



Throughout the Arab world the assassination of Egyptian president Sadat was greeted with jubilation. The Egyptian people, physically barred from his funeral, conspicuously did not mourn. Only the imperialists and Zionists grieved at this tyrant's death and for good reason, for it threatens to upset the anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" that US imperialism is trying to forge between its Near East clients, primarily Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia. Its basis was laid by the 1979 Camp David Egypt-Israel "peace" accords. Under their terms, the final Israeli withdrawal from its occupation of the Sinai desert is to be supervised by a 2500-strong US-sponsored "peace-keeping" force to be in place by April 1982. The US will supply the largest contingent but for some time has been demanding that its anti-Soviet allies put their money where their mouths are and contribute troops to make it internationally acceptable.

Sadat's well-deserved demise threatened this "peace process", so the US cracked the whip over its hesitant allies and succeeded in conscripting enough of them to get the force off the ground. On 22 October, Malcolm Fraser announced Australia's decision to send an air transport unit of 200-300 men with some Iroquois helicopters and Caribou transports. Within days, "Socialist" France, Holland and Italy followed suit, joining Fiji, Uruguay, Colombia and Norway.

Militarily the Australian contingent is of purely token value. It is mainly a diplomatic service to US imperialism to, as Fraser put it in his speech to Parliament, "encourage the formation of a more broadly-based peacekeeping force which would enhance prospects for [its] international acceptance". Furthermore,

"the failure of Australia and other Western countries to participate would require the United States to bear the burden itself and would be seen as a failure by the West to support United States' policies in the Middle East.

This would risk giving propaganda opportunities to the Soviet Union."

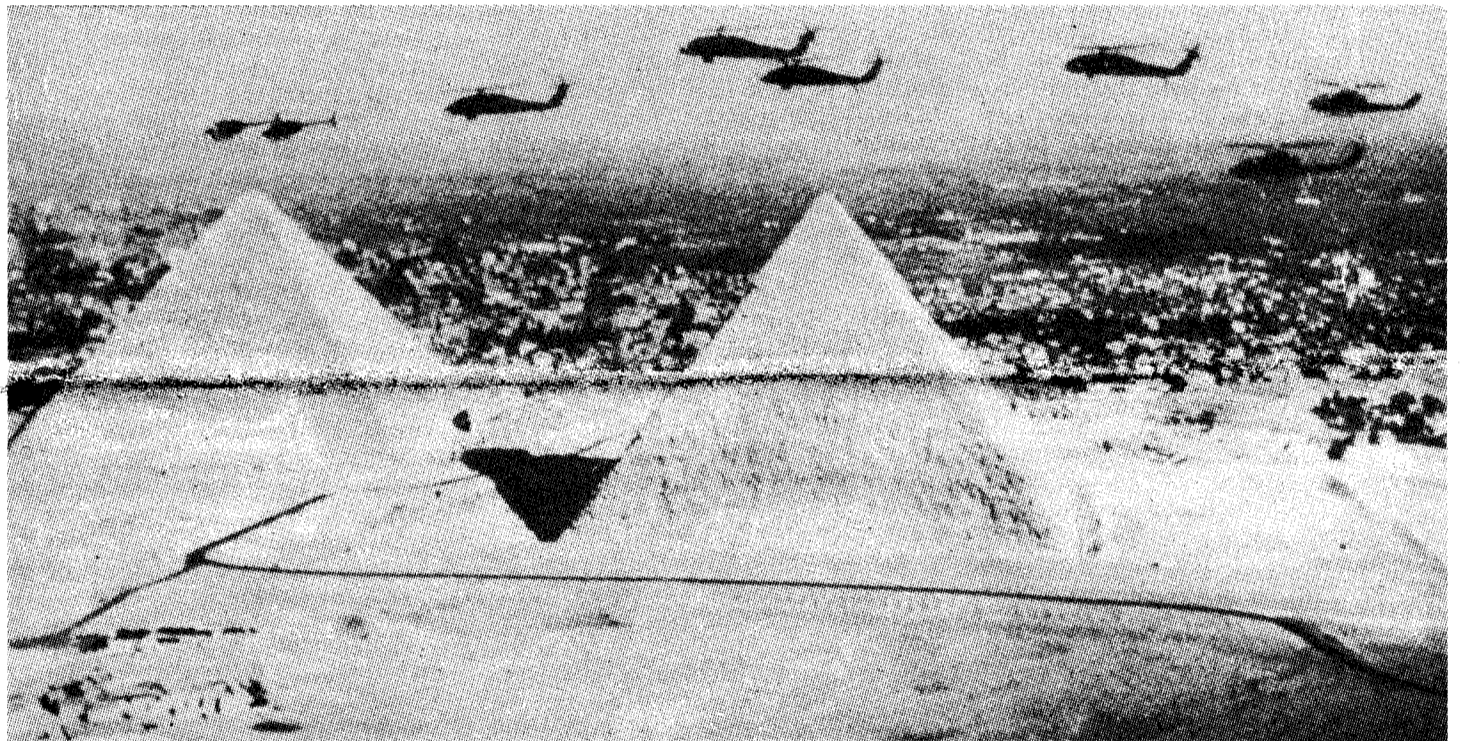
— Sydney Morning Herald, 23 October

For six months the Liberal/National Country Party (NCP) government had debated whether or not participation was in Australia's "national interest", whether it would draw Australian troops into a war, ruin trade with the Arabs etc. They were particularly worried about popular opposition at home, opinion polls running 72 percent against joining this venture. Fraser claimed that what tipped the scales in favour was that "Egypt without president Sadat needs more support from other nations to continue the peace process". The reality was a good dose of concerted US arm-twisting.

US Secretary of State Haig laid down the law to Australian deputy PM Anthony in Cairo at Sadat's funeral. Anthony's NCP had previously opposed Australian participation for fear of endangering the burgeoning primary export trade with other Arab countries. However, Egypt is Australia's biggest Near East trading

## Near East Anti-Soviet Provocations

# No Imperialist Troops to Sinai!



US helicopters over the Pyramids. Sinai force part of US build-up to save anti-Soviet "strategic consensus".

partner and last year the second biggest customer for its wheat (concluding a \$175 million deal straight after the troops commitment was announced). The argument that the fall of the shaky pro-US Cairo regime would hurt Australian wheatgrowers and graziers combined with Haig's "persuasive" powers helped Anthony do a rapid flip-flop. Even before he got home the Fraser government was marching to Haig's orders and since then the Liberal opponents of participation like Andrew Peacock have abruptly fallen in line. Lending Fraser a hand in softening up public opinion were Henry Kissinger, now working for Chase Manhattan bank, and Frank Church, ex-chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who just happened to be in town prior to the announcement.

The ALP and Australian Democrats saw the chance to cash in on the unpopularity of the Sinai troops venture and

came out against. ALP leader Bill Hayden's only difference was that it was not under UN auspices (because of the Soviet veto), as if the blessing of that imperialist den of thieves would make an iota of difference. It's just like Vietnam, he whined, the US is dragging Australia into a shooting war, Australia has no business in the Near East etc — the ALP preferring that Australian imperialism should carry out its murder and exploitation only within its own sphere of influence. In parliament, a disturbed Bob Hawke wept, torn between his strong pro-Zionist sympathies and electoral popularity. He toed the party line and Fraser jeered that he betrayed "the only thing which he ever had a sincere belief in in his whole life", while one pro-Zionist ALP MP, Barry Cohen, came out for the imperialist troops. In any event the ALP has no quarrel with US imperialism's anti-Soviet strategy in the Near

East or anywhere else, simply wanting a little more relative latitude and to stick to "our" own part of the world.

The Sinai force fits right in with the US anti-Soviet war drive, in which the Australian bourgeoisie is a junior partner. It will be the advance detachment of the US Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), a force of 200,000 troops on standby for rapid airlift into the Near East to, for example, seize the Persian gulf oilfields. It means not peace nor the return of one square inch of stolen land to the dispossessed Palestinians but aggressive war on the USSR and its regional allies, Syria and Libya. The Near East "strategic consensus" means that Egypt, Israel etc subordinate their differences to the US' global anti-Soviet war alliance, whose goal is reconquest of the USSR and the other deformed workers states for capitalism. Trotskyists stand for the

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**Wall Street Journal Loves Polish Company Union**

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**SWP/US Watersuit: Reformism on Trial**

# Sinai...

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unconditional military defence of the USSR against rearming and belligerent US imperialism! All imperialist troops out of the Sinai and the Near East! For labour strikes against the sending of Australian troops! Black ban all military goods to the Near East!

Sadat's Egypt was to be the pivot of the "strategic consensus". He not only signed the separate peace with Israel in 1979, he provided the Pentagon with a much needed staging base for its RDF at Ras Banas on the Red Sea which, together with overflight rights for US warplanes, gave it invaluable military manoeuvrability in the region. Sadat also funnelled weapons for the US to the Muslim fanatics fighting the Soviets and left nationalists in Afghanistan.

While his successor Hosni Mubarak has promised to continue the "peace process", Pentagon planners are disturbed that nobody in Egypt appears strong enough to risk being America's friend. A former top US official complained: "I have this feeling that Sadat held Egypt together. Without him I don't see where the pressure will come from [in Egypt] to stay on the course he set." (*Business Week*, 19 October) If the pressure can't come from within, it must come from without. *Business Week* made it clear that the US is "preparing to go to war if necessary to prevent the collapse of hard-won US influence in the Middle East" and to "protect Egypt against not only its blood-foe, Libya, but against internal and anti-US elements as well", ie the working class and poor who in 1977 rose up in massive strikes and street fighting which shook the hated Sadat regime to its foundations.

Thus the US is making a desperate attempt to strengthen its control over this lynchpin of the Near East in the most naked manner. With much fanfare, new arms shipments are being speeded to Mubarak. The AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) surveillance planes — flying out of Cairo West airport, already buzzing with US aircraft — are now patrolling Egypt's western border. This month, US and Egyptian troops are scheduled to conduct joint land/sea/air war games. Washington is trying to whip Egypt and its sole regional ally, the Sudan, into war with the Americans' chief Near Eastern target of the moment, Libya, deemed the regional "surrogate" for the Soviet Union.

