talk to "black power" militants. The head stormtrooper had earlier launched a concerted campaign to arrest leaders of the more radical Black Parents Association, formed in the wake of the June massacre, which the government sees as a rival to its puppet Bantu Council. Kruger indicated his only specific proposal for solving the "moderate" leaders' problems in a

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letter

The Editor,
Australasian Spartacist,
Sydney.

Dear Comrade,

The recent news of Mario Munoz's safe passage to Austria is heartening to all leftists in Australia and internationally. It is also a tribute to work of the international Spartacist tendency's national sections in helping to build the campaign that saved Munoz's life. As a regular reader of your press it was clear to me that the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand was in the forefront of efforts to organise support for Munoz in this country.

Further, the success of the campaign mocks those who abstain from endorsing and contributing to such efforts on the grounds that "small groups" cannot achieve anything in such matters. The efforts of the SL show that principled united fronts of solidarity in defence of persecuted working class leaders is indeed a viable tactic, even if initiated by groups that are numerically small.

Faternally,
Rod Moran,
Collingwood, Victoria

General Strike to smash Muldoon's union bashing, wage freeze

NZ labour under seige

New Zealand Prime Minister Robert "Piggy" Muldoon's National Party Government escalated its union-bashing late August with the visit of the USS Truxtun. During a Wellington waterfront strike protesting against the six-day docking of the nuclear-powered US imperialist warship, Muldoon mobilised the air force to help break it by transporting passengers and goods between the North and South Islands. But while he backed off from a threat to declare a state of emergency Muldoon used the opportunity to announce Draconian plans for the outlawing of political strikes and provisions for back-to-work court injunctions for strikes affecting the "public interest". The government threatened hefty fines for individual unionists taking part in "illegal" strikes, even hinting that the legislation would be applied retroactively against the unions involved in the Truxtun protest.

In the "interests of good unionism"

This latest move is only part of a comprehensive plan of vicious anti-union legislation outlined by Minister of Labour Gordon in early July. Besides the above measures Gordon suggested penalties for unions in "essential" and "key" industries that failed to give adequate forewarning of strikes and the indefinite debarment from office of union officials who contravene the regulations -- all in the "interests of good unionism"! The government also renewed an earlier threat to challenge the closed shop by polling union members on the question of compulsory trade-union membership.

The first concrete step in this anti-union vendetta came on 17 August when the government passed emergency legislation giving massive new strikebreaking powers to employers, enabling them to suspend without notice *non-striking* workers where work is not available during a strike by other workers. Previously one week's notice was necessary before suspension or dismissal. The definition of a strike has been widened to include overtime bans, go-slows or any action by workers "reducing their normal output or their normal rate of work" (*New Zealand Herald*, 18 August).

These amendments to the Industrial Relations Act were designed to stop the wave of rolling strikes that have been sweeping New Zealand in response to a three-month-old wage freeze. On 14 May the government announced a six-month cost-of-living adjustment to wages of 7 per cent or \$7, whichever was less, and the extension of all industrial awards for an extra 12 months. The accompanying freeze on fees for professional services, dividends and directors' fees was simply sugar-coating on the wage freeze. Associate Minister of Finance Gair stated the government's intention plainly earlier this year: "The average living standard of New Zealanders must drop by about ten per cent on 1973-74" (*New Zealand Monthly Review*, June 1976).

When a new outburst of strikes by drivers, engineers and freezing workers was threatened in mid-August the government moved quickly, suspending other parliamentary business to force the legislation through in an all-night sitting. "The wage freeze ..." said Muldoon, "must be made to stick" (*New Zealand Herald*, 18 August).

The actions of the Muldoon Government and the further impending measures threaten the most basic rights of the New Zealand labour movement. Such an all-out attack must be met by decisive and immediate action, to crush Muldoon's union-bashing and defeat the wage freeze. *For a general strike to smash the anti-union laws! Break the wage freeze! Government hands off the unions!*

When is a deadline not a deadline?

From the very start the union bureaucracy has provided a passive and vacillating "opposition" to the wage freeze. A special conference of the Federation of Labour (FOL -- NZ equivalent to the ACTU) initially threatened a national campaign of 24-hour stoppages and set a deadline of 48 hours for the government to back down. FOL President Sir Tom Skinner was emphatic that the deadline was final. Two days later he was whining, "But I don't see much point in acting while we are negotiating with the Government" (*New Zealand Herald*, 28 May)!

Three "deadlines" and much horse-trading later Skinner finally presented to the 9 June FOL conference, the third in five weeks, the government's "compromise". This minimal package consisted of two points. The 7 per cent wage rise

was to be calculated on overtime, bonuses and some allowances as well as on the award wage (with the \$7 limit remaining). And, on the normal expiration of awards unions could negotiate on conditions and, in limited cases, on wages -- but only on grounds of productivity or "special circumstances". Changes in the award, however, would have to be approved by a government wage-fixing body upon the application of *both the employers and the unions*. With brazen dishonesty Skinner declaimed that these sops thrown to the unions left the door "wide open" for wage increases. The conference proposed no campaign or strike action to fight the wage freeze, although Skinner gratuitously granted that individual unions could strike if they wanted to!

Under the pressure of an outraged rank-and-file, individual trade unions across the country launched into a strike campaign to protest against the wage freeze and demand an increased cost-of-living adjustment (inflation was over 9 per cent for the first six months of 1976). Since early June railway workers, seamen, drivers and others have downed tools in a series of national and local 24-hour strikes and on 23 June the Wellington Trades Council called a city-wide strike to coincide with the opening of Parliament. Some 10,000 members of FOL unions and the Combined State Services Organisation marched on Parliament House to jeer arriving National Party politicians. The week beginning 23 June saw the beginning of a new upsurge as drivers and freezing workers held national strikes while engineers, engine drivers and pulp and paper workers also struck in various places.

The "big stick" and "flexibility"

The New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP), having itself imposed a wage freeze in 1973-74, agrees with Muldoon's aim to slash living standards. It criticises the government only for the *method* it has used. "The big stick won't work ..." warned NZLP leader Bill Rowling who has been proudly

Part of the huge crowd that marched on the opening of parliament June 23 in protest against wage freeze.



boasting of his own credentials for keeping the unions in line:

"A few militants gave us problems and we dealt with them on a selective basis. For example, we deregistered members of the Boilermakers' Union at Kawerau and we didn't clobber the trade union movement as a whole. "As I see it, there is a danger the Government's foray into industrial legislation ... will drive the moderates into the militant camp and then we will all be the losers -- except the Marxists, who have everything to gain from the development of class conflict." (*Evening Post*, 23 August)

It is heightened class conflict that most frightens the labour bureaucrats of the NZLP and the FOL whose positions rest upon their ability to tie the workers to capitalism in the hope of winning "concessions" from the bourgeoisie.

Nor do the self-proclaimed "communists" of the Moscow-line Socialist Unity Party (SUP) offer any alternative to the treacherous NZLP. While the notoriously anti-communist Muldoon has charged the SUP with attempting to destroy the government's economic policy, the Stalinist union bureaucrats have no more intention of leading a struggle to smash the wage freeze than the rest of the bureaucracy.

In the strategically important drivers' award, seen as a test case by the entire union bureaucracy, the SUP-led Northern Drivers' Union (NDU) invited Skinner to lead the negotiations to cajole the employers into making a joint application with the union for a wage rise under the "special circumstances" provision of the wage freeze regulations. By limiting themselves to



FOL president Sir Tom Skinner (left) and Prime Minister Muldoon.

using their strategic position to squeeze through the "special circumstances" loophole the SUP leaves the wage freeze intact and the weaker unions to fend for themselves.

The much less significant Socialist Action League (SAL), co-thinkers of the Australian Socialist Workers Party, offers only a few helpful hints for the class traitors. According to the SAL, the bureaucracy's sellout at the 9 June FOL conference was all a mistake. *Socialist Action* (25 June) apologised for the bureaucrats' vote for the "special circumstances" amendment to the wage freeze, explaining that they were "confused". And the SAL gently chided Bill Andersen, SUP leader and secretary of the NDU, for "not being entirely frank" when he publicly supported the outcome of the conference, since SUP bureaucrats had made a few watery criticisms of the amendments during the conference. "There is nothing wrong with making public important differences of opinion ..." the SAL explains to the SUP (*Socialist Action* 25 June), as if there

are any important differences between Skinner and the SUP, other than *how* to betray the workers. In coaching the Stalinists on how to give a better left cover to betrayal, the SAL just demonstrates its own reformist appetites.

Neither the Stalinist cohorts of the Skinner bureaucracy nor their small-time apologists in the SAL can provide a strategy to defeat the National Party Government's all-sided attack on the New Zealand labour movement. The union ranks' willingness to fight is demonstrated by the breadth and militancy of the strike wave. What is required is an immediate defensive general strike to smash Muldoon's wage freeze and union-bashing legislation and repulse the bourgeois state's encroachments on the independence of the trade-union movement. Rising prices must be met by a full cost-of-living escalator coupled to a shortened workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all. However, only under a revolutionary leadership committed to the expropriation of the capitalist class as a whole can the labour movement drive back the bosses' continuing attacks. Such a leadership must be forged through a struggle to sweep away the FOL/NZLP bureaucracy and clear the road to a workers government. ■

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State-funded commission stages conference

WTUC — bureaucratic hoax

Led and organised by a body that functions only thanks to a \$40,000 grant from the former Labor Government and with the "Ansett Airlines" trademark plastered across conference brochures and notebooks, a Women's "Trade Union" Conference was held in Sydney over the weekend August 8-10. Costing \$15 to attend and full of well-heeled, trendy bureaucrats with a scattering of feminists, it was a gathering at which any class-conscious woman worker would have felt distinctly ill at ease. Far from being an attempt to mobilise for a fight against the superexploitation, neglect and special problems faced by women workers, the conference was an exercise in self-promotion for its organisers, an attempt to use women's oppression as a springboard for their own careerist appetites.

The conference was organised by the Women's Trade Union Commission (WTUC), a body that only came into being in order to cash in on International Women's Year government funding last November. Run by right-wing women union officials like Linda Norton of the Australian Workers Union (AWU) and Betty Spears from the Federated Clerks, along with aspiring bureaucrats like Aileen Beaver, AMWU shop steward and prominent member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), the WTUC's stated aim was to build a vehicle for women to elbow their way into the trade-union bureaucracy -- "for women to work for unions not just in an honorary capacity, but as paid organisers and secretaries" (*Women Unions 1976*, a WTUC publication). The trade-union bureaucracy is indeed grossly discriminatory and women must struggle for positions of leadership in the labour movement -- as class-struggle militants, not pro-capitalist bureaucrats.

That the WTUC had no intention of maintaining even a pretence of class independence was evident from the invitation list to the posh, \$7-a-head pre-conference dinner on the Friday night which along with *all* women parliamentarians also included Fraser's leading hand in policing the unions, Tony Street, Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations. (Needless to say, male rank-and-file militants were not welcome.) During the conference the WTUC leaders kept committing themselves to anything that could impede their own ambitions. But their clumsy attempts to restrict discussion and stop resolutions emerging from the floor in the final session caused an explosion of pent-up frustration. Trying to blame the pandemonium on the protesting delegates Public Service bureaucrat Pat Finnemore whined that squabbling would only prove that women were uncontrollable and incapable of running union affairs. At one stage the chairman cynically threatened to step down and let "the rabble take over"!

Opportunists merge with bureaucrats

Throughout the confusion and amorphousness of the conference the only political tendency to provide a revolutionary Marxist opposition, and even a pole for the resentment to the rampant bureaucratism of the WTUC bureaucrats, was the Spartacist League (SL). The SL alone exposed the WTUC organisers' brazenly pro-capitalist and bureaucratic appetites and counterposed the necessity to integrate the struggle against women's specific oppression into a program of class struggle.

