

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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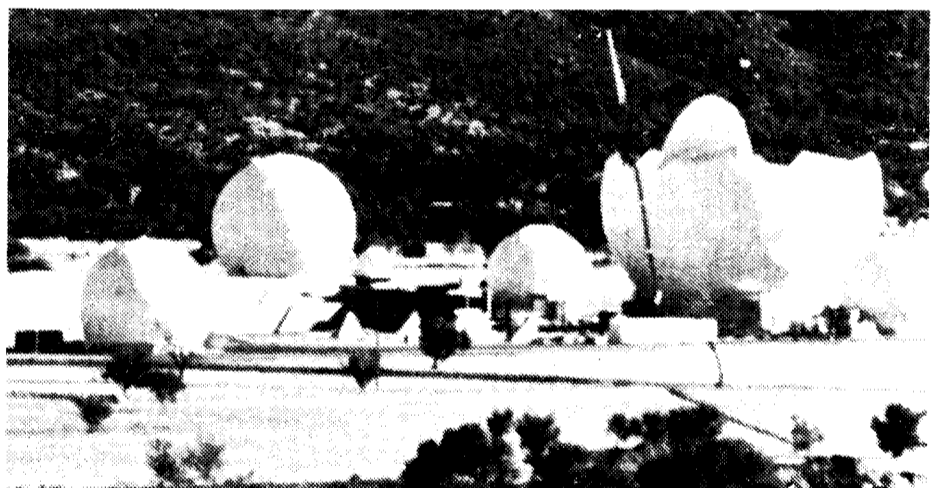
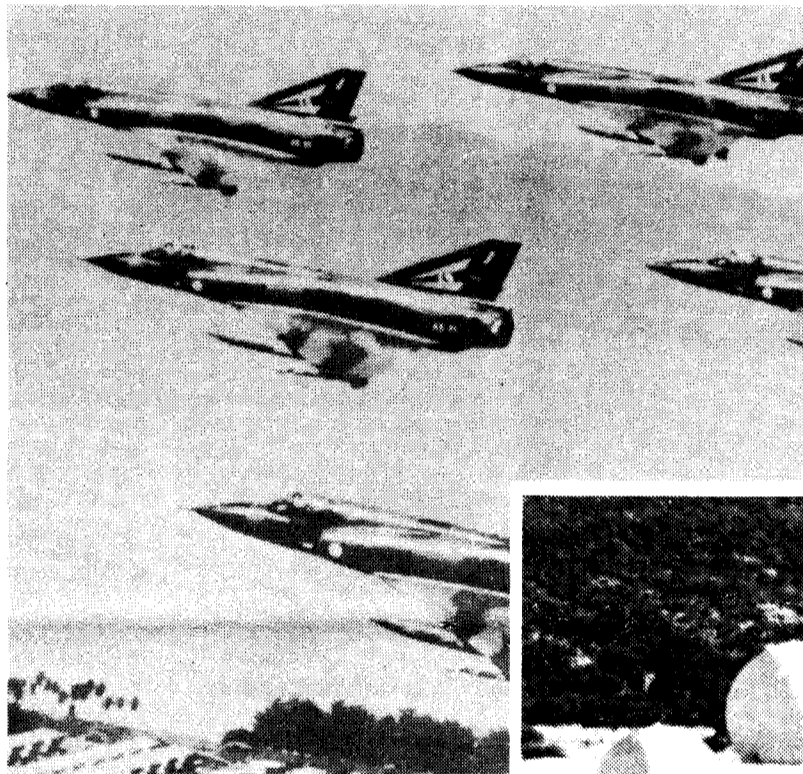
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Smash Reagan/Hawke Anti-Soviet War Plans!

Drive Out US Bases!

Reagan is war crazy against the Soviet Union and its allies. Twice now in the last six months US warships have rammed and tried to sink Soviet submarines. Reagan's Jeane Kirkpatrick tells the UN that it's perfectly "legal" for the CIA to mine Nicaraguan ports to try and blockade Soviet supplies to the Sandinistas. Against mass opposition and fear in Europe, the American imperialists and their NATO allies have forced through the deployment of Pershing II and cruise nuclear missiles — only eight minutes from Moscow. And the fact that the only place this anti-communist fanatic can win anything is tiny Grenada only makes him that much more dangerous.

Reagan has well-developed *nuclear first strike plans*, closely linked to a policy of provocation, from Central America to the Mediterranean to the Far East. Its Australian imperialist ally, under Hawke's Labor administration, is locked hard into this crazed drive to nuclear holocaust, the country bristling with US bases as well as ports and airfield facilities for US nuclear-armed bombers and warships deployed against the USSR and Vietnam. Australia's importance to US war strategy lies above all in its hosting of its spy satellite and communications bases. This was highlighted recently by the Soviet weekly *New Times* (no 5, January 1984) when it confirmed that Pine Gap was indeed the ground station for the satellite used in the US's deadly KAL-007 war provocation last September, when the Korean civilian airliner was used to



Top, Hawke is Reagan's man in Southeast Asia. ANZUS targets Vietnam/USSR: above, RAAF Mirages at Butterworth in Malaysia and right, the CIA's super-secret Pine Gap base.

penetrate Soviet defences in what looked like a dummy run for a nuclear first strike.

Hawke's government of course raved with Reagan about Soviet "barbarism". Well, we in the Spartacist League know who the real barbarians are, who sent over 250

innocent civilians to their death. We headlined our Summer issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (no 104) "Don't Mess with Russia!", and we underscore the fact that *only* Soviet nuclear capacity stays the hand of these imperialist madmen. But this will not stop them forever. It is the task

of the revolutionary proletariat to remove them from power — only victorious working-class struggle and socialist revolution can bring lasting peace to our planet.

What of the mass marches here on April 15 built around the theme of

Continued on page ten

Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!



North Vietnamese army liberates South Vietnam.

30 APRIL — Nine years ago on this day Vietnamese liberation forces raised the revolution's flag over the Independence Palace in Saigon, routing the US puppet regime of Nguyen Van Thieu, smashing capitalist rule in the south and reuniting Vietnam after thirty years of war against French colonialism, US imperialism and its local allies. The stunning victory of the Vietnamese Revolution in 1975 was an historic victory for the working class and oppressed masses around the world, and a humiliating defeat for the imperialist rulers of the United States and its Australian junior partner.

US and Australian imperialism have never relinquished their hopes for bloody revenge and when the 1979 Vietnamese invasion liberated the Kampuchean people from the genocidal horrors of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge they found an obscene *cause celebre*. Under the banner of "self-determination" for Kampuchea the imperialists hope to bleed Vietnam white, militarily and economically, in concert with their

Chinese Stalinist ally and ASEAN client regimes like Thailand which gives support and sanctuary to the counterrevolutionary remnants of the Sihanouk, Son Sann, and Pol Pot regimes. In April the Chinese once again launched artillery barrages and a reported armed incursion over Vietnam's northern border in tandem with attacks into Kampuchea by the Thai military, including the dropping of napalm. But these all-sided provocations have not stopped the Vietnamese destroying Khmer Rouge base camps along the Thai-Kampuchean border and over-running the major base of Son Sann's Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) at Amphil, a sharp rebuke to this riffraff's US/Chinese masters.

Reagan visited China immediately afterwards, openly flaunting US patronage of these acts of war against Vietnam, promising stronger military ties and nuclear technology to Peking to strengthen US strategic interests against the

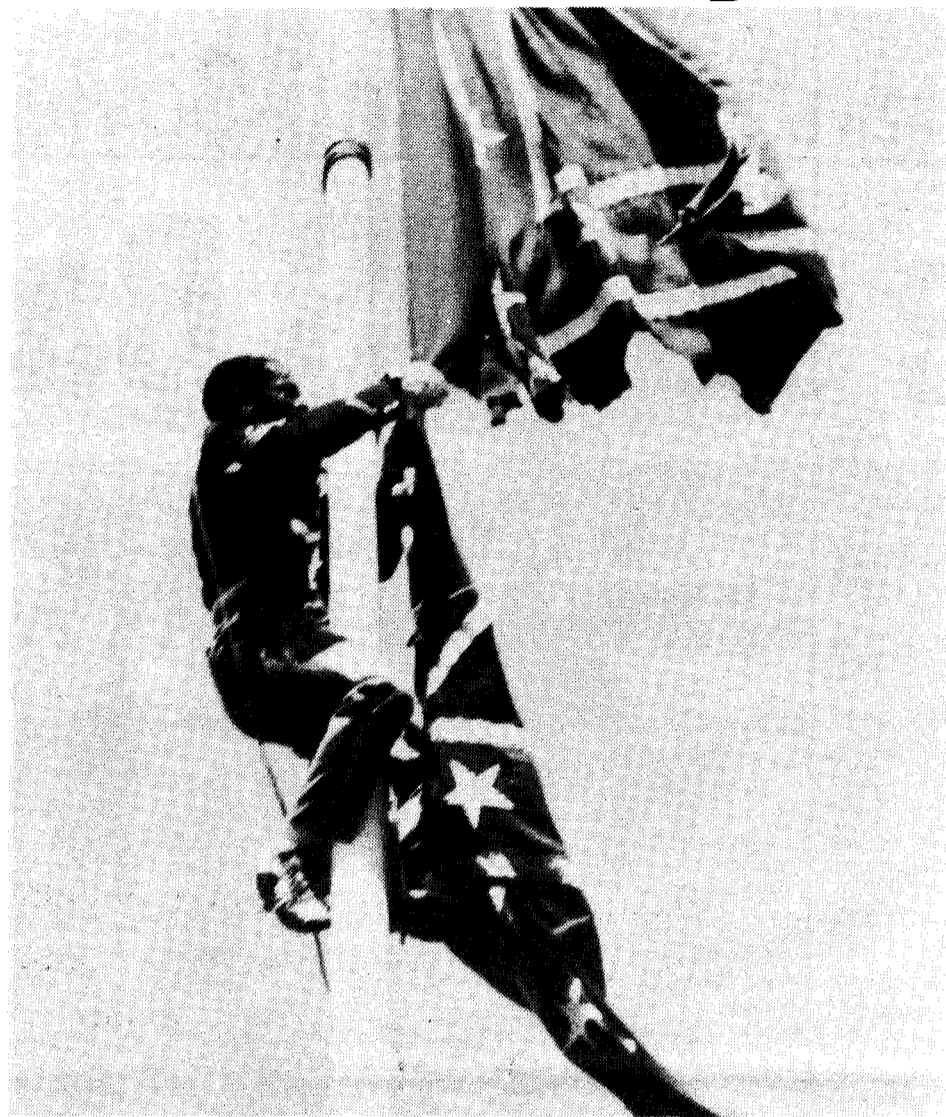
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We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery

SAN FRANCISCO, April 22 — Clad in the uniform of a Union soldier in the American Civil War, Richard Bradley climbed the 50-foot flagpole in the Civic Center here twice last week to cut down the Confederate flag of slavery which had flown over this city for too many years. It flies no more. Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, tore down and burned the flag for the first time on April 15. The crowd of blacks, unionists and socialists broke into jubilant cheers as the hated symbol of racism and Ku Klux Klan terror was set ablaze. The Spartacists handed out a proclamation which noted, "The issue of the Confederate flag was decided by blood and iron in the Civil War.... By tearing down the Confederate flag today, we are commemorating the 119th anniversary of the April 1865 surrender of the Confederacy at Appomattox."

The crowd sang "John Brown's Body" and chanted: "The Confederate flag flies no more! Time to finish the Civil War!" But the police arrested Bradley, charging him with "vandalism", and union-busting mayor Diane Feinstein ordered the flag back up claiming it was "history". So, vowing that "this flag will not fly", Bradley and the SL went back and cut this flag to pieces on April 16, just a few hours after Feinstein had put it back up. Again Bradley was arrested, this time by 13 white cops who had called for the fire department to try and remove him from the flagpole.

At the press conference on April 17 Bradley said, "I did not commit malicious mischief. I tore down the enemy's flag. That stands for slavery and racism. I'm originally from the South and I know what that flag means." In the eyes of Feinstein and the cops, Bradley was some kind of criminal for tearing down the emblem of the slave South, but in the San



Richard Bradley scales San Francisco Civic Centre flagpole, April 15.

Francisco Bay Area he was a local hero. Bradley couldn't walk into a bar or restaurant without having a drink or meal bought for him. All across the city TV, radio and press coverage made this a truly popular issue — and forced even the haughty "Lady Di" to back down. "Dixie Flag Won't Rise Again, Feinstein Decides", was the headline in the *San Francisco*

Examiner, 18 April.

That the flag will fly no more is not only a victory for blacks and all decent people in San Francisco, it is a defeat for the Klan and the rest of the racists. The "stars and bars" (first flag of the Slavocracy) was a call to arms in 1861, and so is the Confederate flag today for the paramilitary KKK and Nazi killers. As the SL proclamation pointed

out, "Just last year at the University of Mississippi — 'Ole Miss' — heroic black students waged a successful fight to ban official use of the Confederate flag. The students faced down a backlash of Ku Klux Klan death threats, daily harassment and a march of 2,000 white racists who besieged a black dormitory singing "Dixie" and screaming racist slurs. If these courageous students can stop the official flying of the Confederate flag in the very heart of the old Confederacy, it damn well will not fly here!"