The US imperialists once again openly declare that their military forces will go anywhere and bomb anyone to preserve and expand their empire. Reagan warned that he will not permit the feudal monarchy of Saudi Arabia to "be another Iran". US sales of military hardware to the regime of King Khalid have totalled US\$34 billion since 1973 and Reagan has just pushed another US\$8.5 billion arms deal, including the controversial AWACS planes, through the US congress. Reagan/Haig turned this sale into a symbol of their determination to back to the hilt their anti-Soviet allies. However the US ruling class dispute over this sale exposed the weaknesses of their plans in the Near East. For the Saudi regime has as much social base as the late shah of Iran — namely, none. Significant sections of the US ruling class fear that such sophisticated weaponry as AWACS supplied to US allies today will tomorrow

fall into the hands of Khomeini's counterparts or, even worse, left-nationalists with ties to the Soviet Union.

Complicating the problem is the fact that the various reactionary regimes in the region hate each other. Particularly Israel, the other important leg of the "strategic consensus". Following Begin's visit to the US in September, Israeli territory is being projected as a "forward facility" for the RDF. But, needless to say, US arming of the Saudis does not sit well with Zionist terrorist Begin, who in turn routinely bombs defenceless Palestinians in Lebanon and recently enraged the entire Arab world by bombing an Iraqi nuclear reactor. Indeed, the unpredictability of the mad-dog Zionist regime caused even advocates of Australian troops to Sinai much concern.

## The Main Enemy Is at Home!

In the twentieth century an "independent" foreign policy for a small and vulnerable imperialist power, aspired to by sections of the ALP, is a pipedream. The Australian ruling class knows that it must pay for the uncertain protection that only the US can give them against the Asian "yellow peril" with slavish subservience to US foreign policy. In the Pentagon's scheme of things, Australia's role is that of base area (Pine Gap, NW Cape, Nurrungar, Omega) and "unsinkable aircraft carrier" (Darwin) as well as policing South East Asia as a regional military power in its own right — against the influence of the USSR and its Vietnamese ally. To fulfill this role, the bourgeoisie has embarked on a rapid military buildup, including the recent purchase of 75 F/A-18 fighters for the "Tactical Fighter Force". Allowed a little latitude to pursue its own imperialist interests in the region, Australia is expected to provide cannon-fodder to die in large numbers overseas at the whim of its big-power protector. Only nationalists impotently rage at the big imperialists for dragging Australia into foreign wars, for this is the price Australian capitalism has always paid to continue even its present lackey's existence in the world arena.

Thus Fraser's pretensions to independence are laughable. The initial US approaches for troops met a cool response. In May Foreign Minister Street listed Australian conditions for participation — while begging Haig to arrange the formal invitation "in the name of your two partners". Fraser's studied refusal to make a decision under continual US pressure, like his parading of differences with the US over Namibia at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), was a show of fake-independence for home consumption which evaporated when Haig really applied the heat. The US asked its most compliant ally for troops first to pressure its more reluctant allies. As for the farcical "conditions" that Fraser placed on Australian participation in his letter on 12 October accepting the US invitation,

one of them, that Canada should also be in, was dropped in a few days. Another was that no part of the force is to have anything to do with the RDF, a point which Fraser has been swearing on for months. Really! Then why is the US contingent drawn from the 82nd airborne division, which is part of the RDF? It all goes to show that in the ANZUS alliance there's only one boss giving the orders and it's not Fraser.

The opposition of the ostensible left to the sending of Australian troops to the Near East is not based on class opposition to the designs of US imperialism and their own bourgeoisie in the Near East, a position which would necessitate them coming out for defence of the USSR. Instead they studiously censor out any reference to the blatant anti-Soviet character of US provocations in the Near East and reduce the question to one of superpower bullying of small nations such as the Palestinians. The reformist Communist Party (CPA) replicated both the social-imperialist arguments and conclusions of the ALP. "Why Die In Sinai?" was *Tribune's* headline (28 October). Their line boils down to: It's None of Our Business getting killed Over There for Somebody Else. It's not even sponsored by the UN, the "accepted international organisation" for such things, said the *Tribune*. The clear implication is that "our boys" should be where Australian capitalism really needs them; like in newly-independent Vanuatu, where the CPA supported both the British and French troops sent to put down the rebellion on Espiritu Santo against the pro-British regime of Father Walter Lini last year, and the occupation force of several hundred troops of Australia's Papua New Guinea neo-colony (with Australian officers). And the CPA still denounces the Australian bourgeoisie for refusing to lift a finger to stop the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor. Perhaps "our boys" should have gone in there too? The CPA does not question the "right" of the Australian imperialist bourgeoisie to oppress, exploit and invade its chosen sphere of influence. The same *Tribune* attacks the purchase of the 75 F/A-18s as too expensive and unjustified because of the absence of a military threat. "But where's the enemy?", runs their pacifist/patriotic refrain. Should the CPA discover a real threat to Australian imperialism they would of course be at their posts.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) opposed the Sinai force because it is "an attempt to bolster the warlike Israeli state and further trample on the rights of the dispossessed Palestinian people" (*Direct Action*, 28 October). Never mind that the Zionists were quite capable of doing this on their own through three wars without any US troops. The massive US military buildup in the Near East is aimed at frying bigger fish than the PLO — its war drive and its nuclear missiles are aimed at the Soviet Union and the lengths which

the SWP goes to ignore this dominant factor governing world politics today shows how desperate it is to escape the political conclusion of this analysis — unconditional military defence of the USSR against imperialism. Like the CPA the SWP supported imperialist troops going to Vanuatu last year. Like the CPA the SWP's perspective is to pressure their own imperialist ruling class to act in the interests of the oppressed. Thus *Direct Action* (21 October) attacked the ALP from the right for its attacks on the recent CHOGM conference. In a grotesque attempt to alibi their heroes of the "revolutionary" Grenadian regime which attended this farce, the SWP tried to explain that the empty platitudes about Namibia which the CHOGM imperialist thieves and dictators put their names to "reflect real developments in the international class struggle" and poses the question "how much can they be forced to act on declarations which they would like to leave at mere words". Well, next year Australian imperialism will send troops to join a UN "peacekeeping" force in Namibia — no doubt with the blessing of the SWP.

The Melbourne branch of the wharfies, at least, gave this Sinai venture an example of what the working class response should be. On 23 October they stopped work for 24 hours in protest. However the protest organised by assorted pacifists and social-democrats for November 11, "Remembrance Day", aims at a classless, social-patriotic, popular-frontist re-run of the Vietnam moratoria. But for revolutionists anti-imperialism abroad means class-struggle at home. Above all against this anti-Soviet and national-chauvinist chorus we say: Defend the Soviet Union! The main enemy is at home! Smash the ANZUS alliance — all US military and spy bases out of Australia and the Indian Ocean! Down with Australian jackal imperialism!

The Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I with its complex and ever-changing tangle of nationalist conflicts abetted by the imperialist powers. The Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy perpetuates reactionary nationalism in the region by supporting the likes of Ba'athist Syria or the madman Qaddafi, and Anwar Sadat not so long ago. Only class-struggle, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party against all the capitalist regimes in the region can cut through nationalism and fight for a socialist federation of the Near East. Like the Balkans before World War I, the conflicts in the Near East could easily lead to world war — this time between the US and the USSR. As the drum roll for World War III grows palpably louder, the workers and oppressed of the world must take a side — the defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism. Only the destruction of the imperialist system in world-wide proletarian revolution can prevent World War III and establish the basis for the international socialist order. ■

## Melbourne Uni Cafeteria Strike

A recent week-long strike begun on 24 September by Melbourne Uni cafeteria workers won a victory in its demand to reinstate Michael Vellios, a worker of 18 years standing. This strike came in the wake of a series of attempts by the Nationwide catering company to smash the union organisation there.

The LaTrobe Uni Spartacist Club solidarised with the strike by honouring and manning the picket lines, and through raising a program for victory. Spartacist Club members carried placards saying: "Picket lines mean don't cross!", "Reinstate Michael Vellios!", and "Boycott classes! Shut down the Uni!" A petition initiated by the Spartacist club expressing solidarity with the strike was signed by La Trobe Uni workers, students and other unionists. A letter from the shop steward of the Melbourne Uni cafeteria workers expressed appreciation for the strike support work done by the Spartacist Club:

"... Such support is most heartening and

makes us realise that our struggle against injustice did not go unnoticed, and to know we were not alone gave us the will to win, and win we did...."

But what of the Socialist Club, the International Socialists (IS), and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)? After the Liquor and Allied Trades Union had declared the campus black and workers had set up picket lines these fake socialists busied themselves daily on the other side of the picket lines inside the black campus, distributing leaflets about "how they were prepared to help in any way asked by the workers". But as all trade unionists know, the elementary way to defend a strike is by not crossing picket lines! This basic principle was constantly broken by these student parochialists who were more interested in pursuing "student interests" and attending classes than honouring the workers' picket lines. In an attempt to cover for their rotten position the Socialist Club constantly argued against the program raised by the Spartacist Club to shut

down the Uni — saying that while it was a "nice idea" it would "alienate" students and offend the Administration! On one occasion the Socialist Club even demanded that Spartacist placards be removed — but workers on the picket lines joined in arguing with the Spartacist Club against the sectarian cowardice of the Socialist Club.

