

Australasian

SPARTACIST



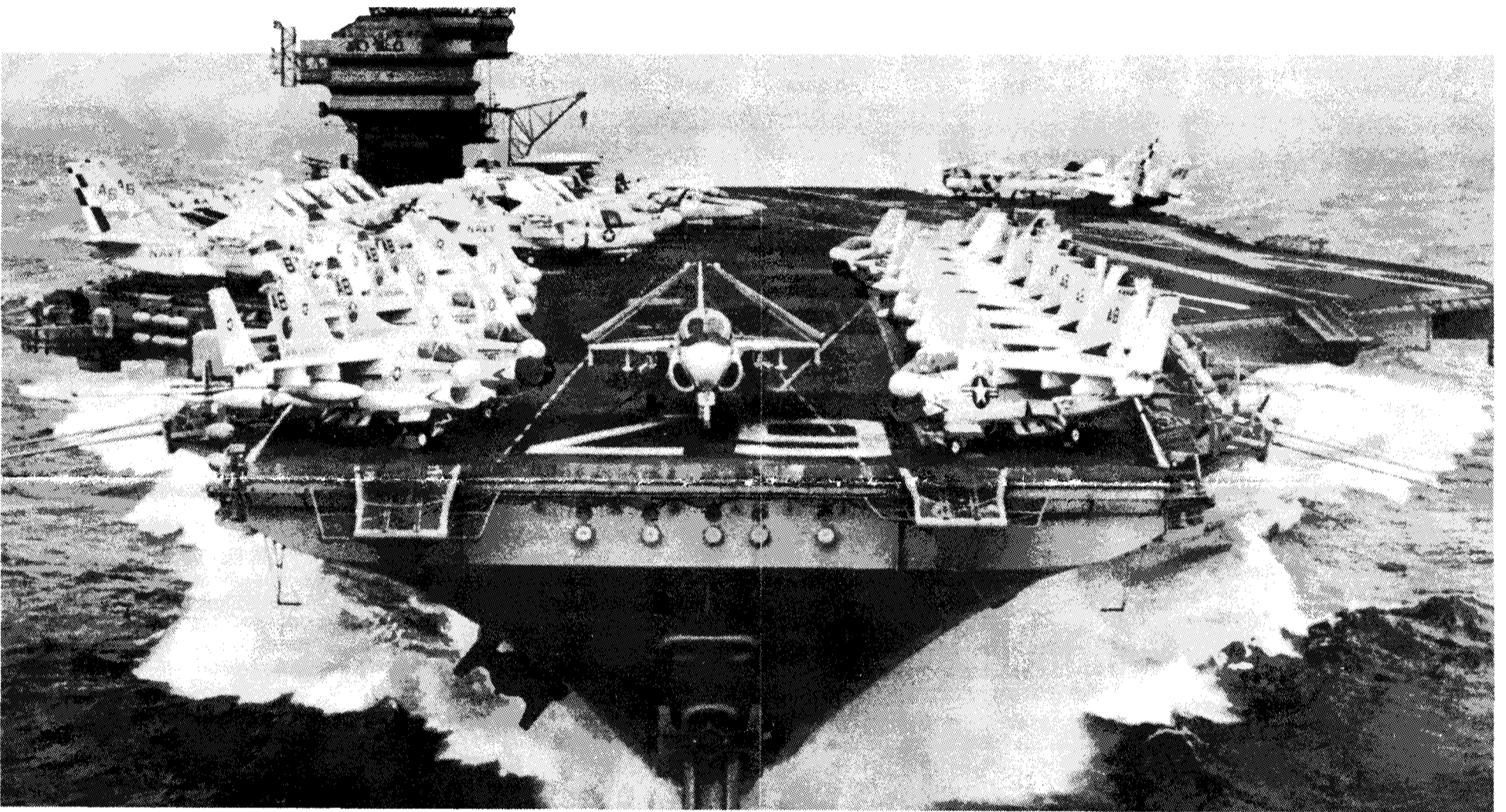
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Lange's NZ up against Reagan/Hawke

Smash ANZUS!



