



Teng leads campaign to "re-evaluate" Mao

New power struggle in Peking

**For workers political revolution to smash
the Stalinist bureaucracy!**

Peking's announcement in late November that the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had just held an "important meeting" culminated weeks of speculation that, yet again, there was "great disorder" in the Heavenly Palace. On 20 November, the 1976 Tien An Men demonstration -- which had been labelled "counter-revolutionary" and brutally suppressed by the People's Liberation Army and local militia -- was declared a "completely revolutionary action". And for weeks before vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping cautiously declared a stop on 1 December, the famous *dazibao* ("big character" poster) wall in Peking was thronged by thousands of curious citizens, joined by foreign embassy first secretaries and their translators, where they read unprecedented attacks on the formerly "infallible" Great Helmsman, Mao Tse-tung.

Anyone making such criticisms of Mao ten years ago would have been denounced instantaneously as a "counterrevolutionary" and disappeared. Mao was attacked for being "metaphysical" and "amenable to flattery" in his later years and for lacking any understanding of "Marxism and the class struggle". Mao's famous "criticism" of Stalin as 70 percent good and 30 percent bad was turned around on him, some posters insisting that even that was too generous. Other posters painted a picture of a senile Chairman manipulated by the evil "Gang of Four" into allowing them to establish a "family-style fascist dictatorship" to return China to "feudalism".

The official campaign to "re-evaluate" Mao has been building for some time. Wu Teh, the mayor of Peking who was identified with the Mao wing of the bureaucracy, has been ousted; and party vice-

leaders were reportedly executed for their activities during the Cultural Revolution.

"Reversing the verdict" on Tien An Men is a clear sign that the erstwhile "demon and freak" Teng, twice purged by Mao, has presently got the upper hand over his rivals, real and potential, in the bureaucratic hierarchy. After all, it was at the same Political Bureau meeting following the suppression of Tien An Men that Teng was last purged and the current chairman, Hua Kuo-feng, elevated to the post of prime minister. And Hua joined with the Gang in applauding the militia for crushing the demonstration. None of this has been forgotten: one recent poster denounced Hua for cynically jumping on the bandwagon by inscribing the title page of a soon-to-be published volume of poetry praising the Tien An Men demonstration. Moreover, Hua's authority rests singularly on Mao's much publicised purported final words -- when he was supposedly a "senile" dupe of the Gang -- to his successor: "With you in charge I can rest easy".



Hua (centre), Teng (left) and Yeh Chien-ying (right) watch show by air force.

So while Hua and other leaders have lain low, the ebullient Teng has been putting on a virtuoso performance entertaining a stream of Japanese businessmen and politicians and Western journalists -- praising the "Democracy Wall" while assuring one and all that it was a symptom only of China's "basic stability" and denying that he had any differences with Hua (*Age*, 29 November). Coyly, Teng "criticised" the "masses" for going too far in their attacks on Mao -- who "was better than that" -- and generously granted that he himself was only "60 percent good".

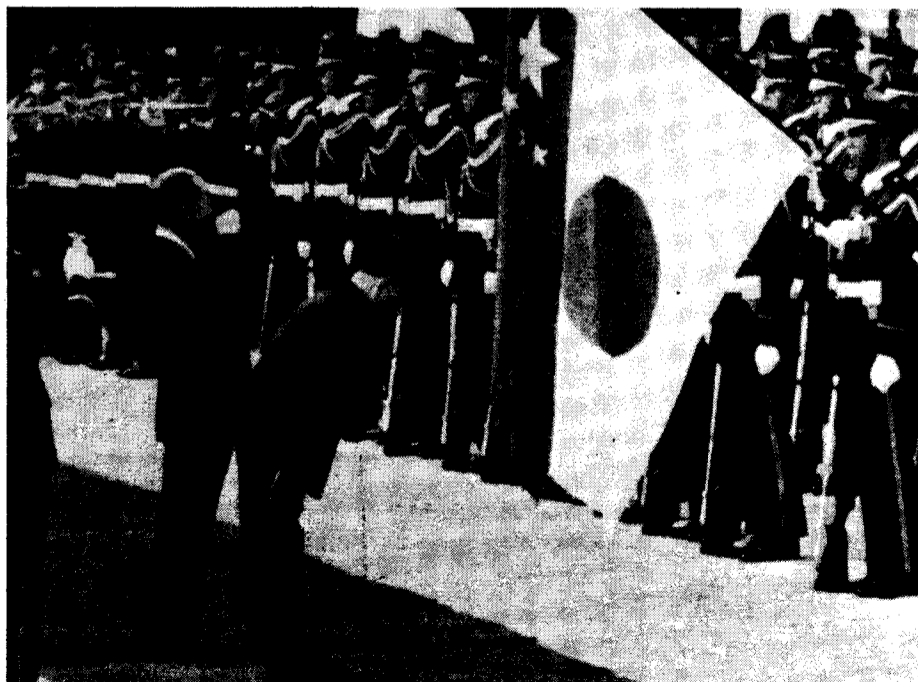
There are limits to the "re-evaluation" of Mao's role which no wing of the Chinese bureaucracy will willingly cross. While his wife of three decades can be retroactively slandered as a Kuo-mintang agent, Mao most certainly cannot be. In Maoist hagiography he is China's Lenin and Stalin both: the founder of the People's Republic and the historic political and "theoretical" fountainhead of the CCP since the 1930s.

Nonetheless it is not surprising that the official "re-evaluation" of Mao has found a some-

what enthusiastic popular response. To a working class denied a wage rise for two decades in the name of Maoist hostility to "economism"; to the millions of Red Guard youth who were cynically used and monstrously betrayed by Mao and sent for "re-education" to labour on rural communes; and to a population whose intellectual and cultural aspirations were prevented from rising above the incredibly shallow and philistine "revolutionary operas" of cultural tsar Chiang Ching, the de-mythologising of Mao is hardly an unpopular step.

But despite the spate of inflated reports in the bourgeois press about a "spontaneous" outpouring of demands for "democracy" and "human rights", what is going on is clearly a carefully orchestrated campaign to consolidate Teng's primacy in the Heavenly Palace -- a fact confirmed by his peremptory order to his supporters to desist. And if it is impossible right now to determine the specifics of the immediate bureaucratic power play, in the long run the answer

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Teng bows before Japanese flag: "peace and friendship" with Japanese imperialism.

chairman and head of Mao's bodyguard, Wang Tung-hsing, is reportedly next in line. The once ubiquitous Mao badges have been consigned to the scrap heap and the *Little Red Book*, which when Mao was alive was attributed miracle powers, has gone with it. In early November the stigma of "bourgeois rightist" was lifted from the last of several million victims of the "rectification" campaign which followed the short-lived Hundred Flowers Movement in 1956-57. Five Red Guard

How the Stalinists planned Trotsky's murder ... page 6



How the SWP distorts Trotskyist history

Tripp's meanderings revisited

The 26 October *Direct Action* announced that Ted Tripp, for three years during the 1930s a member and leader of the Trotskyist Workers Party (WP) and for several years prior to that a prominent figure in the then-Stalinist Communist Party (CPA), had capped "60 years of struggle for socialism" by joining the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In itself this event has little significance. For the last 38 years, Ted Tripp has been virtually politically inactive; for the last twenty he has been secretary of the Victorian Labor College (VLC) in Melbourne's Trades Hall. But for the SWP, prettying up Tripp's political history, as the *Direct Action* piece by Dave Deutschmann did, serves the purpose of artificially boosting the SWP's pretensions to represent the continuity of Australian Trotskyism.

In the process the SWP shamelessly distorts the history of the Trotskyist movement. Such

Footnote to a betrayal

Almost two months after the fact, *Direct Action* (30 November) felt compelled for some reason to comment on what it calls "one of the more bizarre sidelights to the October 7 NSW elections". What Allen Myers, resident "humourist" of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), finds so "bizarre" is our call for a simple act of class solidarity in defence of striking Government Printing Office workers in Sydney whose picket line was broken by the Wran government to remove scab election ballot papers. The Spartacist League responded with a 5 October leaflet, "Black ban scab ballot papers!", demanding that the Labor Council black ban the ballots in support of the strike. We urged workers to treat these scab goods like any others: black products not to be touched by self-respecting union militants. Naturally this was not to the taste of the Labor Council bureaucracy.

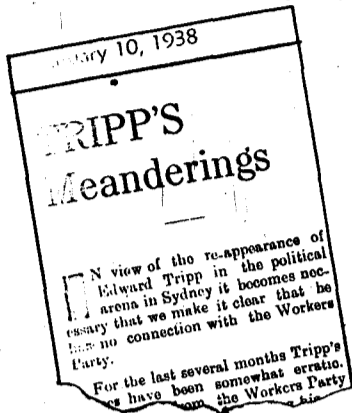
Nor, obviously did it suit the SWP which was trying to convince Wran to adopt "socialist policies" and wasn't about to let a little thing like class struggle get in the way. Myers objects most especially to our statement that "Elementary labour solidarity demands that workers refuse to vote in an election held with scab ballots". "If workers had been foolish enough to follow the SL's call", he says, "the result would have been the election of the Liberals. The title of the leaflet ... would more accurately have read: 'Only Liberals should vote!'" Warped logic perhaps, but revealing: rather than endanger Labor's occupation of the treasury benches, the SWP would logically have organised mass crossing of a strike picket line to vote Labor!

If Labor can only win at the polls by smashing a strike, even a "small" one, then we say: let Wran lose! A strikebreaking Labor government will no more serve workers' interests than a strikebreaking Liberal one. We do not subordinate the class struggle to the parliamentary careers of ALP reformists. The SWP has made it crystal clear that it does.

Footnote to a footnote: Myers cannot resist a flat lie, that our leaflet "produced no small amount of bewilderment when members of the SL distributed it to the printers' picket three days after the election". In fact it received a sympathetic response when distributed on the picket line the day before the election, as well as being distributed at a number of major Sydney industrial sites that day.

shabby cynicism is no compliment to Tripp; rather it is demeaning and patronising. Tripp played an important role at one time and it must be understood. So we would like to set the record straight on a few points.

Deutschmann explains how "a few years" after Tripp joined the WP following his 1934 expulsion from the CPA for Trotskyism, "he left the Workers



10 January 1938
Militant on
"Tripp's
meanderings".

Party and subsequently began to publish another Trotskyist magazine, *Proletarian Review*, which was based among Trotskyists at Sydney University". Deutschmann's glib account notwithstanding, one does not simply "leave" a revolutionary organisation and publish one's own "Trotskyist magazine" -- if one is a bolshevik. Tripp "left" after an April 1937 conference of the WP, though according to a 10 January 1938 article in the WP's paper, the *Militant*, entitled "Tripp's Meanderings", he did not formally resign until 27 May,

"... following his unsuccessful attempts to gather a faction sufficiently strong to alter the organisational decisions of the party.... His next move was to gather together a group of heterogeneous elements under the intriguing title of 'League for Revolutionary Democracy.' "Tripp has not produced a political position, substituting for this the bald statement that he is a 'Trotskyist'.... "We have allowed Tripp a considerable time to renounce his present erratic course. But our tolerance is not absolute. We now make it quite clear that Tripp is not connected with the Workers Party, nor do we accept responsibility for his political utterances."

In May 1938 Tripp's group (now called the Independent Communist League with a paper called *Permanent Revolution*), minus Tripp, fused with the WP to form the Communist League of Australia. At a January 1939 conference there was a new split, by a minority containing Tripp's old supporters and a distinct grouping around Jack Wishart (party name J Royston). According to the *Militant* (February 1939), after the conference adopted the Transitional Program of the just-founded Fourth International and the principles of democratic centralism,

"... the non-Trotskyists united to oppose the

application of this program to Australia -- one section [the Trippites] claiming that it should be rejected in toto; the other [Wishart's] wanting to amend it so as to completely alter its meaning. Both wanted a loose group expressing several viewpoints, rather than a disciplined organisation advocating one programme and policy...."

The splitters formed a group called the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), which published three issues of a roneoed paper, *Socialist Appeal*, with which Tripp was associated, and shortly thereafter disappeared. The political issues in the split were murky. The RWL's account in the first issue of *Socialist Appeal* (March 1939) scarcely clarified the matter, although it betrayed elements of cliquism and Australian parochialism. In 1940 its members rejoined the Communist League, some to split yet again in solidarity with Max Shachtman's opposition to military defence of the USSR.

During most of World War II and from there onwards, Tripp was not involved in the Trotskyist or any other leftist movement at all. *Direct Action* attempts to obscure this fact by pointing to Tripp's association with the VLC. But the VLC is a creature of the Trades Hall bureaucracy, on which it depends directly for its survival. Its primary, albeit marginal, "educational" effect has been the training of "left" union bureaucrats such as Ken Carr of the furnishing trades, a one-time "star" Labor College student.

But in the immediate post-war years -- after Tripp had become a permanent fixture of the VLC -- the VLC's *Labor College Review* served its bureaucratic sponsors by becoming an organ for Cold War anti-communism. Its April 1947 number gratefully acknowledged the support given the college by the right-wing, viciously anti-communist ALP Groups; in August that year an unsigned article praised the companion NCC-backed industrial groups in the unions. When Laurie Short, a long-time Trotskyist until his defection to the groupers in 1946, used the bosses' courts and vicious red-baiting to purge the admittedly corrupt Stalinist leadership of the Federated Ironworkers Association, the *Review* backed his rise to power.