It is no surprise that it was only the Spartacist Club that had this perspective and fought to defend the picket lines. Members of the Socialist Club like the SWP and IS share the notion that crossing picket lines is a tactical question, which goes hand in hand with their uncritical support of left-talking bureaucrats and is nothing but a capitulation to craftism in the labour movement and the destruction of the elementary principle that *picket lines mean don't cross!* In comparison to the petty bourgeois workerism and student parochialism of the fake left groups the exemplary strike support work done by the Spartacist Club was an example of our goal to build a communist youth movement that stands in active solidarity with the working class in their struggle against capitalist exploitation. ■

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# SL Protests Solidarity in New York

## Wall Street Journal Loves Polish Company Union

Western imperialism figures it has an unprecedented opening in Poland, a chance to strike a blow against the USSR deep in its own sphere. From the Pentagon to the Common Market Commission to the Vatican, the forces of reaction are egging on Solidarnosc in its recent call for "free trade unions" throughout Eastern Europe. In the mouths of these certified labour-haters, the call for "free trade unions", long the fighting slogan of Cold War anti-Communism, really means "free enterprise": the restoration of capitalist exploitation through bloody counterrevolution.

It is no surprise that in the US the anti-Communist AFL-CIO trade union bureaucracy, forged in the 1950s McCarthy period when "reds" and militants were forcibly purged from the labour movement, is deeply involved in this enterprise. With a zeal which recalls their ultra-hawk stance for US imperialism's dirty war against Vietnam, the American union tops are up to their necks in the US government's schemes to manipulate the Polish crisis as a spearhead of the imperialist drive to "roll back" Communism throughout the world.

In this context, the opening of a Solidarnosc office in New York at the headquarters of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) on 24 September was a graphic symbol of Polish Solidarity's application for membership in the "free world". But the ominous declaration of intent by pro-imperialist labour fakers was answered. Outside on the street there was a demonstration by the Spartacist League/US (SL/US) which proclaimed, "Polish Solidarnosc Agents of Counterrevolution". The 50 protesters carried placards and chanted "No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" and "Social Democrats, AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Tool!"

An SL/US press release pointed out it was no accident the Solidarnosc office was sponsored by UFT president Albert Shanker, a leader of Social Democrats, USA (SDUSA), a gang of super Cold Warriors. It noted that Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa had invited not only AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland but also its "European representative" Irving Brown to attend his congress in Gdansk. "It is well-documented that Brown is a notorious CIA operator who has disrupted militant European unions with gangsterism and corruption since the 1940s", said the release, adding:

"The Spartacist League warned that Solidarnosc is making a bid for power in Poland and offering itself as an agent of counterrevolution throughout East Europe on the Cold War platform of 'free elections' and 'free trade unions'. These are standard CIA propaganda ploys under the guise of which the US has crushed labor unions and overthrown leftist governments from Chile to Indonesia."

The Spartacist demonstration caused a stir among journalists arriving at UFT headquarters. A *Time* magazine reporter shouted, "long live the counterrevolution!" as she went in the door. Upstairs a group of Poles was buzzing about "Trotskyists".

This was a demo with a sharp, angular message: "Polish Solidarnosc — Running Dog of Imperialism" and "Reagan, Haig: Hands Off Poland!" Two slogans directed against Polish nationalism received particular attention: "Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!" and "600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell



Spartacist League demonstrates against counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc, New York.

### Spartacist Slogans at September 24 demonstration:

No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!  
 Polish Solidarnosc — Agents of Counterrevolution  
 Social Democrats and the AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Tool  
 Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarnosc!  
 Reagan and Haig: Hands Off Poland!  
 For Class Struggle Workers Parties — In Poland and America!  
 Don't Sell Poland to the German Bankers!  
 Polish Solidarnosc — Running Dog of Imperialism  
 600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell Liberating Poland from the German Nazis  
 For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc against Imperialism!  
 Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!  
 Warynski, Not Wojtyla!  
 Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!  
 Stalinism Undermines the Workers States — For Trotskyist  
 Workers Parties to Power!  
 For Rebirth of the Trotskyist Fourth International!

Liberating Poland from the German Nazis!" Walesa & Co would have opposed that historic Soviet victory, which laid the basis for tremendous social and economic progress in post-war Poland, as anti-Communists did at the time. Polish reporters noted the sign, "Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!" Luxemburg and Jogiches, Polish internationalist leaders of the Communist Party in Germany, were murdered by the Social Democratic

government in the "Spartacus uprising" of 1919; the "three W's" were the founders of the Communist Party of Poland, later dissolved (and its leaders shot) by Stalin on charges of Trotskyism. Another placard read, "Warynski, Not Wojtyla" — for the father of the first Polish socialist party, Proletariat, not the present anti-Communist Polish pope. A sign in Polish said, "Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarnosc". Another in Russian proclaimed: "For Military Defence of the

Soviet Bloc Against Imperialism!"

At the press conference, Solidarnosc American representative Zgmunt Przetakiewicz quickly managed to alienate virtually the entire New York press corps by refusing to answer any substantive questions. A reporter for the SL/US paper *Workers Vanguard* asked for a comment on the fact that:

WV: American socialists are demonstrating and saying that Solidarity is counterrevolutionary.... How do you explain Solidarity's close ties with known CIA men in the labour movement like Irving Brown?

Przetakiewicz: I would like just a question concerning the opening of the office.

WV: Reagan is attempting to break the American air controllers union PATCO... for striking against the government. Why has Solidarity been silent on this?

Przetakiewicz: I don't know, but I might ask, in your name, if you like.

When another reporter asked about PATCO, he too was rebuffed. And when they did ask about the opening of the office, Przetakiewicz said it did not represent Solidarnosc, he himself was not a spokesman for Solidarnosc, that he could make no comment on the Polish situation, nor could he talk about the US.

The Solidarnosc non-representative had good reason to be cagey, it turns out. To repeated questions about where the money for his office was coming from, Przetakiewicz talked of the cheap \$290-a-month rent from the UFT, made vague references to "student contributions" and spoke of a "start-up loan" from the AFL-CIO. But as Peter Kihss noted in the *New York Times* (25 September), Solidarnosc's US operation will cost about \$15,000 to \$18,000 a month just for the telex communications. All from "subscriptions"?

The protest was covered by a couple of local TV stations but was blacked out by the networks and the newspapers. Then the *Wall Street Journal* devoted the lead editorial in its 29 September issue to a sharp attack on those who dare to expose the common thread linking the American labour bureaucracy's political and financial support to Solidarnosc with the US State Department/CIA appetites for counterrevolution in Poland. After several paragraphs dismissing an expose of CIA involvement in AFL-CIO "aid" to unions internationally which appeared in

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## Spartacist Pamphlet Just Out!

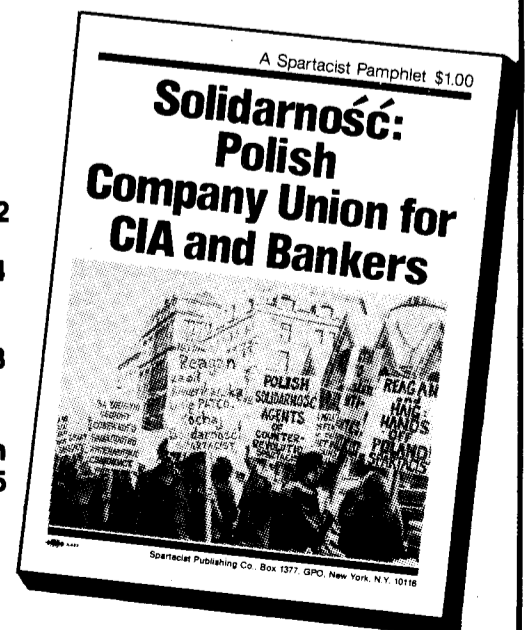
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The Trotskyist analysis of the rise of the counter-revolutionary Solidarity movement in Poland in the last year.

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The following article is abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 286, 31 July 1981, paper of the Spartacist League/US. It analyses in depth the \$40 million damages suit brought by the American SWP against the US government for its decades of harassment and disruption of the SWP by the secret police agencies. *Direct Action*, paper of the Australian SWP, has trumpeted the progress of their US co-thinkers "Watersuit". The cold war climate and the prospect of intensified anti-communist witchhunting both here and in the US are bringing out more openly the fundamental reformist assumptions of both SWPs. Thus, rather than take the offensive against government spying and crimes, the reformists instead hope to gain exemption from it by demonstrating their harmlessness to capitalism.

On April 2 the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) finally got its civil suit against the government to court. The SWP launched the case nearly eight years ago in the post-Watergate period. Subsequent "Freedom of Information" revelations documented some of the FBI "dirty tricks" employed against the SWP under the vicious "COINTEL-PRO" disruption program. Testimony was heard by Judge Thomas Griesa through June 25, when the case recessed for the summer, after which both sides will submit their closing briefs.

To believe the SWP, the case has been an uninterrupted series of crushing blows against the FBI and its partners in crime. "By the end of the first day it had become clear that the government was reeling from the socialist strategy in the courtroom" was the modest assessment of the 17 April *Militant*. Every issue since has insisted on the same theme: the SWP has "put the government on trial". Unfortunately, what is most striking about the case is the extent to which it is the SWP and not the government that is on trial.

The government, as might be expected, concedes virtually nothing. It blithely reads into the record every slander ever "reported" by an FBI informer, insists it can "investigate" the left under grossly anti-democratic laws, brings into court scholarly Hoover Institution types to testify as "experts" on socialism. It apologizes virtually not at all for the bag jobs, warrantless wiretaps, poison-pen letters; it defends deportations, firings, evictions; it demands protection of the anonymity of its finks planted in leftist, labor and black organizations (so-called "informer privilege").

On April 24 the government announced that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was "reviewing" the SWP to explore the possibility that SWP members are "excludable or deportable" based solely on their political views. This vindictive provocation raises the spectre of some of the ugliest of witchhunt weapons — remember the Palmer Raids of 1919, in which hundreds of foreign-born Communists, anarchists and others were deported. During the McCarthy period deportation proceedings were instituted against hundreds of foreign-born members and ex-members of the Communist Party, some of them many-year residents of the US. Laws were passed making it a felony for a Communist or ex-Communist to even apply for a passport.

