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United Nation out of Yugoslavia!

Imperialist troops under the authority of the United Nations are now well bogged down in the war in what was Yugoslavia. The bloody nationalist conflict there has thousands, possibly millions, suffering solely because of their nationality and religion.

The UN, which is really a front for the USA, is claiming high moral ground “defending the defenceless... against the genocidal brutality” etc. But in reality, the UN is part of the problem. It is not the solution. It can only perpetuate the nationalism and pave the way for future bloodshed.

Yugoslavia was established after the second world war by partisans led by Tito. It was broken from capitalism by non-proletarian forces — a workers’ and peasants’ state. Although conceived as a union between all Yugoslavs, Serbians tended to dominate. Tito was committed to break down antagonisms and inequalities, but his regime did so inconsistently. Some nationalities had some genuine grievances. However there was a considerable degree of national breakdown and mutual national respect even if national antagonisms weren’t entirely overcome.

Tito’s successors maintained power by promoting Serb chauvinism. This has been shown to be a time bomb. Yesterday’s antagonisms have resurfaced in an extremely bloody way. During the second world war the Croatians established a regime which was fascist and blocked with the Nazis. Many but not all Croatian nationalists identify with this regime. This has been used to rationalise Serb chauvinism. The treacherous policies of some Croat leaders do not justify the repression of the national rights of Croatians. On the contrary! We must show them that we respect their language, their culture and religion to undermine this fascist leadership.

The growth of national antagonism is a product of the re-establishment of capitalism in Yugoslavia. The United States-led UN is committed to capitalism. It cannot solve the national question in Yugoslavia. UN attempts to resolve the national question will only exacerbate these antagonisms. They are merely delaying the violence. It is only the organised working class that can overcome national antagonisms. Nonsectarian workers’ militia must be established — now!

Bougainville the war made by Australia

For the past three years there has been a war on the island of Bougainville. The war is between the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the Papua New Guinea Armed forces. Bougainville is officially part of Papua New Guinea but the majority of its peasant population want to secede. Ethnically

Bougainville people are closer to Solomon Islanders than Papuans or Nuiginians. Bougainville Island is only part of PNG thanks to boundaries drawn up by the imperialists.

Whilst the fighting is carried out by the PNG armed forces, these forces are backed fully by Australia who supplies PNG with military aid such as Iriquoii helicopters. Gareth Evans has made it clear that the Australian Government would not tolerate an independent Bougainville. Successive Australian governments bear the responsibility for the development of this war

This is largely a war about copper. The copper mine on Bougainville was established by the Australian based multinational Conzinc Riotinto Australia. Conzinc Riotinto is a British multinational with significant Australian investment. The Bougainville copper mine was set up in 1969 by expropriating the local people with military force. When it was clear that the Nasioi people would resist the imposed mine, the Australian administration backed CRA with tear gas rifles and shot guns. CRA were only offering the local farmers \$20,000 in compensation — peanuts

This forced expropriation was condemned strongly by sections of the Australian labour movement such as John Halfpenny who urged full support for the Bougainville people including financial aid and action against CRA. The Queensland Trades and Labour Council moved a resolution calling on the ACTU for an immediate inquiry against the outrages against the Bougainville people. Working class action did increase the amount of compensation but the mine went ahead.

When Mr Whitlam was seeking to become Prime Minister he made Papua New Guinea an election issue. The Liberals' record was extremely embarrassing. The Labor Party promised independence. Under Labor, Papua New Guinea was given formal independence but imperialist exploitation remained. In 1973 Whitlam visited the territory to negotiate. At Bougainville he was met by protesters demanding recognition of national rights. The Bougainville people were deliberately ignored. In fact PNG leaders such as Somare wanted to keep Bougainville so as PNG could benefit from the copper. The imperialist borders remained and there was no self determination for the Bougainville people.

They have every reason to be angry. Copper mining has damaged their fishing and their farm land — for the profit of CRA. It is this anger that produced the Bougainville Revolutionary Army.

The Bougainville copper mine has had a tradition of militant unionism. In Bougainville, as elsewhere only the working class that can be consistently revolutionary. But there has been antagonism between mineworkers and farmers and CRA has been the winner. What is required is a working class revolutionary programme for the expropriation of CRA and for a plan for production which respects the land and minimalises pollution. CRA are only rônprnd with orofit.