The Civil War is often misrepresented as simply a war between the "Yankees" and the South. But the Civil War was part of the American revolution — the Second American Revolution, an irrepressible conflict between social systems. At the heart of the struggle was the system of slavery. Karl Marx writing in November 1861 saw the character of the war and was confident that "events themselves drive to the promulgation of the decisive slogan — the emancipation of the slaves". The US Civil War had begun with the desire to save the Union and ended with a promise of black equality. But that promise was betrayed, as Radical Reconstruction in the South was crushed by Klan terror in a deal with the capitalist rulers.

As our proclamation concluded we aim to finish the Civil War: "We stand in the tradition of the anti-slavery fighters John Brown and Frederick Douglass. To complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War, we look to the multiracial American working class.... Forward to the Third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component. Finish the Civil War — For black liberation in a workers America!"

— Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 353, 27 April 1984

Vietnam...

Continued from page one

Soviet Union in the critical Pacific Basin. It is indeed fortunate that Vietnam's powerful Soviet ally has considerable sea and air power standing ready at the huge US-built port at Cam Ranh Bay. In the midst of the Chinese shelling Hanoi underlined this point by publicly announcing Soviet commando manoeuvres and training on Vietnam's eastern seaboard.

Australasian

SPARTACIST

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And what of Reagan's Australian junior partner? Cam Ranh Bay features heavily in Australian nightmares of the "Soviet threat" and this has everything to do with Hawke/Hayden's "independent" posturing on the Kampuchean issue. Differing from its US/China/ASEAN allies only in its reluctance to openly embrace Pol Pot Australia hopes to use this to push a wedge between Vietnam and its Soviet ally, in Hayden's words to "free" Vietnam from "dependency" on the USSR. Vietnamese foreign minister Thach accurately captured the manoeuvre at his Canberra press conference during his Australian tour in March: "The Western countries want Vietnam dependent only on the West. What is the policy of the Soviet Union? They respect our independence." But the Vietnamese Stalinists' search for "peaceful co-existence" and anti-Chinese "unity" with the likes of Suharto's Indonesia is counterposed to the vitally needed extension of revolutionary struggle into Southeast Asia. Proletarian political revolution to shatter the nationalist bureaucracies is necessary to put these victories fully at the service of the world revolution.

The Russians themselves blew away

the Australians' "independent" pretences when on April 11 the Soviet embassy in Thailand exposed two ASIS agents, Ronald Ford and Paul Burnard, working as go-betweens for the CIA under Australian diplomatic cover, who tried to bribe and subvert Soviet officials. The inveterate liar Hayden immediately denounced this as a "feverish concoction", and tried to turn the charges around to claim that it was the Soviets who were after "classified documents and maps relating to the Thai-Cambodian border area" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April). Even former head of Foreign Affairs Alan Renouf, no friend of the Russians, thought the Soviet charges had "a high degree of plausibility, they ring true". They sure do. The Australian intelligence agency ASIS worked hand-in-hand with the CIA in the 1970 Cambodian coup that overthrew Sihanouk and the bloody Chilean coup of 1973. Now an official history of the Australian Army Training Team, Vietnam (*The Team*, by Ian McNeill), previewed in the 20 April *National Times*, documents how fifty of its "elite" members worked for eight years in CIA assassination squads for the infamous Operation Phoenix, the bloody counterinsur-

gency program which murdered 30,000 Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The Labor administration under Hawke has made itself Reagan's agent in Southeast Asia and is up to its neck in counterrevolutionary plots against Vietnam. The US bases in Australia are a critical part of the imperialist targetting of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. North West Cape was used in 1972 for the US mining of Haiphong Harbour in North Vietnam, and others were used to pinpoint targets during Nixon-Kissinger's "secret war" and carpet bombing of Cambodia. The Pine Gap/Nurrungar spy satellite bases (used during the Korean plane provocation) spy on Vietnam as well as the USSR. And of course Hawke arrogantly tramples on ALP policy to restore economic aid to Vietnam. We Trotskyists say: Down with Hawke! Vietnam should get its aid — smash the imperialist economic blockade! Defence of Vietnam/USSR begins in Pine Gap, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee! Drive the US Bases out — Smash ANZUS! Hail Reconstruction — Kampuchean people now have a future! Vietnam was a victory — two, three, many defeats for US and Australian imperialism! ■

No Reliance on Bosses' State!

Labour/Minority Mass Action to Smash NA Fascists!

We reprint below the Spartacist League (SL) leaflet distributed in April at the University of New South Wales. The leaflet was coupled with a campus video showing of the 5000-strong Spartacist-initiated and organised Labour/Black mobilisation which stopped a Reagan-endorsed Ku Klux Klan provocation in Washington DC on 27 November 1982. Our Trotskyist call for mass labour/minority actions to smash the National Action fascists and for a class-struggle fight against racism and racial oppression went out to hundreds of students, staff and workers, on and off campus.

Our strategy was well-received by many, in particular the intended victims of Australian racist reaction. Aboriginal activist Maureen Watson quoted from the leaflet on 2SER-FM radio and the video showing attracted an audience of over sixty, overwhelmingly Asian and overseas students. The video showing, held on this heavily Asian campus, was well-defended and took place in good order, a fact much appreciated by those in attendance who've recently been the object of increasing harassment by the NA scum.

Notable by their absence from the video showing were the craven Labor loyalists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Party (SPA), Communist Party (CPA), International Socialists (IS) and the sandbox reformists of the campus-based People Against Racism. They lacked the stomach to defend to this meeting fealty to *their* party, the ALP, historic party of Australian populist white racism. And in the face of the video, living vindication of labour/minority mobilisations to smash fascism, the IS, SWP and CPA would've found it difficult to push the Big Lie violence-baiting and red-baiting they used against the successful Spartacist-initiated demonstration against NA held on Sydney Uni in March 1982. No doubt too the anti-Soviet IS didn't want to try to defend the born-again "anti-racist" they are parading around, one David Greason, a proven race-hater, red-hater and co-founder of NA, a long-time fascist provocateur who has no place near a meeting of the left and labour movement.

The dead-end strategy of these groups of reliance on the Australian imperialist state to "fight racism" objectively serves to buttress the existing racist status quo. This white, European outpost in Asia was founded and built on the basis of genocide against the Aboriginal population and racial exclusionism and protectionism directed against the Asian millions to the north. The question of race has been used historically by the ruling class and their lieutenants in the workers movement to galvanize Australian society on a racial basis across class lines in the service of Australian capitalism. And today racist chauvinism and anti-communism are integral parts of Australian imperialism's attempts to lock this country up behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, in particular against the Vietnamese Revolution. Any serious fight against racism and racial oppression in Australia necess-



ASp photo

SL-initiated demo against NA, 23 March 1982 Sydney Uni (top). Mass labour/black action in US led by SL stopped KKK.



Workers Vanguard

arily means drawing the class line, a break with the capitalist class enemy and its Labor servants, a fight to overthrow Australian capitalism, goals anathema to the Laborite "lefts".

We fight to build the leadership necessary to this struggle, a Leninist vanguard party based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program, to lead the working class and oppressed in exploding this white imperialist enclave from within. Only the Trotskyist program fuses an all-sided struggle for democratic rights against all forms of racial, national and sexual oppression with the fight for the present burning needs of the working class, culminating in and linked integrally to the necessary expropriation of the capitalist class and its replacement by a workers government based on

immigrant workers! Cops out of the Aboriginal communities! For labour/minority defence guards against racist terror! Not one more sacking or plant closure! For mass strikes and factory occupations to smash Hawke's Cold War austerity! Spread around the available work with no loss in pay — for a sliding scale of wages and hours! For a workers government, based on workers organisations!

Recently, stepped-up threats, racist provocations and violent attacks by the small White-Australia fascist outfit National Action (NA) have sparked intense activity and discussion on campuses, among minority groups and in the left and working class movement. The issue is — what program to fight fascism? Previously

Trotsky on the Arming of the Proletariat

A strike is inconceivable without propaganda and without agitation. It is also inconceivable without pickets who, when they can, use persuasion, but when obliged, use force. The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle which always combines, in varying proportions, "ideological" methods with physical methods. The struggle against Fascism is basically a political struggle which needs a militia just as the strike needs pickets. Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing "physical" struggle must renounce all struggle, for the spirit does not live without flesh.

— Leon Trotsky, *Whither France?* (1934)

a rationally planned, collectivised economy. This program which seeks to unite the workers and oppressed in struggle against the capitalist class enemy includes such demands as: no discrimination in jobs, education, housing! Special programs under union control for hiring and upgrading of women, blacks and immigrant workers! Full citizenship rights for

NA was confined to spreading vile race-hate graffiti and literature, petty phone harassment and low-level physical intimidation. Lately NA, however, has carried out arson attacks and break-ins at left-wing bookshops and offices, provocations like their "Rock against Reds" in the heart of Sydney's Aboriginal community in Redfern, and threatened violence

against members of the Spartacist League, International Socialists (IS) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), anti-racist activists, student union officials and even bourgeois journalists. On 22 March, a week after 200 angry students confronted them at Macquarie University, a band of NA thugs returned and wrecked an office in the student union.

This despised fringe group of a dozen or so racist psychopaths has no social weight. But it is a matter of self defence of the left and workers organisations, Asians, blacks, gays and all those targeted by these creeps that the embryonic fascist threat they represent be crushed, now, in the egg. Remember Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels' words: "If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly.... It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work." There is nothing to debate with those whose "program" is terrorist action — bashing Asians and firebombing left-wing offices today, death camps for "inferior" races and destruction of all workers organisations and democratic rights tomorrow, just like Hitler. After all, NA fuhrer Jim Saleam was a well-known Nazi before swapping his swastika for the Eureka flag, his chosen symbol of native Australian fascism. It can't happen here? Decent people better make sure it doesn't! These twisted race terrorists should be given no chance to organise for their sick dream of a new holocaust. No platform for NA fascists! And students, Asians, blacks, leftists must link up with the social power of the organised working class in the trade unions to drive them off the campuses, off the streets, back to the sewers, through mass labour/minority mobilisations.

The politics of the reformist left and student bureaucrats are an obstacle to effectively fighting NA. The campus "Students Against Racism" groups, supported by the Overseas Students Service, say it's a matter of "education" to "combat racist ideas" while pushing reliance on the cops and university administrations for defence against the fascists. The reformists of the SWP, IS, Communist Party (CPA) and Socialist Party all place their faith in the state government and the cops: an SWP-initiated statement pleads that they apply "the full protection of the law" (*Direct Action*, 14 March). Leading CPA member Denis Freney in an article in *Tharunka* (20 March) says, "it is the responsibility of the law enforcement agencies to end storm-trooper violence" and his strategy is "continued pressure on the police and university authorities", plus more "education of the campus population". This reformist strategy of relying on the capitalist state is both futile and dangerous.

No reliance on Wran's Cops!

The bourgeois state, its cops, courts and its agencies the campus administrations, is not neutral. The ruling class holds the fascists in reserve for future use as the shock troops of reaction against the organised labour movement in times of acute crisis in

Continued on page nine

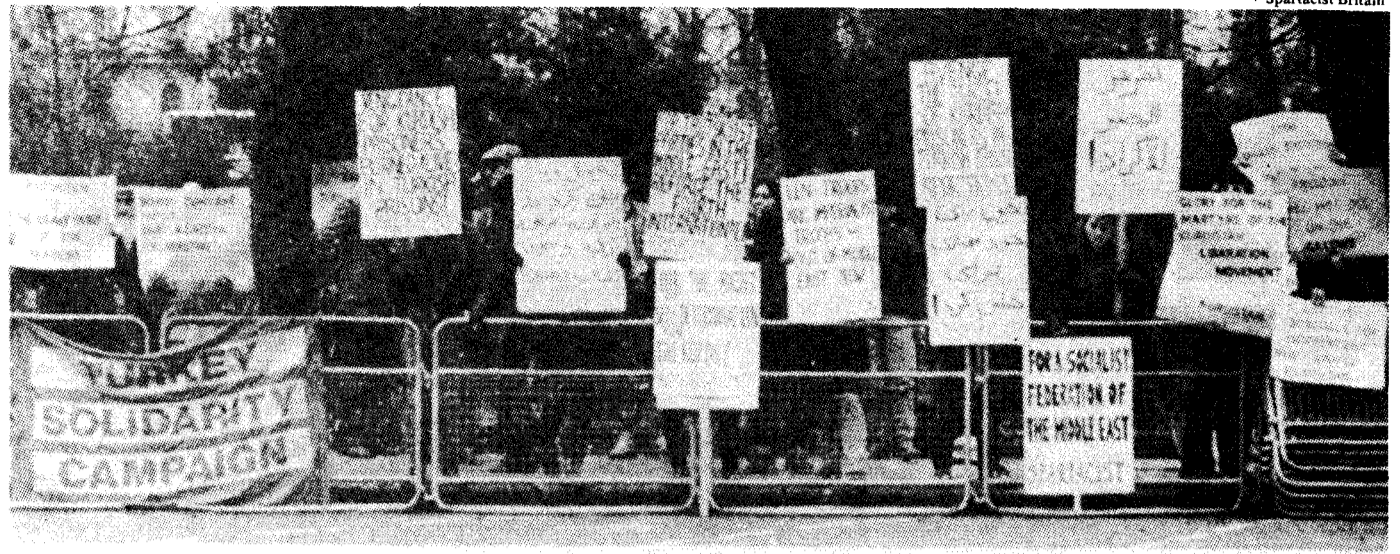
British Protest Defends Kurds

Spartacist Britain

LONDON: "Bloody Evren get your hands off Kurds" was the rallying cry of a fifty-strong protest picket outside the Turkish embassy on 10 February. Following after a 1000-strong protest action in Stockholm, this picket was called by the Kurdish Solidarity Campaign (KSC) and attended by supporters of the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad, the Turkish Solidarity Campaign and a spirited contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain.