It emerged that the FBI had committed god knows how many bag jobs against the SWP, an ostensibly socialist organization known for its penchant for chanting "peaceful, legal" at more left-wing protesters at antiwar demonstrations. Something like 90 "surreptitious entries" were shown to have occurred in the SWP's national headquarters alone. To top it all off, the government lied like crazy in the pre-trial process, affronting Judge Griesa's patrician ideas of fair play. A quicker settlement would have helped the SWP's chances, though they can hardly complain since their line is to deny any shift to the right in this country; according to the SWP every year brings a new "radicalization" and new SWP resolutions titled "The New Rise of the [Whatever] Struggle". The SWP's fuzzy vision of social reality

# SWP/US Gets Its Day in Court

# REFORMISM

# ON TRIAL

outside the courtroom expresses itself in their view of the "Watersuit":

"Back in the 1950s, the big old courthouse was the site of some of the most notorious anticommunist frame-ups. Here the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death. Communist Party leaders were sentenced to years in prison. 'But now it's the 1980s, and the government is the defendant.'"

— *Militant*, 17 April

The SWP barely noticed the election of Reagan. It ducked the ominous Cold War intent of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and the implications of Reagan/Haig's campaign against "international terrorism". It draws no conclusions from the capitalists' assault on hard-won union gains and the defeatist passivity of the union tops, from the reversal of the token gains of the liberal civil rights movement and the bankruptcy of black leadership.

The SWP does not see the burning crosses of escalating Klan/Nazi terror from California to Connecticut. But the shooting down of leftists in broad daylight in Greensboro in 1979 by the emboldened race-terrorist "fringe" — and the subsequent acquittal of the fascist murderers — were a reflection of the rightward motion of the whole bourgeois political spectrum. The SWP is secure in the illusion that American imperialism's war moves against Russia will have no domestic repercussions against the US left (at least the non-Stalinist left). But the bourgeoisie's war on labor at home, its war drive for global anti-Communism abroad, spell witchhunting sooner rather than later.

The charges of SWP "terrorism" are at the heart of the FBI's court strategy. Its main "evidence" is the SWP's diplomatic bloc with the centrist United Secretariat (USec — one of several competing "Fourth Internationals"), which the government attorneys sought to paint as a sinister pro-terrorist conspiracy. While the SWP kept insisting (with perfect truth) that its "fraternal

association" with the USec has no real effect on the SWP's political line or organizational practices, the FBI attorneys countered with "expert" witnesses on communist "doctrine" who noted that if the SWP considered itself Trotskyist it would abide by decisions of the "Fourth International" whether or not it were a section. The government lawyers sought to smear the USec, which underwent a period of vicarious enthusiasm for guerrillaism in Latin America in the 1970s, with everything from kidnappings in Argentina to the "Baader-Meinhof gang". The government's line is that all leftists are at least dupes of an international Communist/"terrorist" conspiracy and they hope to bring that message home through the SWP trial.

The SWP's defense is its reformist opposition to USec centrism. The SWP wouldn't alter one word of its reformist program for all the centrists in the world; nor would Barnes & Co allow themselves to be tainted with the "terrorist" label just to maintain their ceremonial "internationalism". When right-wing columnists mounted a witchhunt scare against the USec in 1974, the SWP took swift bureaucratic action, expelling more than a hundred pro-USec SWP members (the Internationalist Tendency) on the Fourth of July. The internal bulletins of that expulsion soon turned up in court as the showpiece of the SWP's attempt to demonstrate its respectability before Judge Griesa. And the judge was reassured:

"There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States. . . . In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

For the SWP, the trial is the finale of a long period of rightward-moving reformism. The "Watersuit" has been their central focus for years, and their aim is ambitious to say the least: not merely to

be tolerated by the bourgeoisie but to be officially certified as not harmful to the health of American capitalist class rule. The SWP wants to show once and for all that it is a pacifistic, legalistic party entitled to all the benefits of American democracy. It makes no attempt to suggest that the US government is itself violent, racist, imperialist and lawless, thereby legitimizing the government's "right" to spy on, harass and frame up its perceived enemies — so long as it leaves the SWP alone.

## Who's on Trial?

Who's really on trial? The answer is expressed most clearly in the matter of disclosure. What secrets has the SWP wrested from the government? Aside from Ed Heisler, the former SWP National Committee member who last year told the SWP he had been a paid FBI fink, how many informers have been uncovered? Meanwhile, the SWP has turned itself inside out.

The government has spent what must be millions of dollars spying on the SWP. They ended up with god knows how many pages of agents' reports, which the SWP has had fun showing consist of generally inaccurate paraphrases of public SWP positions available to any *Militant* reader and some absurdities that only a J Edgar Hoover could really believe. But in the course of pre-trial "discovery" and during the trial itself, the SWP has furnished the government with an incredible amount of high-quality information on its structure, leadership and pseudonyms, finances.

The SWP agreed to bar its lawyers from making public — even to their own party! — information obtained on government informers. This puts the SWP attorneys in the position of keeping the government's dirty secrets so that the informers can continue to function as spies and provocateurs inside the SWP and other left groups. Now, by obligingly furnishing the government with such items as party pseudonyms and international meeting dates (and on pain of perjury moreover), the SWP gratuitously validates information obtained from informers and gives the government a way to use the information in court without having to expose its sources. This amounts to a de facto bloc with the FBI's cherished "informer privilege".

"But we have no secrets!" — we can practically hear the SWP objecting. The SWP's acquiescence to virtually unlimited disclosure illuminates its basic reformist premises. To believe that peaceful, legal socialists have nothing to fear from disclosure is to believe that the good guys will never be harmed by the American rulers; the government will play fair, observe its laws, keep its promises. The SWP cross-examination of FBI fink Heisler on June 17 bore witness again to Barnes & Co's belief that the worst thing an FBI agent can do to you is . . . encourage pot-smoking (see "FBI Informer in the SWP", *WV* No 268, 14 November 1980). The SWP's professed faith in American democracy may win bourgeois friends and influence judges, but it is wrong and deadly dangerous. We know there are categories of people — leftists, non-

US SWP says: US constitution, Yes — Russian Revolution, No.

## THE MILITANT

24 July 1981

**Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?**

**Jack Barnes:** Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the

## Russian revolution

**Winter:** Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?

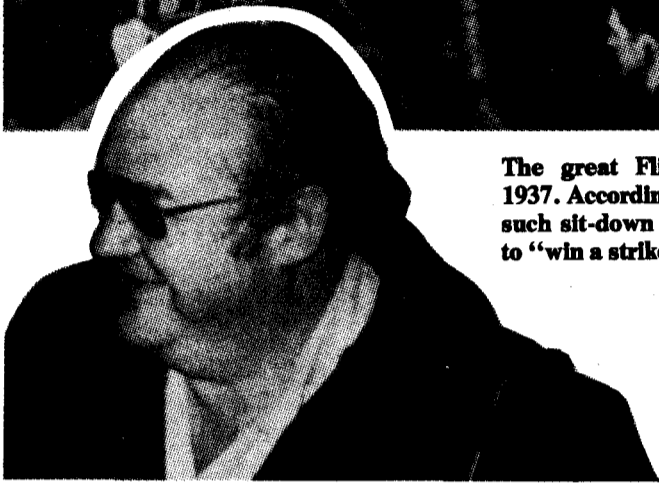
**Barnes:** No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism and the mass of peasantry and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.

**POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL**  
**How Marxists view U.S. Constitution**  
 Jack Barnes on fight for socialism and democracy





The great Flint autoworkers strike of 1937. According to SWP's Fred Halstead, such sit-down strikes were pacifist tactic to "win a strike without violence".



citizens, ethnic minorities — whose democratic rights have been known to disappear in an instant: just ask the Japanese Americans in World War II. The SWP's congenital inability to believe this — even in the face of the evidence of their own court suit — places them somewhere to the right of your average socially concerned black minister on the question of the state.

This is not to say that an authentic revolutionary organization on trial would not make some efforts to show good faith. But the SWP posture is, quite simply: we have nothing to hide. Such a claim rests on two fundamental premises: that the SWP can prove to everyone's satisfaction that it is a "peaceful, legal" party and that law-abiding social activists have nothing to fear from the American government.

For the SWP, the only people who could possibly want to "hide" anything from the government are people who are guilty of something. The SWP's touching faith that it is safe because it is "peaceful, legal" means it believes that the US capitalist government is "peaceful, legal" too. Reformists have to believe that the ruling class will play by the same rules it enforces upon everyone else; otherwise, there is clearly no percentage in trying to do business with the status quo.

The SWP from the outset behaved as committed reformists anxious to show their limitless trust in the court. An important indecent exposure occurred during Jack Barnes' April 9 testimony concerning relations with the USec. Asked about the use of party pseudonyms during the morning session, Barnes took the line that party names are a precaution desirable in "dictatorial countries". To show his confidence in America as a free country, he identified the real names of all the SWPers listed by party pseudonym in minutes of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the USec.

The government opened the afternoon session by handing Barnes a piece of paper. "Are these the dates and locations of the IEC meetings" held in the last 12 years? Barnes was visibly upset. He replied that this was "protected" information; yes, says an SWP lawyer, this information was furnished in camera (privately). The real dates and locations of these international meetings — presumably differing from the accounts published, to provide participants some protection against repression — had been turned over to the government by the SWP in the secret "Barnes affidavit". Does Barnes really believe his fraternal comrades of the

USec are not endangered by turning over information to the US government so long as it is kept out of open court? Or had Barnes hoped to suppress in open court the existence of the "Barnes affidavit"? In any case the pretext of a distinction disappeared on May 12, when Barry Sheppard testified as to the real names and corresponding party pseudonyms of seven non-American USec leaders.

The SWP argues over and over that it should not be investigated because it does not commit crimes. The "Findings of Fact" document (*Militant*, 10 April) submitted by the SWP states: "The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have engaged in, planned or advocated any illegal activity, at least since 1941". In 1941, of course, when the SWP was a revolutionary party, 18 of its leaders were prosecuted in the first trials under the Smith Act. The present-day SWP carefully refuses to challenge, even in passing, their conviction. Does the SWP think that socialist opposition to imperialist war and class-struggle unionism, the activities that led to the prosecution of the "Minneapolis 18", are crimes? On June 11 the SWP objected to the government's submission of FBI materials from 1941 on the grounds that "the conviction speaks for itself"! And it keeps repeating it has never been "successfully prosecuted" for anything since, affecting not to notice that this manner of pleading not guilty implicitly indicts the "Minneapolis 18", to say nothing of the Communist Party, which had its back broken in the 1950s by every kind of witchhunting weapon, including not a few successful prosecutions of its members for alleged crimes ranging from "advocacy" to income tax evasion.