Although the CPA's *Tribune* (18 August) was critical of the conference's bureaucratic strait-jacketing it was, through Aileen Beaver, an integral part of the conference leadership. Outside Beaver the CPA's sole intervention of any sub-

stance was to lobby for its supposed "alternative", but thoroughly capitalist, "People's Budget" which, echoing Hawke, calls simply for upping government spending and more efficient economic management. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the International Socialists did not utter a word; in fact all the so-called "revolutionary" groupings totally submerged themselves, consciously avoiding any mention of their political affiliation, and raised not a word about the necessity of destroying capitalism to strike at the source of women's and all workers' oppression.

The "independence" of state funding

A key test for political tendencies at the conference -- given the nature of the WTUC as a government-funded agency -- was the question of state intervention into the labour movement. If any proof of the exact nature of the WTUC were needed, it was given in an article in *The Australian Worker* (28 May), paper of the AWU in which WTUC convenor Linda Norton is a prominent official:

"The reason for this application for funding to a body outside the trade-union movement was that independence from any trade union as such, or political group, enabled the Commission to encompass all the various political elements within the trade-union movement."

For the WTUC "independence" is vital, it seems, from everything except the bosses' state!

Except for the SL all the groupings at the conference either dismissed or belittled this fact. By adapting to the WTUC, opportunists like the CPA, SWP, and CL only compounded deeply-held illusions in the neutrality of the bourgeois state. Government funding for centres providing needed social services, though it is used to co-opt militants with insignificant tokens, is no threat in itself to the workers movement; but the use of "independent" government-funded bodies to *intervene* in the labour movement, even if indirectly, sets a dangerous precedent which must be opposed by all revolutionists and class-conscious workers.

The grant to the WTUC activated an agency of conservative trade-union women to co-opt militants. The government would not make such an outlay to women unionists who proposed mobilising masses of women to fight the employers any more that it would to unions to finance their strikes. Irrespective of the government's immediate motives, however, to accept the authority of the WTUC in any way is to legitimise state backing of factions in the unions. Street's offer to pay legal costs for scabs who are fighting union penalties for working during the Medibank strike is only the most recent example of where such a precedent can lead. In a statement distributed at the conference the Spartacist League pointed out:

"... attempts to use the power of the bosses' state to change the unions can only serve to heighten divisions between men and women workers.... Militant trade unionists can take no political responsibility for a conference -- for any organisation or decisions issuing from it -- the organisers and leaders of which are so compromised by the intervention of the bosses' state."

"Women's charter" — a "real basis" for reformism

Much of the discussion at the conference centred on the "women's charter", a reformist panacea pushed principally by the supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Communist League (CL). Popularised in Britain by the International Marxist Group (IMG), sister organisation of the CL in the centrist wing of the dis-"United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), the original charter listed demands for a number of minimal reforms such as equal pay for equal work and equal access to all job categories and training; improved maternity leave, "improved provision" for child care, availability of contraception and free abortion "to be readily available".

The openly reformist charter was the only thing raised by the CL at the conference. CL

supporters urged everyone to add their own demands, thus making the list a reformist catch-all. The conception behind the charter however remains that of organising women in the unions solely to pressure for reforms for women. The CL apparently believes that its multi-reform program is somehow counterposed to its competitor in the reformist wing of the USec, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which apes the single-issue campaign strategy of the American SWP. But the SWP reformists, ever receptive to the smell of a respectable "mass movement", greeted the conference as "a landmark in Australian trade-union history" and gave unconditional support to the charter (*Direct Action*, 19 August).

In a special pamphlet on the charter Brisbane CL member Megan Martin rationalised this minimal reformist program by claiming it provides "a *real basis* for women to take the struggle against women's oppression into the trade unions and the working class generally" (our emphasis) ("The working women's charter campaign"). The methodology of this argument is the same as the SWP's and most feminists': it assumes that women workers must be organised, and in fact can *only* be organised as a pressure group around demands limited to their own oppression. The CL merely proposes to import into the workers movement the feminist separation of class struggle from the fight against women's oppression, with the implicit conclusion that the organising of women workers along with men workers around a revolutionary program is "unreal".

In the workshops Spartacist League members moved resolutions calling on women to break from the class-collaborationism of the WTUC, counterposing to the charter the outlines of a revolutionary program for organising in the unions, calling for a 35-hour week with no loss in pay linked to a sliding scale of hours to combat unemployment; free 24-hour child-care centres; free abortion on demand; free and immediate divorce; to fight layoffs, the formation of shop committees, factory occupations and the expropri-



Spartacist supporter denounces WTUC as a state-funded agency at last month's conference.

ation of factories threatened with closure; the defence of migrants and all minorities; the building of a revolutionary alternative to the reformist misleaders of the labour movement; and a workers government based on workers' organisations. CL supporters, reflecting the confused and vacillating nature of their centrist organisation, either abstained or voted in contradiction with their actions. CL supporter Betty Hounslow voted for the SL motion condemning the WTUC as a government agency, but an hour later was calling on the same WTUC to adopt and agitate for the women's charter in the unions! Sue McCarthy, a CL member also voted for the motion with the cynical remark that it was only "propaganda"! For the CL, of course, words and deeds are two different things.

Just as for working women class interests are primary, so for the proletariat to become an effective fighting unit against capitalism it must make it a central task to combat women's oppression. A campaign for women's social equality separate from a program for destroying class society is a utopian, reformist deception. Only an intransigent commitment to Marxist principles and the struggle for the Trotskyist program for workers power can build a real alternative to the bureaucrats. ■

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Communal bloodbath in Lebanon



Phalangist commandos.

P Jurnaux/Paris Match

The squalid civil war in Lebanon continues unabated after 60 "ceasefires" and 40,000 dead out of a population of less than 3 million. By early August the relatively massive Syrian military invasion of Lebanon has increased to 16,500 regular troops in addition to the pro-Syrian forces operating as units of the Palestine Liberation Army (the "regular" army of the refugee camps), and the Syrian Ba'athist Palestinian commando group, al-Saiqa.

Since the Damascus regime is *currently* throwing its military weight behind the right-wing Maronite militias and gangs, the balance of forces has shifted to their side. This was tragically demonstrated when the Maronite forces overran the Tel Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp on the southeast edge of Beirut after a brutal siege lasting almost eight weeks. But the Syrian invasion has not changed the fundamentally *inter-communal* and sectarian character of the Lebanese civil war in which all sides are sordid and no side is worthy of any support from a proletarian perspective.

Tel Zaatar is near the eastern Christian districts of Beirut and the right-wing Maronites sought to wipe out the camp in order to compact a homogeneous Maronite area and open the road linking Christian districts of Beirut to Mount Lebanon and the Mkalles industrial zone. To achieve this end, they refused to permit shipments of food, water and medicine into the camp, allowing children to die of dehydration and defenceless refugees to perish in tunnels meant to protect them from Israeli bombing raids. Though 408 wounded were evacuated by the Red Cross a week before the camp fell, the six thousand Palestinians who were captured included more than five thousand civilians, half of them children and many hundreds of wounded.

On the other hand, the so-called "Muslim-leftist alliance" was not fighting the right-wing gangsters besieging the refugee camp. Instead it made "diversionary" attacks upon innocent villagers of Chekka and other northern Lebanese Christian towns which had no relation to the siege of Tel Zaatar, except for those whose strategy is reciprocal communal genocide (in other words, both sides of this reactionary civil war). In a 24-hour period on July 7, some 550 people, most of them unarmed villagers, died in a "diversionary" attack by Muslim forces in northern Lebanon.

Fake-lefts back anti-Syrian forces

Especially under the impact of the Syrian invasion, various fake-left organisations who have either abandoned or never had a proletarian perspective have championed the "Muslim-leftist alliance" led by Druze patriarch and Progressive Socialist Party leader Kamal Jumblatt, and their current allies within the Palestinian nationalist movement, led by Yasir Arafat of Fatah. For example, the Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanese affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec), not only called for fighting the Syrian/Maronite offensive "by all means", but apologised for the Muslim-leftist atrocities and for Arafat's previous manoeuvres with the Syrian butchers (*Militant*, 9 August).

In turn, the Healyites -- whose political practice mimics some of the least savoury aspects of the Lebanese civil war, particularly its gangsterism and sectarianism -- in a July 12 statement, "salute[d] the incredibly tenacious and heroic struggle of the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organisation, the umbrella group of all the Palestinian nationalist organisations] and the Lebanese left and calls on the Arab workers to

declare a general strike in solidarity with the defenders of Tel al-Zaatar".

However, until spring of this year, Syria was the main military backer of the PLO and the Jumblatt forces. The supply route from Syria to south Lebanon ("Fatahland") was known as the "Arafat trail" and Palestinian commandos received military training in Syria. When it came to giving lip-service to the Palestinian cause, no one was louder or more truculent than the self-proclaimed "vanguard of the Arab revolution" in Damascus. It was the Syrians who forced through the recognition of the PLO as "sole representative of the Palestinian people" at the Rabat summit of the Arab League states in October 1974. It was Syria which forced the debate on the Palestinian question before the United Nations Security Council last December as the quid pro quo for the renewal of UN "peacekeeping" forces in the Golan Heights.

The same groups which are today condemning Syria for smashing the PLO proclaimed during the the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war that Palestinian self-determination would be realised through Syrian (as well as Egyptian) tanks. Yet Syrian suppression of the Palestinian refugees did not begin with the invasion of Lebanon. The current ruler of Syria, President Hafez Assad, came to power in a November 1970 coup after opposing the Syrian intervention on the side of the Palestinians in the Jordanian "Black September" civil war in which 5000 to 10,000 Palestinian refugees were massacred and the resistance movement in Palestine was crushed. (Not inappropriately, the siege of Tel Zaatar has been called a Lebanese Black September.)

After Assad came to power, he first banned Palestinian commandos from launching any operations into Israel from the Syrian front, then drove the commandos out of Syria into Lebanon, and then in September 1973 closed down the Voice of Palestine radio operating in the Syrian town of Deraa along the border with Jordan. This presaged the present military alliance with the reactionary Hashemite monarchy in Amman and took place only one month before the October war.

In the 1970 civil war in Jordan, the Spartacist League gave military support to the Palestinians defending their refugee camps and communities from the Hashemite army. But in Lebanon, by throwing in their lot with Jumblatt or the Maronite gangs, all factions of the PLO/PLA have become submerged in the sectarian communal strife. Therefore, while recognising the right of both Muslim and Christian communities, including Maronite communities, to self-defence, from a proletarian perspective none of the militias, gangs, "armies" or factions in the Lebanese civil war can be given military support.

The "heroic" communal terror of the "Muslim-Leftist Alliance"

Earlier this year, when the Jumblatt forces had the upper hand, it was mainly with Syrian-supplied weapons that they drove the Maronite population of Lebanon into small enclaves in the eastern districts of Beirut and along the coast between the capital and Tripoli, in an area bordered by the Christian port cities of Chekka in the north and Junieh in the south.

The creation of a Maronite statelet was not simply a scheme to protect Maronite privilege by that most right-wing Maronite chauvinist, the abbot Charbel Kassis, head of the Order of the Maronite Monks. Inter-communal war has its own logic based on indiscriminate massacre, forced population transfer and partition. And indis-

criminate, sectarian massacre has been the dominant character of the military struggle on both sides. Thus, when Jumblatt forces were riding high in January of this year, they wiped out the entire Christian village of Damur, killing 500 villagers, even breaking open coffins and burning corpses.