Anger erupted among Kurdish exiles when they received news from their families that Kurdish prisoners (mostly political leaders) had been burned alive in Diyarbekir prison. Over the last three months Kurdish political prisoners have been staging a hunger strike against the atrocious conditions and treatment they receive. A KSC statement (25 January) reports that the Turkish authorities

'reacted in their usual brutal way, against this peaceful protest, by attacking the prison and setting fire to three of its dormitories, on January 6 1984 in order to break the strike. Consequently, twenty prisoners were seriously burned and wounded, and were transferred to Diyarbekir's military hospital. The suspicious element in this development is that all the wounded were among the leaders of the different Kurdish political organisations, kept in prison at the time. On



Spartacist League/Britain protests murder of Kurds, demands Kurdish right of self-determination.

January 24, 1984, the families of four of these leaders were informed to come and collect the bodies of their relatives, from the military hospital, who had allegedly died as a result of their burns."

The Turkish junta has tried to make much of the so-called return to "civilian democracy", but as the *Guardian* (22 February) reports: "Contrary to widespread belief that conditions would ease with the installation of a civilian government prison authorities

increased torture and stopped weekly visits by families". And martial law remains in force in the Kurdish areas.

The darkness of oppression and repression has never stopped for the Kurds in Turkey, be it under military or civilian regimes. At the picket our chant aptly characterised this historical fact while pointing out the only alternative: "Evrin butchers Kurds, Ataturk, Ecevit did too! Kurds will be truly free under workers rule!"

Turkey is not the only country in which Kurds face genocidal attacks. Turkey has been cooperating with Iraq to hunt down Kurds, and in Iran and Syria the Kurds face a similar bloody threat [see "Stop genocide of Kurds", reprinted in *Australasian Spartacist* no 103, August/September 1983]. Almost all the participants in the picket joined our chant: "In Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria: stop the genocide of Kurds!" Kurds live in the Soviet Union too, but no Kurd wanted to add it to the list. When we chanted "Kurds are not butchered in the USSR! Defend the Soviet Union!" several Kurdish militants enthusiastically joined us. The only objectors were the Stalinophobic misers of Socialist Organiser behind the banner of the Turkish Solidarity Campaign, who preferred to discuss their differences on the USSR and Poland with a policeman. Again the Spartacist chant pointing at the international context of the situation was picked up by several Kurdish militants, at least one of whom enthusiastically asked us to lead it again: "Reagan, Thatcher love bloody Evren, Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the Soviet Union!"

The demand "For the right of Kurds to self-determination" coupled with "Fight for workers and peasants governments" rang all through the picket as the Spartacist contingent continually initiated it. Other SL chants included the calls for the defence of Kurdish and left-wing prisoners and for a socialist federation of the Middle East. At the end of the picket the Kurds sang their national anthem, followed by the SL contingent leading the singing of the Internationale with its apt last words "the international soviet shall be the human race".

In our review of the film *Yol* ("Güney's *Yol: A Review*", *Women and Revolution* no 27, Winter 1983-84) we wrote:

"The large and militant proletariat of Turkey including its Kurdish component is the social force which, mobilised under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party whose banner is emblazoned with the perspective of permanent revolution, can elevate the women and Kurds of Turkey from beneath their subjugation."

That is our goal, and part of that struggle is the necessary and elementary duty of the international proletariat and defenders of democratic rights to come to the defence of Kurds facing all-sided attacks. Free all Kurdish and left-wing prisoners! Stop genocide of Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey! Down with Evren's bloody bonapartist regime! For the right of self-determination for Kurds! For a socialist federation of the Middle East!

— Reprinted from *Spartacist Britain* no 55, March 1984

Hands Off Turkish/Kurdish Leftists!

TELEGRAM — To: Turkish Ambassador, Canberra, 29 April 1984.

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand protests the "Return to Turkey" letters sent to at least thirty Turks and Turkish Kurds by the Turkish Minister of Information. Stop the harassment of these leftist opponents of Evren's military junta! Stop the threats of denying these militants their Turkish citizenship and confiscation of their property in Turkey! Don't touch their families in Turkey!

"Return to Turkey" letters have been sent to at least 30 people living in Sydney and Melbourne since the beginning of 1983. The thirty are Turks and Turkish Kurds — leftists, oppositionists to the right-wing military junta of General Evren. They are activists in the left in Australia, in a wide variety of Turkish and Kurdish left groups. The letters demand that the recipients present themselves to the authorities in Turkey within one month and threaten that not to do so will mean loss of Turkish citizenship and any property in Turkey. Some of the recipients of these letters are Australian citizens. There is concern amongst them for their families still

remaining in Turkey. The letters are a scare tactic to silence external opposition to the terror regime which is one of the most brutal in the world. To return to Turkey in answer to these calls would mean certain torture and imprisonment, and possible death.

In 1983, Stewart West, Minister for Immigration, said to ignore these letters and he would do all that he could. The letters, of course, have not stopped. Hawke's Labor government is a lackey, junior partner of US imperialism and ally in its anti-Soviet war drive. Turkey, with its NATO role, so strategically placed on the border of the Soviet Union, is part of that same "free world". Stop the harassment of Turkish and Kurdish leftists! Full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers in Australia! Free all class war prisoners in Turkey! For the right of self-determination for the Kurdish nation! NATO/US bases out of Turkey — Defend the Soviet Union! Down with the military dictatorship! Break with popular frontism — for a workers and peasants government in Turkey! For a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Turkey, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International!

Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League — 10¢

In Turkish, articles translated from Spartacist Britain — \$1

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Bolshevism and Revolution in the Colonial World



Trotsky

Trotsky polemicized against the centrist Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, which broke from social democracy but continued to share many of its prejudices, for its passive and pacifistic attitude toward social revolution in the colonial world.



Lenin

What characterizes Bolshevism on the national question is that in its attitude towards oppressed nations, even the most backward, it considers them not only the object but also the subject of politics. Bolshevism does not confine itself to recognizing their "right" to self-determination and to parliamentary protests against the trampling upon of this right. Bolshevism penetrates into the midst of the oppressed nations; it raises them up against their oppressors; it ties up their struggle with the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries; it instructs the oppressed Chinese, Hindus, or Arabs in the art of insurrection and it assumes full responsibility for this work in the face of civilized executioners. Here only does Bolshevism begin, that is, revolutionary Marxism in action. Everything that does not step over this boundary remains centrism.

— Leon Trotsky, *What Next?* (1932)

SWP/SPA Find Anti-Soviet "Unity"

MELBOURNE: Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members gathered here once again over the Easter weekend, this time to attend an SWP "public" "Social Rights" conference co-sponsored by the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) at University High. Like the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary" hoax (same time, same place) last year, the agenda was studded with ALP stars like Victorian Socialist Lefter Bill Hartley, who called on Hawke's lackey Hayden to commit regicide, and take over the business of running the Australian imperialist state. As a Spartacist leaflet (18 April) to the conference, reprinted in slightly abridged form below, pointed out, it was "in this spirit of capitulation to the ruling social democracies" that two "international guests" attended: Goete Kilden from Sweden, representing Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (Usec) (Mandel himself attended last year) and Angelos Anastasiou of the Moscow-line Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

Significantly, KKE supporters formerly around the SPA reported that Gus Hall's US Communist Party, generally one of the most servile of the Kremlin-loyal CPs, and its New Zealand counterpart, the Socialist Unity Party, turned down their invitations in protest against SWP anti-Sovietism. Up to now many Stalinists have claimed the SWP "alliance" is a one-shot bloc "to oppose" Hawke's accord. This pretence was further shot to pieces at the "Social Rights" conference with the anti-red exclusion of the Trotskyist Spartacist League. "The SWP and SPA organisers want the reds on the outside in the interests of anti-Soviet 'unity' inside", read an SL protest statement (21 April) handed out the second day.

Conspicuously absent was nearly all the SPA membership (some showed for an SPA youth conference held the same weekend). The SPA ranks are having a hard time swallowing unity with a group which dubs Pilsudskiite Poles as "socialist" and backs the Ustasha-linked Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) in its fight to dismember the Yugoslav deformed workers state. The HDP reveres Ante Pavelic's wartime "Independent State of Croatia", the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of Hitler's East European satellite states, so the pro-HDP SWP declares "the Ustasha was not a fascist movement"!

Outside the conference SWPers admitted their organisation receives "individual" financial contributions from the Croatian rightists! The SWP has done well by its HDP friends, who've now won de facto, if not de jure, recognition from the SPA Stalinists. The SL protest statement reported:

"There was SPA state secretary Trevor McCandless retailing SWP lies about Spartacist 'disruption' while the SWP and their Ustasha-loving friends formed a line barring entry to the conference. . . . The Symon [SPA] leadership pretends not to hear, see or think while cynically covering for Percy's corrupt relations with the HDP and for Percy's pro-Solidarnosc anti-Sovietism. That's what we told McCandless, who replied: 'See, that's exactly what we mean, you come here to attack us.'"

Maoist Joe Montero, token "independent" on the conference committee, was equally open about the blatantly political nature of this exclusion.

"This running dog for the Peking Stalinists worried to SLers that he and

we might not want to 'talk' about the same things. For instance, his peddling the US Big Lie that the Russians and Vietnamese are using chemical weapons in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia. Even the American Chemical Society and a host of military and scientific experts report that Reagan's 'yellow rain' is really *bee shit* — and so are the SWP-SPA's anti-Spartacist slanders."

As put in our statement, "arch reactionaries like Santamaria (and fatuous Stalinists) may think the SWP's gone soft on the Russians, but we Trotskyists know a pro-imperialist social democrat when we see one". With entire CPA branches and the bulk of its Victorian leadership diving into Hawke's ALP, SWP leader Percy declared to the

called 'political revolution' under the banner of nationalism — the vehicle for capitalist restoration in the East". Meanwhile, the SWP and SPA produced for the conference a *Joint Statement* which includes, side by side, their respective Poland positions: SPA: "the leadership of Solidarity is a counterrevolutionary force supported by imperialism and consisting of hard-core anti-socialists".

SWP: "The activities of Solidarity have objectively been directed towards strengthening the socialist economic forms and rule by the working class".

This, we are told, is a "difference of opinion"!

"Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution", we warned when the Polish

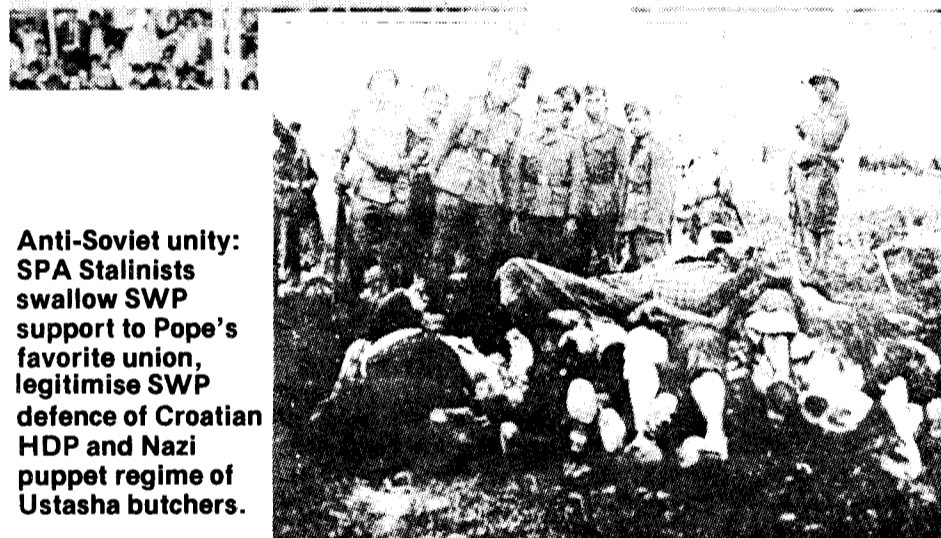
mobilisation, you can be sure to find the SWP right back where they were in December 81: outside the Polish consulate alongside the Captive Nations!