Communists can not identify with the tribal farmer- based Bougainville Revolutionary Army. But we agree U the Bougainville people have the right to their nationalit They should have the right to become independent , joir Papua Nuigini or Solomon Islands which ever they choc Irrespectively, Australia should have no role as policem for the area. All Australian intervention must be unconditionally opposed.

When the Bougainville mine was expropriated, Australian workers took action. Today, Australian imperialism is still pillaging the area, though indirectly, through the PNG Government. But there is still the flee direct workers' action against Australian imperialism. TI failure of working class people

to take action is a reflection of their leadership. However there is also a failure of solidarity movements to orient to the working class. First they orient towards students, churches, hoping that more persuasion will change governments. As a result there has been no systematic attempt to educate workers on the issues involved and why there should be direct action against imperialism — Australian imperialism. The war Bougainville was made by Australia.

Feudalism wins the Kampuchean elections

though full figures are not in, it's clear that 70%, feudalism has won the Kampuchean elections. The Vietnamese-backed stalinists led by Hun Sen are running a clear second to FUNCINPEC led by Prince Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh and certainly way behind the combined feudalist forces FUNCINPEC and the Buddhist supporters of Son Sann.

Feudalism has won in Kampuchea! The Pol Pot led Khmer Rouge abstained from the elections arguing that they were a fraud. They then decided not to disrupt hoping for a feudalist win! They were right in that an election does not alter the class forces which really rule a capitalist society, or in the case of Kampuchea a workers' and peasants' state in transition to capitalism. However the fact that a majority participated does show the lack of support for the Khmer Rouge. The net result of the elections has been to isolate the Khmer Rouge in terms of participation in the administration of Kampuchea. It is clear that they will take no part in any joint administration. They are isolated from former allies Son Sann and Sihanouk. Observers state that the Khmer Rouge control a fair bit of the country side and it will take a considerable time for them to be subdued by the UN or Kampuchean forces. Although they have no hope of winning power in Kampuchea, their resistance could hold out for some time.

The Hun Sen Government is refusing to accept the result. This appears somewhat belated. After all they had confidence in the UN before the election. And they welcomed bourgeois and feudal parties. Now, it seems that they only lack faith after the election — after they lost!

Many thousands of Kampuchean workers lost their lives in the struggle against feudalism. Yet power is handed back to feudalism virtually on a platter. Both the Pol Pot Stalinists and the Vietnamese sponsored Heng Samrin government are responsible for this massive betrayal.

Pol Pot has the bloody record of mass murder — the killing fields. Some of those killed were the class enemy. Others died due to bureaucratic inefficiency and shortages. Some were killed because they were Vietnamese. But many proletarians were murdered

—victims of Pol Pot's anti proletarian strategy of liquidating the proletariat into the peasantry. Pol Pot took the Maoist stalinist strategy of liquidating the proletariat into the peasantry to its logical conclusion of depopulating the cities murdering workers.

The Vietnamese stalinists have had a long history of betraying the Kampuchean revolution ever since the IndoChinese Communist Party was split into its national components. The Vietnamese Lao and Khmer communists going separate ways in 1951. At the Geneva Peace Conference Pol Pot's Kampuchean weren't even invited yet it was agreed" by the imperialists and the Vietnamese that Kampuchea should be governed by a feudal regime. This feudal regime led by Prince Sihanouk murdered and gaoled communists. Vietnam put its national struggle first. At the Paris Conference

the US imperialists were permitted to bomb Kampuchea. All this exacerbated Kampuchean chauvinism against the Vietnamese.

After the victory of both wars of national liberation here was a totally inadequate attempt by both sides to resolve the boundary question. The boundaries between Kampuchea and Vietnam were drawn up by France. Within the Vietnamese territory are Kampucheans. Vietnam also concluded a deal with Thailand dividing the continental shelf at the expense of Kampuchea. Pol Pot won support within Kampuchea on the basis of reclaiming territory considered to be Kampuchean. When there was no attempt to satisfy Kampuchean demands they began military border incursions against Vietnam. In 1979 Vietnam responded with a wholesale invasion. After they took Phnom Pehn they imposed a sympathetic stalinist regime. Twelve years of war followed.