Damur was the fiefdom of Camille Chamoun, a rightist Maronite who was president of Lebanon in 1958 when he invited in the US Marines, and is interior minister of the present "government", such as it is. Chamoun's National Liberal Party is, if anything, even more rightist than Pierre Gemayel's Phalangists, which were modeled after the Nazis, and Chamoun's militia was in the vanguard of the vicious and brutal siege of Tel Zaatar. The sacking of Damur, of course, was partly in reprisal for the sacking by right-wing Maronites of the predominantly Muslim Quarantina enclave in eastern Beirut, during which 1500 were murdered.

So, when the USec calls for "resist[ing] the Syrian/Maronite] threat by all means", they are condoning the murders of Damur and the continued senseless communal slaughter. When the Healyite political bandits of the "International Committee" hail the "incredibly tenacious and heroic struggle of the PLO and the Lebanese left", they are saluting the "diversionary" massacres of Christian villagers in the north.

Lebanon goes the way of Cyprus

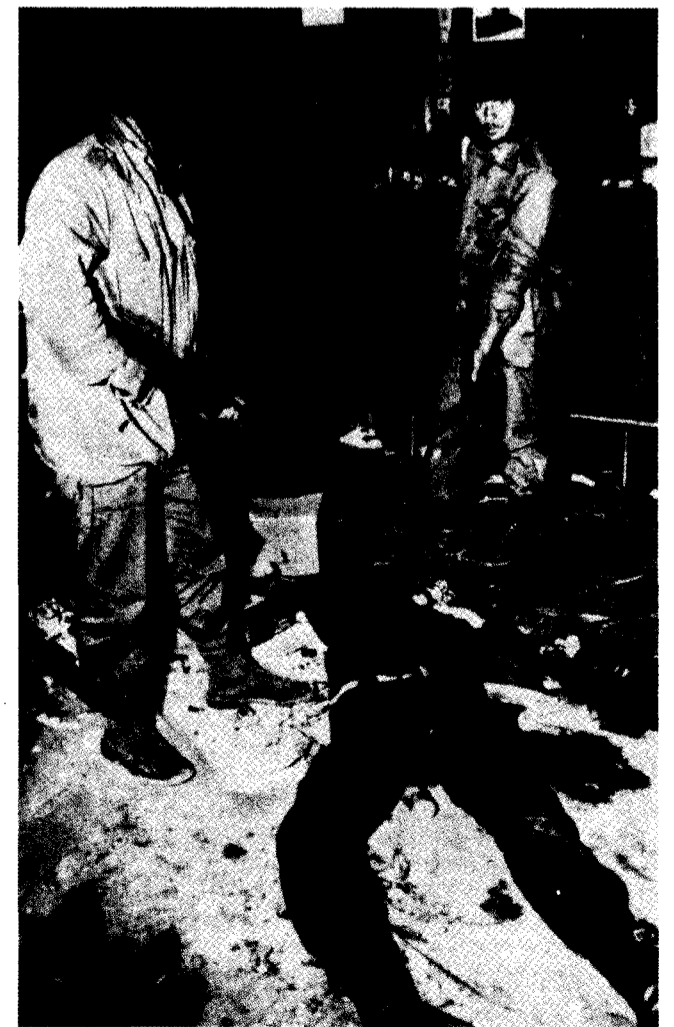
Throughout the Near East during the 20th century there have been communal conflicts between a crazy-quilt of interpenetrated religious and national populations. Palestine prior to 1948, Cyprus prior to 1973 and Lebanon until now are examples. Capitalism offers no democratic solution to such conflicts, which fester and mount until a flashpoint is reached. Now Lebanon may go the way of Cyprus, through the forced population transfers of interpenetrated peoples into separate Christian and Muslim statelets.

The comparison with sectarian strife in Northern Ireland has also not been lost on Lebanon. The London *Observer* (6 June) relates how an Armenian Christian "hauled out of his car by a particularly bloodthirsty Muslim roadblock reportedly saved his life by telling his captors he was a Protestant. One of them went off to find out what this was and returned with orders to release the Armenian immediately. 'Protestants are the people killing all those bloody Christians in Northern Ireland', he explained."

Fatah in its demand for a "democratic secular Palestine" projected a solution to the Palestinian question which was "democratic", but not anti-capitalist. Lebanon was their model. But now Fatah's model of multi-religious harmony is drowned in the blood of sectarian war.

Given the weakness of the former Lebanese army, now disintegrated into its sectarian components, the Palestinian refugee camps were able to constitute a "state within a state", setting up their own army, police, laws and government. Right-wing Maronite forces (including the presidential candidate of Jumblatt,

Continued on page eleven



Moslem fighters stand over corpse during Beirut fighting.

The many faces and long waves of Ernest Mandel

by Joseph Seymour

In reviewing the writings of Ernest Mandel, one is immediately struck by his quite substantial changes in line on virtually any subject. Thus, for example, in various pamphlets and articles during the middle and late 1960s this eminent "Marxist economist" went on at great length about a supposed "neo-capitalism" of greatly increasing productivity (due to a "third industrial revolution" in the computer age) and counter-cyclical capitalist state planning allegedly preventing the recurrence of a 1929-style crash.

The contradiction with the Leninist theory of imperialism as the epoch of capitalist *decay* was total, and was expressed in blatant revisions of the Marxist program in numerous spheres. Workers' control no longer meant dual power at the level of the factory, as it did for the

REVIEW: *Late Capitalism* by Ernest Mandel

Bolsheviks, but merely "anti-capitalist structural reforms"; the struggle between labor and capital no longer concerned exploitation, but instead focused on "problems of organizing production".

Then in the 1970s, Mandel's references to "neo-capitalism" suddenly disappear and in their place we find talk of "more classical models" of socialist revolution. At one level this is an expression of rampant empiricism. Certainly today not even the most inveterate reformists postulate increasing productive forces, successful capitalist crisis management or the disappearance of struggles over surplus value.

But unlike a Paul Sweezy or a Paul Mattick, Ernest Mandel is not merely a pseudo-Marxist academic, and his analyses of contemporary capitalism must be placed in the framework of his role as leader of the ex-Trotskyist revisionist current today known as the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The abandonment of "neo-capitalism" was the result of the demise of the student-centered and "third-worldist" New Left (with its "new working class" theories) which forced the incorrigible tailist Mandel to look for new pastures in a "broad vanguard" of a Stalinoid or syndicalist character.

The connecting thread of Mandel's various "theoretical" shifts is his rejection of Trotsky's fundamental proposition in the Transitional Program, that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership".

In the early 1950s, reacting to the organizational isolation of the Fourth International (FI) and the post-war expansion of Stalinism, one Michel Pablo (Raptis), head of the FI's International Secretariat, with Ernest Germain (Mandel) as his intellectual lieutenant, developed the liquidationist perspective of long-term "deep entrism" into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, seeking to pressure the reformists to the left.

Later, in the early 1960s, the Pabloists put forward the notion that the peasantry of the colonial and semi-colonial countries was the new "epicenter of world revolution", and the task of European revolutionaries was henceforth that of cheerleaders for petty-bourgeois nationalists (like the Algerian FLN) and Stalinists (such as the Vietnamese NLF).

At bottom, *Late Capitalism* and Ernest Mandel's other writings on the subject are an objectivist justification for this Pabloist liquidationism. The notion that the post-World War II period up to the mid-1960s was a "long wave of rapid growth in the international capitalist economy" means that this was a fundamentally different and, from the bourgeoisie's standpoint, more positive *epoch* than that in which the Fourth International was formed. It is an excuse for rejecting the Transitional Program as in large part obsolete and the principles on which Trotsky sought to build the FI as no longer valid.

Nor is Mandel's assertion that the "long post-war wave of rapid growth" ended in 1966 an objective empirical analysis. The eruption of a new political generation in the late 1960s -- dramatically manifested in the French May events of 1968 -- produced a sizeable layer of New Leftist, Maoist and syndicalist-inclined youth to the left

of the traditional mass reformist parties. To attract the "broad vanguard" of leftists who chanted "The Only Solution is Revolution", Mandel had to promise them "another long wave of increasing social and economic crises for world capitalism".

The political implications of the Mandelian "long wave" theory are scarcely touched upon in the hundreds of pages of *Late Capitalism*. However, the final chapter does contain this significant passage:

"The essential and intrinsic consequence of the end of the long wave of post-war expansion, and the intensified struggle over the rate of surplus-value unleashed from the second half of the 60s onwards, is a world-wide tendency towards qualitatively sharpened class conflicts, which will bring the endemic crisis

Nikolai Bukharin: both his "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" justified defeatist political conclusions.



of capitalist relations of production to explosion point."

The clear implication is that before the mid-1960s, the "endemic crisis" of capitalism could not reach an "explosion point". And what a contrast to Mandel's earlier pronouncement that, "Neo-capitalism experiences and will experience depressions, but not new crises comparable to that of 1929" (speech to the "Cercle K Marx", 12 January 1964, quoted in "Defense du trotskysme", *La Verite*, September 1965)!

Before discussing in detail the arguments of *Late Capitalism*, it is important to note that the 1975 English edition is not simply a translation of the 1972 German original: it is a revision. Mandel assures us that he has only "corrected and clarified subsidiary formulations, and brought relevant statistics up to date". But most of his readers will have no way of verifying this. When Marx or Trotsky brought out a new edition or translation of a work they considered no longer fully adequate, they included a new introduction or footnotes. In contrast, Mandel has followed the notorious Stalinist and bourgeois academic practice of altering the original text.

Kondratiev's long waves

The core of Mandel's book is the assertion that the period from 1940-45 to 1966 was the first phase of the fourth long cycle of capitalist development based on the "third technological revolution".

As he notes, the concept of such long cycles first became prominent in the Marxist movement in the early 1920s through the work of an eclectic Russian economist, N D Kondratiev, a fellow-traveller of the Soviet regime. Kondratiev's schema was based entirely on observed statistical regularities. He made no effort to provide a causal explanation from the standpoint of Marxism or any other theoretical framework.

Kondratiev's long cycle schema produced a lively debate among Marxists during the 1920s. The general tenor of criticism was that his schema was mechanical and without apparent theoretical footing. Typical of Kondratiev's critics was the Soviet economist S A Pervushin:

"To prove the existence of major cycles it is not sufficient to find swings of long duration. You must prove that the cause of the upswing necessarily originates the factors which bring down the depression." (quoted in George Garvy, "Kondratieff's Theory of Long Cycles", *Review of Economic Statistics*, 1943)

Trotsky participated in the "Kondratiev cycle" debate, notably in his 1923 note, "The Curve of Capitalist Development" (translated in *Fourth International*, May 1941). Trotsky held that Kondratiev's explorations provided valuable material and insights for a more profound history of capitalism. But he raised against the "long cycle" theory two fundamental, interrelated criticisms. First, Trotsky denied that "long cycles" were genuinely cyclical and analogous to the conjunctural cycle produced by the self-perpetuating effect of the rate of accumulation on the rate of profit. Therefore, he maintained, long waves cannot be explained by purely economic factors, but must be affected by all major historical events:

"As regards the large segments of the capitalist curve of development (50 years) which Professor Kondratieff incautiously proposes to designate as cycles, their character and duration is determined not by the internal interplay of capitalist forces but by those external conditions through whose channel capitalist development flows."

Granting that the history of capitalism shows a succession of fairly long periods of rapid growth and greater cyclical stability than adjacent periods, the decisive question is this: do long waves arise from a common cause, an internal law of capitalist production relations, or are they rather an after-the-fact statistical generalization mirroring all the factors which determine the uneven development of capitalist production?