"Unity" is the magic word at this weekend's "Social Rights" conference organised by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and co-sponsored by the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). Unity with whom, and for what, you might ask. The pro-Solidarnosc SWP, now notorious for its defence of Ustasha fascism, and the Moscow-line Stalinists say they have united around two key questions: (1) opposition to Hawke's no-strike, wage-cutting accord, and (2) defence of the Soviet Union, no less. But you will look in vain to find in the conference publicity one clear statement of opposition to Hawke's anti-Soviet, anti-working class government on any question, foreign or domestic. The "opposition" touted here is strictly government-loyal, the "alternative" a more "progressive" social contract, and an "independent", less slavishly pro-Reagan foreign policy. That's why the Labor Prime Minister is nowhere mentioned by name, nor are the targets of the Reagan/Hawke war drive — the USSR and its allies like Vietnam. Instead there is talk of the need to "provide a forum", a "climate" to discuss vague "alternative strategies" and empty appeals to defending "world peace", all tailored to the needs of Labor Party and trade union "left" bureaucrats who could use a "social rights" figleaf to cover their all-sided prostration before Cold War Labor in power.

To prepare for the broadest possible "unity", the SWP has been busy denouncing as "sectarian" its erstwhile claim to "Trotskyism". The SWP never did have any use for the true purpose of Trotskyism, the making of proletarian revolution, having always defined itself as under the Labor Party umbrella. It is in this spirit of capitulation to the ruling social democracies, that three "international guests" are featured in the conference publicity. Latest reports are that Alain Krivine of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) has postponed his visit, leaving Goete Kilden to represent that wing of the SWP's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" based around the European followers of Ernest Mandel. Kilden is from the Usec's Swedish section, which two years ago changed its name to Socialist Party for fear that the term "communist" would associate them with Stalinism.

The third keynote speaker, Angelos Anastasiou, is a Central Committee member of the pro-Moscow Greek Communist Party (KKE). No doubt Anastasiou was invited by the SPA, but it was an SWP goon squad which outrageously barred Spartacist supporters from his Sydney meeting on April 18! The KKE traces back to the wartime Stalinist-led Greek partisans who fought the Nazi occupiers and their local butchers before laying down their arms when Stalin treacherously ceded Greece to British imperialism (soon to be replaced by the Americans). The KKE's SPA cousins have shamefully maintained a complicit silence on the SWP's scandalous relations with Croatian rightists, but we wonder what the SPA ranks and KKE supporters think about Anastasiou (and Peter Symon!) addressing a conference whose main architect not only lauds the Polish Pope's favourite

Continued on page nine



Anti-Soviet unity: SPA Stalinists swallow SWP support to Pope's favorite union, legitimise SWP defence of Croatian HDP and Nazi puppet regime of Ustasha butchers.

Melbourne *Herald* that "both parties were 'holding out the olive branch' to the Communist Party of Australia" (23 April 1984). The SWP sees its chance to make it as Number One "critical" but loyal "left" satellite of Cold War Labor in power. The SL statement noted:

"Symon wants the same niche, but fealty to the Kremlin has always stood in the way. Well, rubbing shoulders with the Solidarnosc-lovers isn't going to stop the red-baiters. After endlessly conciliating ALP and CPA social democrats, the SPA's base in the trade union bureaucracy deserted en masse last year. . . . Now those who stuck with Symon against the Clancy defectors have this seedy anti-Soviet 'alliance' as their reward."

In conjunction with the leaflet reprinted below, the SL distributed an article adapted from *Le Bolchevik*, press of the French section of the international Spartacist tendency. Titled "Mandel: Europacifism in the Service of Cold War", it nails the social-democratic anti-Sovietism of the SWP's Mandelite/Usec factional partners who go even further than the SWP with their call for unilateral Soviet disarmament, eg, campaigning for Soviet troop withdrawal from Eastern Europe. "Mandel et al have generalised their support to Polish nationalists against the Stalinist bureaucracy into a conception of so-

"union" consolidated at Gdansk (1981) on a straight line course against the gains of the October Revolution. Responding to the instinct for survival, the Polish Stalinists (called the "Marxist Leninist party of the Polish working class" by the SPA) moved to stop it in December 1981. We said then, as we do now, that the Polish crisis remains unresolved: its resolution on a *socialist* basis requires the forging of a genuinely communist (ie, Trotskyist) vanguard committed to unconditional military defence of the Soviet bloc against imperialism and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The bankrupt Polish Stalinists continue to conciliate the enemies of socialism, and the SPA supports this. Thus in General Jaruzelski's Poland the Catholic Church has been allowed to move to centre stage as the direct organisers of anti-communist reaction. Witness the "battle of the crosses", the Vatican's massive campaign against the Warsaw government's democratic measure of removing crucifixes from public schools. Not only class-conscious workers but all defenders of democratic principles (eg, the separation of church and state) must support the Polish government against the forces of clerical-nationalist reaction. Should the "battle of the crosses" spark renewed counterrevolutionary mass

The international Spartacist tendency has been targeted in a scurrilous and deadly smear attack by the *Weekend*, published by one of the two major bourgeois English-language papers in Sri Lanka. The article, an apology for the genocidal violence directed against the Tamil minority on the island, no doubt reflects the views of the security police, whose murderous threats against our comrades of Assault Trotskyist Publisher" page 7). The international Spartacist tendency is branded as part of "the International Terrorists Network", while the *Weekend* alibis the real terrorists, the rightist government of JR Jayewardene and his American imperialist sponsors. We reprint below, with minor changes to the English, a reply by our Lankan comrades to the *Weekend* lies.

The terror against the Tamils in Lanka continues. To justify draconian measures of repression and a massive influx of troops to the North, rumors have been circulated of thousands of Tamil guerrillas armed with AK-47s preparing to invade from India. In recent weeks the Air Force rampaged in the North, murdering some 30 Tamils — among the victims were said to be children and pregnant women (*London Times*, 31 March). At least nine more were killed by Sinhalese troops in a new wave of state-sponsored violence which began on April 10. A UPI dispatch reported that Tamil separatists seized control of sections of Jaffna and burned down government buildings. Jaffna is again under martial law, a military curfew has been imposed, and phone links to the city have reportedly been cut. The systematic organized state terror against the Tamil people poses more than ever the question of Tamil self-determination, as JR's communalist massacres and the flight of terrorized Tamils forcibly separates the island's peoples. Stop killing Lankan Tamils! For the right of Tamil self-determination in the North and East!

On April 2 a strike of 600,000 Tamil plantation workers, demanding equal pay with other government workers, crippled the government-owned tea and rubber estates, main source of Lanka's foreign earnings (*London Guardian*, 4 April). The massive strike pits this key proletarian sector against the reactionary JR regime, demonstrating the power that could topple the rule of capitalism and Sinhala chauvinism — of both the JR and Mrs B(Bandaranaike) variety — and bring emancipation to the oppressed Lankan Tamils and Sinhala workers alike.

The *Weekend* asserts that the international protests we have built to denounce the massacres of Tamils were fake, using hired picketers. They

Sri Lanka: Deadly Lies Target Spartacists



figure no one outside the island really cares if thousands of Tamils are slaughtered, that we would be silent unless we were being paid off. In this they reveal only their own corrupt and servile values. We observe that the Reagan administration gave JR \$71

million in economic and military aid last June — shortly before the massacres of Tamils began last summer in the vicinity of Trincomalee — and has begun sending helicopter gunships for the Lankan armed forces to use against the Tamils. We also note the odd mis-

spelling of our name in the *Weekend* article as "Sparticist," a misspelling which crops up often in documents of US intelligence agencies and planted press stories falsely portraying our Marxist tendency as "terrorist".

We wonder if this is altogether unrelated to the visits to Sri Lanka in late 1983 of US Defense Secretary Weinberger and Former Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters to meet with JR and discuss the possibility of US naval forces using Trincomalee harbor, pivotal to military control of the Indian Ocean, and key to the Reagan administration's rabid drive toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union (*CounterSpy*, March-May). The London-based *Tamil Times* (January) reports that a recent agreement allowing the US to set up a "Voice of America" relay station near Colombo includes a secret clause to permit use of the station as a communication center linking US naval forces and military bases in the region, and the stationing of US troops in Lanka.

We have seen the *Weekend* slanders before: in a pamphlet published by the Lankan Ministry of State last September, we are attacked for protests "simultaneously supporting separatism in Sri Lanka and condemning 'American capitalism' ". A Spartacist protest last August in Los Angeles is singled out, and this is no accident: we received numerous threats of violence and our demonstration was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. Libelous violence-baiting propaganda has as its function to justify real-life murderous violence, against Tamils, against strikers, against Marxists. As the last vestiges of parliamentary democracy are stripped away under JR's bonapartist rule, the epithet "terrorist" has become tantamount to a death warrant.

JR and his press agents would like to pretend that Trotskyism has not existed for over 50 years as an established political current on the island. Yet our international movement has a long and proud history of commitment to the Ceylonese revolutionary struggle. From 1971 the iSt had fraternal relations with the tendency of Edmund Samarakkody, Meryl Fernando and Tulsiri Andradi, which while gravely flawed had represented the best of the old Trotskyist tradition. As internationalists, for many years we have championed the rights of Ceylonese unionists, insurgent Sinhala youth, Tamil nationalists and Marxist militants. The *Weekend's* vicious libels, intended to justify murderous state repression against our tendency internationally, will not go unchallenged. Down with *Weekend's* deadly libel! Hands off Lanka Spartacists! Stop anti-Tamil terror! Forward to a socialist federation of Eelam and Lanka!

Tamil Radio Program Defends Spartacist

The following statement was read on the news service of Melbourne 3CR's *Tamil Voice* program on 24 April. It was based on the Spartacist League/Lanka's reply to the *Weekend* smears.

"The Sri Lankan media targets the Spartacist League for slanders. The international Spartacist League has consistently defended oppressed Tamil national minority. The Spartacist League held numerous marches and demonstrations in various capital cities of the world exposing the genocidal intent of the Sri Lankan government. The international Spartacist tendency is not nameless, faceless or defenceless. It has a proud labour history. It is a propagandist organisation devoted to organising the international working class into power. Terrorism does not arise from the working class movement. The *Weekend* article alleges the Spartacist League has links with terrorist organisations and recruits demonstrators for a fee from ghettos or layabouts in streets. This slander indicates the depth to which Sri Lankan government is prepared to sink to cover up its crimes".

Lankan Trotskyists Blast "Terrorist" Smear

Spartacist League/Lanka
March 15, 1984

The Editor
Weekend
Independent Newspapers Ltd
Gunaseena Mawatha
Colombo.

Dear Editor,
We refer to the article "The Shadow of Terror Stalks Beneath Roundtable of Peace" by Don Mithuna published in

your paper on Sunday, March 4, 1984. We take the reference made to the Spartacist League/USA, under the subtitle "Helping Hand", to be maliciously written with the intention of attacking this organization; the article's contents are deformed and filled with wrong details.

Referring to the Spartacists in this section the writer mainly attempts to create in the mind of the reader the impression that this organization has

Australasian Spartacist



Left, Tamil homes, shops and factories burned down in anti-Tamil pogroms last July. Right, telegram of support from Forward Seamen's Union of India in response to our call to maritime workers and Indian seamen to boycott all Sri Lankan cargo in protest against the anti-Tamil massacres.

links with "terrorists" and many who join the Spartacists in their various projects do so for payment, or on hire.

We challenge the writer's facile statement that the international Spartacist tendency is an organization with "terrorist" links. On what basis does he say so? From which source did he gather this information? We believe that in developed society no journalist would be permitted to provide wrong information to his readers, created in the mind of the journalist. It should also be the duty of a responsible newspaper not to mislead its readers by providing false information. Therefore we request that you publish this letter and safeguard the right of the reader.

There were others who had the backbone to directly accuse the international Spartacist tendency of being a terrorist organization. It was the secret police of the leader of the imperialist war machine, the powerful American Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice of the State of California that declared in 1981 what the writer in *Weekend* was blustering to say. However, after it was proved that *labour parties* which firmly believe in socialism, or communist parties for that matter, are not terrorist parties, they too were compelled to withdraw the charges. We are sending you a photocopy of the letter by the Attorney General to all police stations in California stating that an "error" was made in this regard. On another occasion, when President Carter attended a Trade Union meeting, a Spartacist member was dragged out of the hall by the Secret Service agents. After a lawsuit and campaign against this action the secret police apologised and paid up a sum of \$3,500 as compensation. This member contributed the total sum towards the Union fund. A photocopy of a document relating to this incident is also sent herewith. All this, in powerful America. It looks as if the Lankan friends of the imperialists have joined together to suppress and destroy the true revolutionary mass organizations that amplify the cry of the proletariat. Such accusations are still made only by people like Don Mithuna, who are afraid to see the difference between communism and terrorism. Here it is best to quote Leon Trotsky in *Terrorism and Communism* (1920):

"What we are concerned with is not at all the defence of 'terrorism' as such. Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn 'terrorism' of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free...."

"Today the pious enemy of terrorism is keeping up by the help of organized violence a 'peaceful' system of unemployment, colonial oppression, armed forces and preparation for fresh wars.

"The present work, therefore, is far away from any thought of defending terrorism in general. It champions the historical justification of the proletarian revolution. The root idea of the book is this: that history down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes."

The international Spartacist tendency is not nameless, faceless or defenceless. It has a proud labour history. It is a propagandist organization devoted to organizing the international working class into power. Terrorism does not arise from a working class movement. On the other hand, why do Spartacists hail the Red Army in Afghanistan and call for victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador and the militants in Nicaragua and Cuba? Because they are essential in expanding the labour victories of the October Revolution. The international Spartacist tendency is an organization with newspapers, magazines, periodicals — published in various languages in various parts of the world and sold openly.