To the legalistic SWP a law is a law is a law, eg the SWP's complete prostration before the Voorhis Act. The Voorhis Act was passed in 1940 in an effort to flatly legalize international political organizations. Under its sweeping provisions, you don't have to be a Zionist or a Moonie to be deemed "subject to foreign control". Any political organization whose policies ("or any of them") are "determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with" a foreign government or "a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization" is asserted to be in violation of the Voorhis Act unless it complies with regulations to register it to death. Therefore any trade union with international ties (like the American auto union, affiliated to the international metal workers' federation), to say nothing of

Vatican-influenced political groupings like the anti-abortion lobby, hypothetically could be prosecuted as "illegal". The Voorhis Act was patently unconstitutional when it was passed and any credibility it might have claimed then has certainly been vitiated by its having been on the books for four decades without ever having been used in the prosecution of anyone. But the SWP has for years found the Voorhis Act useful as an excuse for its anti-internationalism, and anti-internationalism is an important credential in a country where "un-American" is a potent accusation.

This is not to say the Act never will be used. What determines who will be prosecuted and for what is not so much the state of the legal code as the class struggle. It was not "the law", that abstract Platonic ideal beloved of reformists, which executed the Rosenbergs in 1953, but the American ruling class riding the Cold War tide. Black Panther militants were hunted down and massacred by the cops and FBI without benefit of special legal sanction.

The SWP doesn't much care about the Rosenbergs or the Panthers. What it wants is to get itself an exemption from repression by showing itself non-threatening to the system. Its protestations about "peaceful, legal" are not so much a legal argument as a political one. The SWP line has the virtue of simplicity: the SWP has never broken any laws (at least since 1941) and it never will. Almost nobody else in the world except Jack Barnes' SWP could make that statement. The 1978 miners' strike in violation of Taft-Hartley broke the law. The 1980 New York subway strike broke the Taylor Law. Undocumented non-citizens working in this country are "illegal aliens". Homosexuals (and most heterosexuals) break "morality" laws. And then there's the Voorhis Act. . . . To be sure, serious revolutionists don't sit around contemplating breaking laws; we accept that the bourgeoisie has state power and we are guided accordingly. But we defend striking unionists, immigrant workers, homosexuals, internationalists, etc and we resent the SWP's attempt to purchase a special licence to practice reformism at the expense of all those who cannot or do not wish to make the same fulsome "peaceful, legal" guarantees.

### A BLP in Embryo

The SWP legal strategy is the direct expression of its politics. Barnes & Co hope to convince the judge they are basically idiosyncratic democrats loyal to the political institutions of American capitalism and committed above all to the defense of "democracy" against "dictatorship". They parade their faith in the system, which they present as susceptible to peaceful "transformation" through the electoral process, and hope the court will reciprocate by turning the brutal apparatus of bourgeois state repression against other targets.

Their main problem is that they want to make sure nobody could confuse the SWP with a revolutionary Trotskyist party, but they do not want to explicitly attack "revolution", "Trotskyism" or the old SWP of Trotsky and Cannon (much as the Communist Party does not relinquish its claim to "Leninism" and "Communism"). They try to accomplish this by redefining words until they do not mean anything at all. On April 7 Jack Barnes responded to a question about the phrase "combat party" by dismissing it as just the "jargon of our movement, which is a pain sometimes". On June 18 Linda Jenness defined revolutionary socialism as meaning restructuring society more fairly. On a more sophisticated level, the testimony of Barry Sheppard was most instructive in the art of trivializing revolution.

On May 5 Judge Griesa interrupted the SWP lawyers' examination of Sheppard to ask him the difference between the SWP and the British Labour Party. What follows is a telescoped account of the questioning reconstructed from the notes of the WV reporter attending that

session (and subsequently verified from the trial record itself):

Griesa: What differences are there between Trotskyists and the British Labour Party?

Sheppard: There are many differences within the BLP; some of its members are Trotskyists.

Griesa: Between Trotskyists and Labour governments, then?

Sheppard: They want to maintain capitalism and reform it some. We agree on many concretes, like socialized medicine. They want to limit it to that. We think fundamental change in the structure of ownership is necessary.

Griesa: If you were in Parliament, you'd propose bills that went further? You'd do it through the political process?

Sheppard: Of course, it can't happen all at once. We'd go much further through that process.

Griesa: Try to legislate, only much farther?

Sheppard: Yes.

Griesa: The word "revolution" — Harold Wilson doesn't use it much.

Sheppard: Tony Benn would use it.

Griesa: What place does the word "revolution" have?

Sheppard: The BLP doesn't think there has to be a social revolution, a change in the structure of ownership. . . .

Griesa: The BLP has, I believe, a doctrine of nationalizing industry, banking. That would be a fundamental change in property forms. When you say fundamental change, what's the difference?

Sheppard: It's the same thing. Our quarrel is they never do it. . . .

The SWP sees politics as a classless continuum of political parties: the Republicans, the Democrats, the BLP, the SWP. If Barnes' party used to be known for its belief that consistent pro-capitalist ideology leads to socialism ("consistent feminism", "consistent nationalism"), their perspective now might be summed up as: consistent Constitutional reform leads to socialism. What's wrong with this is expressed neatly in the 1938 founding Declaration of the revolutionary SWP:

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion."

The SWP has tried every way it knows to reassure the judge, from Fred Halstead's exposition of the SWP's role as part of the right wing of the Vietnam antiwar movement to condemnations of black self-defense as suicidal. Some of them have been perhaps too subtle. Take Fred Halstead's April 23 testimony on A J Muste, the ex-preacher who became a Trotskyist briefly during the 1930s:

"He was one of the people who was instrumental in introducing into the American strike movement in the 1930s the sit-down strike.

"You see, before that you would have situations where the majority of the workers in a plant would want the union, would even vote for it, would go out on strike.

"But there were many unemployed [who would scab].

"So fights would start on the picket line. To avoid that, Muste, among others, introduced the idea of occupying the plant, sitting down in the plant so you could win a strike without violence."

— *Militant*, 15 May

It probably takes a Marxist or a fake-Marxist to appreciate the true perniciousness of presenting a plant occupation — a frontal challenge to bourgeois property rights — as merely a less militant alternative to picket lines. Of course, the idea of the SWP leading sit-down strikes is ludicrous anyway; we can't remember the last time the *Militant* urged any union in this country to go out on strike! Griesa might have been impressed if the SWP had cited its restraint in calling for strikes, but to come out openly as anti-strike would undercut the SWP's vision of itself as a party of future labor statesmen.

### The Bourgeoisie's Bottom Line

On April 2 SWP attorney Winter asked Farrell Dobbs if the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were binding on the SWP. "Not at all", was the reply. But the disclaimers do not really dispose

Continued on page seven

## Poland...

Continued from page three

Counter Spy magazine more than six months ago, the editorial says:

"Counterspy was not the last source to strike this theme. Just a little while ago, broadcasts from the Soviet Union could be heard denouncing Solidarity's American connection and cutely referring to Lane Kirkland as among the 'chief stockholders' in the Polish dissident movement. Over on this side of the ocean, when Solidarity recently opened an office in New York, a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorial which attacks our demonstration is more than a political statement. What this mouthpiece of the American ruling class has in mind is not an exchange of polemics on Poland, but a government assault on the right of communists in the labour movement to challenge the pro-capitalist line of the American labour bureaucracy. The article ends with an unmistakable threat: "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's crusade for "political freedom" "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching".

The threat is no less ominous because it leaves implicit the mechanisms of repression envisioned by the editors. Is the editorial's title, "Communists and the AFL-CIO", intended to evoke an intensification of McCarthyite witch-hunting against communists in the trade unions? Nor should anyone miss the sinister import of the *Wall Street Journal's* suggestion that our demonstration was inspired by the Russian Stalinists. The notion of Trotskyists as some kind of Russian agents may be ludicrous, but you can be sure the social democrats will not be far behind the *Wall Street Journal* in painting us as sinister Stalinist spies, the better to cement their own united front with the CIA.

What is perhaps most interesting about the editorial is that it makes no attempt to claim that the accusations about the "AFL-CIA" are anything but true. "How easy it is", says the *Wall Street Journal*, "to make lists of the CIA connections: the parallel aims, the instances of collaboration, the communications and shared acquaintanceships". And how easy it is! Irving Brown was American imperialism's main man in Western Europe after World War II, where he used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire goons to split, smash and subdue combative unions. And talk about "parallel aims" — Albert Shanker's SDUSA was an unashamed Vietnam hawk after even Nixon gave it up as a lost cause; Shanker now joins with Kirkland in the right-wing militarist "Committee on the Present Danger", whose program is a nuclear first-strike against the USSR.

Simply put, the *Wall Street Journal's* line is: CIA? Sure, but so what? Albert Shanker, in his *New York Times* column (October 4) takes the same tack. Shanker quotes Radio Moscow's charge that his union "annually receives \$100,000 from the CIA for international contacts and activities". "Totally false", says Shanker, who goes on to boast of the money he gets from the Agency for International Development, frequently a conduit for CIA "counterinsurgency" which has financed operations from Guatemala to Thailand. For Shanker,

there's nothing unholy about an alliance between the American labour tops and the American government; it's a legitimate anti-Communist united front stretching from the UFT office to CIA headquarters and blessed by the *Wall Street Journal* to boot.