The newly elected New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP) government of David Lange has brought the ANZUS Treaty to the brink of collapse with its intention to ban all visits to NZ ports by nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered US warships. The US has brought in its big guns like George Shultz and its Australian Labor lackeys Hawke and Hayden to force the Lange

government to back down, but to no effect. Lange is certainly no "Soviet surrogate" and wants to "renegotiate" ANZUS to keep NZ capitalism part of the "Western alliance". But the Reagan administration, gearing up to launch nuclear war on the Soviet Union, is in no mood to tolerate displays of "independence" and "anti-nuclear" moralising

from small allies. The big stick the US is holding over NZ is its threat to tear up ANZUS unless NZ ports remain open. "No nukes, no defence treaty", warned the *Wall Street Journal* (22 August).

The US warmongers however have no intention of cutting off their nose to spite their face, especially as the end of ANZUS would endanger their

globally vital bases in Australia. If Lange can't be "convinced" to toe the Cold War line then it's likely he'll get some combination of CIA dirty tricks and a throttling of the vulnerable NZ economy. The Lange government could suffer the same fate as the 1975 Australian Labor government after Whitlam started questioning

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Defend the Soviet Union!

No Joke - Reagan Wants War!

"My fellow Americans", began Ronald Reagan, warming up for his weekly radio chat. "I'm pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." So said the man who has his finger on the button that can unleash 3,000-plus megatons of nuclear weaponry, enough to produce Hiroshima 276,000 times over. And five minutes is just the time it takes for those Pershing 2 first-strike missiles to reach the Soviet

Union from their launch sites in West Europe. It was all a "joke", the White House claimed. Soviet defense minister Marshal Ustinov isn't laughing. He recalls the 20 million Soviet citizens who died throwing back the last attempt to obliterate the homeland of the October Revolution. The European bourgeoisies are not amused. They know that Reagan's "limited" nuclear war fantasies are to be played out on and over their territory. And large sectors of the American population

don't want to be vaporized to fulfill Ronald Reagan's anti-Communist wet dreams.

Right after his "joke" Reagan called for rejection of any interpretation of the 1945 Yalta Agreement "that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence". Three days later, Secretary of State George Shultz repeated the threat — "We will never accept the idea of a divided Europe".

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Philippines in Turmoil

We print below excerpts from letters received from SL supporters on their recent trip to Manila. For a fuller political analysis of the Philippines we refer readers to the article "Philippines: Weak Link in the Cold War Chain", ASp no 107, July/August 1984.

The smell of Manila is a mixture of diesel, stagnant water and food, all mixed and heated with steam. We stay in Ermita, the Kings Cross of Manila. At night it is an area of bars, with people trying to get you to go inside. At day it is a money changing street. Along the back streets, prostitutes sit outside shanties. This has been the red light district for decades, probably since the Spanish arrived. It is near the docks. Small children beg. All along the streets small stalls sell food, fruit, cigarettes and newspapers. Young men wear brightly coloured headbands. We think it must look like pre-revolution Saigon, but you don't see the US servicemen. When we arrive it is in all the news that the Banco Filipino, which has been closed on "bank holiday" for 9 days is re-opening. They were unable to pay out withdrawals. Bailed out by the other banks and West Germany. When they re-open many people turn up with bags and trolleys to get their cash.

On TV we see Imelda take off her shoes and put them on the table in support of the "Buy Filipino" campaign. It is aimed at the public servants, who probably make up a base of support for the bourgeois opposition. It is clearly not aimed at the masses. In the ordinary shops and markets you can only buy Filipino made goods. We buy Adidas shoes, Fila shirts, trousers for about half what the same products cost in Australia. All made in RP [Republic of the Philippines]. Talkback shows are popular on TV. We see one interview with student leaders, and UNIDO leaders (the student leaders of the '60s). The students talk about fees, but insist the main struggle is to unite the workers, students and peasants against the regime, in the struggle for democracy. (Universities have guards on the gates, you need ID to get in.) We see another debate on God, atheism vs Christianity. (85 per cent of the population is Catholic, the rest Muslims, Buddhists, and other

Eastern religions. Islam got to the Philippines 250 years before Christianity.) There are a lot of shows like Countdown. Even way out in the provinces, where you order food by pointing at the menu (hoping you haven't pointed at frog), you can put Thriller on the juke box, and everyone sings along.