In this letter we do not intend to write about Don Mithuna's article. However we should write about the slanderous statement he makes about the participants at Spartacist demonstrations. According to him the Spartacists have organized only anti-Lankan rallies regarding the Tamil people's problems. Moreover he states that demonstrators are hired, and volunteers are found from ghettos. Here Don Mithuna exhibits his racist policies!

The international Spartacist tendency has demonstrated not only on behalf of the Lankan Tamil people, but also on behalf of the Lankan working class and the other oppressed masses. When the UNP government suppressed the July 1980 strikers, the international Spartacist tendency organized international protest rallies. We wish to state here that front page news reports covering these demonstrations were published in *your* daily newspapers *Davasa* and *Sun* on September 16, 1980 along with photographs. If, as Don Mithuna says, thousands of people join these demonstrations for a fee, then how much would this organization have had to pay to that estimated crowd of over 5000 that participated in the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilization in 1982? This demonstration stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, DC. The fact is that in a period when capitalist states day by day diminish the right of the working class to organize, to demonstrate, and with-

Continued on page eight

CALCUTTA 77/72 6 1320 PAGE 1/50

BRET SHANNON SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ANZ TF(02)2648195 GPO BOX 3473
SYDNEYNSW2001

OUR ALL INDIA WORKING COMMITTEE STRONGLY SUPPORT YOUR CLARION CALL FOR BOYCOTT ALL CARGO TO SRI LANKA FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEWZEALAND PORTS
WE APPRECIATE YOUR WRITE-UPS AND PUBLICATIONS STOP FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY AND FOR ADVANCING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST ACTION OUR MEMBERS ONBOARD VISHVA KAUMUDI SHALL BE IN ACTION WITH YOU SHOULDER TO SHOULDER STOP WITH WARM GREETINGS STOP
ABANERJEE FSUI(CITU) GENERAL SECRETARY



Cops Assault Trotskyist Publisher

In the aftermath of the July 1983 anti-Tamil massacres in Sri Lanka, the bonapartist UNP government under president J R Jayewardene has continued and even escalated its assaults on leftists and pro-Tamil organisations. We print below a statement from the Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) protesting the attempted suppression of *Lanka Spartacist* (in Sinhala) and *Elangai Spartacist* (in Tamil) and the murderous threat against their publisher, Vincent Thomas. The murder threat took place when comrade Vincent, summoned by the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) secret police, appeared for interrogation on January 5. As stated in his complaint of January 8:

"During this time the police officer who was seated at the other table nearby came up to me, scolded [me] in filth[y] [language] and hit me seven or eight times on my face and head. Thereafter he caught me by my neck, took me to the window and threatened saying 'It is from here Dodampe Mudalali was pushed. Jump you rascal!'"

Dodampe Mudalali, a member of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, was in fact pushed to his death from the fourth floor CID office during the 1965-70 UNP government. The secret police are well known for their tactic of setting up the deaths of leftists and oppositionists to look like suicide, destroying their homes and then accusing them of having been "terrorist Tamil Tigers" or "spies" for the Tigers. The SL/L has been targeted by the state powers in Lanka because of their courageous defense of the brutally oppressed Tamil minority. It is particularly galling to the authorities that the SL/L raised its voice against Tamil repression in the Sinhala community. We demand: Hands off SL/L and other left parties! Stop repression against *Lanka* and *Elangai Spartacist* immediately! Stop anti-Tamil terror!

Hands off Lanka Spartacist!

COLOMBO — Local and foreign capitalists have laid big hopes on JR [Jayewardene, president of Sri Lanka]. The only aim of the capitalists is to use JR to fulfill their ambitions. More than any others, the American imperialists have laid great hopes on JR. This is why JR has been known as a pro-American throughout a long period. For Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union, JR was the man he was searching for in Lanka. From the day he came into power JR began implementing one by one the hopes of the local capitalists and of the foreign

imperialists. For that, he has up to now taken many actions.

These aims of the Lankan capitalists and imperialists did not originate automatically. They are the results of the subjective conditions of the greatest economic crash since the depression in the 1930s. JR understands these very well. He took power with the intention of doing everything possible for the capitalists. His ambition is to do everything that other capitalist rulers failed to do.

From the beginning JR took steps to prevent labour action. For this, legislative regulations, thug forces and the state armed forces were used. The meaning of this was the suppression of the left movement. Just like the craziness of Reagan's attempt to "stop the expansion of communism" — a thing that not only he but even his "God" will never be able to do — JR's intention is to suppress the left movement and stop all its activities.

This anti-labour-left suppression plan of the UNP [United National Party] government led by JR was disclosed in advance through *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*. The voice of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* against the continuous suppression of the Tamil people echoed not only within but even outside the island. Whilst reporting to the working class and to the other oppressed classes in this country about the activities of the proletarian internationalists denouncing the suppression of the Tamil people in Lanka, we clearly explained the Marxist position on the national problem. This created a deep hatred in the minds of Sinhala communalists. We were subject to filthy disgrace and threats by angered Sinhala communalists.

The challenge by the Tamil nationalist movement in the North and East has created a situation where a government dedicated to fulfilling interests of the capitalists cannot smoothly function. The main challenge to the government within the country today is the Tamil Question (National Question). JR's plans are to attempt to get out of this problem and launch an attack on the left simultaneously. It is according to this plan that all others — especially the left — were blamed by the government for the recent anti-Tamil communal violence, except for the people who really did it.

After the leftists were blamed for the anti-Tamil riots in July and the suppression then expanded to leftist parties, now *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist* are targeted for

Continued on page eight

Cops Assault...

Continued from page seven

suppression. Comrade Vincent Thomas, publisher of *Lanka Spartacist* and *Elangai Spartacist*, was called to the infamous fourth floor of the Secret Police (CID) to be questioned on articles explaining our position on the Tamil national question and against the oppression of the Tamil people. Here a police officer abused him in filthy language and severely assaulted him. This cannot be treated as an isolated incident. It is a result of state repression extended to the leftists.

After completely creating the suitable economic and legislative environment for capitalist exploitation, now JR's government has lined up behind Reagan for anti-Soviet activities. The discussions JR had with the chairman of the US Congress defence committee, Joseph Addabbo, and with the US Congress delegation during the past few days reflects the keenness of the government to move closer and closer to the anti-Soviet camp. It is reported that JR asked them to "provide a large ship capable of strengthening the Sri Lanka Navy and to provide modern combat training to the Sri Lanka Navy personnel". The delegation had informed JR that, "we will recommend to the US government to immediately release US\$350,000 for Lanka's defence activities" and that they will consider the "special request". These are the same things that American imperialists do elsewhere in the world.

It is clearly seen that the opportunity for American military activities as in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Grenada to be repeated in this country is not too distant. This pro-imperialist programme of the UNP led by JR should be defeated. Tamil people's rights and their security should be guaranteed. Suppression of the left movement should be defeated. The plans to offer even an inch of land from this country to American imperialists for their war drive against the Soviet Union should be smashed. Only through workers' actions can all plans of the capitalist class and of their government be defeated.

Spartacist League/Lanka
16 January 1984

"Terrorist"...

Continued from page six

draw the right of expression, people in hundreds and in thousands form themselves behind a fearless proletarian organization like the international Spartacist tendency which moves forward, to picket and organize labour

Lanka Spartacist
(In Sinhala)

Elangai Spartacist
(In Tamil)

\$1



Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney NSW 2001



SL emergency protest in defence of Tamils, Sydney Square, 23 July 1983.

demonstrations. For example, look at the appended names of various political, labour and social organizations that supported the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilization. Many black people in America participate in these rallies because they are also subject to oppression just as the Lankan Tamil people. "For hire" is a very old capitalist accusation. Long before Don Mithuna, capitalist agents used this to attack working class organizations. Why do Blacks from New York or any other city in America now begin to line up behind Spartacists? It is because gradually they have begun to understand that the American Revolution needs black leadership! True labour organizations do not

have money to throw about because they are not a part in the management of the economy. However for people in this country it will not be necessary at all to explain which organizations hire people for a ten rupee note, or a packet of lunch or a bottle of arrack, a buriyani or free musical shows. People in this country know quite well which class attacked the peasants, the workers, the students using money and thuggery, who destroyed their picket lines, crushed their strikes and even murdered those people who gathered to use their rights.

How comforting it would be if peace to bleeding Lebanon, wounded by religious, sectarian, racist, communist conflicts, or peace to the whole

of Europe, armed to the teeth with American imperialists' Pershing and Cruise missiles and yet trembling in fear of war, could be brought after stabilizing these countries by ending terrorism. How nice if these things could be achieved at Don Mithuna's roundtable conference. But the working class understands that it cannot happen so. They understand that liberation for oppressed masses in various parts of the world rests upon the true socialist states that will be constituted in those various countries. Only thereby will the suppression of the Tamils from Sinhala communalists be halted, and the fear within the Sinhala people over the 40 million Tamils in India and the hatred towards the Tamils in the North for attempting to divide the country be eased. How can one stop the countries in this region joining with imperialists to crush the first workers state on Earth — the USSR? That is only by making the socialist revolution possible in Lanka, India and in the whole of South Asia. To this the international Spartacist tendency and all its other sections are devoted; and it is no secret for Don Mithuna. Intentionally he hides this from the masses. The international Spartacist tendency is an organization with a perspective for a world Socialist Federation.

Finally, one thing should be said. Don Mithuna has dutifully served the purpose as an agent for the entire capitalist class to viciously attack, slander and destroy working class movements.

Patrick Fernando
Spartacist League/Lanka

Copies to:
All left organizations,
Human rights organizations,
All newspaper publishers in Sri Lanka and abroad.

Victory for Labor/Black Defence

Lauren and Ray Won't Go to Jail!

OAKLAND, California: A significant labour victory was won here on April 6 against the Alameda County District Attorney and the Pacific Telephone Company. An eight months long vindictive conspiracy to railroad Lauren Mozee and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero was stopped cold when the presiding judge threw out the trumped-up felony charges which threatened her with 7½ years jail. Two weeks before the felonies against Ray had been dropped for insufficient evidence. The frame-up began last August during the Communication Workers of America (CWA) national phone strike when Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist scab manager while she was on picket line duty. Lauren defended herself and Ray came to her assistance. For this both were fired from their jobs, denied unemployment compensation and set up for years in prison.

The government's racist frame-up was blown to pieces by the successful campaign initiated by the Phone Strikers Defence Committee (PSDC). It mobilised massive local and black-centred support as well as national and international support, including from Australia. The case of Lauren and Ray was becoming broadly known throughout black Oakland — a symbol and rallying point against racist attack. A 400-strong mobilisation last October 29 forced the DA to drop the "great bodily injury" clause against

Ray and Lauren, which shaved three years off their potential sentence. On March 1 some 100 supporters of Ray and Lauren demonstrated at the Hayward Municipal Court to demand a stop to the frame-up. At one court appearance after another, defence backers packed the courtroom to show that Lauren and Ray did not stand alone.

An interracial couple, Lauren and Ray are both members of the Militant Action Caucus, the class-struggle opposition in the CWA, and are well-known as union militants that advocated mass picketing to shut down the phone company during the strike. In addition Lauren is a former 10-year member of the Black Panther Party, and as she told *Workers Vanguard*, "This all stems back to when I was in the Panthers. They decided, well, they couldn't get me then, so they'll try to get me now." Back at Lauren and Ray's workplace, forced transfers, harassment and intensive overtime were directed at breaking up pockets of militancy after the strike. But this did not intimidate these workers who were amongst the most active supporters of Lauren and Ray's defence, contributing financially as well as attending the rallies and court appearances.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defence Committee fought for the strategy of mobilising the labour movement, blacks and other minorities behind this case. For what was at stake is the right for workers to defend their picket lines and for



blacks to defend themselves against the racist capitalist state. As Reagan's drive to war against the Soviet Union accelerates the capitalist class are out to destroy the unity and will to fight of the working class. This means union-busting, racist terror and rampant social reaction are on the march in Reagan's America. This victory for labour/black defence was a concrete demonstration of the necessity for a class-struggle program to defeat capitalist reaction. From stopping the Klan in Washington DC in November 1982 to spiking the frame-up of Lauren and Ray, the key to victory was no confidence in the capitalist state — its cops, courts and politicians — and reliance on the mobilisation of the workers and oppressed.

As Ray Palmiero told *Workers Vanguard*: "While we've won a victory by keeping Lauren and myself out of jail, the final victory will come when the workers take power in their own hands, take state power. I want to thank all those people who defended us in this case, but we still have a lot of work to do — we still have a world to win!"

Victories like this cost money!
Send your donation to: Phone Strikers Defence Committee, 24152, Oakland, California 94623, USA.

NA...

Continued from page three

their class rule. The racist cops, as Freney admits, sympathise with the racists and protect them, while harassing their victims. Thus the cops told the IS after the arson attempt on their office that they have close contacts in the NA leadership. No doubt. The NA staged their provocation in Redfern late last year shortly after the massive and brutal cop rampage against Redfern blacks, knowing that the cops were just itching for another go at any angry blacks who may have wanted to run them out.