### Solidarnosc Walks Out on the "Internationale"

Nor is this an aberration limited to Reagan's America. When Solidarity leader Lech Walesa visited Paris on 14 October a similar protest held by our French iSt sympathising section, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), outside his press conference was almost immediately dispersed by French police. Under questioning from a reporter from *Le Bolchevik*, newspaper of the LTF, Walesa was vague on the call by the recent Solidarity Congress for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Another member of the Solidarnosc delegation however was more explicit: "What seems most important to us is control by an international organism. In any case, we are aware that to escape from the crisis, given the current situation in Poland, will mean major sacrifices." Not by the imperialist banks, though.

Even more revealing was the Solidarnosc leader's response to a question about democracy. Walesa proclaimed repeatedly that "We are 36 years late in establishing a real democracy". Presumably, then, he would have preferred to have Poland liberated in 1945 not by the Red Army, but by Eisenhower, so that Solidarnosc could enjoy the "free trade union" status which Reagan accords the American air controllers! Or does Walesa perhaps think that the Polish working class was better off under Nazi occupation or the Pilsudski dictatorship than today? Then, in a coup de grace, at a rally for Walesa held by the social-democratic union federation, the CFDT, "self-management" fans from way back, at the end of the meeting when the audience began singing the "Internationale", the Polish union delegation objected. A CFDT official hurried over to explain that this was traditional, but to no avail. So in the middle of the international workers anthem, the Solidarnosc invitees stalked off the platform!

The spectacle of the *Wall Street Journal*, a main ideological voice of the US bourgeoisie, posturing as a partisan of a "free and independent" American labour movement is certainly obscene. But no more obscene than a Polish "union" which looks for salvation to the US imperialist-led "free world", the pope ... and now even the International Monetary Fund! Is there a union leader anywhere else in the world who would dare to so openly make common cause with the international bankers' cartel? If the IMF ever gets a chance to implement its program for Poland, it will surely begin by starving most of the Polish population. American workers may not understand the toll in human suffering and death contained beneath those initials, but workers all over the globe know what the IMF means. Pinochet's bloody coup in Chile was for the purpose of making the country "safe" for the IMF. If Conoco and the IMF ever get their hands on Poland, Polish miners will be lucky to live long enough to get black lung. Lech Walesa's affection for the IMF is the clearest possible demonstration of Solidarnosc' real role as a *company union* for the CIA and the bankers.

US imperialism has gone all out to build up Solidarnosc as a "democratic" opposition to Stalinism. With its "press" offices, its US dollars funneled through the AFL-CIO, its echoing of Cold War propaganda, Polish "Solidarity" has become an instrument of the capitalists' crusade, more than six decades old, to overturn the social and economic achievements won by the Russian October Revolution. And they don't want any Western socialists fouling up the works by exposing the counterrevolutionary danger for what it is. Hence the news blackout of the SL/US protest, until five days later, that is, when the *Wall Street*

*Journal* published its threatening editorial, "Communists and the AFL-CIO". They made it clear who the American friends of Polish Solidarnosc are.

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 290, 9 October 1981.

## Mullahs...

Continued from page eight

that the Islamic Mujahedeen, along with petty-bourgeois leftists like the Fedayeen, helped put Khomeini in power. They tailed the clerics as Kurdish villages were bombed to rubble, "immodest" women stoned to death, striking workers terrorised at gunpoint, leftists reviled, beaten and killed. It was the international Spartacist tendency that warned, even before Khomeini came to power, that the "Islamic revolution" promised by the mullahs would be just as reactionary as the hated police state of the US-backed shah. But we were alone in raising what for Marxists should have been an obvious slogan: "Down with the shah — Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" The Mujahedeen and anti-Khomeini left in Iran are now paying a terrible price for bloody repression that in part is of their own making.

But the mullahs are getting badly mauled too. A wave of spectacular assassinations has decimated the upper levels of the IRP. On 29 September five military top brass were killed in an aeroplane crash. And now the Pasdaran are meeting a hail of lead from the

Mujahedeen. The mullah regime's fate hasn't yet been decided.

Obviously, the key factor is the military. Where the armed forces would fall if the regime went under isn't clear yet. Among the officer corps are many unreconstructed monarchists. Whoever was responsible for the bombings of the IRP headquarters and the prime minister's office was able to pull off an inside job. Bani-Sadr, who took the position of commander in chief to prosecute the war with Iraq, reactionary and chauvinist on both sides, claims to have the allegiance of the military. The Mujahedeen, meanwhile, are reported to have considerable support among the younger officers.

The Mujahedeen are not part of the left, but a petty bourgeois populist movement whose founding cadres were drawn from Islamic theological seminaries. Their politics are based on the Koran, they revered the late ayatollah Taleghani. Various described as "Islamic marxists", "liberals" and "leftists", the Mujahedeen are in reality the consummate political expression of a stratum of Iran's educated petty bourgeoisie that could be characterised as modernising nationalists, but certainly not radical democrats like Sun Yat-sen. Their ideology is imbued with religious obscurantism as strong as Khomeini's.

Once the shah fell, the conflict of interests between the modernist and traditionalist sectors of the petty bourgeoisie was bound to come to a head. There was no place in Khomeini's backward-looking theocracy for those with graduate degrees in oil technology, accounting and

## Protest Melbourne Anti-Communist Thug Attack!

Reprinted below is a leaflet distributed by the Melbourne branch of the Spartacist League protesting recent attacks by Dr J Szrednicki, a Polish professor at Melbourne University, on *Australasian Spartacist* sellers. A petition protesting this attack on our democratic right to sell our press circulated at Melbourne University and within the left and labour movement was signed by a number of Melbourne University academics and students, Stan Williams, Victorian Secretary of the FEDFA, former Melbourne Waterside Workers official Ted Bull and several other prominent WWF members. On the other hand, the Solidarity-loving Socialist Workers Party joined the campus "Socialist" club in refusing to sign, openly siding with reaction in "understanding" this anti-communist's thug attack.

★ ★ ★ ★

Last Saturday, 17 October, *Australasian Spartacist* (ASp) salesmen in Carlton were attacked by Dr J Szrednicki, a senior lecturer of Philosophy at Melbourne University. Szrednicki, who said he is Polish and a member of Solidarity, verbally harassed one comrade for our article "Time Runs Out in Poland — Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" (ASp no 88), then tried to punch him and rip up the paper (missing both), and threatened to kill us if ever he caught us at night when there were no police around. Szrednicki told a passerby who protested that he'd "fix him too". He then raved that he'd go "get a hammer to smash (our) heads".

He returned brandishing a 12" shifting spanner at one comrade and then went after a small female comrade across the street. When he lifted the spanner to strike the comrade who intervened, he was quickly disarmed and sent packing. As he left he threatened to come back with a knife and to get weapons that he could use on us "from five feet away". Witnesses have come forward and a report has been made to the police.

This is Szrednicki's second assault on ASp salesmen. The first occurred on October 8 on the Melbourne Uni campus when he (again) physically threatened a lone female ASp supporter and ripped up her paper.

This reactionary's assault against Trotskyists is indicative of an increasing rightwing climate. The "free trade union" Solidarity, no longer a trade union, is the translucent Trojan Horse for Reagan/Haig's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive and what is going on in Poland is a pro-imperialist counterrevolutionary polarisation. Solidarity has flourished under the gun of mounting US anti-Soviet imperialist militarism, with a virulently anti-communist Polish pope in the Vatican (backed 100% here in Australia by Malcolm Fraser). Under the banner of nation, church and "the free world", the Solidarity leadership is organising a bloody capitalist counterrevolution, and this attempt to overturn the collectivised property in the Soviet bloc must be stopped.

Szrednicki's anti-communist attacks on Spartacist supporters are a pale reflection of what would happen in Poland should Walesa and Co gain power, where all those who oppose Solidarity's capitalist restorationist march will become the victims of a white terror.

Walesa's Solidarity is not only the darling of outright reactionaries but also acclaimed by various fake "lefts". We were not surprised therefore that when seeking to identify Szrednicki on Melbourne Uni we were told by Socialist Club "heavy" Steve Wright that "this guy is probably a fascist anyway but I can understand how he feels and I feel the same way about what you say about Poland" and "I refuse to lift a finger to help you find this guy". This "socialist's" bloc with the reactionary Szrednicki is as stupid as it is sectarian, for those who today in the service of reaction and the anti-Soviet war drive attack Trotskyists will tomorrow turn on their "left" frontmen.

Szrednicki's assault on democratic rights is an outrage. This reactionary's attempt to settle political issues with a shifting spanner must be protested and condemned by the left and labour movement, in particular the students, staff and campus workers of Melbourne University. Protest Szrednicki's assault on Trotskyists!

— Spartacist League  
20 October 1981

## Spartacist League

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European languages. So naturally Rajavi stresses that "we must accept — we have accepted — a national bourgeoisie" and that the regime would be "independent" (*International Herald Tribune*, 18 September). In mobilising their forces behind Bani-Sadr, the Mujahedeen are not opportunistically betraying their principles. They see in Bani-Sadr the means of achieving an Iran open to men of their talents — that is, a strong, modernising capitalist state, the kind the shah tried, but failed, to build.

The so-called left in Iran today is divided over just which petty-bourgeois force to tail. Since the fall of Bani-Sadr the Majority Fedayeen has moved close to the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party as loyal left servants to the murderous mullahs. Deciding that one of their duties was to report on the counterrevolutionaries, the Tudeh Party exposed to the regime one of the headquarters of the Maoist Peykar group leading to a number of arrests. The Minority Fedayeen now chants "death to the Islamic Republic", but for all their verbal denunciations of Bani-Sadr as "no better than the Islamic Republican Party", they support him in action, taking part in the mass rallies in Teheran last June where the main slogan was "Muslims arise, Bani-Sadr will support you".

As for the groups associated with the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat", the two supported by the Australian Socialist Workers Party (SWP) — the HKE and HVK — rival the Tudeh party in their loathsome grovelling before the mullahs. They of course mourned the bombed-to-pieces IRP murderers and alibi the pogroms against the Mujahedeen as they declare that "the attempt to physically destroy the Iranian government is a reactionary attack on the revolution itself" and that the Mujahedeen's acts are "indistinguishable" from terrorist attacks by monarchists and "other counterrevolutionary forces tied to imperialism". Though the Mujahedeen could be the shock troops for a military coup, in the present context it is necessary to defend them against Khomeini's terror.