Throughout the war Pol Pot had been in alliance with the feudalists Son Sann and Sihanouk. This alliance gained mass support as a nationalist force not tainted by the bloodshed of Pol Pot. He needed their support so he cemented an alliance with these reactionary feudalists. His reactionary policies cost him mass support, especially in the cities. For Pol Pot the Vietnamese sponsored stalinists were a greater enemy than the feudalists. However the Vietnamese and their sponsored regime made it quite clear of their willingness to work with feudalists so long as there was no recognition of Pol Pot. They have also since 1979 supported free elections so long as Pol Pot didn't participate. In other words their antagonism towards Pol Pot was greater than their antagonism to feudalism.

Pol Pot is tainted by his bloody regime, Hun Sen is tainted by being backed by the Vietnamese invasion. So the winner is feudalism! Both stalinist factions have been promoting the feudalists so both are responsible for their victory!

The response to their defeat from the Hun Sen forces has been an attempt to form a new state out of the eastern provinces. In these provinces, closest to Vietnam there is the most sympathy for Vietnam and support for Hun Sen. This is an act of despair which is bound to be defeated. It sells out workers in Phnom Pehn to the feudalists

The only future for Kampuchea is proletarian evolution led by the proletariat, and winning the peasantry under their revolutionary banner. This can be done through a revolutionary programme raising demands such as nationalisation of the land, the repudiation of debts. Surrendering proletarian leadership to the leadership of peasant and feudal leadership is the stalinist strategy followed by Pol Pot which had bloody consequences for the proletariat in Kampuchea. It has also handed backpower to feudalism.

The degeneration of the Communist Party of Australia

What's Left? Is the title of a somewhat uninspiring book by Eric Aarons, former leader of the now defunct Communist Party of Australia. It hardly insites class struggle. On the contrary! Aarons is apologetic for his past. Of the many autobiographies and biographies of radicals and ex radicals available this one is the shallowest. Denis Freney, for example, an important person in the CPA's radical middle class turn, is only mentioned once! And then only in the context of Eric listing those that he worked with on Tribune.

Wholesale liquidation

In 1989 the CPA formally committed itself to the New Left Party. The CPA folded a year later effectively becoming a foundation. Tribune was replaced by Broadside. Since then the liquidation process has been rapidly accelerating. This year saw the last issue of Australian Left Review, the last issue of Broadside, the New Left Party replaced by Left Connections and becoming even less visible, the closure of the International Bookshop Melbourne and the selling of NLP property in Wollongong.

There has been a wholesale liquidation both organisationally and politically. Australian Left Review in its final years was opening up its pages to the likes of Paddy McGuinness and even John Howard! Who needs a "left" theoretical journal which does that. An important reason why Broadside failed was because of instead of relying on left activists, it chose Gordon and Gotch as distribution agents. Not only was this extremely expensive, it meant it was buried in the newsstand along with House and Garden, Time and Rugby League Week. With such a nondescript title, no doubt many potential supporters did not even recognise their own paper!

So what's left? Well, actually quite a bit! There are many ex-CPAers active in community groups, social movements, and trade unions who are in some way carrying on their liquidated version of CPA stalinist politics. Quite a few barristers, solicitors and public servants have graduated from the CPA and this tradition is having some influence. For example, the controversial decision of Pat O'Shane to acquit feminists who graffitied over a lingerie billboard. No! We are not inferring that these CPA graduates are subversive — they're not!. But the CPA heritage is affecting how they operate.

The other thing of substance left is property — millions of dollars worth!. Hundreds of thousands, at some stage of their life passed through the CPA. Many bequeathed their money and property to the CPA. This accumulated property and investment has made the CPA Foundation quite a wealthy organisation.

A few exmembers now have asserted that this liquidation amounts to extortion. The money was left to build a Communist Party of some sort. Using the money for anything else is somewhat of a misappropriation. Thousands put their money and gave their lives to a cause which they believed in. Whether by design or otherwise all the money and property is ending up under the control of a clique dominated by the Aarons family.

Stalinism and the liquidation of international communism

The liquidation of the Communist Party is no accident. It is the logic of stalinist strategy known as socialism in one country. Lenin and Trotsky were not only the great leaders of the Russian revolution; they also established the Third Communist International. As internationalists, they believed in

revolution internationally. They also believed that the internationalisation of revolution was vital for the Russian revolution. The stalinist theory, socialism in one country, flew in the face of this fundamental principle of communism. Stalin's repudiation of proletarian internationalism was not accidental. It was linked to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution and the bureaucratic clique which was his power base. Because International world revolution would have indeed threatened his power base, Stalin and his clique sold out revolution internationally. The Communist International became an instrument of Stalin's foreign policy — with the crude promotion of the virtues of Stalin's Russia and the sell-out of international revolution. Under his direction the so-called communists sold out the British General Strike and revolutions in Spain, France, China and Vietnam. Thanks to Stalin and his "Communist Party" agents, Hitler was allowed to come to power in Germany. These betrayals were rationalised with both the left rhetoric of the Third period and the right rhetoric and the overt class collaboration of the popular front. Either way the betrayals were conscious and stemming from a counterrevolutionary bureaucracy. In 1947 Stalin dissolved the Comintern so the "Communist Parties" could pursue their own national roads.