The social power of organised labour will make the cops and government think again before wading in to anti-fascist demonstrations, and it's this power that terrifies the NA rats. The CIA-loving bureaucrats running the NSW Labour Council were happy to pass a motion based on the SWP petition, boosting illusions in the police. Their treacherous strategy of pressuring the capitalist state is counterposed to workers and minorities organising independently to smash the fascists.

At Macquarie Uni, student leaders prevented the crowd of angry students from giving NA a richly deserved lesson. When the emboldened fascists returned a week later to wreck their office the student bureaucrats finally got what they wanted — Vice-Chancellor Webb banned NA from the campus as "outsiders" who are "out to provoke violence". This ban is no victory — the admin could just as well apply it to militant anti-fascists and indeed any group they deem "undesirable". The last time Wran's cops came onto campuses was to beat up students in the Sydney Uni Political Economy occupation last year.

Racism is not a matter of bad ideas which can be peacefully removed through legislation and rational persuasion, rather it is a form of ideological backwardness reflecting racial oppression and inherent to this decaying capitalist society. It is a *poison* the ruling class uses to keep working people diverted and divided. Fascism is more than extreme right-wing racism. It stands for mobilising desperate middle-class elements for violent extra-parliamentary action aimed at the workers movement. Bans and laws and court orders won't stop it. The strength of the working class will, for example contingents of wharfies or builders labourers, but this means a struggle to oust the do-nothing reformist misleaders of the unions.

The recent furore over Professor Geoffrey Blainey's attack on government immigration policy as promoting slow "Asianisation" of Australia spotlighted the White Australia racism of the ruling class, the ugly reality behind the official fraud of a "multi-cultural" Australia and Hayden's talk of a "Eurasian Australia" ... in 200 years. While Blainey lent academic respectability to the racial fears that fascists like NA feed off and inflame, his bourgeois "opponents" argued from similar racist assumptions — don't worry, Asians will only be 4 per cent by the year 2000, they're only a "protective colouration". The Australian imperialists let in a teaspoonful of Asian immigrants in the 1970s as a cosmetic clean-up, as well as the Indo-chinese anti-communist refugees. They want to look good in Asian capitals to further their ambitions for a bigger share in the imperialist exploitation of the surrounding Asian region. But the foundations of White Australia as a privileged, racially exclusive, under-populated outpost of European imperialism remain unchallenged.

Hawke's Labor government of Cold

War and capitalist austerity, is fuelling racist reaction. Its immigration restrictions scapegoat immigrants, especially Asians, for high unemployment. Instead of fighting for jobs, the trade union bureaucrats push protectionism, which blames job losses on foreign workers instead of the real culprits, the Australian bosses like BHP. The capitalist system's economic crisis produces poverty and desperation which will breed fascism unless a fighting labour movement shows the way out. Strikes and occupations to fight unemployment through a shorter working week and to bust the wage-cutting ALP-ACTU Accord are urgently necessary.

Life is getting harder for most students (a five per cent cut in university enrolments for 1984 and 37,000 TAFE applications rejected due to cuts in government funds), but especially Asian (overseas) students. Fees for overseas students have been reimposed, and raised under Hawke. Meanwhile the Jackson Committee on Foreign Aid recommended that overseas students pay the full cost of their education; the Goldring Committee, reviewing the overseas student scheme, says overseas students take places from Australians. Overseas student quotas have been set on many campuses. We say: free higher education is the right of all who have managed to make it into Australia. No to Hawke's cutbacks! Abolish racist quotas and overseas student fees! For open admissions to tertiary education! Raise TEAS to a decent living wage!

Hawke's campaign of whipping up nationalism and anti-Sovietism emboldens the fascist fringe groups. Hawke is Reagan's man in Asia, hoping to pick up a few crumbs from the US global war drive against the USSR and its heroic regional ally, Vietnam. We Trotskyists defend the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states against this insane nuclear war drive, opposing Australia's contribution to it, in the first place the US bases. Australia will be opened to the peoples of Asia. For the working people of both Australia and the Asian countries, the way forward is revolutionary and internationalist unity against the capitalist system of depression and war which pollutes the atmosphere with racial and national hatred. For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia!

The Spartacist League is a section of a world party, the international Spartacist tendency. On November 27, 1982, the Spartacist League/US mobilised 5000 mainly black workers in Washington, DC to stop a planned provocation by the Ku Klux Klan, the American fascist movement. This victory didn't happen spontaneously, but because it was led and organised by a revolutionary party with the program to defeat fascism. The Spartacist League is showing the Video of this demonstration at UNSW next Thursday, April 19. Students who want to fight fascism shouldn't miss it! ■

SWP/SPA...

Continued from page five

"union", but the heirs of Ustasha fascism in the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP)

From the profile on Anastasiou printed in the conference agenda, one would think that Papanreou himself was attending, so much does it flatter Greece's social-democratic Prime Minister. Papanreou keeps Greece in NATO and US bases in Greece, but finds anti-American rhetoric a convenient companion to his vicious anti-Turkish chauvinism, a chief weapon of

his to suppress the militancy of the Greek proletariat. But where the Greek Stalinists in their quest for ministerial portfolios laud Papanreou's "dissent" from Reagan over the Cold War KAL provocation, Krivine's LCR lined up solidly with Francois Mitterrand, whose austerity government is now being battled by the superbly militant French steel workers. Like the French Socialist President, the LCR denounced the Soviets' action in taking out the Korean airliner as "unjustifiable" with "terrible and revolting consequences".

Genuine Trotskyists understand that working people the world over can sleep better at night knowing, as Soviet Chief of Staff Marshal Ogarkov said of the KAL provocation, "Soviet military forces protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet Union honorably fulfilled their duties". And we of the international Spartacist tendency hail the Red victories in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In sharp contrast, the SWP's Mandelite factional partners are in the "third camp" vanguard of the USec: praising Mitterrand for taking a "class stand" over Poland, backing the CIA's Afghan "freedom fighters", condemning the internationalist assistance of Vietnam that helped liberate Kampuchea from Pol Pot's genocide.

Son of Mitterrand meets Son of Hawke

What centrally brought Percy and Mandel together within the USec was their common appetite to go all out for "solidarity with Solidarity", even marching with outright counterrevolutionaries (in Australia, the fascistic "Captive Nations"). Those who attended the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary" conference held here last Easter will remember that the SWP-stacked audience practically gave Mandel a standing ovation for denouncing Spartacist "counterrevolutionary nonsense" over Poland, declaring, to thunderous applause that the US-led anti-Soviet war drive is really a Spartacist myth! Despite the SWP's anti-Trotskyist exclusion, by far the sharpest political confrontation at last year's event occurred when Spartacist supporters challenged Mandel outside the conference gates on his support for Solidarnosc counter-revolution. "You are Stalinist counter-revolutionaries" he screamed in a heated exchange with our comrades.

On the other side of the USec divide is the American Socialist Workers Party of Jack Barnes, for well over a decade the mentors and factional comrades-in-arms of the Australian SWP. Indeed it was Barnes who was the first to ditch the "Trotskyist label". But where the Australians have gone "independent", within the framework of a bloc with Mandel, Barnes' SWP appears to be set for semi-irrelevance on the Stalinoid fringe of American radical politics as his declining, massively purged organisation dreams of "fusion" with the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Cuban CP.

Relations between the two SWPs finally reached breaking point last October when Percy expelled the Australian Barnesite opposition led by longtime SWP cadre Nita Keig and David Deutschmann after Barnes denounced the Australian leadership as hopelessly degenerate over the HDP affair. Even the Mandelites cringed when Percy & Co followed to its logical conclusion their cheer-leading for Polish clerical nationalism by touting the HDP as a "Croatian Solidarnosc". While defending this outrage in public, Mandel sought advice from a British USec "specialist" on Yugoslavia and the Balkans, one Michele Lee, after returning from

the "Karl Marx" conference where our exposure of the SWP-HDP scandal drew wide public attention. At that conference, the SWP bodily threw out a Polish Jew, Jacob Bilander, who dared denounce the Ustasha at the HDP's "workshop". Here's what Michele Lee had to say:

"The 'neutralisation' of Yugoslavia could be affected either by keeping it whole or breaking it up beforehand. The HDP is clearly in favour of the latter. One way or another, 'neutralisation' of Yugoslavia is a programme of counterrevolution. How conscious is the HDP's role in this grand design? I would think that it must be. Above all because of their attitude to the *Ustashi*."

(emphasis in original, 4 May 1983)

Adds Lee: "I am surprised, however, that the Australian comrades have not thought through the implications of inviting to the conference an organisation, any organisation, which does not condemn the *Ustashi* not only half-heartedly but *one hundred percent*" (emphasis in original). We bet this is one question Kilden won't want to talk about, in public, that is.

Percy's "Doves" in Hawke's Nest

The SWP pretends Australia under Labor ceases to be imperialist, a myth that Reagan's top Labor man Hawke makes difficult to peddle. After Hawke's election they changed their slogan "Stop Reagan/Fraser's war drive" to "Stop Reagan's war drive", openly amnestying Australian imperialism's junior partnership in the US-led anti-Soviet war drive. Contrary to all stripes of reformists, the Spartacists stand in the tradition of Lenin and Liebknecht: the main enemy is at home! We salute the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants who defeated "our" ruling class along with their powerful US patrons. When the SL demonstrated last April against Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, then on a state visit to Hawke as China and Thailand bombarded Vietnamese positions, we raised as a central slogan: "Down with Hawke, Reagan's man in Southeast Asia!" This is anathema to the SWP "doves", who over Vietnam have come to roost in Hawke's nest. The US and Australian imperialists are obsessed with the Soviet Union's naval base at Cam Ranh Bay; hence Hayden's vow to "free" Vietnam from the USSR. Having got its marching orders, the "No More Vietnams" SWP spelled out last July their idea of "aid" to Vietnam: the US Marshall Plan, Eisenhower's instrument for "containing" Soviet Communism in post-war Europe!

For Trotskyism! For an Australian Workers Republic!

"Socialism" SWP-style is truly a Sunday, one might say, an Easter affair. Like the sellout ALP and union bureaucrats the SWP caters to (we observe the rabidly anti-Soviet Gallagher is a conference endorser), Percy & Co repeat the lie that the working class has no alternative to "Tory" Liberals other than the Labor Party which brought us Hawke. Nor is it merely a question of bowing to the present dominance of Labor social democracy in the working class. The SWP shares with the Hawke Cold Warriors a fundamental hostility to the dictatorship of the proletariat, as so dramatically illustrated over the emergence of Solidarnosc counter-revolution in the Polish deformed workers state. Even today the SWP whitewashes the CIA connection running straight from Hawke to the NCC witchhunters, just as two years ago the SWP red-baited elements in the Socialist Left, accusing them of being "Stalinist" symps for refusing

Continued on page ten

Continued from page nine

to back Poland's "groupers".

The Spartacist League is for unconditional military defence of the Soviet bloc, its Vietnamese and Cuban allies, against imperialist attack and internal attempts at capitalist restoration. We seek to forge the nucleus of the Bolshevik-Leninist party to unite the working class and oppressed, splitting the proletarian ranks of Labor from their pro-capitalist leaders in struggle for an Australian workers republic as part of a socialist Asia. What is needed is strikes to break the accord and the arbitration system it rests on, not racist protectionism but occupations and mass pickets to fight for jobs, a militant defence of democratic rights and social services, and concrete acts of internationalist solidarity, mobilising working class power for our side of the "global class war". The straight truth is that a *break* from Hawke's Cold War austerity government is the starting point for class struggle on every key question. Against the pro-imperialist pacifism tailed by the Stalinists and all wings of the USec, we fight for Lenin's program: the road to peace is international proletarian revolution!

US Bases

Continued from page one

peace and disarmament? They were certainly large, both the Communist Party's (CPA) *Tribune* and the conservative establishment *Sydney Morning Herald* claimed 250,000 marched nationally although the capitalist press noted that these were in no way left-wing or anti-government events. Claiming to unite "ordinary people" of all classes and "above politics", the vacuous pacifist and anti-nuke rhetoric of these marches channelled growing mass fears of looming nuclear war into anti-Sovietism, nationalism and diversionary "anti-uranium" eco-faddism.

These marches were not opposed to the US bases, the American alliance (ANZUS) or any other concrete aspect of Australian imperialism's part in the US-led anti-Soviet war drive. There was anti-Reagan and even anti-Hawke rhetoric, but the organisers made it clear enough which "superpower" was the "main enemy", even having a 30-minute countdown in Sydney for the Soviet nuking of Australia! Not surprisingly Hawke and Hayden greeted this Cold War "peace" movement which only seeks to loyally pressure their pro-Reagan government.

We stand for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and its allies against imperialist attack or internal counterrevolution. Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 it has

been the dominant goal of imperialism to overturn this greatest victory for the international working class. Despite the USSR's Stalinist degeneration, the social gains of that revolution and their international extensions remain the property of the workers of the world. Those who do not defend these historic gains will never lead the victories of the future!