Behind this see-through mask of "anti-imperialist" rhetoric the HKE/HVK/SWP stand with Khomeini's butchers, offering the advice that the genocidal slaughter against the Mujahedeen, the left and minorities is not the best way to "defend the gains of the revolution" and "vigorously pursue the war against the Iraqi invaders". Their claims to not support the government are further exposed by their unequivocal identification with the Revolutionary Guards or Pasdaran, what they call "the thousands of armed, revolutionary-minded youth", for these are the regime's clerical-fascist stormtroopers, hated butchers of Kurds, Arabs and the left.

The real guiding thread of these cleric-loving social democrats is the hope that their prostration will save their own skins. A 14 September report in *Intercontinental Press (IP)* on the release of two HKE members from Evin prison protests that they were falsely charged with starting a strike and later of belonging to the Maoist Peykar group which opposes the war with Iraq. "Many members of Peykar have been executed in recent weeks and the lives of Zahraie and Shir Ali were also in danger", the report notes. Earlier a 22 July *Direct Action* report had pleaded their chauvinist loyalty to the mullahs, "The two women have played an important part in the military mobilisation against the Iraqi invasion". So these two "anti-imperialist fighters" managed to clear themselves of both capital offences, leaving real strikers and real opponents of the Iraq-Iran nationalist blood feud to rot or be shot behind them: "an important victory for the right of socialists to express their views on Iran".

Furthermore the 19 October *IP* reprinted the views of the HKS, yet another USec affiliate this time linked to the European Mandelites, but fail to mention that according to the HKE/HVK the HKS would be amongst the "counterrevolutionary destabilisers" in Iran. Here black is white. The HKE/HVK say "masses repudiate terror bombings", the HKS says that "there were cel-

ebrations among the workers at the explosion of the IRP headquarters". The HKS calls for the overthrow of the Islamic regime now only to say that if the Mujahedeen came to power "this would open up big opportunities for open activity by the workers and left wing organisations, the nationalities ...". So too they said about Khomeini.

The common denominator uniting the fake-lefts who still tail Khomeini (Tudeh, Fedayeen Majority, HKE/HVK) and those which now denounce the mullahs (Fedayeen Minority, Peykar, HKS) is their slavish adherence to the Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" dogma. These groups look to the colonial bourgeoisie as the liberator from imperialism, to which it owes its existence as a class. Of those who have given up on the clerical-reactionary Khomeini, most have linked themselves to Bani-Sadr — who was the transitional figure for the consolidation of the theocratic dictatorship, and who could play a similar role for a pro-imperialist coup. Peykar, which is the most vociferously opposed to its own ruling classes over the Iran/Iraq war, is also the most intransigent exponent of Mao's (and Khomeini's) line on "Soviet imperialism".

Iran provides an emphatic demonstration in the negative of the historic lesson of the Russian Revolution of 1917 for the colonial and ex-colonial countries. This is summed up in Trotsky's program of permanent revolution: achieving democracy and breaking the shackles of imperialist domination is only possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses. Only a Trotskyist party — fighting for the political independence of the working class, for defence of the social gains of the Russian October and their extension, as in neighboring Afghanistan — can liberate the oppressed Iranian masses. ■

— adapted from *Workers Vanguard*  
no 291, 23 October 1981

## Reformism . . .

Continued from page five

of the SWP's problem of nominal Trotskyism. On April 28 Griesa treated Andrew Pulley to a lecture on "dictatorship of the proletariat", "revolution", "democratic centralism": when the government reads these words, he said, they think you are serious about these things. "Why should the FBI translate these words into what Farrell Dobbs says they mean"? He asked Pulley if it weren't the case that the word "revolution" is used by people who don't have faith in the electoral process. "Partially", said Pulley. Later Griesa brought it up again: the SWP has all this rhetoric; they say it means something else. "But revolutions are bloody battles. . . ."

The Russian question — a central question for authentic Trotskyists — is no less central to the bourgeoisie's minimum program for responsible critics. These are the guarantees the SWP must give. And when push comes to shove the SWP gives them. When the notorious FBI agent Mandigo in his first affidavit (not the secret one) wrote that Cannon had said the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America in a world war, the *Militant* (13 March) denied it (see "SWP Slanders James P Cannon", *WV* no 278, 10 April). On April 6 and again on April 9 Barnes linked international democratic centralism to Stalinist degeneration, thereby equating Leninism with Stalinism and distancing the SWP from both. On May 11 the government asked Barry Sheppard, "Can you think of any case where you would support the US against the Soviet Union?" Sheppard hedged around and the judge intervened to ask Sheppard if he would be "loyal". Sheppard's response concluded, "If the Soviet Union invades Poland tomorrow, we would oppose that. . . . We are politically opposed to the Soviet role in Afghanistan".

On June 25, the last day of testimony, the SWP in its rebuttal put Barnes back on the stand to espouse more loyalty to the Constitution and to try again on the

Russian question. Barnes defined "a workers and farmers republic" as:

"A constitution which would be in contradiction to chattel slavery, property requirements [for voting], restriction of franchise for any reason of sex or age or anything like that. It would also include the fact that the prerogatives of the largest property owners, the largest productive property owners, the owners of the big mines, mills and factories would be subordinate to the development and extension of the democratic rights of the great majority of the citizenry.

"In some ways maybe the Civil War is not the best example of this — the blood that was necessary to eliminate chattel slavery. . . ."

Barnes said the SWP does not consider the Russian Revolution a "model" to be followed in the US and posed instead Nicaragua: political "pluralism" and a so-called "mixed economy":

"The attempt not to be forced like the Russian government was to nationalize everything — but to try to evolve with a majority of the population, taking over more and more of the economy, by maintaining the small and middle farmers in the countryside, by aiding the small and medium businesses as part of the development of a workers and farmers regime. . . ."

Nowhere does Barnes suggest that there is any contradiction between the democratic pretensions of bourgeois rule and the realities of capitalist exploitation, hideous racial oppression and imperialist rape of the underdeveloped countries. The deal is: Barnes will acknowledge the government's democratic credentials if they will acknowledge his.

## Catch 22

If the SWP loses, we all lose. Anything other than a judicial reproof to the FBI for its spying and harassment, its black bag jobs, its unleashing of ultrarightists like the Legion of Justice against the SWP, its lies and criminal cover-ups would constitute a declaration that leftists have no civil rights at all.

But if the SWP wins, we still lose. The SWP does not even pretend to call for the abolition of the spy agencies. They are offering the ruling class a chance to show by tolerating reformist dissent how permissive it is — while it targets unionists, black militants, revolutionaries.

To all those who want to stop the race-terrorists, defend the right to strike, fight imperialist militarism, the SWP offers only reformist recipes for defeat. Like the "Watersuit", which even in the narrowest sense is a strategy for retreat in the struggle against repression. ■

## Ford . . .

Continued from page eight

capitalist order and their own privileged positions. As Trotsky wrote in his 1940 pamphlet *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*:

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

This could not be more clear than at Ford Broadmeadows where Turks, Greeks, Italians, Lebanese, Spaniards and now Asians are the overwhelming majority. These foreign-born workers, a stratum that extends through basic and manufacturing industry, limited to the hardest and lowest paid unskilled and semi-skilled work through massive discrimination, do not share the smug complacency and material benefits of higher-paid Australian-born tradesmen as CPA bureaucrat Laurie Carmichael found out at Ford Broadmeadows in 1973. This volatile layer of the Australian proletariat, without the organic links or material stake in pervasive Laborism, are a potential motor force for the Australian revolution. But this demands the building of a class-struggle leadership in the unions linked to a multi-racial Leninist vanguard party. Otherwise, as in '73, this explosive potential will be dissipated in impotent rage and frustration.

In the car industry the question of working-class independence comes down hardest around protectionism. Internationally the car industry is in massive slump and the American auto giants and their subsidiaries here face increasing competition from Japanese imports. And so the companies threaten their workers — support us in fighting "foreign" imports or it will mean your job, a policy readily agreed to by the labour fakery. At Geelong Ford the company even gave its workforce the day off to participate in an 8000-strong union protectionist rally. But protectionism, government propping up of company profits, will not stop layoffs, at best only transferring unemployment overseas. But, necessarily, in tying workers to "their" company, it will mean accepting the company's austerity lies and fuelling vicious Australian chauvinism, directed now at Japan and Asia but which will inevitably be turned back against all foreign-born workers.

As for the fake left their response to this strike has demonstrated once again that they offer no alternative to the bureaucracy for they uncritically tailed the strike all the way to defeat. The International Socialists (IS) "rank-and-file" enthusiasts had only gimmicks such as hand-out placards for the strikers while the Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* (who tailed VBEF State bureaucrat Wayne Blair throughout) happily promoted isolating the strike, printing an interview with one of their supporters at AMI/Toyota headed "Vehicle Workers Eagerly Await Win at Ford" (21 October). All these opportunists of course joined in the clamour against the secret ballot but it had nothing to do with principled opposition to government/court intervention for to a man these same people backed the Rix/Olive "rank and file" team's court-ordered elections in the NSW Builders Labourers in 1978.