Did Tripp dissociate himself from this continual red-baiting? Did he oppose the *Review's* open support to US imperialism against the Korean workers and peasants in 1950 ("Aggression in Korea", August 1950)? There was nothing in the *Review* which would indicate that he had. And in any case, Tripp had already (and has since) been associated with "third camp" positions on the Russian question, rejecting the defence of the deformed workers states against imperialism. Has he, in joining the SWP, been won to the Trotskyist position on this question? *Direct Action* does not say -- but then the SWP has no qualms about recruiting those who differ with Trotskyism on one of its most fundamental programmatic positions. Little more than a year ago its American

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Ban on Spartacists re-imposed

What is the SWP afraid of?

The following is the text of a letter sent to the Socialist Workers Party on 4 December 1978.

On Saturday 25 October members and supporters of the Spartacist League were excluded from a publicly advertised Socialist Youth Alliance forum in Parramatta on youth unemployment. Apparently lacking a ready pretext for this political exclusion, Anthony Forward and other SYA members reverted to the time-worn slander of SL "disruption". This accusation, in fact a standard reformist euphemism for political criticism from the left, is hardly credible. It is also utterly hypocritical. For three years your organisation banned SL supporters and even contacts from "Direct Action Forums" on the same trumped-up basis. But during a joint campaign of our two organisations against thuggery by the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL), you felt compelled to formally lift this ban. Then you sought our authority as staunch defenders of workers democracy.

At that time we noted in a letter to you (26 November 1976) that such formal assurances are of little worth balanced against the SWP's avid desire to seal off your supporters from the threat of Spartacist criticism during a democratic discussion period. And recent events indicate that you have begun your former undemocratic policy anew. In September Spartacist League members were barred entry to a series of events advertised publicly as "election rallies". Leading SWPers invented an unpublicised -- and false -- stipulation that attendance was by "invitation

only". A 28 November SWP "Forum", "Fighting the attacks on Women and Gays", broadly advertised at the Socialist-Feminist Conference of 25 November, became "internal" according to your Sydney organiser John Garcia when an SL member approached the hall, while another member described it as for contacts and supporters only.

These transparent political exclusions betray a political cowardice rivalling that of the SLL or the Stalinist Socialist Party, who regularly exclude or attempt to physically deter their political opponents from attending public political functions. Such systematic violations of workers democracy are a necessary consequence of your reformist politics. Evidently you cannot stand to expose your supporters to a genuine Trotskyist criticism of, for example, your tailing after Wran in the NSW elections -- shameless opportunism which they might discover has nothing to do with the Trotskyism you pretend to embrace. However the need of the working class for political clarification stands higher than the SWP's self-interest in avoiding exposure. In light of your de facto policy we demand a clear answer: What is the position of the SWP toward admitting opponent tendencies to its public events? What is the SWP afraid of?

Fraternally,
Phillipa Naughten
For the Sydney Spartacist League

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Religious fundamentalist and darling of the reformist left, Ayatollah Khomeini praying with followers in French exile.

Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! SWP bows to holy man Khomeini

For a year and a half the Iranian masses have taken to the streets in opposition to the terror of the blood-drenched Pahlavi monarchy. On 6 November, after the convulsive rebellion in Teheran, the despot imposed a military government headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari, chief of staff of the armed forces. But while the massive oil workers' strike which was bringing the Iranian economy to its knees has subsided, massive strikes and demonstrations continue to sweep the towns and cities of Iran. On 27 November, a 24-hour nationwide general strike broke out -- called by the bourgeois-liberal National Front -- in protest over the military government's slaughter of street demonstrators the previous week.

The shah's absolutist regime, facing an enraged population, is now reduced to its essential bases of support, the army and US imperialism. But rather than a plebeian mobilisation threatening to deal the death blow to the shah's white terror, or even a bourgeois-led "democratic" movement, the current opposition is an amorphous movement led by the organised Islamic clergy. Its stated aim is an Islamic theocracy; its unchallenged leader is the head of the Shi'ite hierarchy, Ayatollah Khomeini. If the Peacock Throne is torn down only to be replaced by Khomeini wielding the sword of Islam, *the Iranian masses will gain absolutely nothing.*

Yet the Iranian left has fallen into lockstep behind the "progressive" mullahs and the "anti-imperialist" Khomeini. In recent years, the once overwhelmingly Maoist overseas Iranian student movement, centred primarily in West Germany, France and the US, has fractured into countless political tendencies under the impact of Peking's shameless and criminal support for the self-proclaimed "Light of the Aryans". Thus at a large meeting of Iranian students in Paris in September, French pro-Peking Maoists who intervened to defend Hua's trip to Iran met with general abuse and catcalls. But the "critical" Maoists, pro-Albanians and nationalist and Islamic guerrillaists are all united in denying the central, urgent task today facing the Iranian proletariat: mobilising an opposition both to the shah and to the mullahs in the struggle for workers state power.

Uniquely, the international Spartacist tendency has sought to win Iranian leftists to this perspective. A series of public forums on Iran held by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League/US, across North America has been confronted with an orchestrated campaign of hysterical intervention and outright disruption by Maoist and Muslim student groups intent on bureaucratically silencing our intransigent communist exposure of Khomeini. At forum after forum, however, the Maoists' myth of "revolutionary mullahs" has been exposed in the most dramatic way -- by the Muslim students themselves. In Chicago, for example, when a Maoist attacked our comrades for attributing to Khomeini's followers the slogan, "Death or the Veil", a Muslim student immediately rose to matter-of-factly explain that *of course* the mullahs raised that slogan!

SWP: ousting the shah is "wishful thinking"

The Stalinists have been joined in their reactionary pro-Khomeini charade by every ostensibly Trotskyist current but the Spartacist tendency -- particularly the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP -- co-thinkers of the Australian SWP). For years the SWP distinguished itself by its pacifist, civil-libertarian approach to the Iranian class struggle. The SWP's pet creation was a Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) -- a committee which hauled its Iranian left opponents into US courts to face deportation and which dismissed defence of the royal murderer's leftist opponents as subordinate to the question of what poetry was considered printable in Iran. The SWP's studied refusal to raise any slogan demanding the overthrow of the shah -- even publicly polemicising against such calls as being mere "wishful thinking" (see "'Down With the Shah' -- SWP Says No", *Workers Vanguard* no 191, 3 February 1978) -- paid off when Ramsay Clark, formerly the US bour-

geoisie's top cop, became a prominent backer of CAIFI.

Today in Iran, however, the sacking of banks, offices, movie theatres etc, and the calls of "Death to the shah!" are the handiwork of a bourgeois opposition which tries to pass itself off in the "respectable" trappings of "democracy". So now the pages of the SWP's *Militant* are super-saturated with uncritical enthusiasm for these Muslim-led protests. In order to portray the mullah-led movement as a democratic one, the SWP suppresses the Muslim preachers' unashamedly reactionary slogans. One would never know from the *Militant* that the new-found heroes of these "most consistent" tailists of feminism shouted for "Death or the Veil" in the streets of Tabriz; that the religious centre of Qom is a city completely bereft of movies, non-religious litera-



Muslim women in traditional veil, carrying portrait of Khomeini, whom the SWP labels "progressive".

ture, bars or women without the traditional *chador* (veil or cloak); that Khomeini is a staunch anti-communist who adamantly refuses any collaboration with the left; that the protesters' choice of targets is motivated by the "anti-imperialism" of the Koran: "usurious" banks, "immodest" movies etc.

Is the veil "progressive"?

The obscene spectacle of an ostensibly Trotskyist organisation (not to mention anyone claiming to be a socialist, democratic or even secular) supporting a drive for a Muslim theocracy drew a critical letter from an ex-member, Marvin Garson, and a long response by SWPer David Frankel in the *Militant* of 3 November. Observing that the Muslim leaders' opposition to the shah was based on a hatred of alcohol, movies, women's rights and other "pornographic" aspects of Western culture, Garson honed in on the cynical tailism manifested in the *Militant's* journalism: "So much on the *extent* of the fighting in Iran, and so little on the *character* of it" (emphasis in original).

Frankel responded with the predictably opportunist talk of mass struggles irreversibly set into motion, of ever unfolding revolutionary "dynamics" and "processes", and so on -- remarkably failing to mention Khomeini's name even once. Such wilful ignorance is untenable even for the SWP, so a subsequent (17 November) *Militant* brazenly explained:

"Although Khomeini subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah's 'modernization' is progressive."

How, one might ask, does the SWP come to determine that a religious leader claiming the time

of the prophet (seventh century AD) as his sole point of reference is "progressive"? Simple. According to a speaker from the SWP's Iranian student front group at a 10 November forum in New York, the proof is that Khomeini is "popular". As if Hitler's railings against foreign domination of Germany and hatred of Jews were not "popular", or the slaughter of Indonesian Communists and working-class militants in 1965 in the name of Islam.

Only a year ago the SWP's co-thinkers in the Iranian Sattar League gave a central role -- 28 paragraphs -- in their programmatic document to a long exposition on the women's movement in Iran. Wrote the Sattar League: "Religious superstition and all the backward hierarchical social relationships will be challenged by the growth of the women's movement" (quoted in *SWP International Information Bulletin*, July 1977). Now a leading member of the Sattar League enthuses over the women's auxiliary of a movement based on this very same "religious superstition" and social backwardness: "Women, organized in separate contingents and covered with their *chadors* [veils], led the fraternization with the army troops in Tehran ..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 20 November)!

Khomeini -- a workers' leader?

In order to gloss over the reactionary/clerical character of the Khomeini-led religious opposition, the SWP tries to pass off the current strike wave as a mere part of the "movement" against the shah. Now in fact, prior to the last month the working class was not at all active in the demonstrations as a driving force. Instead it was the shopkeepers, merchants and half-peasant seasonal labourers who rallied to Khomeini's banner. When the workers' strike wave mushroomed, these petty-bourgeois demonstrated their hatred of the proletariat by *re-opening* the Teheran bazaar which had been shut down as part of a religious-led protest. While genuine Marxists seek to break the proletariat from the reactionary mullahs, the SWP seeks to tie them to Khomeini.

The SWP's centrist European cohabitants in the United Secretariat (USec), long adept at finding "revolutionary vanguards" virtually anywhere (but in the proletariat), have been if anything even more enthusiastic over Khomeini. At a recent forum of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) in Paris, LCR speaker Rovers "criticised" Khomeini's program only for being a bit "vague", proclaiming in particular that Khomeini should take a clear position on church-state relations! The mind boggles! Khomeini openly champions a return to the 1906-07 Constitution which guaranteed the mullahs veto power

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Young Spartacus

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November issue begins a three-part article on the organisational question in classical Marxism, continuing a series by Joseph Seymour on

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition

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A program to beat "Ma Bell"

Militants score gains in

US telephone union

American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T), the profit-gouging US phone monopoly, is notorious for mercilessly ripping off the US public and as a slave-driving employer. Labour discipline rivals anything seen in nineteenth-century sweatshops: forced overtime, forced transfers and job downgrading and brutal enforcement of a medieval "absence control" policy, under which phone workers who miss work even for documented medical reasons can be disciplined. Clerical and "Traffic" workers (operators) -- overwhelmingly women -- are treated with particular arrogance by the universally despised "Ma Bell" (so-called after the Bell System, the phone products division). Operators can get the sack even for such "crimes" as standing up (!) while working at their position.

Little wonder, then, that the Communication Workers of America (CWA), which allows its more than 500,000 members to be subjected to this industrial tyranny, has earned the sobriquet "Company Wins Again" from many phone workers. The CWA bureaucracy has virtually refused to organise the large number of women phone workers, encouraging numerous instances of scabbing by clerks and operators on the predominantly male (and relatively better off) craft workers in plant and "Long Lines" (long distance and overseas) and fostering destructive sexual divisions within the union. Joe Beirne, its founding president from 1948 until impending death finally forced him to retire in 1974, was a company unionist in the 1930s and a rabid Cold War anti-communist. It was Beirne who dragged the CWA into its central and founding role in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a CIA "labour"-front run by representatives of government, the unions and giant corporations. Glenn Watts, Beirne's colourless successor, is today AIFLD treasurer. Following a militant seven-month-long strike by New York phone workers in 1971-72, Beirne saw to it that his last act as president was to effectively seal off the local right to strike.

A resounding vote for class struggle

For the past eight years, however, an oppositional grouping centred in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), has been struggling to transform the CWA into an instrument capable of fighting and defeating Ma Bell. Numerous fake-militant oppositions within the CWA -- variously supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, the eclectic Stalinist Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the workerist International Socialists (IS -- similar to the Australian version) -- have in that time been driven out by the company, become demoralised or simply been discredited by their false policies. Despite vigorous witchhunting by both the company and the union bureaucrats, MAC has not. For unlike the lot of them, MAC has refused to capitulate to either the bosses or the bureaucrats.

In a resounding confirmation that MAC's class-struggle policies based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program have won a consistent following among the membership, MAC candidate Jane Margolis swept to victory in November elections for San Francisco Local 9410 Executive Board -- with some

3000 members the largest CWA local in northern California. Margolis' 372 votes -- a powerful 42 percent of union members who balloted in her division (plant) -- placed her *second* in a field of thirteen candidates, in what was reportedly the largest turnout ever for Local 9410 elections. At the same time, Gary Adkins, a class-struggle militant in Los Angeles Local 11501, came in second in a field of twelve candidates to win a position on his executive board. Adkins' campaign had been endorsed by some ten stewards in the local. Months earlier, both Adkins and Margolis had also been elected delegates to the CWA convention, marking the first time that a class-struggle opposition grouping had won representation at the union's convention.