The answer to this question has great political importance. If long waves are more or less a law of capitalist development, then they have the force of long-term conjunctural predictability. A revolutionary organization would have to take into account which phase of the long wave it was passing through in determining its political line. If it concluded it was in the beginning of a long wave of accelerated growth, this would mean that there would be no fundamental worsening of the conditions facing the masses and that a major depression would not occur. Such a prognosis would require a major revision of programmatic emphasis as well as of tactical perspectives.

Where does Mandel stand on this critical issue? His formulations are so guarded and ambiguous that it is difficult to pin him down. At one point, in response to a correct criticism of long wave "theories" by Polish Stalinist economist Oskar Lange, Mandel replies:

"Although we likewise reject the concept of the 'long cycle' and do not, therefore, accept the mechanical determination of the 'ebb' by the 'flow' and vice versa, we have nevertheless attempted to show that the inner logic of the long wave is determined by long-term oscillations in the rate of profit."

Despite his disclaimers of holding a mechanical cyclical theory, Mandel nonetheless asserts



1960-1 Belgium general strike. Mandel withdrew call for march on Brussels when "left" bureaucrat Renard refused to support it.



Ernest Mandel.

that capitalism has regularly experienced long waves based on technological revolutions and their predictable effect on the rate of profit. This is the core of his theory:

"The history of capitalism on the international plane thus appears not only as a succession of cyclical movements every 7 or 10 years, but also as a succession of longer periods, of approximately 50 years, of which we have experienced four up till now.... Each of these long periods can be subdivided into two parts: an initial phase, in which the technology actually undergoes a revolution.... This phase is distinguished by an increased rate of profit, *accelerated accumulation*, accelerated growth.... This first phase is followed by a second, in which the actual transformation in productive technology has already taken place.... The force that determined the sudden extension by leaps and bounds of capital accumulation in Department I [capital goods] thus falls away, and accordingly this phase becomes one of retreating profits, *gradually decelerating accumulation*, decelerating economic growth...." [original emphasis]

Mandel's theory does imply long-term predictability: once a technological revolution has occurred, this event imposes a definite pattern on economic conditions for the next decades. The logic of Mandel's schema is that given sufficient empirical data in the early 1950s, one could predict the absence of a major depression, no marked deceleration in the rate of growth and no period of intense class struggle until the mid-1960s. The rightist, liquidationist political implications of such an objectivist theory are obvious.

What are we to make of Mandel's thesis? First, he offers *no* empirical evidence for it, and for the 19th century no empirical evidence is available. Before 1900, at the earliest, there exist no reliable statistics for deriving changes in productivity, the rate of profit, capital per worker or the rate of surplus value. Thus Mandel is engaging in outright charlatanism when he writes that in 1826-47 there was a "stagnant rate of profit" or that in 1848-73 the rate of surplus value was rising. It appears that he is simply *deducing* the rate of profit and its component parts from the observed rate of growth in output. This "method" is not only completely unscientific, but it simply *supposes* the causal relationship that must be proved!

From a theoretical standpoint, there is absolutely no reason to believe that technological innovations should come in concentrated clumps about every 50 years. There is also absolutely no reason to believe that diffusion of new technology on an international scale and its impact on the rate of profit has a regular and predictable periodicity. In short, Mandel's theory is without sound empirical foundation and has no a priori plausibility.

Disappearing the 1920s

If Mandel's theoretical construction is untestable for the 19th century, his periodization since World War I is arbitrary and false. Key to the entire conception laid out in *Late Capitalism* is the existence of a "sixth long wave" from 1914 to 1939 which is described as "regressive" with the rate of profit "falling sharply".

Even those without a profound knowledge of economic history know that the economic conditions of the 1920s were very different from the 1930s, not to mention the economic impact of World War I. The 1920s was a period of unusually rapid economic expansion. Between 1920 and 1929, industrial production in the United States increased by 65 percent, in Britain by 13 percent, in France by 104 percent and in Germany by 100 percent; in Japan during the 1920s real national income almost tripled (from Ingvar Svennilson, *Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy*; and Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* [1957 edition]). The volume of world exports, which had fallen to 65 percent of the pre-war level in 1921, jumped 86 percent by the end of the decade.

What Mandel does is to simply disappear the economic boom of the 1920s by constructing an arbitrary, artificial long wave of "decelerating growth". He has done this by combining in one category a period of great expansion with a destructive world war and the greatest depression in capitalist history.

The failure to acknowledge, much less analyze, the boom in the 1920s vitiates Mandel's entire analysis of the post-World War II period. In order to scientifically demonstrate a "third technological revolution" during the 1940s and early 1950s, it is necessary to show that there was a radical increase in the rate of productivity, not relative to the depressed 1930s -- that is self-evident -- but relative to the 1920s.

This Mandel makes no attempt to demonstrate, since he cannot. From 1919 to 1929, the average annual increase in productivity of US manufacturing was 2.0 percent, a figure almost equal to the 2.3 percent average annual increase in the 1948-57 period (John W Kendrick, *Productivity Trends in the United States*). In Europe, too, the 1920s was a period of considerable technological dynamism. For example, electricity production more than doubled during the decade. Comparing 1929 with 1913, the output of pig-iron



Andre Renard.

The Newsletter

per blast furnace increased by 58 percent in Britain, by 65 percent in France and by 131 percent in Germany.

The economic expansion of the 1920s generated a vast literature claiming that capitalism had fundamentally changed for the better, a literature similar to the Keynesian New Economics and "neo-capitalist" theories of the 1950s and 1960s. For example, in 1928, the prominent American populist Lincoln Steffens could assert:

"Big business in America is producing what the Socialists held up as their goal: food, shelter and clothing for all. You will see it during the Hoover administration." (quoted in William E Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity*)

The notion that the economic expansion of the 1920s was based on fundamental structural changes was not limited to liberals or social democrats. The best-known "revolutionary Marxist economist" of the period, Nikolai Bukharin, attempted to explain a "second period" boom as based on a "technological revolution" associated with the development of state capitalist tendencies in the imperialist economies. As we shall see, the similarity between Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" is undeniable. Perhaps that is why the almost 600 pages of *Late Capitalism* failed to mention Bukharin's analysis of the 1920s even once.

State expenditure and the rate of profit

In a lengthy work designed to be a major contribution to Marxist economics, one is shocked by the superficiality and amateurishness of the statistical material. Since Mandel's central premise is that the first technological revolution since the 1890s occurred in the 1940s and early 1950s, the least one would expect is a consistent historical series measuring productivity change in the major capitalist countries. Instead, Chapter 6 on the "third technological revolution" contains a smattering of illustrative figures such as might be found in a popular magazine article, not a scientific work.

Likewise Mandel does not construct a consistent historical series for the rate of profit and its component parts. He simply asserts that between 1940-45 and 1966 the rate of exploitation rose steeply and then became stable, while the rate of profit rose and then slowly fell. To back these assertions, he presents bits and pieces of incommensurate statistical data, virtually none of which are calculated in labor value terms or otherwise conform to Marxist categories.

Significantly, Mandel explicitly rejects the only scientific Marxist attempt to measure long-term changes in the rate of profit which we know of. This is an unpublished doctoral thesis by Shane Mage (a founder of the Spartacist tendency, who has since abandoned Marxism) entitled *The "Law of the Falling Tendency of the Rate of Profit": Its Place in the Marxian Theoretical Framework and Relevance to the U.S. Economy* (1963). Mage calculates the rate of profit for every year from 1900 to 1960 for the US, in both current labor value terms and "real" (1960 labor value) use value terms. Contrary to Mandel's assertion, Mage found that from 1945 to 1960 the rate of profit fell steadily as the rate of surplus value remained stable, while the organic composition of capital (the value of capital per productive worker) rose markedly.

Mandel rejects Mage's findings by asserting that government expenditure should be treated as part of surplus value. This treatment of government expenditure is key to Mandel's entire argument in two ways. First, it is only by adding government expenditure to private property income that Mandel can defend his empirical assertion that the rate of surplus value rose sharply in the post-war period. Second, his treatment of government expenditures is key to his belief in the *past* efficacy of Keynesian stabilization policy as a means of realizing surplus value without increasing the organic composition of capital through productive investment.

Taking issue with Mage for limiting surplus value to property income *after* taxation, Mandel writes:

"In Marx's theory all revenues are traced back to wages or surplus-value. Since state revenues can hardly be regarded as variable capital ... they can only be regarded as a redistribution of social surplus-value or an increase of it by deductions from wages."

The term "social surplus-value", which nowhere appears in Marx's writings, is an elementary confusion between use value and exchange value. Social surplus denotes those real resources available over and above those needed to reproduce the existing level of output. Social surplus is a universal category applicable to all societies above the most primitive. Surplus value, on the other hand, is the exchange value, realized in money, available to the owners of the means of production in capitalist society. Judged by the standards of a rationally planned socialist economy, the social surplus of any capitalist economy is far greater than surplus value, which is restricted by the overhead costs of the capitalist system. And this is what government expenditure is.

Contrary to Mandel, the commodity product is not entirely divided between surplus value and the wage of productive workers. A part of the commodity product is expended on replacing the capital used up in the process of production. This replacement of capital is not limited to depreciation on the physical means of production and distribution, but includes all overhead costs necessary for capitalist reproduction. According to Mage, government expenditure as well as private administrative and commercial expenses are a part of constant capital expended and replaced:

"Since these commercial and political expenses, though unproductive of new value, signify the consumption of a portion of the social capital, the *value* consumed in this way, in order to assure its continual reproduction must enter into the *total value* of the mass of commodities produced.... Consequently the appropriate treatment for the outlay of unproductive expenses in general, provided only that they are "socially necessary" under the existing form of social organization, is to regard them as part of the constant capital advanced and expended." [original emphasis] (Shane Mage, *op cit*)

A precise specification of surplus value is key because it is the numerator of the rate of profit, the central concept of Marxist economics. The rate of profit, in turn, is the main regulator of new investment determining the short-run level of output and long-term changes in productivity. By including government expenditure in surplus value, Mandel is faced with two alternatives concerning the incentive to invest. He can assert that the level of investment is not affected by the rate of taxation and government borrowing, which is manifestly absurd; or he can

Continued on page eight

Mandel . . .

Continued from page seven

redefine the relevant rate of profit as surplus value minus taxes.

Far from having an identical role in capitalist economics, government expenditure and profit are profoundly antagonistic. One of the most striking reactions of the bourgeoisie to the 1974-75 depression is a determination to augment profit by cutting back what is seen as a bloated, parasitic state sector. Mandel's identification of government expenditure as part of surplus value cannot comprehend, much less predict, the rage of fiscal austerity now sweeping the advanced capitalist world. In contrast, Mage's theory fully explains the attempts of the capitalist class to restore profitability by reducing the cost of government.

Mandel's "seventh long wave" and Bukharin's "second period"

"From the economic point of view, from the point of view of the analysis of the capitalist economy, the second period may be described as the period of the restoration of the productive forces of capitalism. In this period, relying on its political victories and on its relative political stabilization, capitalism strove to achieve and ultimately did achieve a certain economic stabilization. The second period passed away to give place to the third period, the period of capitalist reconstruction. This reconstruction was expressed in the pre-war limits being exceeded qualitatively and quantitatively. The growth of the productive forces of capitalism is due on the one hand to the rather considerable progress achieved in the technique of industry and on the other hand to the extensive reorganization of the capitalist economic contacts."