The CPA was well and truly stalinised although it did incorporate some local characteristics of the Australian labour movement. On international questions, it followed the Stalin line. In the Second World War, the CPA supported Australia's imperialist war effort as demanded by Stalin. Patriotic credentials helped it recruit from the middle class.

CPA postwar turn to the right

After the second world war the CPA became hampered by the cold war — it was no longer respectable to be a Communist — and the Chifley Labor Government sending the roops against the CPA led miners. CPA leaders kept the miners out on strike so that the experience of a Labor Government attacking them would break miners from social democracy. The contrary happened, Under CPA misleadership miners suffered state repression.

The CPA strongly identified with the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Tse Tung and many of the new generation leaders — such as the Aarons brothers — were trained in China. However with their practical experience of leftism, the coal miners' strike, they were hardly inclined towards its left stalinism. Therefore the CPA blocked with the USSR in the division with the Chinese bureaucrats. The Maoists, including the Australian breakaway the CPA(ML,) had a hard stalinist, social, fascist line on the ALP. The CPA wanted a united front with Labor against Menzies.

The sixties saw a boom in capitalism. In Australia manufacturing expanded and living standards rose. Like many revisionists such as the pseudo-Trotskyist Pablo tendency the CPA believed that the old theory of crisis was no longer relevant to "neo-capitalism". They gravitated towards the radical petty bourgeoisie. Their direction was clearly rightward. They had a Charter of Democratic Rights, argued for a democratic and peaceful road to socialism and for a liquidated coalition of the left instead of a vanguard party. Supporters of the Aarons leadership argued that this was consistent with the views of Dimitrov, the stalinist theoretician on the "united front" (read popular front). This process of degeneration into social democracy was not atypical of stalinist parties. The CPGB for example in this period launched its British Road to Socialism.

The CPA was however a bit receptive to what they considered Trotskyism — the Pablo tendency. In 1967 in Tribune Pabloite Hall Greenland reviewed Michel Pablo's essays on the liberation of women.

Also in 1967 Lloyd Churchward in Tribunes Russian revolution supplement raised a Trotskyist critique of bureaucracy. CPA Western Australian leader J. Gandini commended Trotsky and Trotskyists fighting bureaucracy in opening the CPA Western Australian State Conference.

CPA breaks from Moscow

During the sixties the Soviet Union was consistently exposed for its persecution of dissidents, the Warsaw Pact invasion of Hungary and the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. It was hardly a model for comfortable middle class Australian radicalism rebelling against alienation and repressive social conformity. They were also rebelling against the war in Vietnam.

The Vietnam war had a profound affect on Australian society. The Australian ruling class participated to show their complete subservience to United States' imperialism. The US had agree to divide Vietnam in half and hold elections in the South. This they reneged on when it was clear that the communists would win. They imposed a puppet government instead. The communist dominated NLF popular front fought back.

The Vietnam war forced the CPA left. After all with all their talk of negotiated peaceful solution they were forced to fight. And Australian solidarity meant a confrontation with the government with demonstrators and unionists confronting arrests and state repression. CPA solidarity with Vietnam was understandable given the previous sympathies of the CPA leadership with China and Vietnamese autonomy from the USSR who had given minimal assistance to the National Liberation Front. In Vietnam the stalinist Vietnam Workers Party was following the stalinist line for the east — a national liberation front. In China the stalinists surrendered their independence to be dominated by the bourgeois nationalist Kuo MinTang. The NLF of Vietnam was a bourgeois block pursuing bourgeois democratic tasks. Communism wasn't on the agenda. The CPA developed a close relationship with the Vietnamese stalinist VWP the leading party liquidated into the NLF. The NLF had widespread sympathy amongst radical public opinion. After all they were fighting heroically against the mightiest imperialist power on earth — the USA and appeared to be winning. In 1975 they took Saigon. They were insignificant assistance either from the USSR or from China. They appeared to be the revolutionary beacon within the bureaucratic communist movement. Many pseudo-trotskyists rationalised supporting them by calling them “unconscious Trotskyists”

Supporting the VWP was also consistent with the Chinese training of the CPA leadership. The VWP were pursuing a Maoist strategy without the extreme leftism.