MAC's success must be incomprehensible to the opportunist "lefts", whose uniformly economist shop-floor militancy is tailored to get-rich-quick appetites. The candidate of the reformist

a virtually unprecedented victory, and one which a buoyant rank and file in Margolis' local correctly recognised as such.

Margolis' victory in a largely male department like plant is testimony to MAC's consistent fight to mobilise the union as a whole around demands aimed at the special oppression of women workers: eg for an end to discrimination in hiring and up-grading; for free, quality 24-hour child-care facilities; for free abortion on demand and free medical care for all. MAC refuses to join the feminists and their camp-followers, like the IS supporters, in praising "affirmative action" schemes which allow the government to step in and smash hard-won union seniority rights, thereby exacerbating sexual divisions. In fact, many of MAC's earliest members were won to class-struggle unionism when, as members of a feminist but militantly anti-company operators' caucus in 1971, they recognised the necessity of arguing against scabbing by women operators on a craft strike. As a result, these militants came to see the contradiction between their feminist views and their adherence to such class-struggle principles as respect for picket lines.

"Not one more cent for kneeling to the company"

MAC's role at the five-day national convention in June proved it to be the clear class-struggle pole of opposition to the Watts bureaucracy. As it has done uniquely for years, MAC led the fight against CWA involvement in the AIFLD. "The real story of the AIFLD", explained a MAC leaflet distributed to the delegates, "is to be found in the prisons and torture chambers of the military juntas in Chile and Brazil, where thousands of unionists are still imprisoned, and thousands more have been executed". Margolis was applauded when she exclaimed from the convention floor: "I want no stain of this on the banner of our Union". Some thirty delegates refused to be swayed by flag-waving speeches for Carter's "human rights" campaign and joined Margolis in voting against the bureaucracy's resolution on foreign policy.

It was MAC who initiated an amendment endorsed by 58 delegates (including more than 30 local presidents and chief stewards) to give locals the unrestricted right to strike over grievances and working conditions. Fearful of any challenge to the no-strike agreement with the company, Watts did not even allow the motion to be debated. Instead, with more than 100,000 jobs slashed through the introduction of extensive automation in the last four years, Watts squandered four days attempting without success to push through a nearly 100 percent dues increase. In leading off the fight against the dues increase proposal, Margolis made it clear that she was motivated not simply by the usual popular resentment against such increases, but by opposition to the capitulatory policies that members' dues financed:

"I would be for a dues increase if we had seen action to defend our members...."

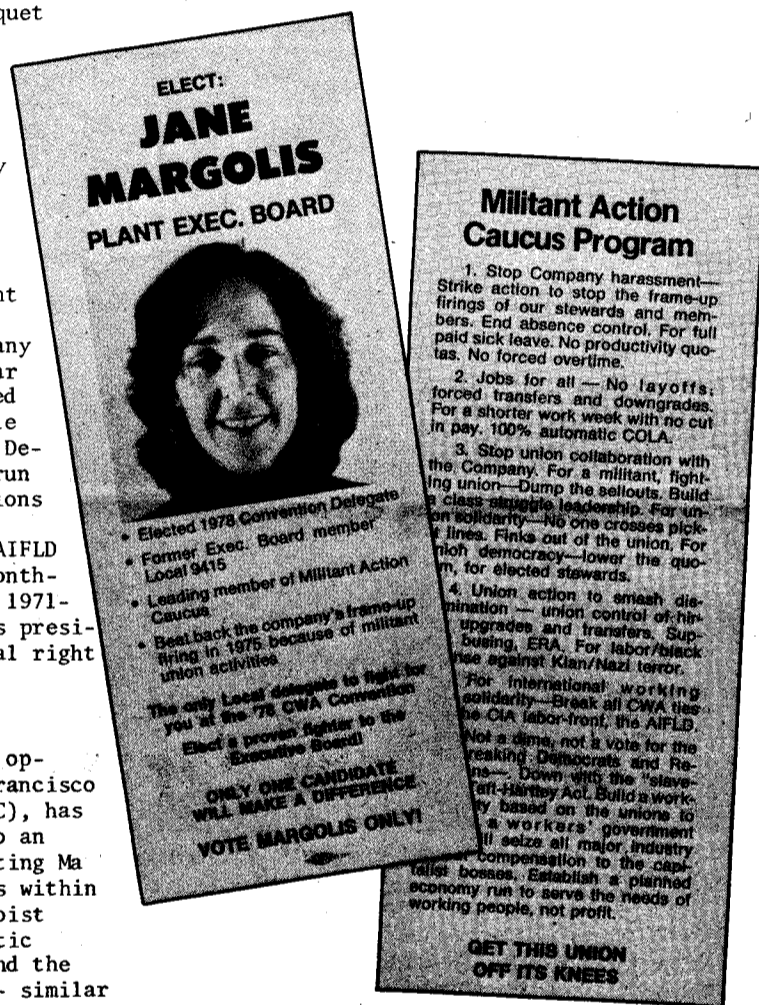
"But I know where the money will go. It will go to more of the same. Layoffs have not been opposed under this leadership. There has been an increase of firings. We have not been able to stop absence control. And money is going into supporting strikebreakers, anti-labour politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley [anti-strike legislation] against the miners' strike...."

"So I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and kneeling to the Phone Company."

Significantly the recent vote for MAC included approximately 65 phone workers who "bulleted" their ballots, voting only for Margolis for executive board. These workers represent a core of militants who are not only fed up with the do-nothing union bureaucrats, but have consciously turned to MAC as the only force in the local determined to wage a militant struggle against the company. Furthermore, the emergence of tested militants like Adkins, committed to a clear program of class struggle, represents a step forward in laying the groundwork for a fighting opposition throughout the CWA nationally.

MAC has yet to be tested at the head of mass struggles. But its recent victories demonstrate again that a full class-struggle program is the

Continued on page eleven



MAC election leaflet for successful candidate Margolis.

PL-supported Committee Against Racism got a paltry 40 votes in his bid for local secretary. Yet Margolis, like Adkins, stood on a full class-struggle program, including such demands as national strike action to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, nationalisation of the phone company without compensation, for labour/black defence to smash racist and fascist gangs, and for a break with support to the Democratic Party -- for a workers party to fight for a workers government. As opportunists reason, such principled politics are "sectarian", above the heads of rank-and-file workers.

But the Bay Area ranks have not forgotten that following contract expiration in 1974 PL supporters refused to join MAC in seeking to mobilise the membership against the bureaucracy's anti-strike position but instead initiated their own isolated, adventurist wildcat action; and that the PL supporters spurned MAC's attempt to organise a united-front defence of the nine militants (including one MAC member) who were sacked in its wake. The ranks know that MAC went to the membership and not to the bosses' courts (as the IS-supported United Action Caucus in New York CWA -- whose sister grouping in 9410 is now defunct -- is fond of doing) to beat an anti-communist purge attempt by union officials in 1972. In 1973 MAC initiated a successful campaign throughout the union to stop an anti-red clause from being inserted into the union's constitution by the bureaucracy. And MAC mobilised the membership again after Margolis got sacked in 1975 in a blatant political victimisation. After 14 months, Ma Bell was finally forced to back down,

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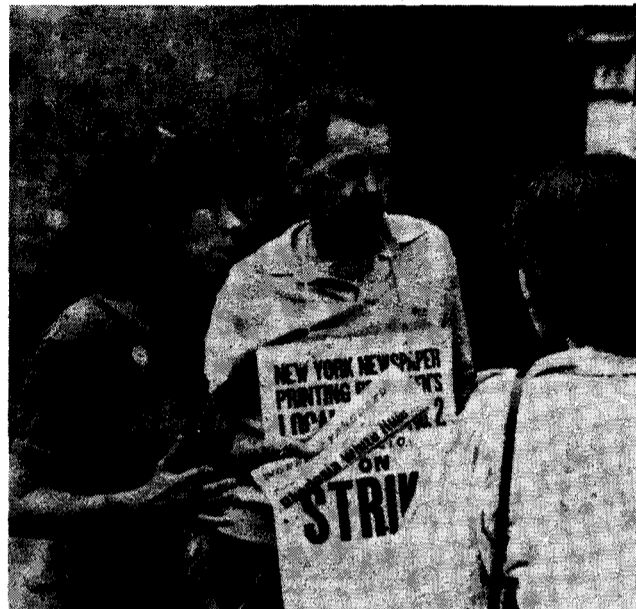
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Spartacist election campaign in New York: A bolshevik success

abridged from Workers Vanguard no219, 17 November 1978

Spartacist Party campaign committee press release

NEW YORK CITY, November 10 -- The Spartacist Party announces that its candidate for NY State Assembly in the 64th A.D. (Greenwich Village-Chelsea), MARJORIE STAMBERG, received 871 votes in Tuesday's election (with returns in from 94 of the 96 Election Districts), amounting to over 3.2 percent of the total vote cast for Assembly in the district. In several Election Districts on



Spartacist candidate Stamberg on NY printers' picket line.

the Lower East Side and in the West Village Stamberg tallied as much as 10 percent of the vote. This was a substantial showing for the revolutionary socialist candidate who ran against incumbent Liberal Democrat William Passannante.

Stamberg's vote was actually higher than two-thirds of the Liberal Party assembly candidates in NYC where they ran as a third party instead of simply endorsing the Democrats, and exceeded the totals of ten Republican candidates as well.... In the 64th A.D. the gubernatorial candidates of the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) received 457 and 459 votes respectively, or 1.6 percent of the total votes cast for governor in the district.

The Stamberg campaign received widespread press coverage in the Village Voice, Gaysweek, Soho Weekly News, Black American, Villager, Gay Community News, Columbia Spectator and Washington Square News. Attention focused on the fact that Stamberg's campaign FOR A SOCIALIST FIGHT TO SAVE NEW YORK posed revolutionary solutions as the only answer to the city's problems. Spartacist Party campaign literature called upon the "powerful NYC labor movement to lead a united struggle on behalf of all the oppressed. Break with the Democrats, dump the union bureaucrats who helped the banks loot the city, and build a mass workers party which would fight for a workers government." Village Voice columnist Joe Conason wrote that he was disappointed because Passannante had refused to debate Stamberg; he would have liked "to watch a liberal Democrat answer the accusations of a tough Trotskyist"....

When the Spartacist League undertook to run a bolshevik election campaign in New York in 1978, we were not expecting to get a lot of votes. The New Left/liberal heyday of the 1960s is long gone; even the Great Fiscal Crisis is already old news. So we took as the theme of our campaign nothing more "topical" than socialist revolution: "the sheer enormity of this city's problems leads inescapably to one conclusion: it will take a socialist revolution to save New York".

Though we always said the future will be decided not at the polls but on the battle lines of the class struggle, nevertheless we were frankly gratified to find we made a lot of sense to a lot of the voters of the 64th Assembly District.

In general, left candidates usually poll about one and a half percent or less. In this somewhat more radical district, which includes parts of Greenwich Village and Chelsea, the figures are often somewhat higher. In 1976 a [CP] Daily World staff writer, Amadeo Richardson, ran for the same office as Stamberg against the same Democratic incumbent, on an "independent" line with the active support of the CP and "community control" advocates of Spanish-speaking Chelsea. When he received 4.6 percent, it was noted as one of the best showings for any radical candidate anywhere in the US that year.

Stamberg's impressive showing was not merely part of a general protest vote. Thus in many

election districts Stamberg did well where the SWP/CP did not.

We ran an intensive campaign ... we revived the soap-box street corner rally, handed out thousands of pages of literature, pasted up posters on lamp posts and subway stations, gave interviews to local newspapers. From the first public act of the campaign -- supporting the striking pressmen on their picket lines -- we wanted the residents of the 64th Assembly District to know that here was a revolutionary socialist campaign going on.

We wanted to make people sit up and take notice. We wanted to show them that the program of socialist revolution bears no resemblance to rotten liberalism or to the reformism of the second-hand Democrats of the CP and SWP. In liberal Greenwich Village, we ran against all that liberals hold dear. Sometimes it must have seemed to them that we had a four-point program: for the dreaded Westway [a proposed new West Side expressway opposed by ecology faddists], against gun control, for the defence of the Soviet Union, down with Carter's "human rights" crusade. We attacked the liberals' most cherished illusions in the capitalist state, to which they look to "protect" black schoolchildren and "democratize" the unions. In the heart of the gay ghetto at Sheridan Square, we attacked not only the Democrats' assault on gays' democratic rights but also the dangerous illusions of "gay power".

Our biggest publicity "coup" was a sympathetic notice by Village Voice columnist Joe Conason (6 November). Explaining Stamberg was "campaigning simply to raise the consciousness of voters against the capitalist system", he presented excerpts from the Spartacist Party program:

"Her program puts forward little-mentioned solutions to the city's difficulties, some of which have a distinct appeal: expropriation of the banks, Con Edison, and New York Telephone (where Stamberg worked); restoration of free admission to the city university system; and the abolition of the Emergency Financial Control Board."

Of course, he singled out for criticism Stamberg's opposition to "petty-bourgeois" ecology faddism.