Is this a quote from Mandel describing the developments after World War II? No, it is Bukharin giving the report on the world situation to the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 (*International Press Correspondence*, 30 July 1928). As for technological revolution, the report bristles with examples: electrification, synthetic fuels, light metals, industrialization of agriculture, automatic production line, etc. And Mandel really should give Bukharin credit for putting it all together:

"The changes in technique which in some countries, primarily in the United States, is assuming the character of a technological revolution, is quite definitely linked up with the trustification of the national economy, with the establishment of gigantic banking consortiums and already in the post-war period with the growth of state capitalist tendencies in multifarious forms." (*Ibid*)

While we are focusing on the theoretical parallelism between Bukharin's analysis of the 1920s and Mandel's evaluation of the 1950s and early 1960s, it is important to point out the radically different social bases for the respective revisionist doctrines, which make for a qualitatively different scale of historic impact. The rejection of Marxism by Stalin/Bukharin stemmed from the isolation of the Soviet state bureaucracy, which sought to maintain its precarious and parasitic position by adapting to what it viewed as an unshakeable capitalist world order. Commanding the resources of a major world power, Stalinism had a great impact on the political events of the 1920s; the doctrine of "socialism in one country" served to excuse such monumental betrayals as the Comintern's failure to oppose Hitler's march to power.

By way of contrast, Pablo/Mandel's attack on Marxism reflected the isolation of small revol-

utionary propaganda groups from the mass organizations of the working class under seemingly unshakeable reformist leaderships. The historic impact of Pablo/Mandel's revisionism was primarily in disrupting the continuity of revolutionary Marxism by destroying the Fourth International. It is because Pabloism has been unable to commit betrayals of world-historic proportions in the name of the FI that Trotskyists today struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International rather than building a new "Fifth" International. But Mandel's revisionism nonetheless bears a major responsibility for the fact that the new generation of radical intellectuals and workers emerging in the 1960s looked to Maoism, Castroism and other "militant" variants of Stalinism rather than to Trotskyism as the embodiment of Marxism.

The origins of both Bukharin's "second period" and Mandel's "seventh long wave" schemas were the subsiding of a post-war revolutionary wave and subsequent strengthening of the reformist bureaucracies in relation to the communist vanguard. This was associated with an unexpected economic expansion which was seen as reinforcing the conservatism of the masses. Both Bukharin and Mandel objectified this particular political and economic conjuncture, constructing what is essentially a sub-epochal scheme.

From the notion that the dominance of the reformist bureaucracies was unshakeable due to a long period of economic expansion, it was a short step to the conclusion that communists could make headway only by allying with one section of the bureaucracy against its more rightist opponents. For Stalin/Bukharin the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council during 1925-27 had the same purpose as "deep entrism" for Pablo/Mandel: a means of



Hungarian workers destroy Stalin statue, 1956.

pressuring and maneuvering with a reformist bureaucracy whose dominance was considered objectively unassailable.

The anti-revolutionary consequences of this line were not long in manifesting themselves. Just when Stalin/Bukharin had settled in for long-term collaboration with the British Trades Union Council leaders Citrine and Cook, and when Mandel had forged his one-sided alliance with Belgian Socialist Party trade-union leader Andre Renard, these very forces were placed at the head of general strikes. Moreover, the British general strike of 1926 took place at the very apex of Bukharin's "second period" of capitalist stability, and the Belgian general strike of 1960-61 was in the heart of Mandel's "long wave of rapid economic growth". Yet these were important class battles pregnant with revolutionary perspectives. Partly to conciliate their new-found reformist allies and partly because they believed the period was inherently non-revolutionary, Stalin/Bukharin in 1926 and Mandel in 1960-61 played a passive, tailist and defeatist role in these historic class battles.

In the Belgian case, Mandel backtracked and finally under pressure from Renard abandoned altogether the demand of a march on Brussels. On 1 January 1961 Mandel's paper, *La Gauche*, carried a red headline proclaiming: "Organize the march on Brussels." The next week (7 January) it argued against concentrating forces for a single day and place and instead for infiltrating tens of thousands of demonstrators into the capital. Finally, on 14 January it wrote:

"We have been reproached for having launched the slogan of a march on Brussels.... Since we find that the demand has not been taken up by the leaders, we submit; but we point out that at the moment our call appeared last week, no indications on this subject were yet known."

Mandel's "long post-war wave of rapid growth" implies a defeatist attitude not only to the Belgian general strike of 1960 but also to the French general strike of August 1953 (when Pablo's French lieutenant, Pierre Frank, issued a statement apologizing for the fact that the Communist Party-led CGT labor federation refused to demand the ouster of the Laniel government) and

toward the East German workers' uprising of the same year (when Pablo's International Secretariat issued a declaration calling for "real democratization of the Communist parties" -- ie, bureaucratic "self-reform" -- and failed to demand unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces which put down the revolt).

Likewise, the "long wave" analysis holds no perspective for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (where Pablo wrote that the absence of a political leadership had "provoked ... exactly those flaws and dangers" which Poland had avoided "thanks to the leadership role played by ... the Gomulka tendency ... a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left ...") or for resistance to De Gaulle's coup in 1958. A victory



1953 riots in East Berlin.

for the proletariat in any of these major class battles would have radically altered the course of post-war European history and rendered all questions about a "long wave of accelerated accumulation" sterile scholasticism.

Tactical origins of the "new long wave"

The "deep entrism" tactic was not originally based on the projection of a long period of economic prosperity. Quite the contrary: it was motivated by imminent catastrophism. In the early 1950s, Pablo advanced the "war/revolution" thesis according to which World War III, between the US and the USSR, would break out immediately with the mass reformist workers' parties of West Europe being forced into the Soviet camp. Thus this "entrism sui generis" was predicated on revolutionary situations developing before the Trotskyist vanguard could develop significant forces.

By the late 1950s, the "war/revolution" thesis had become an embarrassing memory and the tactical justification for entrism was turned around 180 degrees. A long period of economic and political stability was now projected for the advanced capitalist countries; this was implicit in the notion that the "epicenter of world revolution" had shifted to the colonial world. The failure of the Pablo/Mandel entrists to pressure their favored left reformists (Renard in the Belgian SP, Pietro Ingrao in the Italian CP) into leading centrist splits -- this being the highest standard of success imaginable -- was blamed on objective conditions. A 1969 document of Mandel's United Secretariat reassesses the entry tactic in the following terms:

"The economic cycle that took place was as a whole unfavorable to the massive development of left currents in the old parties. Nonetheless in several countries such currents did form, but owing to the existing conditions on the one hand and the weakness of the revolutionary Marxists on the other, large splits were rare. Finally, the weight of the objective situation gained the upper hand and led to a very pronounced shift to the right among the traditional parties." (Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe')


By the mid-1960s, entrism was a failure even in terms of immediate organizational opportunities. A new generation of radical student youth -- the New Left -- emerged outside of and hostile to the social-democratic and Stalinist parties. With the rapid growth of organizations within the New Left/Maoist/syndicalist continuum, continuation of the "deep entrism" tactic threatened Mandel's USec with being outflanked from the left.

Consequently, in the late 1960s the European USec sections made a sharp tactical turn abandoning entrism for an orientation to this "new mass vanguard". This shift was the focus of the 1969 document, "Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe", as well as of the core document of the USec's "tenth world congress" in 1973, "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe". The key passage of the latter document reads:

"[T]he central task for revolutionary Marxists in the stage that opened in 1967-68 is to win hegemony within the new mass vanguard...."

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Late Capitalism was written in the same period as these documents and can be considered an attempt to provide a high-Marxist, world-historic analysis to crown the new turn. The 1969 "Draft Resolution" was naive enough to place the start of the new period with May 1968, a political event:

"With May 1968, a new period opened up, characterized among other things by a world crisis of the capitalist system and by a political awakening of the European working-class movement."

The USec to the contrary, both the French May events and Italy's "red summer" in 1969 took place under economic conjunctural conditions that were similar to the early 1960s.

However, according to Mandel's objectivist schema a revolutionary situation could not occur during the "long post-war wave of rapid growth". So he had to find a convenient conjunctural event before, but not too much before, May 1968. He came up with the West German recession of 1966-67! Mandel must be the only economist in the world today who believes that 1966 was the fundamental turning point in the post-war capitalist economy. The failure of the rest of the world to notice the epochal change in that year is readily comprehensible. In the four years preceding 1966, national income in the advanced capitalist countries increased by 24 percent; in the four years following 1966 it went up by 19 percent, hardly an earth-shaking deceleration (*National Accounts of the OECD Countries, 1962-1973*).

Interestingly, in the 1972 German edition Mandel made no attempt to demonstrate empirically that the West German downturn of 1966-67 marked the end of the "seventh long wave", since he could not do so convincingly. However, in the 1975 English edition he triumphantly provides such a proof by adding in the 1974-75 world depression, which of course greatly reduces average annual growth since 1966. Had Mandel chosen the 1969-70 American recession as the turning point, he could have shown an even sharper deceleration. This demonstrates the empirically arbitrary but politically deliberate nature of Mandel's long wave schema.

In rejecting Mandel's objectivism, we do not hold an accidentalist view of contemporary political development, ie, that a revolutionary situation could break out anytime, anywhere. Only a political imbecile would argue that the prospect for revolutionary struggle in the next few years is the same in West Germany as in Spain. In projecting the development of the class struggle, the economic conjuncture must certainly be taken into account. But to label 25 years of world capitalism, with several generalized recessions and a number of revolutionary opportunities, as a "long wave of rapid growth" is not only totally inaccurate, but necessarily implies a defeatist attitude. *Late Capitalism* is not a serious work of Marxist economics; it is a cynical apologia for Pabloist liquidationism. ■

(reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 121, 6 August 1976)

The "weekly" Militant — bridge to reformism

A recent issue of *Militant* (9 August), "activist" paper of the fake-Trotskyist Communist League (CL), departed briefly from its heady pre-occupation with reform-minded sensationalism and "mass" campaigning to vent its pique at *Australasian Spartacist* (*ASp*). With its ranks presumably troubled by the tiny organisation's frenzied "mass" turn, the CL was compelled to respond to an article in the August *ASp* (see "CL joins fake 'mass paper' craze") which pointed out that *Militant's* transformation to a weekly reflected a right turn and adaptationist appetites which would logically lead it to nestle snugly in the bosom of the ALP left-wing.

The CL's "polemic" typically evaded serious political debate with a series of false and/or petty charges: we "lie" in characterising their self-styled "muckraking" perspective as liberal reformist; we are "pre-determined" in calling their anti-Fraser campaign liquidationist; our press is only monthly; and, besides, it carries reprints of Trotskyist material from abroad. But the main argument lies in their plaintive conclusion: "you don't make mistakes when you abstain".

The Spartacist League does indeed abstain ... from the opportunism and fakery which characterises the CL. The struggle for a revolutionary party entails the patient development of a programmatically solid cadre and organisation and a press capable of intervening in mass arenas -- not to enthuse over activism as an end in itself but to win leftward-moving militants away from their reformist and centrist misleaders. Unlike *Militant*, *ASp* accurately reflects the real tasks of a fighting propaganda group striving to build a mass Trotskyist party in Australia.

The CL: more facade than fight

The CL, in contrast, is ridden with slovenly Menshevik organisational practices and an absence of programmatic clarity or homogeneity among its cadre. Its paper carries a hodgepodge of counterposed lines printed uncritically. Itself affiliated to the federated "United" Secretariat (USec), whose "sections" publicly air their fundamental programmatic differences, the CL's parochialist jibe at *ASp's* reprints of articles produced by other sections of the international Spartacist tendency only expresses its centrist disdain for true international democratic centralism.

The Communist League's pretence to mass influence is belied by its inability so far to even produce its "weekly" in anything less than nine days. With its "popular exposes", movie reviews, grandiose (and so far dismally unsuccessful) fund drives, and technical carelessness, *Militant* is a gaudy facade which must repel any worker serious enough to commit himself to a lifetime of disciplined revolutionary activity.