The CPA wholeheartedly supported the liberalisation of Czechoslovakia under Dubcek. They therefore strongly and wholeheartedly opposed the Warsaw Pact invasion. This led to a reassessment about the nature of the Soviet Union. 1969 saw fighting between China and the Soviet Union over Islands. The CPA feared the unthinkable a war between Soviet Union and China. At the 1969 International Conference of Communist Parties in Mosco L Aarons took a strong lone stand against bureaucratism and putting national interest before communist unity. Meanwhile through the front Revolutionary Socialist Alliance pabloites led by Denis Freney were attempting to influence their direction towards the new left. Whilst other Communist Parties were critical of the Soviet invasion, the CPA went further and challenged the nature of the Soviet Union. In 1972 the CPA reclassified the Soviet Union as “socialist based”. The Vietnamese Yugoslavs and Romanians were exempt from this reclassification.

Whilst the criticisms of the Soviet Union were far reaching, the CPA refused to carry out a Marxist analysis of the bureaucracy. The CPA refused to call for political revolution. Bureaucratism according to them could be fought through ideas, through a correct “model of socialism” based on self management. This effectively covered for the bureaucracy whilst at the same time distancing it from its more obnoxious characteristics — such as Stalin’s slaughter of the proletariat, wholesale sell out of revolutions such as Spain Germany and China and his total sell out of revolution internationally.

The CPA wholehearted endorsement of the Vietnam Workers Party — the communist party and its popular front, the National Liberation Front showed that despite being dissident the CPA was still very much in the stalinist orbit. The CPA objected to Moscow’s bureaucrat dictates. But its opposition was not based on building a new communist international. This it opposed! What it argued was for more autonomy for the national parties the world communist movement “to pursue their own national roads.

The CPA considered it was following an Australian road to socialism. Of course it is important for revolutionaries to understand the country that they live in. But capitalism operates internationally and national roads to socialism lead to reconciliation with the national bourgeoisie.

CPA’s radical turn

Apart from the Vietnam war working class people were radicalised by collapse of the long boom. In Australia meant the collapse of manufacturing and the beginning mass unemployment. In those days a figure of three percent unemployed was considered horrendous. In there was a near general strike over the arrest of Maritime Unionist Clarrie O’Shea under the penal clause of the Arbitration system. Workers not merely talked about releasing O’Shea and removing the penal clause. They talked about overthrowing the system. The CR radicalised by this struggle although CPA union bureaucrats played a role containing workers.

The radicalisation of the working class also forced Whitlam leadership of the Labor Party to the left. When the Whitlam government was elected to office in 1972 appeared to many like a revolution. Rapid changes made in a short time. However whilst during the sixties Australia had a high living standard and low unemployment, it lagged behind imperialist countries especially western Europe on social welfare. Whitlam increased the dole. But he was only increasing it

statement of unity made between the two parties. The Third Indochina war facilitated this. With China backing the Kampuchians Vietnam pursued a closer relationship with the Soviet Union. However other divisions amongst the post capitalist states hampered unity. The CPA endorsed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The CPA displayed its respectable credentials to the bourgeois media. Even more serious was their differences over Poland where the CPA urged national reconciliation between Solidarity and the stalinists and the military. The SPA opposed Solidarity as counter-revolutionary.

In the early eighties there was a wages explosion. This was linked to a boom in mining. Fraser had no answers so Bob Hawke had his historic opportunity. The CPA union leaders realised that to get their protectionist programmes carried out required a reformist government. They cemented their alliance through the Prices and Incomes Accord. Laurie Carmichael CPA leader of the AMFSU acknowledged both by the bosses and the union movement as the architect of the Accord. The

Accord amounted to sacrificing wages and conditions for jobs to be provided by investment in industry, In practice the agreement has all been one way. Workers have suffered a massive cut back in living standards, The so-called job creation hasn't eventuated. In fact there has been an increase in unemployment. So whilst CPA members were influential the CPA was making itself redundant.

In Victoria CPA members were influential in developing the John Cain interventionist strategy to administer Victoria with a limited programme of government investment for job creation. The idea was that expenditure could be increased on social welfare with profits from investment (see RED21). They were also influential in persuading the working class to cooperate by giving up militant struggle.