The Cold War draws the class line in every hot spot internationally as Reagan tries to reverse the decline of American imperialism by escalating military intervention abroad and an increasing thrust towards bonapartism at home. Reagan's debacle in Lebanon and battlefield losses in Central America, however, are fuelling opposition from sections of the imperialist ruling class that want no more *losing* wars, a development the patriotic reformist left tails behind with its "No More Vietnams" line. But imperialism's defeats are opportunities for the workers and oppressed of the world and we Trotskyists fight to turn them into lasting revolutionary conquests. In El Salvador we call for the military victory of the leftist rebels, no treacherous "political solution" with the junta killers but workers revolution. In Nicaragua we say kill the CIA/contra invaders — defend, extend and complete the Nicaraguan revolution. At home we fight for revolutionary class struggle against Australian imperialism and its Cold War austerity government. The main enemy is at home!

The touchstone of opposition to the war drive in Australia is the US bases. But with Hawke cracking the whip the ALP "lefts" have outlawed the demand "US Bases Out!" from the "peace" movement, as well as opposition to everything else touching ANZUS, from the Sinai force to the Mirages at Butterworth in Malaysia. Most of the nationalist left have toed this pro-ANZUS line, proving once again that anti-Americanism has nothing to do with anti-imperialism. This Cold War "peace" movement is captive to Hawke and thus the CIA/Pentagon. We fight to mobilise the working class in struggle to drive out the anti-Soviet bases through mass labour action, as our German comrades of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands did last year with their call for a two-day general strike against NATO's deployment of the Pershing II/cruise first-strike weapons. Defence of the USSR/Vietnam begins at Pine Gap, Cockburn Sound, Diego Garcia, Trincomalee! Smash ANZUS! Drive the US Bases Out of Australia and the Indian Ocean! Down with Hawke, Reagan's man in Southeast Asia!

Cold War "Peace" Movement

These marches were organised by the churches and the politicians of the governing ALP's "left wing" as a political vehicle for sections of the bourgeoisie worried at how closely Hawke is tying this country to US global nuclear strategy. Their concerns are being aired in the Fairfax press, notably the *National Times*, whose publication on 30 March of lengthy extracts from a secret defence document, "The Strategic Basis of Australian Defence Policy", was obviously timed to boost the Palm Sunday protests. Hawke's Cabinet had unanimously endorsed this stridently pro-Reagan document last September and, though it contains little that his Cold War Labor government has not said or done, its revealing exposure of their *real* platform caused an embarrassing stir. Even right-wing ACTU boss Cliff Dolan called it a "betrayal" of the ALP platform. The Spartacist League alone on the left opposed the Hawke government from the beginning and the Strategic Basis document confirms with a vengeance what we said:

"Australian imperialism under Labor will be the US's slavish junior partner in Southeast Asia in the service of regional reaction and global anti-Sovietism. Capitalist White Australia is strategically critical to US war plans" (*Australasian Spartacist* no 101, April 1983).

Totally endorsing Reagan's nuclear and conventional build-up, including the first-strike MX missile, as "of fundamental importance to Australia's security", the document repeats Pentagon myths of Soviet "strategic superiority" and questions US "resolve" to handle crises "on the basis of ultimate Soviet fear of escalation to the nuclear dimension". It stresses the US military/spy bases as Australian imperialism's contribution to a US "deterrent", ie, nuclear first-strike capacity. And it justifies this with the insane claims that Australia will be "largely spared". The nationalist "peace" movement's version of this "On The Beach" isolationist escapism leads to the meaningless and parochial absurdity of the Victorian ALP Socialist Left slogan, "US Bases Out of Victoria!"

The Cold War "peace" movement has parallels to the Democratic Party-dominated "nuclear freeze" movement in the US, led by Vietnam war criminals like Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy. Its perspective is to pressure Hawke to use Australia's strategic role as host of the bases to put "pressure on the US to encourage it to seek arms limitations agreements with the Soviet Union" (*National Times*, 20 April). Its big hope is a Democratic victory in this year's US presidential election, which would change nothing. As for Hawke taking an "independent" line, he is the centre of the CIA connection in the labour movement. "Hawke stays in my apartment in New York when he's in town", said CIA agent and former US labour attache in Melbourne Robert Walkinshaw (*National Times*, 20 April). All wings of US imperialism are united on the anti-Soviet war drive, the Democratic "freezers" just want more bangs for the buck. We look toward an American workers revolution — the imperialists will never yield to mere pressure to dismantle their arsenals of death. This is linked to a perspective of defeat of US imperialism and its puppet butchers through workers revolution in Central America.

Soviet Missiles Stay Imperialists' Hands

The "peace" movement's "nuclear disarmament east and west" comes down to, as a banner in Sydney made explicit, "Let the Soviets disarm!" Reagan/Hawke won't quarrel with that. The anti-Soviet pacifists and nationalists protest not the US attempt to regain nuclear superiority which is the driving force of Cold War II, but the Soviets' attainment of, and determination not to lose, rough strategic nuclear parity. It is the certainty of Soviet retaliation which so far has kept the imperialist maniacs in check, bringing the international proletariat some time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation. Without the Soviet missiles, the US would have repeated the horror of Hiroshima/Nagasaki on a vast scale, destroying the gains of the Russian Revolution and incinerating the social revolutions in Vietnam and Cuba. Yet the Stalinist misleaders of these bureaucratically deformed workers states are willing to sell out revolutions almost anywhere for "peaceful co-existence" and a deal with the imperialists. The Trotskyist defence of the gains of the proletariat means a struggle to oust the treacherous bureaucracy, instituting soviet democracy and revolutionary international-

ism through proletarian political revolution.

Nuclear-Armed White Australia? Holy Shit!

In the debate on the Strategic Basis document both Hawke and his nationalist "peace" critics accept the framework of defence of capitalist Australia and merely differ on how. While the document rests solidly on preservation of the ANZUS umbrella it worries about a contingency born of the defeat on the battlefield of US and Australian imperialism by the Vietnamese Revolution — that the US is no longer all-powerful world policeman and can't be relied on to defend White Australia. Obsessed with a possible Indonesian threat, behind which lurks the deeper fear of a rearmed Japanese imperialism, the document notes that "we cannot rely on US support in a defence emergency arising within our own neighbourhood".

Australian imperialism is also obsessed with Vietnam as a "Soviet threat". Soviet access to naval and air bases at Cam Ranh Bay allows them to challenge US supremacy over the sea lanes between the Indian and Pacific Oceans and project military power southward toward Indonesia and Australia. This is what motivates the Hawke government's drive to "free" Indochina from Soviet influence and its calls for "nuclear-free" (read *Soviet-free* and US-dominated) zones in Southeast Asia, the South Pacific and Indian Oceans. Defeat in Vietnam was a turning point for Australian imperialism, leaving a legacy of bourgeois defeatism in the form of nationalist opposition to involvement in the US's losing wars. Thus the Strategic Basis document warns that such commitments may lead to "domestic dissension" endangering the bases and ANZUS itself. Behind this "Vietnam syndrome" is the fear that social revolution in Asia could open up a revolutionary crisis in Australia itself.

Australian imperialism is worried and their Labor servants approved without demur the option of Australia developing ... nuclear weapons! Leading Labor "left" peaceniks like Dr Joe Camilleri recoiled in horror, and the prospect of a nuclear-armed garrison state waging a last-ditch defence of White Australia by threats of nuclear destruction of Jakarta, Tokyo or Hanoi is indeed frightening. But it is only the logical extension of the petty-bourgeois left-nationalist program for an "independent" Australia. The only road for this country is the program of a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia.

Today's pacifists are well on the way to becoming tomorrow's warmongers. The program of trying to reform, to pressure the bourgeois state has its own political logic and in time of war leads straight to national defencism. Trotsky spoke to this clearly in his 1923 *Lessons of October*.

"... the road of reform serves a useful purpose in subsidiary and not in fundamental questions. State power cannot be obtained by reforms. 'Pressure' can never induce the bourgeoisie to change its policy on a question which involves its whole fate. The War created a revolutionary situation precisely by reason of the fact that it left no room for any reformist 'pressure'. The only alternative was either to go the whole way with the bourgeoisie or rouse the masses against it so as to wrest the power from its hands. In the first case it might have been possible to secure from the bourgeoisie some kind of sop with regard to home policy, on the

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condition of unqualified support of their foreign imperialist policy. For this very reason social reformism transformed itself openly, at the outset of the war into social imperialism."

With a few idiosyncratic exceptions the reformist left have already accomplished this task, aggressively sharing the anti-Sovietism of the Australian bourgeoisie as was so well illustrated over Poland and their anti-communist crusade in support of the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc movement. So too adaptation to this Cold War "peace" movement is a test. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who two years ago were witchhunted out of the official ALP-dominated "peace" committees for arguing that "US Bases Out" be a central slogan, made a point this year to discreetly drop it from their main list of slogans building the march. The CPA long since rushed in where the SWP now only skulks, with CPA leader Mavis Robertson's 1982 *realpolitik* stance of upholding "the legitimate defence of Australia" to defend dropping opposition to the US bases. As for the Stalinist bankrupts in the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia, they are in the forefront of those pushing the social-patriotic anti-Soviet line that the US bases make Australia a "nuclear target" — for Soviet missiles.

For our part we tell the Australian working masses the truth: the struggle against war is the struggle for workers revolution on an international scale, and in the first instance against the class enemy at home. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his "Declaration to the Anti-war Congress at Amsterdam" (1932): "The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force in general. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of oppressors. Ideological pacifism confronts war with moral indignation the way the lamb confronts the butcher's knife with plaintive bleatings. But the task consists of confronting the knife of the bourgeoisie with the knife of the proletariat." ■

British Miners...

Continued from page twelve

back. Scandalously the Communist Party's *Morning Star* (19 April) plastered its front page the following morning with the banner headline "Kinnock gives complete backing for miners' fight"! And the *Morning Star* is the face of the supposedly pro-Soviet anti-Eurocommunist wing of the CP!

The Cold War Line-up

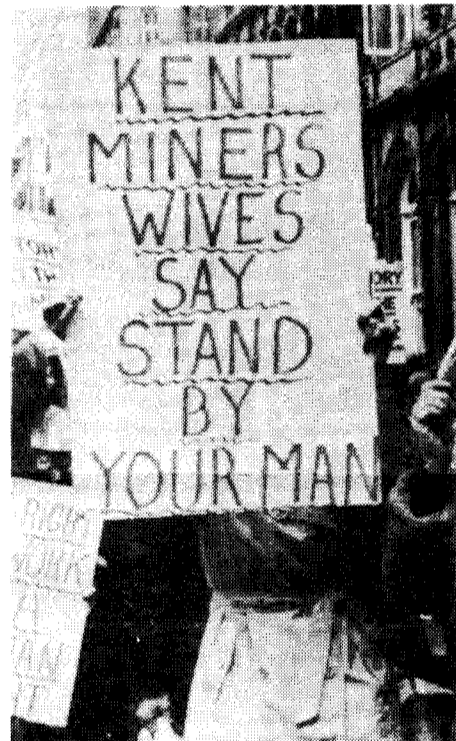
The Fleet Street capitalist press redbait NUM president Arthur Scargill for waging "war on democracy" and coal boss Ian MacGregor obscenely attacks strike militants as "Nazis" while his thugs in blue turn the coalfields into police states and drag hundreds off to jail. The kind of treatment meted out for years to Catholics in Northern Ireland and blacks and Asians in Britain's inner-city ghettos is now being used against striking miners. Thatcher wants to humiliate the miners in order to break the back of the entire union movement. Yet the NCB's weeks old anti-strike injunction continues to sit on ice. As the authoritative Tory mouthpiece, the *Financial Times* (30 March), puts it, the government "has accepted the view that to press the order would unify a union which it is in its interest to split". Who are designated for this splitting operation? The same Cold War "new realists" who led the anti-Communist vilifi-

cation of Arthur Scargill at Blackpool last September, who are the most open and vocal in their hatred for the Soviet Union.

Sid Vincent of the Lancashire NUM, who along with scabherders Chapple and Sirs (who openly ordered their steel and power worker members to cross picket lines) sponsored the CIA-backed, pro-NATO, anti-Communist Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding, echoed the Tory-inspired campaign for a national ballot while keeping his men at work behind picket lines. What's needed is a national strike council, composed of elected strike delegates, to organise the picketing and spread the strike. The productivity bonus scheme which has fuelled regional fracturing within the NUM must be dumped in favour of a demand for equal pay for equal work, pegged at the highest rate. Disciplined workers defence guards must be formed to deal with cop/scab violence.

Treachery at the Top

From the beginning of the strike the NUM has rejected intervention from the Trades Union Congress (TUC). And, given Murray's General Council majority, who would seriously believe that the TUC's "assistance" would be aimed at anything but selling the miners out? But Scargill's own version



Miners' wives march for strike victory, London 29 March

of "solidarity" centred on the so-called Triple Alliance has proved hardly more effective than its predecessor in 1919. Aptly termed the "Cripple Alliance" by one militant, this bureaucratic lash-up began to crumble almost the day it was formed when Bill Sirs and the Steel Workers exec stabbed the NUM in the back. And the "left" leaders of the seamen, transport and rail unions no more want an all-out confrontation with Thatcher than Murray & Co. Welsh miners report that lorry drivers are being victimised for respecting picket lines. John Bell, secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) branch in the critical Notts area, told *Spartacist Britain* that two to five rail workers were being sent home every day for blacking coal, and said he had received reports that cops were riding shotgun on the trains. Yet the national union leaderships aren't even talking about strike action to defend their own members and back the miners. The treachery of the trade-union leaders must be combatted. The Wirral rail workers showed the way: the road to victory is solid national strike action alongside the miners.