As for its vaunted activism, when the CL was asked to participate in the urgent campaign to save the life of Chilean revolutionary militant Mario Munoz, it rejected our appeal for the expressed alternative of "building a *real* united campaign which can *effectively* respond to this repression" (emphasis ours) (quoted in *ASp* 32, June 1976). Munoz' successful rescue from the blood-stained hands of the Argentine and Chilean *gorillas* owes nothing to the CL, and nothing has likewise been seen or heard of their "effective campaign". For that matter, it was left to the SL to propose militant protests to defend the CL's own members from last May's police frame-ups -- tactics which the CL "vigorously opposed" in favour of sole reliance on petitioning for trade-union inquiries.

It is not our "abstention" to which the CL takes exception, but our insistence on the primacy of the Trotskyist program. Rejecting the SL's fight for the Transitional Program, as "inert, sectarian and abstentionist politics", the CL counterposes a "bridge", not to the proletarian conquest of power as put forward by Trotsky but to the "realities of political action". An example of their bridge is the program endorsed by the CL for the Vehicle Builders Union, which couples the omnipresent call to "bring down the Fraser government" with a series of minimalist, *sub-reformist* demands designed with instant popularity in mind: "No sackings; better wages and hours; better conditions and job facilities; freedom to organise in the factory" (*Militant*, 9 August). Certainly not the program Trotsky had in mind when he emphasised the necessity to present "a clear honest picture of the objective situation, of the historic tasks which flow from this situation irrespective as to whether or not the workers are today ripe for this.... That is

what the program should formulate and present before the advanced workers" ("Discussion on the Transitional Program", *Writings 1938-39*).

The CL's latest discovery of a "militant vanguard of young workers" who are "in the struggle to bring down the Fraser government and return a Labor Government pledged to socialist policies" merely carries on the USec's endless search for a substitute for building a Leninist vanguard party based on the Transitional Program. This began in the early 50s when Michel Pablo spearheaded the revisionist assault leading to the destruction of the Fourth International by proposing that "deep entry" (entrism *sui generis*) could pressure the "blunted instruments" of Stalinist and social-democratic parties into revolutionary action. Ernest Mandel, who capitulated to Pablo on deep entry, later updated this revisionism to propose tailing after an elusive "new mass vanguard", which was alleged to exist outside the traditional reformist parties. The consistent liquidationist thrust of the numerous substitutionist schemes flows from a conception that a layer of workers/women/oppressed nationalities, etc, having broken from their traditional leaderships, will objectively develop into a revolutionary instrument if only they can be set into motion. The revolutionary program is watered down in order to merge into this "vanguard" and get it moving.

The CL's new sought-after "vanguard" has scant basis in reality. The Hawke bureaucracy remains firmly in control of the ALP/ACTU, with its "left" critics more than willing to capitulate at every turn. While Whitlam's sacking produced considerable ferment in the working class, no section of the class has yet broken from the bureaucracy's grip. Had such a break developed, the chief task of revolutionaries would remain to ruthlessly dispel any illusions in Laborism. The end point of the CL's campaign can only be a parliamentary Labor government which, no matter how "left", is incapable of smashing the bourgeois state and opening the road to workers power.

Tailing this illusory "vanguard", the CL's right-centrist course leads it ineluctably to dissolve ever further into left Laborism, pointing ultimately in the direction of a return to Pablo's original "deep entry" perspective. The CL has concentrated its fire at Hawke and extreme ALP right-wingers like the recently knighted Sir John Egerton, with scarcely a word of criticism of the equally pro-capitalist "lefts". Far from it; the 16 June *Militant* notes the "fairly plausible pose" of AMWU bureaucrat and CPAer John Halfpenny, even reserving an honourable mention for that anti-Fraser fighter Clyde Holding (Victoria State Opposition Leader), in an article reporting a Melbourne Medibank rally. The "alternative" which the CL proposes to build to the treacherous leadership of Hawke and Egerton (and not, mind you, Halfpenny and company) is not a revolutionary one, but one "which defends the gains, limited though they are, made over the last few years and which fights to bring down the Fraser government" (emphasis ours) (*Militant*, 6 May).

True to its vacillating centrist character, the CL occasionally feels the impulse to counterbalance its opportunism with a half-hearted go at Marxist orthodoxy. For example, a recent "discussion" article attacked the CPA-supported and utterly pro-capitalist "People's Budget", counterposing ("in the long run!") "a workers government which stands completely against the interests of the bosses and their system" (*Militant*, 18 August). Of course, this verbal left cover came only after a previous article had critically supported the mythical "transitional demands" raised in the budget. Where the CL's appetites eventually lead, however, is indicated most sharply by the entire political thrust of *Militant's* "Western expose" -- demanding a state inquiry into "police complicity in crime" (21 July) whose only operational conclusion could be *reform* of the bourgeoisie's repressive apparatus! What could better capture the reformist liberalism of this campaign, which *Militant* so heatedly denies?

The CL's frenzied hunt for its "militant vanguard" and muck-raking mass appeal may well lead to the tiny organisation's collapse under the weight of a weekly. Whatever the outcome, those CL members who do wish to struggle for a Trotskyist party would do well to remember Trotsky's words: "The real initiators of the Fourth International begin with Marxist *quality* to turn it afterwards into mass *quantity*" ("Once More on Centrism", *Writings 1933-34*; emphasis in original). ■



SPARTACIST
edizione italiana

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South Africa . . .

Continued from page two

statement before the latest upsurge and the police-inspired Zulu terror: "I hope the stage will be reached fairly soon when all the policing of black townships will be done by blacks themselves" (*New York Times*, 9 August).

It is evident that the fighting spirits of the black youth were buoyed by their victory last month on the question of Afrikaans instruction in schools just as their anger was fueled by the arrest and murder of their comrades. What emerges with equal clarity is the generalised character of the rebellion, directed at the very structure of apartheid: the police, the Bantu administration boards, the discriminatory school system, the hated pass books, the quislings and traitors.

While the white overlords continue to enjoy lives of affluence, they daily read the writing on the wall: apartheid is doomed. Black youths and workers are ready to lay down their lives to fight the system. From 1973 to 1975 the five-million-strong black proletariat struck again and again against starvation wages and the industrial colour bar and for the right to organise trade unions. Even conservative tribal leaders like chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu have been compelled to denounce the phony offer of "independence" for the Bantustans, dispersed pockets of non-productive scrubland, totally surrounded by and economically dependent on "white South Africa".

Spokesmen for white capitalist interests are fearful that any flight of foreign capital like that which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre will deal a body blow to an economy already shaken by plunging gold prices. They have called for greater concessions to urban non-whites as an alternative to the massive repression traditionally employed to squelch black resistance. US imperialism expressed its concern over the growing threat to the stability of its junior partner by Secretary of State Kissinger's announced intention to meet yet again with Vorster -- the last meeting coming on the heels of the initial Soweto massacre. Even supporters of Vorster's Nationalist Party have lately protested the economic irrationality of the colour bar which leaves South African industry starved for skilled labour, while black workers suffer increased unemployment.

Of course what these "moderate" racists have in mind is the development of a stable, contented black petty bourgeoisie as a bulwark against the aspirations of the plebeian masses. That they want to alter certain glaringly oppressive and economically costly facets of white supremacist rule is testimony to the growing recognition by a section of the bourgeoisie that the ideology of apartheid is a fetter upon their ambition to be a major imperialist power. Their desire for a legal trade-union system only reflects the broad awareness of the economic inefficiency and irrationality of the present system and underlines the manifest crisis of the apartheid system.

Sections of the white trade-union movement, which has long collaborated, with few exceptions, in building and defending the structure of white supremacy, have made overtures to the unrecognised black unions. Fearful that black workers will be used to hammer down their privileges, many white unions have made concessions on job reservation agreements, demanding that the "rate for the job" be paid to Africans.

Destroy apartheid! Open the road to workers' revolution!

The key task in South Africa today is the forging of a revolutionary leadership that can link the immediate democratic demands of the black masses and other racially oppressed groups to the struggle for a workers and peasants government centred on the black proletariat. The black workers must reassert their leadership in the struggle against police-state rule. They must employ their strategic position at the heart of the economy to back the youths' demands for free and equal public education and release of political prisoners with determined strike action.

The demands which were at the centre of the mighty 1973-75 strike wave -- abolition of the colour bar for all jobs, trade-union rights for Africans and a decent standard of living -- must be brought forward to break down the labour aristocratic status of the white workers. The non-white workers must demand equality with the whites at the highest levels of pay and working conditions.

The militant youth in the townships, some of whose leaders are members of SASO or its secondary school affiliate, South African Students Movement, have shown extraordinary courage in the face of police bullets and batons. They have yet to develop a coherent strategy to smash apartheid rule. While SASO's role in last week's strike is still unclear, their previous attempts to organ-

ise "stay at home" strikes indicate an understanding of the critical position of black labour. But reports of confrontations between groups of youths and workers at roadblocks before last week's events demonstrate a failure to articulate the class demands of the workers and to weld them to the specifically democratic and national aspects of the black struggle in South Africa. What these militants must accept, as shown once again by the widespread impact and support for the Soweto general strike, is the primacy of the task of mobilising the proletariat.

Even in the face of the developed state of the South African economy and the size and overwhelming social weight of the black proletariat, the South African Communist Party (SACP) clings to its reformist credo of a "national democratic" (ie, bourgeois) stage of the revolution prior to the workers' seizure of power. The Stalinists hail the ANC as leader of "the national liberation movement".

Just as the SACP would subordinate the workers movement to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, so the ANC in turn subordinates the action of the proletariat to the organisation of declassified and dispersed guerrilla armies. In an underground newsletter, *Amandla-Matla* (Power), distributed in early March, the ANC writes:

"That youth, organized, must now be activated and taken out into the streets in demand of their day-to-day needs like higher wages, an end to victimization, subsidised bus fares, free, compulsory and proper education, integrated sport at all levels, etc. Small-scale actions (whether they are in downing of tools, picketing, demonstrations, protest meetings, go-slows, work-to-rule, sit-down strikes, boycotts, stays-at-home, defiance, etc) are important and lead to higher revolutionary activities (sabotage, guerilla action and the seizure of power)." (quoted in *Sechaba*, Third Quarter 1976)

With its huge black working class, South Africa will play the key role in carrying the socialist revolution throughout sub-Saharan Africa, simultaneously wiping out every vestige of imperialism and white supremacy, toppling the venal and repressive military dictatorships which reign over much of the continent and eliminating the left-talking bourgeois nationalist regimes (Tanzania, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique) which veil their capitalist exploitation with the rhetoric of "anti-imperialism" and "people's power".

The resolution of the crisis of leadership of the South African proletariat is thus a task of world importance. Liberation of the exploited and racially oppressed working masses requires the forging of a Trotskyist party, armed with the program of permanent revolution and built through political struggle against the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. Only such a party can unlock the awesome power of the black proletarians and lead to a workers and peasants government in South Africa. ■

(adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 122, 20 August 1976)

Mario Munoz . . .

Continued from page one

leaders because my name was being announced on television and the radio." "They sent airplanes to bomb the mining camps, even killing the miners' pets", he reported. "When I crossed the cordillera of the Andes into Argentina, I saw a camp of the miners' cooperative 'Maquis de Pedernales' which had been completely destroyed by bombs." It took six days on foot to cross through the snow-bound mountain passes until Munoz was able to reach the first refugee site in Argentina.