The main business centre is called Makati, an area larger than the Melbourne CBD. All new, built in the last ten years, up to ten stories tall. Banks mostly. This is one of the centres of demonstrations. The day we are out there, there is to be a demo. Ticker tape, yellow and white, floats out of the upper stories. Dotted in and around Makati are villages, leafy suburbs with house blocks of 200 hectares. I have not seen suburbs like it. There are gates with armed guards on every roadway entrance. Here live the Aquino's and the Lopez'. Interestingly, most of Makati is owned by a Spanish family, whose daughter Mercedes, married a US colonel, who was the driving force for building Makati, although I believe most of it was built with IMF money. The other thing built with IMF money is the roads. Excellent roads built for driving tanks on.

Makati is the seat of the bourgeois opposition. When they have demonstrations here the majority are young professionals. Workers march too, but separately, and sometimes get the day off work to go. The rest is made up of students. There is a large sector of the population which opposes tear-gassing the recent demonstrations. The Makati demo is held on private land, but the police are spoken to by the UNIDO types, who themselves have brothers running the police and military. So at times, the political terrain resembles a battle within the 400 families. But there is a combative working class, and the NPA.

The opposition papers are notable for 1) being anti-Chinese, 2) token pro-

woman, 3) very clearly a part of the bourgeoisie. Examples: an article on the Lopez family as prospective first family; an article by Lopez arguing that it is no longer possible to call for US bases out, due to the Soviet presence in Cam Ranh Bay, rather the Philippines and Vietnam should get together and make a deal to get rid of the Soviets and the US. The opposition try to blame the Chinese for the poor economy, accusing them of hoarding goods and taking US dollars out of the country. Also anti-Japanese, the Japanese did not really lose the war, they are here now.

Looking across Clark Air Base, you see farmers in front, ploughing fields with carabao (a sort of oxen). The government has an official "rollback to carabao" program, to cut down on the use of tractors, and thereby imported fuel. Rice is grown by tenant farmers, who pay in kind. Coconut farmers pay up to 70 per cent of their produce for rent. The land question is explosive. Bank loans were extended to coconut farmers who were refusing to pay up when we were there. The government was trying to work out a way to use criminal charges against them. Even in the newspapers, people question if martial law is gone. Entire provinces don't have the right of *habeas corpus*.

In the central market area there are no Europeans. Outside the cinemas there are large queues. In here public transport includes horse drawn carriages. We see one horse collapse on the road, because the load was too heavy. Walking around we pass two large churches, with the doors wide open, and many people inside. It must be wonderfully quiet in there. Girls that I talk to are astounded that we have been together for 4 years and have no children. "Oh, you have control", they say, with a tone of disapproval. You can't buy tampons. The Catholic church probably has a lot to do with the woman question.

We hear two Australian jokes: there

are no Australians in Australia, and Australia is a beautiful country, but it is a pity it is underdeveloped.

★ ★ ★

Manila is a fascinating city, with many contrasts. Probably the most glaring contrast is the squatter slums which make up the most part of Metro Manila, and Imelda's palaces which includes conference halls, medical sanatoria and trade centres, all built with IMF loans. It is pathetically comical that Imelda heads the Ministry for Human Settlements. Usually this means bulldozing out thousands of squatters to make way for her newest venture. However with the present loan squeeze she has been somewhat restrained.