Hundreds, if not thousands of women, though, have mobilised throughout the coalfields in defence of the striking miners. They started organising food and money collections

for the beleaguered strikers, and also demonstrations and delegations to confront scabs and pro-scab wives. Kent women beat the police blockade at the Dartford Tunnel in order to join a demonstration against pro-scab women in Leicestershire. The statement of the Kent women's group eloquently points to their commitment to winning this class battle: "We are engaged in the most important struggle of our lives for your future, our future and our families' future and the continued well-being of our mining industries and own communities." These courageous women in the coalfields are demonstrating in action that in the midst of sharp social struggle, the capitalists' design to keep women isolated to home and hearth can be broken down.

For International Labour Solidarity!

Militants must sharply differentiate between the necessity to stop scab coal being imported to break the strike and the protectionist policy of import controls pushed by "lefts" like Scargill and Tony Benn. Import controls do not save jobs but they do reinforce the nationalism and racialism which the ruling class uses to fuel anti-union reaction at home. Just as productivity deals divide workers in this country, protectionism undercuts the capacity to appeal to workers abroad for solidarity. Posed squarely in this strike is the need to call on American and Australian dockers to black the export of coal to Britain.

Scandalously, coal is still also arriving from Poland. NUM officials have called on the Jaruzelski regime to stop the shipment. As Kent area NUM secretary Jack Collins put it, the actions of the Polish government are every bit as disgraceful as those of the scab Notts miners. With their refusal to kowtow to the anti-Communist furor over Solidarnosc, the NUM leaders have some real authority to appeal to the government of the Polish deformed workers state, on the basis that Thatcher is the sworn enemy of both. It speaks volumes to the anti-working-class nationalism of the Polish Stalinist regime that it is scabbing on the miners' struggle today as it did in 1972 and 1974.

Against the right's open scabbing and the do-nothing talk of the "lefts", our supporters in the unions have fought to mobilise strike action. A week after the strike began two NUR branches in London Transport adopted motions put by Spartacist supporters demanding the blacking of all coal and a national rail strike (including London Transport) in the event of any victimisation. At British Leylands Rover Solihull factory, the shop stewards' committee endorsed the resolution initiated by a Spartacist supporter calling not only for financial and picket support, but for shutting down open-cast mines.

We of the Spartacist League/Britain and our supporters in the trade unions have thrown our full resources into fighting to win the strike. More than 15,000 copies of our special strike supplement, as well as thousands more leaflets have been distributed up and down the country, from Scotland to Yorkshire, South Wales and Kent. Our banner on the March 29 "Democracy Day" demonstration in London stood out with its call to "Smash Tory Assault — Miners must Not Stand Alone!" We have organised public meetings to get out the truth about the strike. In Dunscoft, South Yorks, striking miners turned out March 29 to see the film *Harlan County, USA* and hear speakers including Gene Herson, a seaman from the US and organiser of a class-struggle opposition in the National

Maritime Union.

The following night a London SL public meeting featured as guest speakers Kent NUM president Malcolm Pitt, and a militant from the NUR. A Spartacist spokesman laid out the central issues of this strike: "From a simply trade-union standpoint it should be obvious that if the miners are out on strike, the railwaymen don't handle scab coal, and the steel workers don't handle coal, and the lorry drivers don't handle coal, and the power workers don't handle coal. The problem is that if these simple tactics of trade-union solidarity are carried out then this country doesn't run. And the reason why these kinds of elementary solidarity actions which are being addressed in words, have not been implemented, is because the trade-union leadership and the leadership of the Labour Party are quite well aware that if they precipitate a general strike around the question of the miners, then they pose the question of power — and they do not want to get rid of capitalism."

"And the fundamental issue that I want to address myself to is the question of the attitude towards the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. It's quite obvious if one looks at this particular strike, that those elements in the workers movement who hate the Soviet Union the most are the ones that most violently talk about urging the workers to cross the picket line. A classic example of this is Frank Chapple — but there are more than he. And that is why Blackpool was so important... When Scargill made that point [about Solidarnosc] and not one single delegate at the TUC congress got up to defend him when he was being redbaited, then Margaret Thatcher knew she had a good chance of isolating this union. And that's why she provoked this".

Today the Labour Party leadership is openly trying to sell out the miners, while the "left" like Tony Benn, so keen to maintain unity behind Kinnock, refuses even to oppose a strikebreaking ballot. The British working class is today in the throes of its most decisive struggle for many decades against the raw naked power of the capitalist state. This battle must be won! The workers of this country desperately need a fighting revolutionary vanguard party forged through splitting the Labour Party, winning the working-class base away from the pro-capitalist leaders around the program of revolutionary class struggle. This is what the Spartacist League seeks to build, and why we say today: Victory to the miners! Spread the strike! Shut down rail, steel, and the power stations! Smash Tory attacks! Bring down Thatcher!

— Adapted from *Spartacist Britain* no 56, April 1984

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Black All Australian Coal to Britain!

Black *all* coal to Britain! This is the urgent task of international solidarity in this country to help bring victory to the British miners. In its war against the most militant section of the British working class the hated Thatcher government is looking to Australia, along with the US and the treacherous Stalinist regime in Poland, to get its supplies of scab coal.

On 4 April, one month into the strike and despite fierce fighting by British miners, between 50-60,000 tons of Australian coking coal was successfully off-loaded from a Norwegian ship at Port Talbot in South Wales. The British miners and seamen's unions called on Australian

unions for support and the Miners Federation and the Seamen's Union of Australia have declared that no coal to Britain will leave this country for the duration of the strike (*Common Cause*, 11 April). Days later Australian seamen at Hay Point, a key coal loading port in central Queensland, blacked a Hong Kong based ship, the *Crystal Transporter*, when it tried to leave with 120,000 tons of coal headed for British steelworks.

There can be no complacency though. The British miners' fight is the Australian workers' fight — their victory our victory. And the mining and shipping bosses and their Cold War austerity government in Canberra know it. Their media is already

working to mould "public opinion" against the strike, all but blacking out coverage of the miners' militant mass pickets, battling scabs and cops alike, while bemoaning the large amounts of Australian coal tied up in the Dutch free port of Rotterdam by British dockers. Even after the Port Talbot incident Wollongong miners told us that one ship, the *Pernas Arang*, left Port Kembla with 42,000 tons of coal headed for Rotterdam. With another huge coal shipment planned for Britain in mid-May the Labor government's cops and courts stand ready in the wings to prevent effective solidarity action. If Hawke gets in the road he should get a dose of what the British miners are giving Thatcher.

More ominously still the ACTU tops have already prepared their rationale for strikebreaking. The 9 April *Daily Commercial News* reported ACTU President Cliff Dolan as saying it would be ridiculous to stop the export of coals which were not mined in Britain and therefore not threatening any jobs there! The message in this couldn't be clearer: if these policemen for Hawke's Accord see the coal bosses' export trade threatened they will stab the British miners in the back. Such treachery calls for the most determined vigilance by militants in the mines and across the waterfront to make sure these bans are *enforced*. Victory to the British miners' strike — black *all* scab coal to Britain. ■

Bring Bloody Thatcher to Her Knees!

Spread the British Coal Strike!

The miners must not stand alone! That must be the rallying cry of every worker in Britain today. The strike began when the National Coal Board (NCB) attempted massive job-slashing and pit closures. Now the Iron Lady has brought to bear the raw naked power of the capitalist state in an attempt to redress the Tories' humiliating defeat at the miners' hands in 1974. But seven weeks of bitter struggle, ruthless police terror resulting in the murder of Yorkshire striker David Jones and insidious sabotage by scab-herders within their own unions have not flagged the miners' fighting determination. The miners' flying pickets have descended on steel mills, docks and power stations in an effort to spread their strike. For three days, 600 strikers fought pitched battles with battalions of cops in an unsuccessful attempt to halt the importation of coal to Port Talbot steelworks. But the miners cannot do it alone, and the Labour misleaders are doing everything in their power to stab the National Union of Miners (NUM) in the back.

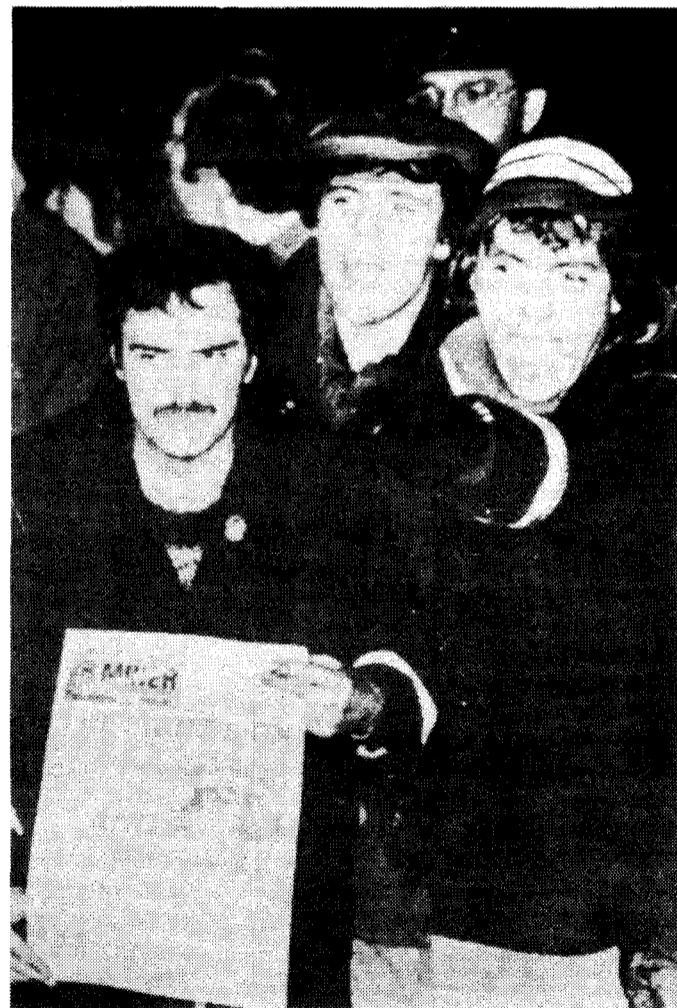
On April 2 in the Wirral, some 250 rail workers walked out, shutting down the Merseyside suburban rail network after a train driver was disciplined for refusing to move a coal train from a siding. This single act of class solidarity pointed the way forward far more clearly than all the hot-air rhetoric coming from the railroad union leaders. Tens, even hundreds of

thousands of other trade unionists have demonstrated their willingness to join this fight by their solidarity actions. Class-conscious militants must smash the bureaucratic sabotage and organise for joint strike action with the miners now! Spread the strike! Shut down the power stations! Bring out rail and steel workers! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

On April 19 a special delegates' conference of the NUM in Sheffield voted overwhelmingly against a strike-breaking national ballot. Outside the conference a demonstration of 6,000 militants, including a delegation of strikers from the scab Nottinghamshire coalfields, there to make sure there was no back tracking, broke into cheers and singing chants of "Arthur Scargill walks on water" when the NUM president told them this was "a fight to the finish". No sooner had Scargill and the TV crews left the scene than hundreds of waiting cops plunged viciously into the dispersing strikers, arresting 70 and injuring 10. One striker has been murdered, well over a thousand strikers and a number of strike supporters, including 5 supporters of the Spartacist League, have been arrested thus far in the Tory government's martial law onslaught against the battling miners. Two Labour MPs have been arrested, one beaten. Cops have openly admitted to using "plain clothes" provocateurs on the picket lines.

The conference decision, like the

Flying pickets from Yorkshire try to shut down mines in Nottinghamshire. Power workers, dockers, railwaymen must black coal.



previous week's National Executive meeting which overruled an attempt by the Cold War right within the NUM to break the strike through a national ballot, reflects the solidity and determination of the strike at the base after six weeks of police terror and bitter hardship. But for all the solidarity talk of the TUC left, Scargill included, the fact remains that after six weeks, the miners stand alone on the strike front. Two days earlier a conference of the Scottish TUC, heavily influenced by the Communist Party, voted in favour of a "day of action" solidarity with the miners on May Day. But this toothless call does not even mandate a strike. Angry Scottish miners have been pro-

testing against the deal made by Scottish NUM president Mick McGahay, a prominent CP supporter, to keep the shipment of coal going into the huge Ravenscraig steelworks. The same deal has been made by the South Yorkshire leadership to keep coal flowing into Scunthorpe steelworks.

The Reagan-loving leader of the Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, openly appealed to the Scottish TUC for a strikebreaking national ballot "to bring cohesion" to the miners. This caps weeks of furious behind-the-scenes manoeuvring by Kinnock and the Cold War right in the Labour leadership to stab the strike in the

Continued on page eleven