Our anti-electoralist bias nearly pushed us into some mistakes early on. As Stamberg said after the election: "For us it seemed right for everyone to go out and vote for the central com-

mittee of his choice". In the process we almost forgot to publicize our candidate. Finally we realized we had to strike a balance between our program and the candidate who carried it.

It is axiomatic in American bourgeois election campaigns that politicians lie. In fact, in common parlance the words "campaign promises" are understood to mean "cynical lie". And the reformists play the same game; they just lie about different things: that the bourgeois government can be "pressured" into fighting for working people, that whatever is popular is right.

Just how powerful the truth can be was demonstrated in a central campaign debate when the Spartacist League confronted the CP and SWP (see "Race War or Class War", [ASP no 59, November 1978]). While the SWP lied to cover for the black Democratic pork-barrelers in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, we told the truth about what happened -- that a protest which should have been mounted against killer-cop brutality marched instead on a synagogue.

During the campaign, we were struck by the depth of electoralist illusions among the American public. (In fact, many people take voting so seriously that they gave our candidate a hearing that we might not otherwise get.) It is a testament to American backwardness that so many workers are deceived by the electoral process, an exercise in illusion-mongering controlled by the ruling class (and junked when capitalist expediency requires). And we were disgusted by the extent to which the reformists add to these deadly illusions.

With strikingly similar programs and aims, the CP and SWP ran quite similar campaigns. During one televised roundtable of minor candidates, the moderator asked the CP's Jarvis Tyner and the SWP's Dianne Feeley "what the differences are between the SWP and the CP". There were no takers. Finally Tyner told the moderator that if he listened "carefully" he could "detect" a difference between the parties' programs, adding quickly that of course they shared "the same general approach". Evidently the SWP isn't too embarrassed by its overt kinship with a party it still formally characterizes as reformist. On another TV appearance, Feeley said the SWP liked "some [!] of Trotsky's ideas"!

Marjorie Stamberg did not win the election. But the Spartacist election campaign was a bolshevik victory for those who believe in Trotsky's ideas and fight for his program of international proletarian revolution. ■

Defend "Jobs for Youth" marchers!

On 22 November the uniformed thugs of NSW Labor premier and minister of police, Neville Wran, stopped a small "Jobs for Youth" march as it passed through the Sydney suburb of Punchbowl and arrested twelve (possibly all) of the participants, charging nine of them with "obstructing traffic". The sharpest protest must be registered by the trade-union movement, ALP branches and all supporters of democratic rights. The Spartacist League (SL) has contributed a donation to help defray legal costs for the defendants and urges our readers to do likewise. Drop the charges against the "Jobs for Youth" marchers!

The Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL), whose Young Socialists (YS) youth group organised the "Jobs for Youth" march, decried the arrests as "a major attack on basic democratic rights" (Workers News, 24 November) and an editorial in the same issue compared Wran's actions to the Queensland government's ban on political street marches. Indeed, if not so blatant as Bjelke-Petersen, Wran's violation of elementary democratic rights has been notorious. In the six months preceding the latest arrests, Wran's cops charged four separate marches by gay-rights activists, arresting a total of 178 people and bashing many of them.

But the Workers News editorial failed to mention any of these four "major attacks on basic democratic rights", or the ten demonstrators arrested at the Sydney Stock Exchange following the anti-Budget rally on 21 August. Because in every one of these cases the primary target of these now pious defenders of the right to march had been, not the cops, not the attacks on democratic rights, but the victims! Of the 24 June anti-gay cop rampage in Sydney, Workers News (29 June) lied that the police were provided a "first rate opportunity to set up this attack by the organisers of the demonstration". The courthouse protest two days later in which the cops wantonly shoved demonstrators over railings was a "punch-up" launched by the protesters bearing "the unmistakable stamp of adventurist publicity seeking". In other words if those who exercise their right to protest are attacked by cops, they must be

according to Healyite "dialectics", "provocateurs"!

Similarly these cynical practitioners of the Big Lie frequently prate about "the highly dubious Spartacist League League, which is noted (!) for its involvement in provocations" -- regardless of whether the SL was present at an event, much less in the leadership. Among our so-called "provocations" the SLL includes our call for the LaTrobe Valley power workers to set up picket lines as a necessary component of shutting down the power stations and winning their 1977 strike. The SLL's alternative to such "provocative" class-struggle methods is a six-day trek by a handful of teenagers duped into believing that by wearing out the soles of their shoes through the Western Suburbs, they were somehow contributing to the struggle to "Kick the Liberals out" and to win "Jobs for Youth Now". And then, in an act of infantile bravado, the cynical SLL confidence men (by Workers News's own account) twice refused the cops' demands to move onto the footpath -- the "protest politics" of pointlessly courting arrest by defying the cops with a dozen ill-organised youth. To take them at their word, the SLL to be consistent should expel its leaders, who have been exposed as authors of what by their lights must be labelled a "provocation".

But for the SLL's depraved leaders, honesty and revolutionary integrity are alien qualities. Thus when telephoned by an SL supporter to inquire about united-front defence efforts, SLL gauleiter Jim Mulgrew regurgitated the usual slanderous filth: we were Zionists, "not an organisation of the left", and "infiltrated by police and the CIA" ... only to ask supposed cops, Zionists and CIA agents to "give finance" toward the campaign. Nor is it surprising that he flippantly repudiated the Leninist position on the united front -- march separately, strike together -- expressing the SLL's bizarre sectarianism as: "Our slogan is march separately, strike separately!" Despite the extreme political degeneracy of this distasteful sect, we unconditionally defend the SLL from the bourgeois state. Mulgrew's ilk must be politically purged from the labour movement from within.

We reprint below from Workers Vanguard no 218, 3 November, a chapter from the recently published memoirs of Mexican Communist Party leader Valentin Campa, Mi testimonio: memorias de un comunista mexicano (Mexico, 1968), and the accompanying commentary. The translation is by Workers Vanguard from the French version published in L'Humanite of 26 and 27 July 1978.

by Valentin Campa

We intensified the struggle against Trotsky, which immediately placed the Communist Party in opposition to President Cardenas (1). The CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), led by Lombardo Toledano (2), struggled vigorously against Trotsky, without going to the point of breaking with President Cardenas. Things being as they were, we unceasingly denounced Trotsky's betrayals. It was only later that we realized the harassment directed against him, which drove him in desperation to reprehensible excesses. At the end of 1936 the Dies Committee was created in the House of Representatives in Washington. It was named for the congressman who chaired it, who proved to be the McCarthy of that period -- a vicious anti-Communist who propagated the worst calumnies against the Communists and the Soviet Union. Along with the well-known aviator Charles Lindbergh and numerous other American reactionaries, he organized an intense propaganda campaign in favor of United States participation in World War II on the side of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese Empire against the Soviet Union. This Dies Committee organized a whole series of public hearings and invited Trotsky and Diego Rivera to appear before the House of Representatives in Washington.

A leader of Trotsky's Fourth International, Diego Rivera (3) participated in this arch-reactionary, anti-Communist campaign of the Dies Committee, clearly playing into the fascists' hands and obviously serving the interests of imperialism. Trotsky was also personally invited to appear before the Dies Committee, but, being more intelligent, refused to do so. On the other hand, he lent his cooperation through his statements, writings and other means. The neo-Trotskyites denied that Trotsky had collaborated with the Dies Committee, but there is the testimony of Trotsky himself to confirm it; he stated that he had accepted the invitation "in order to help the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism and to turn them away from it" (Cardenas y la izquierda mexicana, Mexico: Juan Pablos Editorial). Trotsky's explanation is even more far-fetched given that the fascist character of the Dies Committee was quite well known.

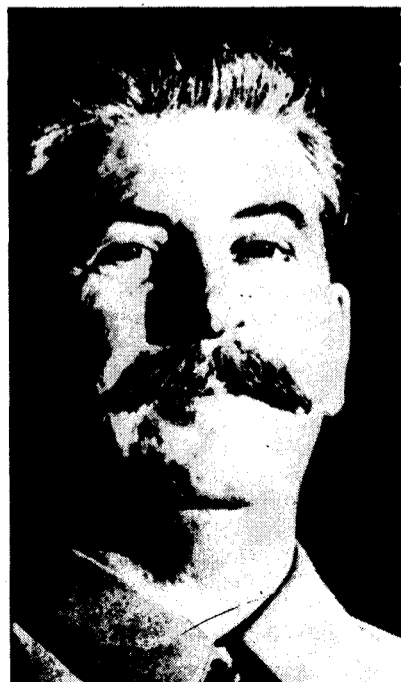
In his capacity as a leader of the Fourth International, Diego Rivera amply cooperated with all the Dies Committee's activity against the USSR, against the Mexican Communist Party and most especially against Comrade Hernan Laborde.

A ruinous directive

In the course of the campaign against Trotsky, a meeting called by the Communist Party took place at the Arena Mexico on Friday, 26 September 1938. Speakers included Carlos Rivera, a Colombian leader; Margarita Nelken, a Communist deputy from Republican Spain; Jacques Gresa, a French Communist deputy; and Hernan Laborde, secretary-general of the Mexican Communist Party.

At this meeting where the international situation was analyzed (we were on the eve of the Second World War), Trotsky was politically unmasked, exposed by his reactionary excesses which played into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini against the Soviet Union.

Around that time, Comrade Laborde sent for Rafael Carrillo and me, both members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, to discuss with us an extremely delicate confidential question. It concerned a matter which had been communicated to him by a comrade who introduced him-



Stalin the assassin

"He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull."
- Trotsky

self as an accredited delegate of the Communist Third International. The latter had announced the decision to eliminate Trotsky, and requested his personal cooperation as secretary-general of the Party, as well as a squad adequate to ensure this elimination. Comrade Laborde replied that this involved an extremely delicate question, that the Communist Party considered Trotsky to be a defeated political figure, and that he needed several days to resolve this. The envoy of the Third International emphasized to him that no one should hear anything about this whole business, that it was strictly confidential.

Laborde decided nevertheless to consider the matter with the two of us. We were all in complete agreement that this was an extremely serious and strictly secret matter. We examined it very calmly and carefully. After the rigorous analysis which the question deserved, we concluded, as we had already done on several occasions, that Trotsky had been politically defeated, that his influence was practically nil, and that moreover we had already made this point sufficiently throughout the world. On the other hand, his elimination would result in great harm to the Mexican Communist Party, to the revolutionary movement in Mexico and in the Soviet Union, and to the international Communist movement as a whole. We thus concluded that to propose the elimination of Trotsky was a grave error. Once this viewpoint was agreed upon, Laborde informed the delegate of the Third International about it. The latter threatened him, telling him he would pay the consequences for his attitude, and that a breach of discipline with respect to the Third International carried a high price. Laborde told him that we were acting according to our principles, and that we considered the idea of eliminating Trotsky to be inadmissible.

In the face of the threats against Laborde on the part of this delegate of the Third International, we considered the problem in the Secretariat, and decided to go to New York to discuss with Earl Browder (4), a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International. At the first opportunity we left by car for New York. All three of us spoke with Browder, laying out to him the whole problem in detail.

Without reflecting at length, he stated categorically that he agreed with us; he decided we were right, asked us immediately not to see the delegate again and told us he would go to Moscow and explain things.

The intrigue is orchestrated

Several weeks later, some rather suspicious comings and goings occurred. Vittorio Codovilla (5), an Argentine, arrived in Mexico; then Martinez, a Venezuelan, and other comrades sent by the Third International, supposedly to cooperate with the Mexican Communist Party which was in a critical situation. What followed was the direct intervention of these delegates in all the business of the PCM. They began to place Laborde and me in the defendant's box; according to them, we had been following a sectarian and opportunist line. This opportunism took the form of the policy of "unity at any price"; it was in fact opportunist, but they pretended they had known nothing about it and that they did not know that it had been imposed on us in June 1937 by the Communist International, despite our reservations. This was even more grotesque since although our orientation had been decided in Mexico at the suggestion of and under the discipline of the International, and on Browder's direct intervention, we were now accused of being opportunists for having carried it out! It was thus that a highly dishonest activity based on intrigues was then carried out against Laborde and myself in particular. Laborde was suspended from his post as secretary-general; I was suspended from the Political Bureau. A so-called committee to purge the Party leadership was set up under the direction of Andres Garcia Salgado, who some years later became a pro-government trade unionist.

In this atmosphere, I continued trying to attend meetings of the leadership. I edited reports and explained with supporting statistics and arguments how General Cardenas had made a turn to the right in 1939. I quoted the Bureau of Agricultural Smallholdings, which permitted the curbing of the land redistribution. The statistics confirmed the sharp decrease in land redistribution proceedings in 1939 and 1940. Cardenas had signed the unconstitutional decree forbidding bank employees from unionizing; this clearly tended to restrain mass struggle in the country and was aimed particularly at preventing workers' strikes.

I demonstrated with supporting facts and

We do not forgive or forget!

HOW THE STALINISTS PLANNED TROTSKY'S MURDER

figures that a bureaucratic neo-bourgeoisie was being created within the Cardenas government, with far greater resources than those available to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the supporters of Calles (6). This bureaucratic bourgeoisie included Maximino Avila Camacho, Damaso Cardenas, the president's brother, and the ex-"callistas" who went over to "cardenismo": Abelardo Rodriguez, Aaron Saenz and others. This bourgeoisie predominated within the government, and decided on the course of supporting Manuel Avila Camacho for the presidency of the Republic, whereas the normal process in Mexico would have made General Mujica the democratic candi-



Stalin did it!