A class-struggle opposition to the bureaucracy must start from the understanding that capitalism's crisis is not our crisis, the workers must not pay. The threat of layoffs and unemployment must be met with occupations of the plants and the demand that the available work be shared around with no loss in pay — 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. So too with wages: the Ford workers claim was nothing but a catch-up on partial indexation, the hikes in health charges and continual inflation which must be met point for point with a guaranteed monthly cost-of-living adjustment. These things will not come through relying on arbitration or the ALP with its capitalist austerity "social contract" but through building a communist opposition in the unions that links these tasks to the expropriation of industry and the banks by a real workers government, one based not on the bosses parliament but workers own organisations. Without such a perspective the militancy shown by the Ford workers will be isolated and crushed or diverted into protectionist hoaxes. ■

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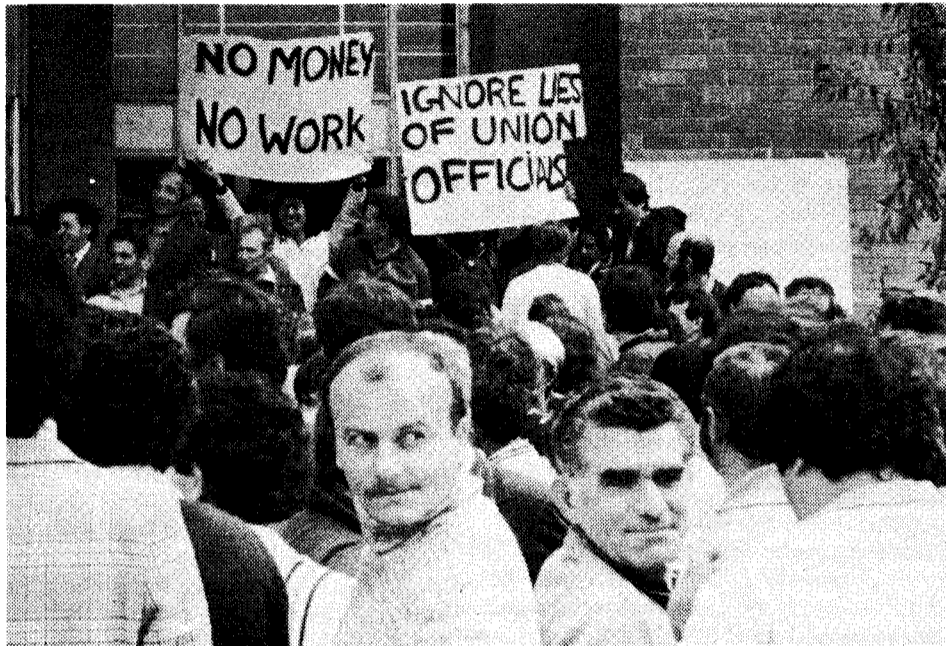
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# Union Tops Kill Ford Broadmeadows Strike

2 NOVEMBER — As we go to press the Ford workers at the Victorian Broadmeadows plant have ended their six-week long strike. The strike, where the militant and volatile migrant workforce at Broadmeadows mounted mass pickets, echoing the explosive militancy of the 1973 12-week strike, was watched closely by all classes for everyone knew it contained a threat to the class peace being promoted by Hayden's proposed "social contract". The strikers went back with nothing, defeated, but defeat came not from lack of militancy or will to struggle but from lack of an alternative to the backstabbing union bureaucracy of the Vehicle Builders Employees Federation (VBEF) who in close coalition with the company, the courts and the ACTU tops viciously attacked and undermined the strike from the outset.

The turning point came when, following an overwhelming mass meeting vote to continue the strike, Ford demanded (and got in less than an hour) a court-run secret ballot from Arbitration, hypocritically alleging "intimidation" of strikers at the mass meeting. This provocation against the strike was backed with personal letters from both Ford and the Federal VBEF "urging" a return to work. The result, with over 800 ballots never even accounted for, was narrowly to return to work, a result that was overwhelmingly rejected at a mass meeting called by the Broadmeadows shop stewards the following day, 28 October. But at least 500 workers went back after the secret ballot, under heavy police guard, while the stewards restrained



Militant Ford workers: knifed by union tops in coalition with Ford and the courts.

pickets from keeping them out. State VBEF bureaucrat Wayne Blair, a belated and reluctant backer of the strike beforehand, declared the strike "over" and the "rebels" isolated, joining Len ("they're a pack of dogs") Townsend from the federal branch in vilifying the strike. The Broadmeadows strike was a thorn in the side of the VBEF and ACTU bureaucrats, threatening their common protectionist front with the car monopolies and their hopes to peacefully steer an industry-wide wage claim paralleling Broadmeadows' into the channels of

Arbitration. Ford itself was delighted with the split in the strikers ranks its ploy had produced. From the beginning their stated intent has been to "break the back of the militant shop stewards at Broadmeadows" (*Age*, 31 October). Three days later the strikers' numbers had further dwindled and they reluctantly agreed to the stewards' recommendation to go back. At the same time Ford announced it has received over a hundred job applications, contemptuously throwing the threat of victimisations and sackings in the face of the strikers.

The strike, and its defeat, posed directly the question of leadership and a class-struggle program in the car industry. At Broadmeadows a strategy to win centred around the need to extend the strike, first of all to the other large Melbourne car plants, GMH Fishermen's Bend and Dandenong, AMI/Toyota, and eventually to shut down the car plants nation-wide. The basis for extending the strike already existed in the VBEF's \$30 industry-wide claim. But such a strategy also demands combating the political strategy of the union bureaucracy — reliance on arbitration and the class collaborationism of the union/company coalition on protectionism.

The strike also sharply revealed the limits of shop floor trade-union militancy. Faced with Ford's secret ballot the Broadmeadows shop stewards first condemned it, then legitimised it by urging workers to cast their vote, the same policy carried out in two-faced and hypocritical fashion by the VBEF bureaucrats and the ALP/ACTU tops. The Ford secret ballot, arrogant government/court intervention into the internal affairs of the labour movement, should have been rejected out of hand and systematically organised against. That was the sentiment on the picket lines — get the bosses court out, burn the ballots!

The trade-union bureaucracy, the likes of Townsend/Blair as well as the Dolan/Hawkes fear the road of class struggle for, unleashing the revolutionary aspirations of the workers, it threatens the

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## SWP still loves Khomeini Mullahs' Blood Frenzy

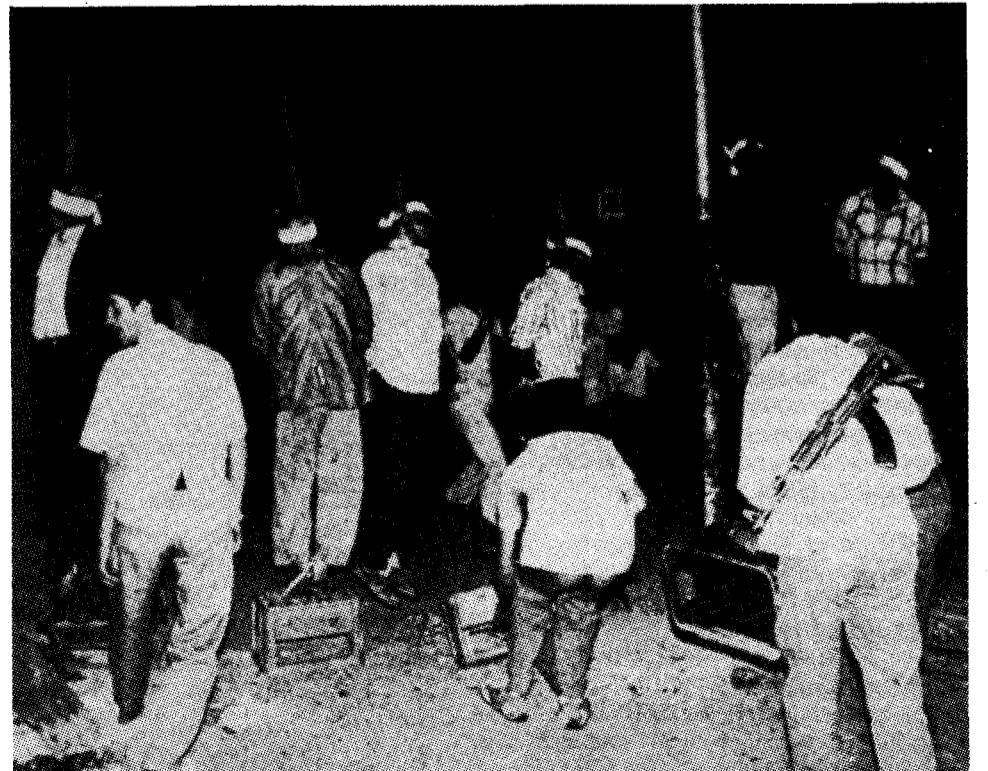
After two and a half years of the "Islamic revolution" in Iran, the reactionary Khomeini regime is coming apart. The stalemated war with Iraq, which has dragged on since September 1980, and fighting by Kurdish rebels, who control large parts of a couple of provinces, are not even the most serious of the mullahs' problems. The ruling clerical Islamic Republican Party (IRP) has been decapitated by deadly accurate bombings, state administration is in chaos, the economy in shambles, and there are reports of unrest in the military. Now Khomeini's Pasdaran (militiamen) are having frequent shoot-outs with Islamic guerrillas who've turned against their "imam" of yesterday. Besieged on all sides, Khomeini's clerics are staking their survival on mass killings. Since June over 1,800 have been executed — more executions in Iran in four months than were reported in the entire world during 1980. The mullahs' *jihad* is aimed primarily at the Muslim-populist Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (People's Crusaders), closely allied with former president Bani-Sadr in exile.

Exhorted by Khomeini to "exterminate

the heathens", the blood-crazed Pasdaran shoot on the spot anyone wounded or captured in street fighting. According to Mujahedeen leader Masoud Rajavi, now in exile outside Paris with Bani-Sadr, some 200 schoolchildren jailed for pro-Mujahedeen activities have been executed. Khomeini even gives his blessing to the execution of girls as young as nine. "Islam is revived through this bloodshed", says the fanatic. The Mujahedeen report that 12,000 of their followers have been jailed since June, when the IRP brushed aside Bani-Sadr. Significantly, the mullahs' victims are tortured and mutilated by the very same SAVAK sadists who butchered for the shah (80 percent of SAVAKis have reportedly been "rehabilitated"). If the Bastille was torn down in the French bourgeois revolution, Teheran's looming Evin Prison — whose dungeons once swallowed up the shah's political prisoners — has come to symbolise the ayatollahs' "Islamic revolution".

So now many of those who had hailed Khomeini as some kind of "progressive" cry "Betrayal!" It must not be forgotten

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More executions in Khomeini's Iran since June than in entire world last year.