In one way Manila reminds me of what I would imagine Saigon was like during the US presence. All the Western tourist hotels are guarded and heavily fortified. The hotel we are in has an armed guard on every floor. It has a life of its own, almost like a village within a city. It even has its own black market. The moment you walk outside the hotel you are almost completely engulfed by the black market. If you are American, Japanese, Bahraini or even Australian there is a rush for your foreign currency. The Philippine economy is falling apart. And then there is the prostitution. It was not just that there was prostitution in Manila. Nor that there was so much of it. What struck me most was that a big part of the economy seemed geared to it.

The other place that Manila reminded me of was Peking at the turn of the century. Particularly as you travel through the squatter areas and probably as a consequence of the enormous and pervasive presence of the US military. I am struck by the apparent resignation and desperation of the majority of people. I imagine

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Birds of a Feather

The head of Solidarnosc, Poland's company union for the CIA, Lech Walesa, certainly has some interesting friends. In a 29 July interview with the British *Sunday Mirror* he gushed with "much respect" for Britain's would-be bloody dominatrix Maggie Thatcher, openly backing Thatcher's bloody union bashing of the embattled coal miners. Lech is a big fan of Reagan's too: when he smashed the US air traffic controllers' union PATCO, Solidarnosc said not a word in protest. Walesa however hailed Reagan's 1980 election as "a very good sign for the world and Poland".

So this photo (right) comes as no surprise to us. Rod Kelly, candidate for national secretary in the metalworkers (AMFSU) elections for the NCC-backed Reform Group, visited Poland recently and came back with Walesa's endorsement. "Two men with a purpose"? Too right — anti-communist, anti-working class witchhunters and wreckers. Proof again of our long-held line that "Solidarity is Poland's DLP/Groupers", a fact our squirming "democratic socialist" opponents, foremost cheerleaders for Solidarnosc "democratic" counterrevolution in Poland, cannot stomach.

A laughable article in the Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* (12 September) claims all this is a "trick". As usual the SWP ducks the connection — the CIA connection that is, the one that runs straight to Hawke (and that probably set up Kelly's meeting with the Pope's little "freedom fighter"). The *DA* article doesn't mention Hawke, who also features heavily in Reform Group election material (posing with Kelly) along with former members of the NCC-run witchhunting Industrial Groups (Groupers) of the late 1940s/early 1950s like Ralph Marsh or the FIA's Laurie Short. Hand in hand

with their moves in the Victorian ALP the Hawke-NCC axis is on an anti-communist offensive against the Labor left's base in the union bureaucracy, a battle now centred on the crucial AMFSU.

Militant metalworkers have no choice in these elections. Both the incumbent "left" bureaucracy and the Reform Group candidates vie to prove themselves best supporters of the Cold Warrior Hawke and his corporatist Accord. Metalworkers must build an internationalist class-struggle alternative leadership. As this episode proves once again the social-democratic left's lawyering for Solidarnosc counterrevolution and the CIA's man Hawke only fuels the growth of the most reactionary forces at home. ■

Reform Group leaflet for AMFSU election: Rod Kelly, anti-communist union-wrecker backed by Hawke, the bosses courts and the NCC, meets Lech Walesa, of CIA/Vatican-backed Polish Solidarnosc.

TWO MEN WITH A PURPOSE

Rod Kelly meets with Lech Walesa, Polish Trade Union leader at SOBOWO, Poland July 1984



"I find it incredible that 50% of Metal Workers fail to vote in free Union Elections in Australia. We Poles could never afford this complacency."

Down with South Africa Racist Election Hoax!

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

AUGUST 25 — Shaken by the black labor militancy, guerrilla attacks and youth revolts of the last decade, South Africa's white rulers are trying to shore up their racist apartheid state by setting the 2.8 million "coloured" (mixed race) and 800,000 Indians against the 22 million black Africans. With much fanfare the Botha regime has proclaimed a "new deal": separate coloured and Indian parliaments subordinate to the white parliament. At the same time, this so-called constitutional "reform" strengthens the powers of the presidency against the white parliamentary opposition. Needless to say, South Africa's racist rulers have ushered in the new era of "ethnic consensus" with their usual methods — tear gas attacks and mass arrests during the elections to the new parliaments in late August. Workers throughout the world and all supporters of democratic rights must demand the freedom of all opponents of apartheid rotting in South Africa's prisons, "banned" or exiled.