Trotsky denounces May 25 machine gun attack on him. A week after the attempt he wrote: "The interrogation ... of Siqueiros, would help very much to shed light on everything concerning the attempt on my life.... And who could have given them the order? Obviously, the master of the Kremlin: Joseph Stalin".

date, albeit with the serious handicap of having supported Trotsky's right to asylum in Mexico.

Codovilla became interested in my expose and asked me to draw up a document on the economic, political and social processes of the last year of the Cardenas government. I prepared this material. In this connection, however, an incident occurred; in complete good faith, I had always held that the category of Marxism-Leninism ought not to be extended to Stalin, but it was already customary internationally to speak of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. I refused to do this, while at the same time expressing my admiration for Stalin and for the value of his work, adding that I opposed elevating him to the level of Marx and Lenin because in the last analysis he was still alive and this estimation could only be made with a definitive balance-sheet of the work of those who were dead. I thus wrote my report using the expression "Marxism-Leninism" with regard to an unrelated subject; but the comrade who transcribed it added "Stalinism". When I protested, she replied that everyone said "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism". "Everyone, perhaps, but not me", I told her, and I crossed out "Stalinism". The crossed-out original was to be presented as proof that I was a Trotskyite.

Impressed, he said, by my contribution on the turn of the Cardenas government, Codovilla had a private conversation with me. Speaking of the crisis of the Mexican Communist Party, he gave me to understand, in no uncertain terms, that I was slated to become secretary-general in place of Laborde. I refused; I told him that he and



others knew of my differences of opinion with Laborde, which were of a secondary and tactical nature, and that I would not lend myself to these under-handed maneuvers; that I was thinking of returning to my job as a railwayman; that that was my position consistent with the rules of revolutionary honesty to which I adhered. Codovilla became angry, and from then on he adopted the formula: "the sectarian opportunists Laborde and Campa".

"Stalin is a cuckold"

Thus we come to the Extraordinary Congress at which we were expelled. I made an appearance and denied the charges against me. Laborde did not come, because to him it was obviously a farce. He was already convinced that Stalin had participated fully in the problem of eliminating Trotsky and in using the Communist International against us for the position we had taken. He had always held a high opinion of Stalin, but at this point he rectified it, as the matter was extremely serious. Angered by the maneuvers, he reached the point of saying "*Stalin es un cabron*" (Stalin is a cuckold).

We set out to examine the situation we had been put into. After our expulsion, we were chased after by the international [press] agencies, especially the Americans. They wanted a statement from us on Trotsky, since he had written an article saying that our expulsion was in connection with Stalin's intentions to eliminate him. Trotsky wrote: "What has happened, most likely, is that the GPU has encountered a certain opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party ... and whoever opposes an attempt on Trotsky's life is obviously a Trotskyite" ("The Communists and the Cardenas Regime", quoted by Lyle C Brown, in the *University of Mexico Review*, 8 May 1971).

Certain comrades have wondered if, in this phase of intensifying crisis in the PCM, it would not have been preferable to go to the heart of the problem in order to avert this crisis. In 1940 we didn't even envisage this possibility. The general tendency within the international Communist movement was that of unconditional



Ramon Mercader.

obedience to the Third International led by the CPSU. To reveal disagreements meant exclusion from the Communist movement and consequently being turned into bogeymen ["satanization"].

To build a movement against arbitrary dogmatism, we would have had to begin by explaining the truth about the asphyxiating pressure of the policy of "unity at any price" [with Cardenas] and the brutal interference demanding that we eliminate Trotsky; Laborde and I refused to do this, since the Second World War had just broken out (August 1939).

Laborde and I decided then not to fall into the errors committed by Trotsky when he found himself harassed by Stalin. The Trotsky affair would be used internationally against the Soviet Union and the Mexican Communist Party. Our situation was very difficult, but we had to remain discreet. We were particularly indignant to see Rafael Carrillo act as a perfect scoundrel towards us, covering us with slander, when he knew the whole truth of the matter. Some time later, moreover, this same Rafael Carrillo boasted of being a renegade from Communism.

Not yet expelled from the PCM, Laborde and I were informed that David Alfaro Siqueiros was in

the process of organizing a squad of comrades to storm Trotsky's house and that it was being done very sloppily. The Dominican weekly *Ahora* later published an interview with Siqueiros titled: "Siqueiros Recounts the Attack Against Trotsky". He states: "Stalin was worried that Trotsky, during his exile in Mexico, could become the center of another chauvinist movement which would attempt to replace him in Soviet power. Therefore he ordered a high functionary of the NKVD, Leonid Eitingon, to organize the physical elimination of Trotsky, and granted him unlimited resources to carry this out. But the leader of the Mexican Communist Party, Laborde, opposed this act of violence and in fact refused to assist with it. Finally Laborde and his collaborators were expelled and the Party remained under our control" (*Cardenas y la izquierda mexicana*).

In a very off-hand manner Siqueiros relates the facts concerning what was a political crisis for our Party and for the international Communist movement.

The attempt of Siqueiros and his group to take Trotsky's house by storm having failed, a third alternative was put into action. On the evening of 20 August 1940, Ramon Mercader, who went under the pseudonym of Jacques Mornard, assassinated Trotsky.

As Laborde and I had anticipated, and as we had told Browder in New York, the elimination of Trotsky unleashed a large-scale campaign against the Mexican Communist Party, the international Communist movement and the Soviet Union.

The demands of autonomy and independence

Our Party recognizes the precious aid it has received from the Communist International and the important role which the Soviet Union plays in fighting the tendency of Yankee imperialism to unleash a Third World War which would be catastrophic for all of humanity. Very conscious of all of this, Mexican Communists -- faced with the imbroglio caused by the interference of foreign comrades, above all in the course of a process crowned by the erroneous policy of "unity at any price" and then by the elimination of Trotsky -- forcefully maintain, along with their internationalism, an insistence on the autonomy and independence of their Party.

Comrades of other countries, unaware of these serious facts, do not understand our unchangeable position with respect to the independence and autonomy of parties within the framework of proletarian internationalism.

For decades Laborde and I firmly resisted the lies and slanders hurled at us by people like Rafael Carrillo and others. We could not defend ourselves without creating a very tense political situation in the context of the Second World War then taking place. To defend ourselves would have caused grave injury to the international

Continued on page eight

Workers Vanguard commentary

Ramon Mercader sought to take his secrets to the grave. But not all his accomplices were so tight-lipped and over the years a mass of evidence has accumulated showing how the Kremlin plotted the murder of Leon Trotsky. Much of this has come from the statements of defecting Stalinist intelligence agents and second-hand sources -- which in no way reduces their value as proof, for the accounts are remarkably consistent. But now we have the testimony of a leading public political figure, Valentin Campa's *Memoirs of a Mexican Communist*, detailing the assassination conspiracy. *Workers Vanguard* now presents this revealing document for the first time to the English-language public.

Who is Valentin Campa? In 1939 he was a member of the secretariat of the central committee of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), then led by Hernan Laborde. Both Campa and Laborde were violent Trotsky-baiters, but in December of that year the two were expelled from their leadership positions (and subsequently from the party itself) as "Trotskyites". Yet -- strange circumstance -- the specifics of their sin were never publicly spelled out. The PCM body which heard the report of the special purge commission (appointed by whom?) was not the party congress of even the CC, but a hand-picked committee meeting in secret session. What was this crime too sensitive to tell even the party membership? Now, 39 years later, Campa has decided that the "opportune moment" has arrived to tell all ... or almost all.

We should begin by noting the signal merit of Campa's disclosures. Once and for all it does away with the Stalinist slander that Trotsky was killed by "one of his own". The 25 May 1940 machine-gun assault on Trotsky's residence in the Mexico City suburb of Coyoacan was originally portrayed by the GPU-controlled press as an "*autogolpe*" ("self-assault"), even though it was

soon established that the famous Stalinist painter David A Siqueiros led the gunmen. Then the PCM tried to float the ludicrous claim that Siqueiros was actually a former Trotskyist, even though he was quoted as a party luminary in the Communist press up until a few weeks before the attack. And when, three months later, Mercader carried out Stalin's grisly order he tried to pass himself off as a disillusioned follower of the Fourth International. The Campa memoirs (together with the Siqueiros interview, cited in the above text) demolish this lie.

Campa confirms that the orders to "eliminate" Trotsky came directly from Moscow, and reveals that the Communist Party leadership even sat around *debating* the assassination. His account of how he and Laborde were summarily removed as PCM leaders is a graphic demonstration of the cynical *modus operandi* of the Stalinized Comintern. And it verifies in every respect Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the "Laborde affair":

"Today it is absolutely self-evident that the overturn in the [Mexican] Communist Party was intimately connected with the order for the attempt [on Trotsky's life] issued in Moscow. What happened most probably is that the GPU encountered some opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party who had become accustomed to a peaceful existence and might have feared very unpleasant political and police consequences from the attempt. Perhaps this is the source of the charge of 'Trotskyism' against them. Whoever objects to an attempt against Trotsky is, obviously, a -- Trotskyist." ("The Comintern and the GPU", 17 August 1940)

The question of the Dies Committee [House Un-American Activities Committee] (HUAC) plays what at first glance seems a disproportionate

Continued on page eight

Assassination...

Continued from page seven

Communist movement and to the Mexican Communist Party in particular.

Laborde and I spoke of the need to let the truth be known. New generations of Communists and other revolutionaries need to know it in order to understand these experiences and act in a more consistent and effective manner in the struggles of our country.

Since I left prison in 1970, I have insisted along with the leadership of the Communist Party on the need to clearly lay out these historical truths. We have been in agreement on this, while considering that it was necessary to await an opportune moment to do it.

Laborde is dead and I am carrying out my duty in recounting this drama, convinced that I am thus contributing to the steeling and steadfastness of Communists in my homeland and in other countries.

Footnotes

(1) General Lazaro Cardenas was president of Mexico between 1934 and 1940. A bourgeois nationalist, he carried out a substantial agrarian reform and nationalized railroads and oil. In view of the general's popularity among the masses, the Communist Party's initial policy was "unity at any cost" with the government. However, due to the PCM's total submission to the Kremlin, Cardenas' granting of asylum to Trotsky in 1937 made this "unity" henceforth rather less than total.

(2) Vicente Lombardo Toledano was a prominent fellow-traveling union leader, whose "independent" labor federation and "Popular Socialist Party" were tolerated by the government as an escape valve to let off discontent. They also served as a link between the tiny, isolated PCM and a sector of the working class. Toledano had close ties to Moscow and was virulent in his calls for the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico.

(3) The famous Mexican muralist Diego Rivera was instrumental in obtaining asylum for Trotsky from the Cardenas regime. He was active in the Fourth International until early 1939 when he broke with the Trotskyist movement after a series of personal disputes. He later rejoined the PCM.

(4) Browder, then head of the CPUSA, rode herd on the CPs of the Caribbean basin for the Kremlin. No major shift in PCM policy was decided without consultation with New York, and when Browder was dumped in 1944 on charges of "liquidationism" it led to leadership shakeups in the Latin American satellite parties.

(5) Codovilla, long-time head of the Argentine CP, played a sinister role in the Spanish Civil War as watchdog over and actual operational leader of the Spanish CP. Although officially only Comintern delegate, together with the GPU he engineered the kidnapping and assassination of Andres Nin and the bloody suppression of the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

(6) Plutarco Elias Calles was president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928 and remained the strongman behind the succeeding three puppet presidents. ■

WV commentary...

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role in Campa's account. Part of the standard Stalinist slander lexicon is the charge that the leader of the Fourth International revealed his ties to reaction by agreeing to testify before this witchhunting committee, and Campa uses this to justify his continued hostility to Trotskyism. What he doesn't say is that this canard was the propaganda theme used by the GPU to prepare the climate for Trotsky's assassination: Campa wants to wash his hands of the blood while still supporting the "justification" for the crime, hoping thereby to excuse his own complicity.

But why the Dies Committee? Because up until that time, and notably in the Moscow Trials, Trotsky was consistently portrayed by the Kremlin as being an agent of the Third Reich. However, with preparations for the Hitler-Stalin pact underway already since mid-1938 ("What Lies Behind Stalin Bid for Agreement with Hitler?" was the title of an article by Trotsky in March 1939), this fabrication fell apart and had to be replaced with a new invention. The Dies Com-

mittee story was offered as "proof" that Trotsky had switched over to Wall Street.

And an invention it certainly was. Trotsky agreed to the committee's request for testimony on the history of Stalinism in response to charges against him by American CP leaders who appeared before it. ("Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster", said the committee telegram, offering Trotsky the "opportunity to answer their



Mexican Stalinist painter David Alfaro Siqueiros (left): organised the first attempt on Trotsky's life.

charges"). Moreover, Trotsky never did testify before the committee, which withdrew its request, possibly because of his insistence on open sessions. In contrast, the CPUSA leaders appeared voluntarily before the Dies Committee (they were not subpoenaed), tendering over 350 pages of testimony. Diego Rivera, incidentally, had left the Fourth International by the time he testified before the committee.