Turning to the misery of the Chilean masses under the terror of the Pinochet junta, Munoz pointed out that the unemployment rate (officially listed at an already catastrophic 20 percent) would be shown to be twice as high by an accurate count which included the well over 100,000 refugees most of them concentrated in the western Argentina border provinces, where Munoz settled among other workers and peasants who had fled Chile after the Pinochet coup.

"Since 1973 Chile has experienced one of the greatest cataclysms that has ever befallen our country. I say this because the country's economy is practically destroyed and it has lost an entire generation. Thousands and thousands of girls between 12 and 14 years of age are forced into prostitution in the streets of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion and Antofagasta as their only means of livelihood. Hundreds of thousands of families have been destroyed."

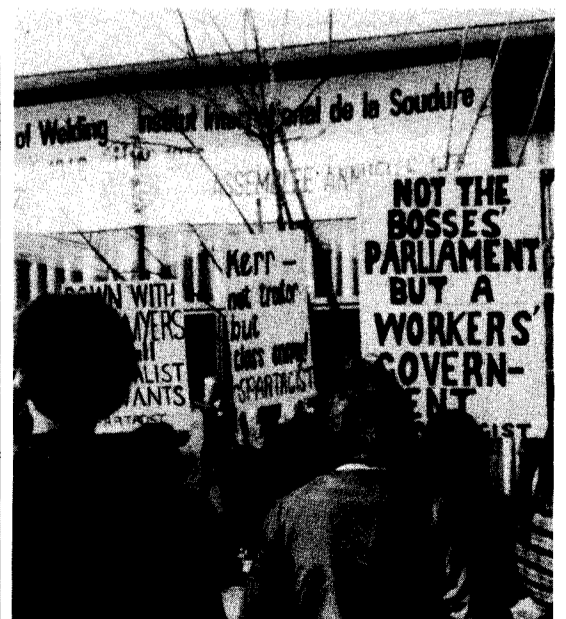
On the other side of the border, Munoz pointed out, things were little better. In the Argentine province of Mendoza, the 3000 Chilean refugees officially under UN responsibility receive only lodging and one meal a day. They have no medical care or medicines. With the constant raids on refugee sites by the military and para-police anti-communist death squads, he said, the UN is unable to protect Chilean political refugees in Argentina.

The abysmal reality of the "protection" afforded refugees from rightist terror was illustrated by Munoz' own arrest by Mendoza police on July 2, along with a dozen other men from a Catholic refuge in the city:

"They arrested us at 5 pm and took us to be interrogated and tortured. Of the 13 who were arrested, I was singled out within five minutes as the one to be interrogated... I refused to answer anything and so was told that, since you won't tell us, we'll tell you who you are. Everything that I had stated at the refugee center to the Mendoza committee [administering the refugee sites] and the lawyer appeared in the police commissioner's files. The interrogator quoted verbatim from my deposition to the UN committee in Mendoza."

The Munoz campaign took the lead in mobilizing vocal protest against the rightist repression in Argentina. With slender resources, the Com-

Anti-Kerr protest



ASp photo

ASp photo

Over 250 students turned out to demonstrate against Governor-General Kerr as he arrived at the University of New South Wales to open the International Institute of Welding conference on 16 August. Though the protest was peaceful, the more than one hundred cops present seized the chance to attack as part of the crowd surged after Kerr's departing Rolls Royce, arresting three students. All charges against these victims of police attack must be dropped immediately.

Carrying placards reading "Kerr and cops off campus!" and "Down with Kerr, Myers [university vice-

chancellor] and all capitalist servants!", only the Spartacist contingent presented a revolutionary opposition to Kerr and the bourgeois state he represents. The Maoists joined the more numerous ALP social democrats in a cacophony of reformism, calling for the "traitor" Kerr to be "sacked" while ALP supporters chanted "Reform the constitution", as though the Governor-General and the constitution could be loyal to anything but the bourgeoisie. The Spartacist contingent replied to these "loyal" reformists by leading a militant chant of "Abolish the Governor-General, smash the bourgeois state!"



Hubert Schatzl

Munoz addressing Vienna press conference.

mittee to Save Mario Munoz had to publicize not only the plight of Munoz but also the reality of the situation in Videla's Argentina, while the bourgeois press -- abetted by liberals and Stalinists -- sought to whitewash the reactionary terror regime. With the exception of MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez (turned over to Pinochet in April) no other Chilean leftist in Argentina received so much publicity. The UN office in Buenos Aires told Munoz it had been swamped with telegrams pleading for aid in obtaining safe conduct for him out of Argentina.

The campaign drew attention to the desperate situation facing Argentine leftists and trade unionists as well as Chilean and other refugees. The Munoz campaign significantly contributed to building the international pressure which led to the UNHCR's announcement Friday that several countries had agreed to accept a total of nearly 2000 Latin American refugees from Argentina.

Munoz' rescue is testimony to the effectiveness of international protest in the spirit of working-class solidarity, the same solidarity to which Munoz dedicated his life. A defense campaign can often be built on already acquired international reputations for prominent intellectuals and artists who fall victim to reactionary terror. But workers' leaders and militants like Mario Munoz, though widely respected in their own countries, are not widely known abroad and are often overlooked. Defense campaigns on their behalf can only be built through mass protest and publicity which focuses on the labor movement, on an anti-sectarian basis, and also enlists the broadest support of all those concerned for human rights.

On the same day as Munoz' press conference, the Austrian government announced a quota of 250 visas for refugees from Argentina. The Chilean miners' leader was the first such refugee to be accepted. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (7 August), organ of the ruling Socialist Party (SPO), began its page 2 story by emphasizing this aspect:

"Austria is currently participating in an international campaign to save the roughly 8000 refugees from other Latin American countries living in Argentina where they are threatened by the right-wing death squads. In addition to Austria, Canada, France, England, Switzerland and Norway have declared their willingness to accept refugees since Argentina is already well on its way to becoming a second Chile. The first victory was the success of a worldwide trade-union campaign in obtaining safe conduct from Argentina to Austria for former Chilean miners leader Mario Munoz."

correction

The article "Fraser 'warmly embraced' by Peking" in *ASp* no 34 (August 1976) contained the sentence, "In comparison with the bloody price paid by workers and peasants for Mao's real fascist and butcher friends, the addition of Fraser to the list has been painless indeed". This incorrectly implied that Yahya Khan, Pinochet, and others of Mao's grisly cabal of allies are "fascists" rather than military-bonapartist dictators. For Marxists the term "fascism" has a precise meaning: it refers to a mass movement based on the lumpenproletariat and disaffected petty-bourgeois elements with a racist/national-chauvinist program of action aimed at smashing the workers' movement. While there is little difference between the state power which emerges from a fascist movement and a right-wing colonels' or generals' regime installed by a military-backed coup or similar means, it is of great importance to the struggle against fascism to understand its mass character. ■

The same point was made in a shorter Austrian Press Agency dispatch in Vienna's leading bourgeois paper, *Die Presse* (7 August). On Saturday night the news program on Italy's national television carried an announcement about Munoz' arrival in Vienna.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* felt it necessary to attack Munoz for breaking with Allende's popular front, going so far as to state that the repression he subsequently suffered was "his own fault". But Munoz had offered the military support of the miners to defend the Allende regime against a right-wing coup. He warned that it was Allende, through conciliating reaction and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, who was paving the road to the coup.

The *Kurier* (10 August), a leading Vienna bourgeois paper, published a feature article on Munoz on page 3. The article stressed the importance of the international campaign in saving Munoz:

"Mario Munoz went underground for more than three months. But the New York-based Partisan Defense Committee took up this spectacular case and mounted a campaign throughout the western world to save Mario Munoz...."

The *Kurier* article noted the intervention of top Austrian trade-union and Socialist Party leaders on Munoz' behalf.

The vicious manhunt for Munoz spanned two countries. The campaign to save this Chilean workers' leader spanned five continents; it has dramatized the desperate peril facing leftists and labor leaders throughout Latin America. The broad-based defense effort demonstrates the power of international working-class solidarity, illuminating the continuing need for anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense efforts on behalf of all victims of reactionary terror. This important victory offers renewed hope for all the class brothers and sisters of Mario Munoz persecuted by the vindictive junta butchers for their struggles against reactionary dictatorship in Latin America and throughout the world. ■

*GRM (Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the United Secretariat); IKL (International Communist League).

(adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 122, 20 August 1976)

Lebanon . . .

Continued from page five

Raymond Edde) have struggled incessantly to consolidate Lebanese "sovereignty" and strip the refugee camps of their militias and autonomy. Now the Syrian army may very well finish the job that Chamoun, Edde, Gemayel, etc, were unable to complete.

Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Lebanon and Palestine all are the legacy of imperialism, where religious, racial and/or national differences were exploited and exacerbated in order to divide and rule. Capitalism offers no other solution to these conflicts than that which transpired yesterday in Cyprus and threatens today in Lebanon. The only way out of the morass of communal killing in Lebanon must be based on a perspective that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist.

The butchery of Muslim Quarantina and Christian Damur will only be avenged through a proletarian class upheaval which welds together the urban and rural oppressed, extending beyond the narrow national boundaries to give rise to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

(adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 121, 6 August 1976)

Ship builders . . .

Continued from page twelve

point to the 1971-72 shipyard "work-in" on the Scottish Upper Clyde as a possible solution does not signify any leftward bent. "Workers self-management" within the framework of capitalism is just another scheme in their reformist orientation. After a months-long occupation, with its workforce reduced by 25 per cent, the Clyde workers were eventually forced back under private management. No enterprise, whether run by private management, the government or a workers' co-operative, can escape the driving down of conditions and loss of jobs necessary to compete in the capitalist market.

For international working-class solidarity!

The fake-Trotskyists of the Communist League and the Socialist Labour League (SLL) have joined with the reformists of the CPA and SPA in concentrating their attacks on Fraser while remaining silent on protectionism. Their conscious refusal to confront the nationalist barrage represents an open adaptation to backward chauvinist prejudices in the working class. In fact the SLL gives it back-handed support by declaring uncritically: "not a single one [of Australia's secondary industries] can survive without protectionism in one form or another" (*Workers News*, 2 September).

The insidious nature of the protectionist drive was graphically highlighted recently when workers from Cockatoo Island and other Sydney shipyards refused to allow a Japanese freighter to cast off until telexes were sent to Mitsubishi and Fraser protesting against the ANL's planned Japanese order. *Tribune* (1 September) hides behind its report that the demonstrating workers insisted to Japanese seamen that the action was not directed against them but against the Fraser Government and the multinationals. But no sentiment to the contrary changes the hard fact that they are demanding work for Australian workers in preference to Japanese.

The ultimate result of this rivalry for trade and jobs is a worsening of conditions for all workers, as unions in all capitalist countries sacrifice to make their respective industries "more competitive". Economic protectionism can only tie workers to the interests of "their" exploiters, leading to a further decline in international working-class solidarity and the exacerbation of national and racial divisions, thus strengthening capitalism. As workers' anger is directed against foreign "threats" instead of the native bosses, the basis is laid for working-class support to mass fratricide in a new imperialist war.

Rejecting a united class-struggle campaign of jobs for all, the parochial reformists engage in their backstabbing policies even within Australia. Sydney's wharves at present are the battle site of a vicious demarcation war between transport workers and wharfies. Amalgamations leading to one industrial union for all maritime workers are necessary to undercut bureaucratic infighting and to provide a better framework to fight government and employer attacks. In the immediate period the combined union shop committees that do exist in the shipyards must be utilised as organising centres that can lead a united and decisive response to threats of layoffs or closures.