The 1979 CPA congress was a congress of consensus. The programme Towards Socialism In Australia was a compromise between all factions. This was a consensus which was not to last. The Victorian leadership were heading towards the Labor Party at a rapid rate. Many former builders labourers and community were in the country helping to pioneer the green movement. The metal workers required a Labor government to carry out their alternative programmes to save Australian manufacturing. The CPA could not withstand these forces of degeneration. Successes by CPA members such as the Accord authored by Laurie Carmichael and the

election of Jack Munday and Brian Mc Gahan to the Sydney City Council only highlighted that the CPA as an organisation was redundant or even an obstacle to the success of its members.

The 1982 CPA Congress initiated a Prospects for Socialism discussion. The Victorian leadership and a group of Queensland student anarchists who joined the party during the Queensland civil liberties campaign argued for a liquidationist Socialist Organisation to influence the Labor Party. The leadership now supported by former leftists such as Peter Murphy and Rob Durbridge supported a New Left Party. This was proposed to be a CPA without identification with the name communist. But they were divided as to what sort of communist party. A large minority wanted some sort of communist party. Some wanted the stalinism of the fifties. Some wanted a left alternative opposing the Accord. Some wanted the CPA to remain as is. The supporters of maintaining a communist party could not establish the political basis for their CPA. Confusion and organisational pragmatism made the oppositions easy pickings for the liquidationist leadership.

Real Communists believe in a Communist Party because the interests of the working class — the only revolutionary class are antagonistic to the capitalist system. The Communist Party represents the interests of the working class independent from the capitalist state politically independent from social democracy which reconciles workers with the system. The CPA has never been such a party. Mostly its strategy has been an anti monopoly alliance. First fight monopoly, then fight for socialism. Even during its third period where the CPA considered social democracy the enemy social fascist, it supported class collaboration. None of the varying oppositions stood for breaking workers from supporting the capitalist state either. The alternative drawn up in the name of Ben Bartlett and Bob Boughton for the liquidation congress of 1989 was certainly minimalist supporting both a New Left Party and a Communist Party.

The liquidation of the CPA was the logic of socialism in one country — stalinism. The answer does not lie in going back to yesterdays opportunism. Today's degeneration stems from that opportunism.

A total break is required. A materialist analysis of stalinism must be made. It is Trotskyism which continues the revolution of the first four congresses of Lenin's Third International.

D Deller/MacVey Morenoism and the struggle against Kennett.

On the fifth of May an estimated sixty thousand ' against this horrendous government. Kennett's arrogance ') Victorians marched against the Kennett and contempt is being met with widespread opposition. The

government. The marchers represent the bosses agents such as the Age newspaper are counselling many thousands perhaps millions of Victorians who hate Kennett to be more cautious.

Kennett. They are angry at the attacks on Workcare, the The lead speaker was John Halfpenny former slashing of jobs in the public service, the closure of Communist, now leading ALP left winger. He received schools, cut backs in hospitals, the closure of country and overwhelming and heart-felt applause for pointing out that city rail services, the abolition of tram conductors, the poll Kenneti has no mandate for attacking the living standard 01 tax on home owners and many other justified grievances any single worker. True¹ But he "forgets" that Kirner didn't have a mandate for attacking public services or workers living standards either. But she did so ferociously! It was Labor who attempted to remove tram conductors, attempted to close Footscray Hospital, replaced the Port Melbourne and St Kilda rail services with trams and attempted to replace the Upfield and Williamstown lines, It was only working class action which stopped a full scale assault under Labor. Halfpenny is committed to ensure people forget what Labor dished out and what it will continue if reelected. Labor and Halfpenny don't fundamentally challenge the attacks of the system. They just challenge the rate at which its administered and Kennetts refusal to enlist their cooperation.

One speaker Kay MacVey representing the Victorian Public Service Association challenged Labor. So too did her co thinker Bill Deller also representing the VPSA at the November 10 rally last year. Deller and MacVey are members of the small ostensibly Trotskyist group Communist Intervention. The platforms are of course not open and Halfpenny would not be on the same platform with any left sect. The appearance of MacVey on the platform is of significance especially as Communist Intervention makes it clear that it clear that they are no friend of Labor.