What Campa fundamentally leaves out is why Stalin wanted -- in fact, urgently required -- Trotsky's murder. While Campa and his type (Eurocommunists, Krushchevites) portray the plot as the work of a madman, and a certain genre of pseudo-Trotskyists (the followers of Gerry Healy) "explain" it in terms more appropriate to a paranoid police detective, Trotsky all along offered a trenchant political analysis of what moved the Stalinist regime to such criminal acts. When Stalin exiled Trotsky from the USSR in 1929, he thought that without an apparatus Lenin's former comrade-in-arms would simply disappear into obscurity. However, wrote Trotsky in a January 1932 letter to the Politburo of the CPSU (accusing the Kremlin of complicity in attempts on his life), "Contrary to expectations it turned out that ideas have a power of their own It is Stalin's conception that the mistake needs rectification". And he adds, in a postscript at the time of the first Moscow Trial: "To be sure, not by any ideological measures: Stalin conducts a struggle on a totally different plane. He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull" (original emphasis).

Though Stalin was the very opposite of a theoretician, his experience in the Bolshevik movement had taught him that the question of leadership was central. And ever since Hitler's accession to power (fundamentally due to the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders' refusal to unite in struggle against the fascist menace), he understood instinctively that a new European war was being prepared and the Soviet Union was its principal target. He knew also that war would bring about revolutionary conditions, and this would threaten his bonapartist position which was based on accommodating imperialism (and hence drowning revolution, as in Spain). Trotsky wrote following the Siqueiros raid on his house:

"The Moscow trials of 1936-37 were staged in order to obtain my deportation from Norway, i.e., actually to hand me over into the hands of the GPU. But this did not succeed. I am informed that Stalin has several times admitted that my exile abroad was a 'major mistake.' No other way remained of rectifying the mistake except through a terrorist act.... "In the capacity of a former revolutionist Stalin remembers that the Third International was incomparably weaker at the beginning of the last war than the Fourth International is today. The course of the war may provide a mighty impulsion to the development of the Fourth International, also within the USSR itself. That is why Stalin could not have failed to issue orders to his agents -- to finish me as quickly as possible.

"The accidental failure of the [Siqueiros] assault, so carefully and so ably prepared, is a serious blow to Stalin. The GPU must rehabilitate itself with Stalin. Stalin must

demonstrate his power. A repetition of the attempt is inevitable." ("Stalin Seeks My Death", 8 June 1940)

The "jackal of the Kremlin" was not alone in perceiving the danger represented by the tiny forces of the Fourth International. The French ambassador to Germany, M Coullondre, had a dramatic interview with Hitler in August 1939, just before the break of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in which he remarked: "If I really think that we will be victorious, I also have the fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor: Mr. Trotsky". But while the imperialist "democracies" feared Trotsky and refused to grant him asylum, Stalin had a special need to "liquidate" any potential revolutionary leadership. Trotsky wrote three days before his death:

"... there has developed on the foundation of the October Revolution a new privileged caste This caste finds itself in a profoundly contradictory position. In words it comes forward in the name of communism; in deeds it fights for its own unlimited power and colossal material privileges. Surrounded by the mistrust and hatred of the deceived masses, the new aristocracy cannot afford the tiniest breach in its system....

"Stalin's absolutism does not rest on the traditional authority of 'divine grace,' nor on 'sacred' and 'inviolable' private property, but on the idea of communist equality. This deprives the oligarchy of a possibility of justifying its dictatorship with any kind of rational and persuasive arguments.... The ruling caste is compelled systematically to lie, to paint itself up, don a mask, and ascribe to critics and opponents motives diametrically opposite to those impelling them...." ("The Comintern and the GPU")

Writing three years earlier about the Moscow Trial of the Old Bolsheviks, Max Shachtman, then a leader of the American Trotskyist movement, vividly explained the political meaning of Stalin's terror:

"The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky -- that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred. That is just it: Stalin has dug the grave of the Third International, its founders, its traditions, and literally filled it with corpses. In their place, he erected an institution which resembles the dead one only in name. In fact, it is a border police patrol of the Soviet bureaucracy and the police guardian of law and order throughout the bourgeois world." (*Behind the Moscow Trial: The Greatest Frame-Up in History* [1936])

★ ★ ★

Naturally, Campa portrays himself as innocent -- wasn't he chucked out of the PCM for opposing the assassination? Of course, they all were, just like Khrushchev was too busy building the Moscow subway to notice the Moscow Trials and the shootings of tens of thousands of long-time party militants and leaders! But Campa doesn't have the luxury of using the standard argument: I didn't know. Campa knew. Furthermore he systematically helped prepare the terrain with the Mexican Stalinists' foam-flecked anti-Trotsky propaganda war. Even after he was expelled for "Trotskyism" he remained silent -- to prove his servile loyalty to the Kremlin -- when his revelations could have blown apart the whole conspiracy. In fact, he even knew in advance of the Siqueiros raid, and said nothing. And he kept his mouth shut for another 39 years afterward. *This man is an accomplice to murder*, and he should be thankful for bourgeois legality, for if the proletariat held sway he would certainly be called to account for his crime.

Why is he talking at all? Campa's memoirs were carefully considered as a political act and published with the agreement of the PCM leadership. Now the Mexican Communist Party is part of the current loosely known as Eurocommunism, and in recent years has been going out of its way to prove to the bourgeoisie its democratic credentials. Given its own history, this requires a certain settling of accounts over the Trotsky assassination. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Campa's complaint is not that such an assassination was an abomination (in fact, he and Laborde calmly and carefully analyzed the proposal and concluded ... it was unnecessary); rather he criticizes the damage caused by "the interference of foreign comrades" and promises that the PCM will maintain its "autonomy and independence". It is not to the international workers movement that Campa is appealing here but to the Mexican bourgeoisie, which is nat-

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Revolutionary literature

From revolutionary social democrat to communist Lenin and the vanguard party

"One of the great achievements of the Bolsheviks was to recognise that a political split in the working class is the precondition for proletarian revolution." (James Robertson, Spartacist League/US Central Committee, February 1973)

Explicit reformists and social democrats, openly antagonistic to the October Revolution,

REVIEW:

Lenin and the Vanguard Party Spartacist pamphlet

have long attacked the Leninist conception of the party, arguing that "Leninism leads to Stalinism", a premise they hold in common with the Stalinists. But the decisive significance of the Leninist vanguard party in the successful seizure of power by the Russian proletariat and the enormous historical authority of the leaders of that revolution compel numerous others, no less anti-Leninist, to deny its programmatic foundations while claiming its authority through insidious attempts to "reinterpret" Leninism. Thus the centrist unity-mongers of the International Marxist Group (IMG) have in recent years attempted to make of Lenin a partisan of "unity at any price" and Tony Cliff, guru of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP -- associated with the Australian International Socialists [IS]), portrays Lenin in Cliff's own image as a nationally limited, workerist eclectic in the first two volumes of a projected three-volume biography entitled *Lenin*.

Particularly timely, therefore, is a new 112-page pamphlet issued by the Spartacist League/US (SL/US) entitled *Lenin and the Vanguard Party*, originally published as a series in the SL/US paper, *Workers Vanguard*. This excellently written, probing analysis of the development of Lenin's position on the crucial organisation question covers the period from the *Iskra* tendency, founded in 1900 to combat Russian revisionism, to 1917 and the principles of the future Communist International. As against both Stalinist worshippers of infallibility and those revisionists (like the IMG and SWP) who seek to counterpose the early period of Bolshevism to its evolved principles as codified by the Comintern and continued by Trotsky's Fourth International, the pamphlet demonstrates conclusively that:

"In practice in Russia, Lenin strove to create a disciplined, programmatically homogeneous revolutionary vanguard. Until World War I, however, he did not break in principle with the Kautskyan doctrine of the 'party of the whole class.' The resolution of that dialectical contradiction was one of the important elements creating Leninism as a world-historic doctrine, as the Marxism of our epoch."

Lenin: split with opportunism

Following the original 1903 split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, Lenin was the object of sharp polemics by Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg for his insistence on a strictly de-

finied, centralised Russian party as against the Menshevik conception of a looser, all-inclusive grouping. Trotsky, of course, ultimately came over to Lenin, but Luxemburg's failure to recognise early on the necessity for a split in the German party proved tragically fatal. The Mandelstam IMG and its French co-thinkers have of late taken to praising Luxemburg's position (as did Cliff for years, before "hard" Leninism became fashionable among radical youth in the late 1960s), in order to echo the pernicious thesis that Lenin's democratic-centralism was valid for absolutist Russia but not for advanced capitalist, bourgeois-democratic countries. But Luxemburg's opposition to centralism in Russia was predicated precisely on the under-development of its proletarian movement, the pamphlet points out. In the advanced German party, where the revisionist right was formally a minority, she was a centraliser and a disciplinarian.

The IMG seizes on Lenin's tactics during the 1906-09 period of Bolshevik-Menshevik coexistence in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) to lend Lenin's authority to its quest

Klinger, Eberleine, Lenin and Platten at the first congress of the Third International in 1919.



for swamp-like unity with anything that moves on the British "far left" (for an extended treatment of the IMG's revisionism, see "IMG Turns Lenin into a Menshevik", *Workers Vanguard* no 164, 1 July 1977). Lenin indeed declared as late as 1909:

"A party [in contrast to a faction] can contain a whole gamut of opinions and shades of opinion, the extremes of which may be sharply contradictory. In the German Party, side by side with the pronouncedly revolutionary wing of Kautsky, we see the ultra-revisionist wing of Bernstein."

In fact the Bolshevik faction had been operating as a de facto centralised party, even when in formal unity with the Mensheviks, and far from being forced into the 1903 split as the IMG blithely claims, Lenin aggressively pursued and provoked it. But he still accepted the prevailing view that opportunist tendencies were survivals of pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois democracy, carried by intellectuals, which would inevitably succumb to revolutionary Marxism with the growth and maturation of the proletariat. It was the shocking vote of the German Social Democrats for war credits on 4 August 1914 and the collapse of the Second International that impelled him to generalise the Bolsheviks' experience of struggle against Menshevism, and he came out for split with the opportunist social-chauvinists on an international scale:

"The old theory that opportunism is

a 'legitimate shade' in a single party that knows no 'extremes' has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers..." ("The Collapse of the Second International", May-June 1915)

This transformation -- integrally linked with Lenin's analysis of the imperialist epoch of capitalism -- recognised opportunist revisionism as the necessary product of developed capitalism. The revolutionary unity of the working class behind an intransigent Marxist party necessitated the political destruction of this treacherous layer within the workers movement based upon the labour aristocracy.

Menshevik program, menshevik party

Lenin and the Vanguard Party also explodes the myth pushed by Cliff that Lenin repudiated *What Is To Be Done?*, his 1902 polemic against the Economist tailists, when he fought against the conservative Bolshevik "committeemen" to transform the Bolsheviks into a mass party in the 1905 Revolution. It was only because of the previous struggle to build a hard cadre organisation on

the principles of *What Is To Be Done?* that the Bolsheviks were able to transform themselves into a mass party, without ceasing to be Bolsheviks.

That Cliff attacks the Lenin of 1902 for "overemphasiz[ing] the difference between spontaneity and consciousness" is perfectly explicable given the SWP/IS's crude mimicking of the Economists, exemplified by the insulting and patronising "worker talk" of the *Battler* (one headline blared, "Stuff partial indexation -- we want the lot!"). They adapt their program to the prevailing moods and consciousness of the working class, simultaneously appealing to petty-bourgeois class guilt in the left milieu with their ocker-style glorification of the stereotyped "rank-and-file militant". What need has the IS for a hard cadre organisation? None, as IS leader Tom O'Lincoln clownishly confirms in his pathetic review of his mentor's book:

"IS members should find it sadly amusing that the Bolshevik Central Committee was as disorganised as our own leadership bodies. The CC again and again made decisions which they immediately forgot about." (*Front Line*, October 1976)

This attempt at comparison is certainly amusing enough, but sadly the occasional serious young militant gets recruited to these tongue-in-cheek pimps for the labour bureaucracy.

It is true that Lenin's 1902 polemic was not the definitive Leninist statement on the party

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Lenin and Martov (sitting, right) in 1895 with members of the St Petersburg League of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, an early Russian Marxist propaganda group.

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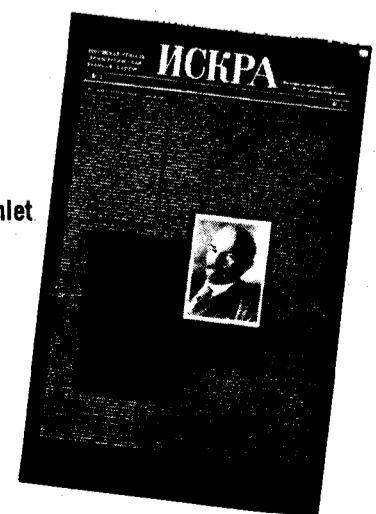
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Iran ...

Continued from page three

over all civil legislation. How much clearer would the LCR like him to be? When one of our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France intervened to attack the LCR's gross capitulation and to uphold the banner of Permanent Revolution, Rovere lectured him on the need to break with "old schemas".

The British International Marxist Group (IMG) has attempted to justify the USec's scandalous line by comparing Khomeini to Father Gapon, the Russian Orthodox priest who figured in the 1905 Revolution. But the movement which Gapon -- who unlike Khomeini was an isolated individual in no way representative of the clerical establishment -- fleetingly headed demanded a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, an eight-hour day and the amelioration of working conditions. Gapon himself stood for the separation of church and state. The mullahs, to be sure, do play upon popular hatred for real crimes of the shah, but their mobilisations are for the Koran, not for a Constituent Assembly!