Faced with questions that are integrally linked to inter-capitalist trade rivalries and workers' interests on a world scale, simple militancy or unity by themselves must succumb to nationalist pressures. An alternative leadership must be forged in opposition to the reformists' schemes, committed to international working-class solidarity and a program that has as its central aim a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class as a whole. Only the worldwide success of proletarian revolution can permanently eliminate international competition for jobs, establishing a rational worldwide division of labour without sacrificing the interests of any section of workers for national considerations. ■

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Down with protectionist schemes!

Expropriate the shipbuilders!

**Fight the layoffs! No closures!
Occupy the shipyards!**

"We've said bluntly that unless the workers cooperate there may well be no work for them to do....
"Just recently a ship in for repairs was quoted as being a six-week job, it was finished in five weeks. That sort of performance shows that Australian yards can be competitive." (Jim Baird, Communist Party of Australia member and AMWU representative on the ACTU shipbuilding sub-committee, quoted in *The Australian*, 17 August 1976)

The prospect of massive unemployment now stands before the major Australian shipbuilding centres of Newcastle (NSW) and Whyalla (South Australia). An announcement by the Australian National Line (ANL) last month that it intends to contract the giant Japanese Mitsubishi firm to build four bulk carriers left these shipyards without foreseeable orders and directly threatened the jobs of over 3000 shipbuilding workers and tens of thousands of workers in associated industries. 200 apprentices at the Newcastle yards have already been given notice with widespread sackings promised in the near future. On 2 September Sydney's Cockatoo Island Dockyard sacked 73 workers with another 300 slated to go in six weeks.

The sackings came almost three weeks after the government authorised the ANL, a semi-government shipping authority, to tender overseas for shipbuilding contracts. It simultaneously scuttled plans for a \$70 million graving dock projected to upgrade the Newcastle dockyards and announced that it would not increase its direct subsidisation of Australian-built ships above the present 35 per cent (shipbuilding companies maintain they need a 55-60 per cent subsidy to match overseas prices).

The government's move was foreshadowed by a submission from the giant steel monopoly BHP earlier this year which argued for abandoning the costly domestic shipbuilding industry in order to cut shipping freight charges. Fraser has presented the industry with an ultimatum: rationalise by cutting labour costs or go under! With a federal budget designed to reinvigorate Australian capitalism at the cost of massive unemployment and slashed social services, the government intends to make an example of the troublesome, and vulnerable, left-wing shipbuilding unions in order to batter down wages and conditions in other industries.

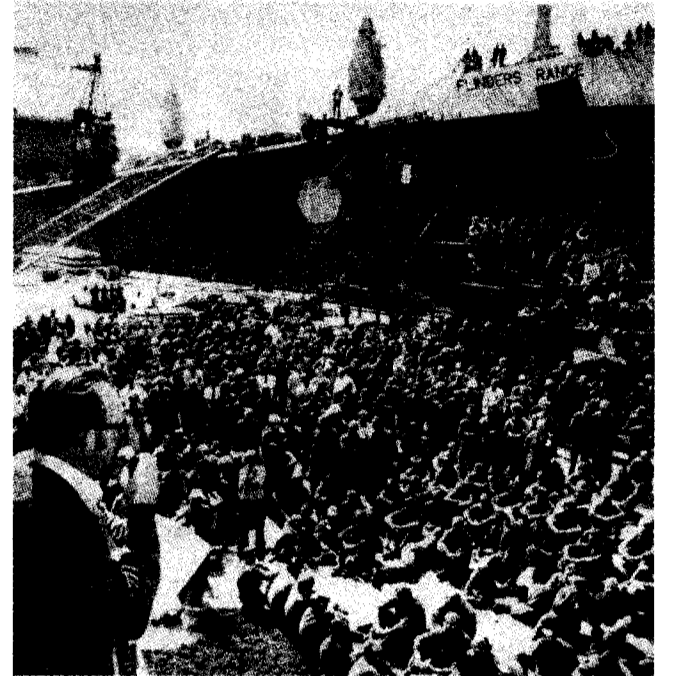
The bureaucracies of the shipbuilding unions have responded to this threat by joining with the

employers in a class-collaborationist chorus coupling promises of increased "labour productivity" with demands for greater subsidies and stiffer protection from overseas competition. Their parochialist "militancy" is aimed at preserving a few jobs here at the expense of shipbuilding and repair workers in Japan, Singapore and Korea. An 11 August shop stewards' conference representing twenty shipbuilding unions from Newcastle, Whyalla and Sydney voted to place bans on all holiday cruise ships that refused to be serviced locally. And the ACTU, backed by the NSW Labour Council and maritime unions, has threatened to ban port entry for all overseas-built ships that could have been constructed in Australia.

On 26 August the shipbuilding unions called a 24-hour stoppage to protest against the government decisions. Two days later the "magnanimous" Fraser came up with a wretched "compromise" which promised the Newcastle dockyard two ship contracts in return for a one-year wage freeze and no-strike pledge. While a lunch-time mass meeting at the Newcastle shipyards unanimously rejected this blackmail proposal, the bureaucracy stressed its willingness to continue negotiations, pointing out that an informal no-strike agreement had been in operation for the past year. As for the proposed wage freeze, Jack Kidd, President of the Newcastle Trades Hall Council, opposed it only because it would violate bourgeois legality by rejecting court-awarded indexation increases.

The jobs of Australian shipbuilding workers will not be defended by salvaging "their" tycoon bosses with bigger handouts or increased "efficiency" (speed-ups and redundancies) or by stabbing foreign workers in the back. They must unite behind a class-struggle policy aimed strictly at the employers demanding no layoffs and no closures, with all available work being shared round with no loss in pay or conditions. These demands must be enforced through occupations of the shipyards backed by widespread solidarity strike action by all shipyard, port and maritime workers. Workers must demand either that the industry be modernised to operate it on an efficient basis -- without speed-ups, sackings and wage-cuts -- or that it be converted to other socially useful production with all necessary retraining to be provided by the capitalists at full wages.

Central to these actions must be the demand to expropriate the shipbuilders and all privately-owned shipyards, struggling to introduce the widest possible workers' control throughout the industry. Having taken government handouts for



Newcastle Trades Hall President Jack Kidd speaks to shipbuilding workers' mass meeting August 26.

decades and refusing to invest in new plant and technology, these parasites now blame the workers for a crisis rooted in the irrationality of capitalist production. But even were the bourgeoisie to grant these demands as the outcome of militant struggle, they would attempt to reverse every concession at the earliest possible opportunity. Only a workers government, by taking all industry out of the capitalists' hands and establishing a planned economy, can rationalise industries such as shipbuilding without sacrificing workers' jobs and living standards.

Militants must counterpose international union organisation of shipbuilding workers to the poisonous national divisiveness of protectionism. Australian maritime and shipbuilding workers must demand and enforce union rights and wages and conditions at the highest international level for their class brothers and sisters toiling under brutal anti-labour regimes like those of Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore and US puppet Park Chung Hee in South Korea.

"Rights and responsibilities go together"

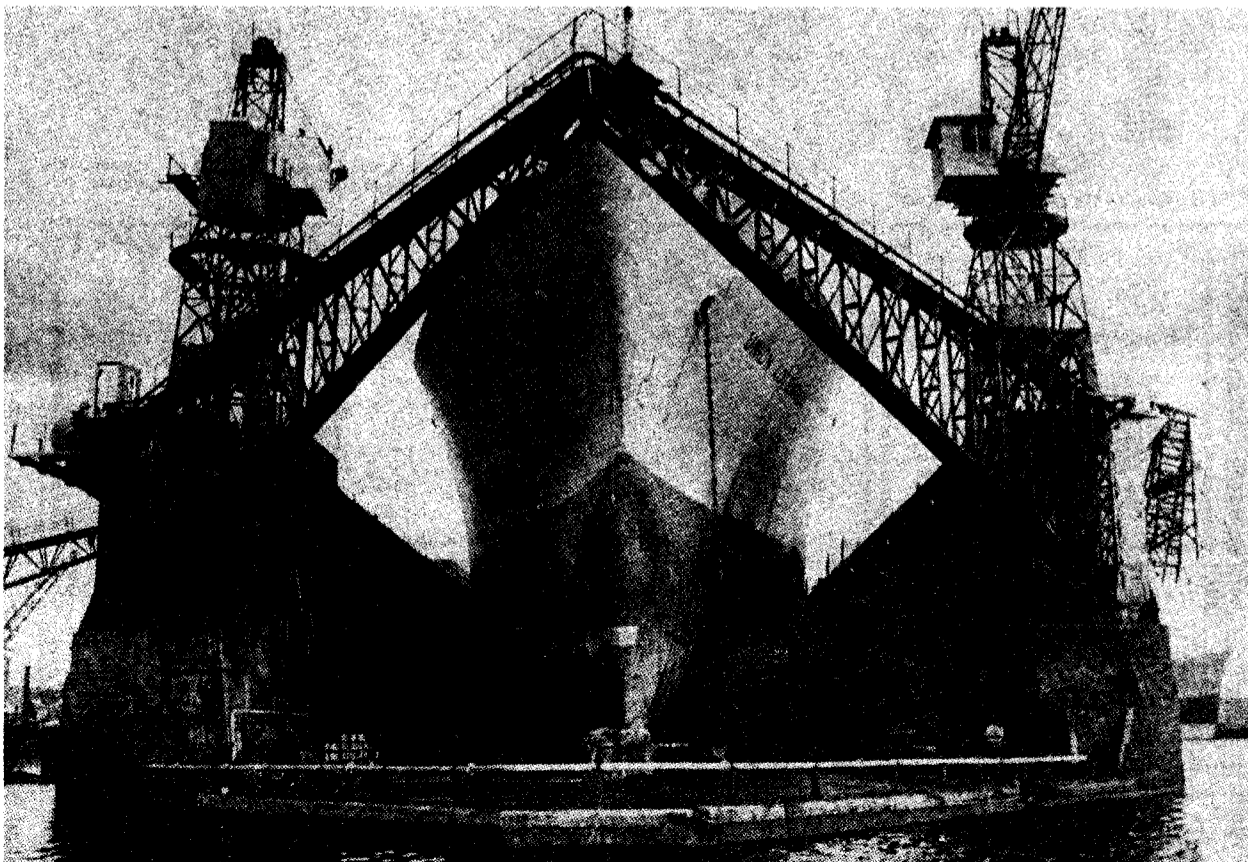
The bureaucracy indicated its capitulatory class-collaborationist course months before Fraser's *diktat* when it set up a National Shipbuilders Council comprised of the ACTU shipbuilding sub-committee, BHP and representatives from shipbuilding employer groups last June. Established to "investigate ways of streamlining the industry" (*The Australian*, 20 August), it has already succeeded in getting union agreement for a moratorium on strikes and the abolition of demarcation disputes throughout commercial shipyards.

While exercising real influence in the shipbuilding and maritime industries, the ostensible communists of the "independent" Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and the Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) have only tailed abjectly behind Hawke and the ACTU. The SPA has uncritically endorsed proposed "productivity" plans (*Socialist*, 1 September) while CPAer Jim Baird, touring the docks as AMWU national organiser, has been stressing the need for "increased efficiency" and a reduction in work stoppages (*Tribune*, 18 August).

The CPA's calls for a "nationalised integrated industry" and "workers' control" over investment and planning are little more than left covers for their nationalist reformism. Their aim, according to *Tribune* (1 September) is "to wrest our [!] foreign trade from the hands of overseas ship-owners"! The CPA promises to help make Australian capitalism more competitive in the international capitalist market -- in return for a little "control". "Rights and responsibilities go together", editorialises *Tribune*.

That *Tribune* and the CPA-led Federated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association (FEDFA) also

Continued on page eleven



NSW Premier Wran has promised to subsidise the purchase of a new floating dock for Newcastle shipyards.