MacVey and Deller were elected as leaders of the VPSA when public servants were understandably angry at sackings made by the Kirner government. It is very rare that ostensible Trotskyists lead any section of the working class. And especially rare that these ostensible Trotskyists proclaim a hostility to Labor. So it is important ask: what type of alternative do MacVey and Deller Communist Intervention offer?

A full understanding can only be grasped by analysing the international tendency which they support — the International Workers League. The leading section is the MAS of Argentina which was led for many years by the late Nahuel Moreno. The MAS by Trotskyist standards is massive It is the largest pseudo Trotskyist party in the world. In reality it is a barbaric character of Trotskyism which has betrayed fundamental class principles. The spectre of the bourgeois nationalist Peron haunts Argentine politics. Argentina like Australia is not completely independent. It is an intermediate country, a privileged colony. Within Argentina emerged a national bourgeois party led by Peron. It was a national bourgeois party because it proclaimed the need for Argentina to complete the

bourgeois democratic revolution and break from imperialism. The Peronists also appealed for and received significant trade union support. Now in many intermediate countries and colonies social democracy has represented the national bourgeoisie who are physically virtually nonexistent. All the bourgeoisie support imperialism and have no desire to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution. But the working class stands behind its banner patriotically supporting a local independent capitalism that doesn't exist. The Peronists unlike the social democrats include the bourgeoisie in their ranks.

After the Second World War amongst the Argentine Trotskyists there was considerable debate as to how to relate to the growth of Peronism amongst the working class. The supporters of Possadas supported entristm. Moreno and supporters rejected this. However at the 1951 congress of the so-called "Fourth International" they were directed to do otherwise. For the next twelve years they

were enterists in the Peronite bourgeois nationalist party. They collaborated on a paper which was the voice of "workers peronism"! In 1953 they broke from the mainstream USec to form the International Committee with the US SWP the Healyites and the Lambertists. But this made no difference what so ever. This speaks volumes for the so-called principled record of the ICFI which the SLL claims exists. As well as this class collaborationist deep entristm which they still identify with, the other tenets of Morenoism involve the revolutionary united front and ultra left tactics. The so called revolutionary united fronts involve electoral agreements on minimal demands with stalinists and reformists and also Peronists. In Nicaragua Morenoites made an intervention known as the Simon Bolivar Brigade. These ostensibly Trotskyists tried to establish workers militia in Nicaragua. But they were loyal to the Sandinista regime. They were stabbed in the back by Sandinos fake Trotskyists such as the United Secretariat of Earnst Mandel and the SWP of the US and Australia. which broke from Trotskyism. There is also a leftist component of Morenoism. When there was a significant uprising in the Argentine city of Rosario the Morenoites proclaimed — the October Revolution. The Morenoites have a record of militancy and of politically overestimating mass upsurges.

Deller and MacVey are left bureaucrats who want a n ostensibly Trotskyist international to identify with. However their identification with Morenoism will effect how they operate. They will attempt to apply the Morenoite method to Victoria. And as they are trade union leaders they will have some authority. Their application of the "revolutionary united front" is handing out how to vote cards for Phil Cleary, the Rainbow Alliance and the Democratic Socialist Party. Phil Cleary is an open popular frontist. He openly welcomes the protectionist bourgeoisie to support him and campaigns actively for more protection for "Australian manufacturing". Some of his "left supporters claim that this is merely getting money off them for his militant campaigns. Whatever his intent he is reinforcing the system and tying workers to the class enemy. With the AMWSU somewhat silent about its protectionist plans and preferring to kowtow to the monetarist Keating Cleary represents the only coherent campaigner for a national Australian capitalism. As he is also a leftist genuinely concerned about ordinary working class residents of Wills — makes him dangerous.

When Communist Tendency calls for a break from Labor we mean an alternative based on revolutionary internationalist principle. We don't mean either going back to yesterday's reforming version of Labor. And we don't mean a left working class national bourgeois party with a few radical policies such as the New Labour Party of New Zealand whom Cleary feels political affinity with. Deller and MacVey are objectively acting as the trade union appendage of Phil Cleary. Morenoism is

giving them a “Trotskyist” theoretical basis. Communist Intervention are not the official representatives of the Morenoite international. Socialist Alternative led by Phil Sandford and George Petersen based in Sydney are recognised. But their dwindling band do not have the influence in the Labour movement.

Deller and MacVey represent a genuine break by public servants from Kirner Labor attacks on the public sector. Their attacks on Labor will seem militant and genuine. But we urge workers and activists to reject their “alternative”.

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