That those who claim adherence to the program of the Russian Revolution today can assist in binding the Iranian proletariat to the mullahs demonstrates the chasm separating the USec from genuine Leninism-Trotskyism. The potential expressed by the entry of the Iranian proletariat into the political arena, to break through the showdown between the shah and the clergy and open the road to a workers and peasants government, demands for its fulfilment the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership in Iran. Only thus will the Iranian proletariat, the most powerful in the region, exercise its capacity to smash the shah's reign of terror and lift Iran from the centuries-long legacy of backwardness, poverty and obscurantism. ■

(adapted from Workers Vanguard no 219, 17 November 1978)

Lenin ...

Continued from page nine

question. But if Cliff finds it too Leninist for his liking, it is because his hostility to Bolshevism is so strong that he must reject Lenin even when the latter was still a revolutionary *social democrat*. As *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* comments of the Cliffites:

"This group had its 4th of August long ago, when in 1950, under the pressure of intensely anti-Communist public opinion, it refused to defend North Korea against US imperialism and broke with the Trotskyist movement over this question. And yet this utterly shameless CIA 'socialist' now presumes to lecture on what Lenin really meant to say in *What Is To Be Done?*"

In defence of democratic centralism

These are the main, but by no means the only, issues taken up by this absorbing pamphlet rich with historical material. The relation of organisational methods to program is explored in depth over the question of "freedom of criticism". An illuminating polemic (from which the above quote by Comrade Robertson is excerpted) against workerist currents who want to go back to the organisational norms of the RSDLP of 1907 -- characteristic of a whole series of left splits from the United Secretariat in the early 1970s -- to open up the internal disputes of the vanguard to the pressures of backward layers, illustrates why such "open", "democratic" measures are in fact essential features of social democracy. As Zinoviev observed, Leninism as such did not exist before 4 August 1914.

A discussion of the struggle against the Bolshevik ultralefts of 1907-1909 -- the "Ultimatists" and "Otzovists" -- throws light on the tactical questions raised by the triumph of tsarist reaction and the centralist character of

the Bolshevik "faction". Another section of the pamphlet discusses the relation between the dialectical method and political program, looking at Lenin's defence of dialectical materialism against the Kantian idealism developed by the ultraleft Bogdanov in that period, and debunks the idealist mystification of dialectics hawked around by the Healyite Socialist Labour League.

The Bolshevik revolution took the international class struggle to the highest plane yet reached in history. The critical assimilation of its lessons is vital if the world socialist revolution is to be successful before the continuing decay of capitalism plunges the world into another, this time perhaps ultimately catastrophic, imperialist war. *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* is a valuable contribution to the struggle against opportunism through which the cadres of a world bolshevik party, a reborn Fourth International, will be forged. ■

Cricket ...

Continued from page twelve

foundation of Test Cricket an insidious populist twist.

New Left moralism run amok

Packer's "crime" was not simply to flout tradition, but to step on the liberal sensibilities of those who would like to think of Australian capitalism as somehow "morally" superior to the rest, or at least to South African capitalism. Thus the SWP chafed that the inclusion of individual white South African cricketers like Mike Proctor, Eddie Barlow and the brilliant batsman, Barry Richards -- who are no less "than ambassadors for South Africa's racist apartheid system" -- was the "thin end of the wedge for South Africa's re-inclusion in international sport" (*Direct Action*, 16 February). What the legalist SWP confined to the pages of its paper, more brazen types, including one Betty Hounslow, a well-known Sydney "Marxist-feminist", put into "revolutionary" practice. On the first day of a WSC Supertest in Sydney last year, Hounslow and a small group of supporters stormed the pitch and accosted Richards while he was batting. In all consistency, Hounslow and the SWP should protest against Australian sportsmen as "ambassadors" of the genocide of the Aborigines.

This disgusting outburst of New Left moralism was especially pernicious in that Richards, like many of the white South African cricketers, has repeatedly expressed opposition to apartheid, if only verbally. He is no Gary Player, who is not only one of former prime minister Vorster's favourite golfing buddies but a frankly *self-proclaimed* ambassador for apartheid as well. And even in the case of racist scum like Player, revolutionaries would direct protest not against his participation as a South African in golfing, but against his attempts to mobilise sympathy for the hated regime he supports. Likewise, revolutionaries would be in the forefront of demonstrations directed against *racially selected* South African sporting teams engaged in international tours, such as the Springbok Rugby Union side or the official Test Cricket team -- as a protest against a particular obnoxious, if secondary, feature of apartheid.

But a total quarantining of South Africa from all sporting or cultural contact can only strengthen the garrison-state attitudes of the white population, without in any way weakening the repressive regime. When the legendary West Indian all-rounder Gary (now Sir Garfield) Sobers toured Southern Africa with an international side in the early 1970s, in what sense was he aiding apartheid? When Jesse Owens surged to victory in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, he did not enhance Hitler's "master race" pretensions -- on the contrary, he humiliated them.

Consigning every white South African to the category of moral pariah, of unconscious "ambassador of apartheid", makes sense only to those who divide the world into good and evil people. And if a *black* South African cricketer were to play in Australia, would he too be assaulted on the pitch as an "ambassador of apartheid" -- is he a pariah as well? South African whites are indeed an oppressor caste in relation to the black majority, but the communist program is class war -- for a black-centred proletarian revolution to smash the apartheid state -- not race war!

The reformists hypocritically claim they strike a blow against capitalist aggrandisement and racist oppression by seeking to "purify" sport, by keeping it "amateur". Marxists understand that the converse is true: sport, like all cultural endeavour, will be cleansed of the deforming influence of bourgeois class rule only when the bourgeoisie is overthrown. The destruction of private ownership will inaugurate a society which, through the qualitative expansion of the means of production, will nurture the development of creative and athletic expression freed from the warping influences of racism, commercialism and imperialist chauvinism. ■

WV commentary ...

Continued from page eight

naturally mistrustful of a party which simply does the bidding of the Kremlin.

This self-serving partial confession is not an isolated phenomenon but part of the broader Eurocommunist phenomenon. It is significant, for example, that the newspaper of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanite*, prominently published this chapter of Campa's memoirs. And it comes after the publication of *Eurocommunism and the State* by Santiago Carrillo, in which the leader of the Spanish CP says Trotsky represented a tendency within the workers movement and it was wrong to treat him simply as a Hitler agent. What are Trotskyists to make of such statements?

Ernest Mandel, perhaps the best known figure claiming to represent the traditions of Trotskyism today, treats them as the "positive aspect" of what he sees as the "contradictions" of Eurocommunism and crows that Carrillo's book "represents a formidable historic vindication of Trotsky and Trotskyism" (*Inprecor*, 12 May 1977). And in a public meeting in London against Healy's slanders over the murder of Trotsky, Mandel called on the Eurocommunists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials", and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin.

This seemingly innocent appeal is wrong in every way. In the first place pressuring Moscow to "rehabilitate" Trotsky et al implies a perspective of bureaucratic self-reform. Genuine Trotskyists know that there can be no vengeance per se for the assassination of the founder of the Fourth International. Trotsky's historic vindication depends centrally upon a Leninist workers party leading a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the deformed workers states and replacing them by authentic soviet democracy of the working people. Secondly, it fails to recognize that reformists -- whether Eurocommunist or unregenerate Stalinist -- cannot restore Trotsky to his rightful place in revolutionary history. Unlike Zinoviev or Bukharin, Trotsky represented a revolutionary program and mortal threat both to the Stalinist regimes and the bourgeoisie. That is why Moscow to this day refuses to rehabilitate him, and that is why when Carrillo or Campa feel obliged to distance themselves from Stalin's assassination of Trotsky they nevertheless continue to justify their own violent opposition to him 40 years ago. The historian Pierre Broue, a leader of the French OCI, nicely captured the quality of the Eurocommunists' "rehabilitation" of Trotsky in a review of the Campa memoirs published in *Informations Ouvrieres* (9-23 and 23-30 August 1978): "And so all the half-lies become half-truths".

But above all, we do not appeal to the Stalinists and Eurocommunists because *we do not call on the assassins to rehabilitate their victims*. And every one of them is up to his elbows in the blood of valiant militants cut down by Stalin's counterrevolutionary terror. Campa's responsibility has been mentioned. Carrillo was an active member of the political bureau of the Spanish CP which ordered the detention of Andres Nin (later assassinated in a NKVD prison in Spain). Even the author of the introduction to Campa's memoirs in *L'Humanite*, Georges Fournial, was one of the GPU agents, trained in the Spanish Civil War, who were sent to Mexico to participate in the assassination of Trotsky.

Healy rehabilitates Stalinist slander

On the other hand there are the likes of Healy, who in the flamboyant style of the London gutter press publishes "expose" after "expose" accusing Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders together with Mandel of the United Secretariat, of being "accomplices of the GPU" in the murder of Trotsky. Their latest despicable installment in this utterly discredited slander campaign has Hansen no longer merely complicit in "covering up" alleged GPU infiltration in the Trotsky household, but being a former "collaborator" of Ramon Mercader ("Is Trotsky's Assassin Really Dead?" [!], [US] *Bulletin*, 24 October). (Interestingly there was a GPU cell in the SWP in 1941, the Sobel-Soblen group; how come Hansen missed braintrusting them?) This vile character assassination not only shows that Healy and company will stop at nothing in their vile GPU-baiting, but it aids the real assassins in reviving the long-dead slander that "his own people" killed Trotsky.

A year ago, when Santiago Carrillo visited the United States in the hopes of gaining the blessing of the State Department -- for which he was willing, even eager, to cross a picket line

NOTICE:
AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST will not appear in January; the next issue will appear in February 1979.

Spanish language Spartacist number 6



Contents include analysis of the decisive break from Moscow of the "Eurocommunist" Communist Party of Spain (PCE) and the crisis inside the Pinochet junta in Chile.

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of striking Yale University workers -- *Workers Vanguard* [WV] confronted this class traitor at a press conference at Harvard University. Challenging Carrillo for his responsibility in the murders of Nin and Trotsky (Mercader was a member of the Catalan Communist Party, the PSUC), WV demanded to know if Carrillo continued to deny his complicity. He responded:

"Ramon Mercader was a member of the Communist Party in Catalonia until 1936. In 1936 he disappeared and has not returned since to the party ranks. If, as is known, he participated in and was the protagonist of the assassination of Trotsky, the Communist Party bears no responsibility for this.

"I would like to remind you that in London, I believe it is, there exists a committee which accuses the Fourth International [shout by a WV journalist: "That's a lie!"]. Well, you can believe what you want, but there's a committee that says Trotsky's bodyguards were agents of the KGB.... The Communist Party of Spain is not responsible."

* * *

On 28 August 1940 some 1500 people attended a Trotsky memorial meeting in New York where they heard James P Cannon say farewell to their comrade, teacher and martyr:

"We do not deny the grief that constricts all our hearts. But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the Old Man's fight. Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of Trotsky's army. Not crouching in weakness and despair, but standing upright with dry eyes and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Party that shall be the human race!"

Telephone militants ...

Continued from page four

only sure road to mobilising the ranks of the labour movement in struggle against the bosses. Opportunist short cuts in the end lead only to demoralisation and defeat. At "best", they produce more flexible, left-talking labour fakers, not opponents of the bureaucracy's pro-capitalist policies. Militant Telecom workers here, straddled with a bureaucracy equally, if not as blatantly, pro-capitalist as the CWA tops, confronted as well with the continual threat of massive layoffs through automation, would do well to examine the record and program of the Militant Action Caucus. It is the only program which can assure the workers' victory against the bosses and their system.■

China ...

Continued from page one

to the question of what is happening in China is, "Stalinist business as usual".

What is a pro-Peking Maoist whose critical capacities have not been totally corrupted by Maoist doublethink to think now? Not only is a "counterrevolutionary incident" of two years ago now "completely revolutionary"; not only is the era ushered in by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" now being mooted as a "feudal-fascist dictatorship"; but even the Great Helmsman, the one "sure thing" in the topsy-turvy world of Maoism, it now turns out, was at best only 70 percent "great".

Some members of the Peking-loyal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) may well find the latest twist too much to stomach -- and see in the recent events a vindication of ex-CPA(ML) cadre and now Red Eureka Movement (REM) leader Albert Langer's line that the ouster of the Gang of Four two years ago placed China on the capitalist road. Langer will undoubtedly point to the attacks on Mao to raise the spectre of Khrushchev's "secret speech" denunciation of Stalin in 1956 which, according to Maoist dogma, signalled the restorationist coup in the Kremlin. In the idealist worldview of Stalinism, speeches replace civil war as the vehicle for counterrevolution. The ouster of the Gang of Four, claims Langer, represented the

victory of revisionism in Chinese ruling circles, culminating a "two-line struggle" between "left" and "right" dating back to the Cultural Revolution.

Today it is almost universally accepted by all but Maoists that the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was in fact a power struggle between competing wings of the bureaucracy. But at the time, the Spartacist tendency was virtually alone in recognising that this "revolution" represented nothing so much as "one section of the Chinese bureaucracy striving, against a less verbally 'militant' section, to strengthen its own bureaucratic rule" ([US] *Spartacist* no 10, May-June 1967). As a later article emphasised: "Revolutionary Marxists could not support either the utopian-militarist nationalism of the Mao faction or the various careerists struggling to keep their jobs" ([US] Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*). But the ostensible Trotskyists of the Healyite International Committee (represented in Australia by the Socialist Labour League) and the Mandeliste wing of the United Secretariat fell over each other in lauding the Red Guards, who were being used by Mao to smash his factional opponents, as "radical", "anti-bureaucratic" youth.

Teng boosts Japanese militarism

There is no genuinely radical faction within the ruling circles in Peking, nor has there ever been. Every section of the bureaucracy is united in defending the privileged nationalistic interests -- under the guise of building "socialism in one country" -- which derive from its position as a parasitic caste resting upon the socialised property forms of a workers state. All the factors which have convulsed the Chinese bureaucracy for two decades -- great power aspirations in the face of extreme material backwardness, the demands of the workers and peasants -- will continue to lead to interminable factional backstabbing, having nothing in common with the interests of the Chinese workers or the socialised economy. The traditional Stalinist model of forced-march industrialisation predicated on building large industrial complexes from the economic surpluses brutally extracted, in the main, from the peasantry (as it was in Russia, through mass terror) is simply not on. And the idealistic voluntarism and national messianism associated with Mao (eg his "Great Leap Forward") has been a demonstrated fiasco. Within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country", the Chinese economy simply cannot advance to the level of the industrialised West, much less to socialism.

It is particularly in the area of foreign policy that the treacherous equivalence of all wings of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is demonstrated. Hua and Teng are both carrying out to the letter the reactionary policies -- in particular the alliance with US imperialism -- initiated by Mao and faithfully followed by the Gang of Four during its spell in power. In the midst of the massive popular uprising in Iran, Hua was to be found dining and with the butcher whose troops were massacring anti-shah protesters in the streets of Teheran. Shortly thereafter Teng visited the various Southeast Asian dictatorships which comprise the anti-communist ASEAN military alliance. While Peking excoriated Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong for laying a wreath at a national monument to British imperialist troops killed fighting the Malayan Communist Party in the 1950s, Teng himself made an inspection tour of Thai military hardware used against Thailand's Maoist-leaning guerrillas (see photo in 24 November *Far Eastern Economic Review*).

The centrepiece of Teng's tour was an eight-day visit to Japan to sign the so-called Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which included an "anti-hegemony" clause obviously directed against the Soviet Union. In Tokyo Teng showered praise on the US-Japan Security Treaty as a bulwark against the "Soviet threat". This obscene betrayal of the Japanese proletariat was also a striking illustration that it is the bureaucracy's own counterrevolutionary policy of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism which is the greatest threat to the conquests of the Chinese revolution. For whatever the immediate exigencies of Japanese diplomacy, the Japanese bourgeoisie will always look upon China as its natural colony.

For a Chinese Trotskyist party

At the time of the ouster of the Gang of Four, we noted that "Mao's crown lies unsteadily on Hua's head.... The purge of the Chiang Ching clique is not the consolidation of a new stable regime but the beginning of a time of troubles for the Chinese bureaucracy". That applies with equal force today. The Chinese working class has no interest in supporting any of these bureaucratic parasites. Rather it must struggle to smash the entire bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely proletarian regime based on the institutions of soviet democracy and committed to a goal of international proletarian revolution. The gains achieved by the Chinese workers and peasants will continue to be constantly threatened until the Peking bureaucracy

is overthrown through workers political revolution. And for that task what is required above all is the construction of a Chinese Trotskyist party, section of a reborn Fourth International.■

Tripp ...

Continued from page two

namesake "fused" with a whole group of "third-campists".

We would not begrudge Comrade Tripp a political change of heart. Our movement too has recruited numerous individuals with long and diverse political histories. But for Trotskyists, the first thing is "to be true in little things as in big ones". The SWP is not Trotskyist however, as it demonstrates even in its attempt to claim -- through a deliberately uncritical account of Tripp's past -- continuity with the earlier Trotskyist movement.

Tripp's subsequent actions do not diminish the role he played in the revolutionary movement for some years earlier in his career. His recruitment to Trotskyism when a leading public spokesman for (though never a central leader of) the CPA represented a genuine and substantial gain for the Trotskyist movement. His record in the CPA in the 1920s is one of persistent work inspired by revolutionary sentiments, in an organisation not yet fully corrupted by Stalinism. Tripp, unlike many sincere Communist militants who were bamboozled and then rendered cynical by Stalin's Comintern, made the leap to Trotskyism.

The Trotskyist movement of the 1930s, however weak, isolated and occasionally disoriented, for a time strove under difficult conditions to maintain the Trotskyist program. Not so the SWP, the end-product of several decades of Pabloist degeneration. Thus it is not true that, as Tripp says in *Direct Action*, "my joining the SWP is a continuation of my membership of the Communist Party of Australia in the 1920s and the early Trotskyist movement in the 1930s". However, Tripp himself, having long ago recoiled from the struggle, may indeed have found some "continuity" with the SWP, whose disdain for principles and for the history of our movement is one facet of its hostility to genuine Trotskyism.■

Vile Stalinist racism

The recent signing of the Sino-Japanese "Peace and Friendship" treaty has been hailed, naturally, by EF Hill, chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), as a "good thing". But this flunkey may have some "re-education" to do on his comrades. For years the Maoists have ranted in the vilest "yellow peril" style against the threat of "Jap imperialism" to Australia. As recently as October 1978 a leaflet of the Hillite Students for Australian Independence fulminated against "Jap (sic!) woodchipping monopolies which plunder our beautiful national forests". This despicable racism flows naturally out of the "patriotic" heritage of Australian Stalinism, typified by the Communist Party's bloc with the bourgeoisie during World War II when Stalinist cartoonists regularly caricatured the Japanese as sub-human. And in every sphere, capitulating to the most reactionary prejudices of backward layers of the working class is par for the course for Mao-Stalinism. Thus a recent article in *Vanguard* (23 November) carries the disgusting headline, "Willesee -- a faggot of the multi-nationals". As LD Trotsky put it, "Stalinism is the syphilis of the workers movement"

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Packer money versus Empire tradition

The cricket fracas

Bourgeois journalists do call summer the media "silly season". And indeed, while power struggles in Peking and uprising in Iran are more often than not relegated to the inside pages, scarcely a day has gone by without some note being taken in the front pages or editorial columns of the bourgeois press on such controversies as the colour of the cricket ball and the propriety of limited overs, or whether the Sydney Cricket Ground ("the most picturesque in the world") has been "desecrated" by the construction of six enormous light towers which give half of Sydney the appearance of an indoor movie set at night. For the cricket season is here, and with it the second year of the much ballyhooed "war" between media mogul Kerry Packer's innovative World Series Cricket (WSC) and the somewhat depleted forces of the "establishment game" controlled by the Australian Cricket Board (ACB).

Cricket's days of *Sturm und Drang* date back to the ACB's refusal to grant Packer exclusive television rights for Test cricket in Australia in 1976. Frustrated by what he described as the "old boys network", Packer retaliated by signing up fifty of the world's best cricketers to compete in his own series. Packer streamlined the rules of the game and introduced night cricket to make cricket matches more accessible to mass audiences, offered his players double the salaries they got for playing "official" Tests and financed a high-powered media promotion campaign. Cricket traditionalists, of course, were livid. But the ensuing "war of words" went far beyond sporting circles. Even the reformists of the Communist Party (CPA), International Socialists (IS) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) felt compelled to speak out against the "Packer Circus", in the case of the latter, against Packer's recruitment of white South African cricketers.

Why is Test Cricket sacred?

Why all the fuss? Why is Test Cricket sacred? What caused bourgeois editorialists, not to mention would-be revolutionaries, to take a position on the conduct of a sport? Ah, but cricket is not just a sport, not to those mired in national chauvinism. It is a "way of life", a symbol of the Empire, or at least of the myth of an Empire which is long since decrepit, whose



Protesters against Barry Richards, including Betty Hounslow (right), under arrest after invading pitch during WSC Supertest, 16 March 1978.

metropolitan centre today has a lower standard of living than even Spain. Even CLR James, the West Indian renegade from Trotskyism who became a guru for British Africa's emerging neo-colonial "socialist" rulers, lauded the "inherent decency" of the "great game" in his paean, *Beyond a Boundary*, and cried out in horror at the creeping commercialisation of the sport in the 1950s that "cricket is integral to British civilisation". Yes, "King, Country and Cricket" represented "decency" and "fair play" -- for the pith-helmeted "gentlemen" of the British Imperial officer caste, whose "civilising mission" meant enslavement and butchery for the colonial masses.

Yet here was Kerry Packer, the money-grubbing capitalist who, in the pursuit of profit, had the

audacity to secretly recruit players right in the middle of

"... the Centenary Test in Melbourne in March, 1977, an event hailed at the time as the most momentous in the history of the game, when the sun seemed destined to shine forever on official cricket and all it stood for: good manners, fair play, gentlemanliness -- not a whisper of vulgar money." ("Inside the Packer Circus", *National Times*, 2 December 1978)

Let Thommo play!

And with "gentlemanliness" and "fair play" on its side, the ACB proceeded to fight tooth and nail against the churlish Packer's attempt to infringe on its monopolistic grip over the sport, and its feudalistic proprietary control over its players (which extended to not allowing players' wives to join them on six-month tours!). Anyone who signed up with WSC was banned not only from playing Test Cricket but from matches all the way down to the district and club level. Most recently, when fast bowler Jeff Thomson, the ACB's one remaining star attraction, returned from the West Indies tour and announced his "defection" to Packer, he found himself denounced in court by these "gentlemen" as "utterly irresponsible and a liar". "Thommo", by all accounts a perfectly friendly and harmless fellow whose only "crime" is a somewhat promiscuous habit of signing contracts without looking at the fine print, was banned from WSC cricket for a year and effectively deprived of his livelihood. Cricketers should be allowed to play for whom they like, when they like.

As the new season opened, the first WSC game drew nearly 50,000 people to the Sydney Cricket Ground. The ACB could only wait to play its trump card -- the appeal to "national pride" in the upcoming Ashes battle. But with Packer's raid leaving the ACB a second-rate (if not third-rate) Test team to face the English Eleven (the 1 December *Sydney Sun* called the first day's play of the first Test, a "Wreck of the 'Gabba'"), the appeal appeared to be rather limited. In the meantime, Packer -- no slouch at exploiting nationalist emotions himself -- filled the airwaves with a jingoistic ditty in the finest Madison Avenue style exhorting, "Come on, Aussies, come on".

While we refuse to side with either Packer or the ACB in the "great cricket war", we do not begrudge first-class cricketers' attempts to maximise their earnings in their invariably short playing careers. Before the "Packer revolution" a regular member of the Australian Test team was earning about \$12,000 (which has since risen to compete with the WSC). If he made it into the "superstar" bracket like Dennis Lillee, he might go as high as \$20,000. The ACB justified this relatively paltry return by monotonously stressing the purported "honour of representing your country" -- after all, if Don Bradman played for peanuts, why couldn't Test cricketers today? -- and denouncing those who opted for the average \$25,000 salary Packer was offering as "mercenaries". In the words of Victorian wicket-keeper Richie Robinson:

"I knew people would say we had no loyalty. But loyalty would not get my sons a good education. That would take money and Packer offered it at the right time for me." (Chris

Forsyth, *The Great Cricket Hijack*)

That these faded colonialist fossils can excoriate as "mercenaries" a Vivian Richards or an Andy Roberts, sons of Antiguan fishermen and sharecroppers, for utilising their great athletic talents to escape from the grinding poverty which



WSC cricket stars: West Indian Viv Richards with South African Barry Richards. For SWP Barry Richards is an "ambassador for apartheid".

is the lot of the great mass of West Indian youth, is the height of hypocrisy. Yet it found its echoes in the reformist "left". The CPA's *Tribune* (15 February 1978) carried a signed article which, while rapping the ACB and the Melbourne Cricket Club as "remnants of upper class snobbery", directed all its fire at the "blatantly hard-sell commercial approach" of the "Packer Circus", which was "more interested in selling the young cricket enthusiast a cigarette or a MacDonald's hamburger than how to bowl leg-breaks".

IS: for cricket ... and Queen and country?

ISer Alec Kahn, writing in the 18 February *Battler*, did not bother to attack the ACB at all, simply denouncing Packer: "His whole aim is to turn the non-profit structure of international cricket into his own personal money-spinning fiefdom" (emphasis added).

This defence of the Imperial gerontocracy (appropriately enough, the supreme governing body of "international cricket" was until the 1960s still known as the Imperial Cricket Council) by the ocker-workerists of the IS is truly scandalous. Certainly socialists deplore the crass commercial and nationalist exploitation to which sport is subjected by capitalism. But the elevation of athletics, like all cultural pursuits, from the cesspool of decaying capitalism is obviously possible only with capitalism's destruction. In the meantime, would the IS prefer that Lillee, Chappell et al got paid less in the interest of maintaining "non-profit" cricket? In any case, the ACB is no stranger to "commercial exploitation" either, having assiduously and not unsuccessfully courted business sponsorship for the last two decades.

Behind the asinine "amateurism" and idiot national chauvinism of the IS and CPA lurks another factor: Kerry Packer is singularly unpopular among Labor Party supporters and class-conscious workers -- and rightly so. Under his control the Packer media empire has more than maintained its notoriety as a mouthpiece for reactionary and viciously anti-working-class propaganda. Packer himself, arrogant and aggressive, epitomises the obnoxious tycoon -- his publicly proclaimed heroes are Menzies and Genghis Khan! But how is he different from any other capitalist? To focus attention only on the "big, bad" capitalist while ignoring his more aristocratic rivals only gives the chauvinist

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