The supposed beneficiaries of the new constitutional order are having none of it. The coloured and Indian masses know in their bones that their oppression will not end until the entire apartheid system is smashed. Less than 20 percent of the eligible coloured voters cast ballots — and most of those who did live in isolated rural areas where white farmers herded them to the polls in trucks. In the Cape Town area, where about half the coloured are concentrated, less than 10 percent voted. A coloured student's placard at a rally calling for a boycott of the elections summed up the mood: "We are not monkeys, so don't offer us peanuts." Even the *New York Times* (23 August) had to admit "the bulk of nonwhite South Africans to be consulted are opposed or indifferent to the changes". The election to the Indian parliament takes place a few days after we go to press, but the result will no doubt be another humiliating setback for the apartheid rulers and their nonwhite puppets.

With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive South Africa — always an ally of US imperialism — has become an increasingly important part of "the free world". Washington has backed to the hilt the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being defended by 20,000 Cuban troops. As black South African leader Oliver Tambo explained, "South Africa has been given the license to mount an offensive against what Reagan called — to the delight of the South Africans — the Communist, terrorist aggression which Reagan was fighting all over the world" (*New York Times*, 11 August).

Thus Wall Street and Washington as well as the rulers in Pretoria hope that the new constitution along with the partial recognition of black trade unions and extension of freehold and trading rights to the black petty bourgeoisie will stabilize the apartheid system by somewhat broadening its base. But attempts to restructure apartheid from above cannot succeed. Each measure which affects the once-



Militant black workers in Johannesburg protest 1976 Soweto massacre of student youth.

absolute dividing lines of racist domination can only embolden the black African toilers. "Enfranchisement" of the coloureds and Indians only highlights the disenfranchisement of the black majority on whose superexploitation white South African capitalism rests. Some liberals hope the new dispensation will be extended to blacks. But that would threaten the very basis of capitalist rule in South Africa. Significantly, the head of the giant conglomerate Anglo-American, Gavin Reilly, openly speaks about the need for a bonapartist dictatorship ("multiracial oligarchy") to stabilize the system. Only the black proletariat under a communist leadership can liberate the nonwhite masses from the apartheid police state.

For a Black-Centred Workers and Peasants Government!

Black opposition to the new constitution and to new police-state measures tightening still further the hated pass laws has been led by a formation called the United Democratic Front (UDF). Launched only last year, it is South Africa's largest anti-apartheid political grouping in over two decades. But its politics are hardly new. Rather the UDF is an attempt to revive in a new situation the Congress Movement of the 1950s, a bloc between the nationalist African National Congress and the Stalinist Communist Party of South Africa.

In the name of "unity of all progressive forces" against apartheid, the UDF brings together everything from trade unions to religious councils, traders associations to sports clubs. A student group affiliated with the UDF hailed it not as a means of class struggle, but for building the "unity of people of different classes" (SASPU *National*, September 1983). The UDF founding document envisions a "united, democratic...non-racial

South Africa". In documents such as this what is not said is as important as what is, for it is precisely the fundamental questions that are buried: whose democracy? which class will rule?

The Achilles' heel of the entire apartheid system is its dependence upon black labor. Much as the white racists would like to relegate the country's 22 million blacks to the bantustan hellholes, they also know, as an economist for the Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites alone" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). And black workers have been showing their muscle with strike waves and massive unionization ever since the Durban strikes of 1973 shattered the police-state silence of the 1960s.

The international Spartacist tendency has always recognized that it is the black workers who have the social power to smash apartheid. Now, faced with a burgeoning black labor movement, even the nationalists and reformists of the UDF are asserting "the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle". Yes, petty-bourgeois nationalists are always willing to use the power of the working class for their own ends, usually presented as some kind of classless democracy. The South African Communist Party, a major force in the UDF, stands for the Stalinist two-stage program of bourgeois democratic revolution now, proletarian socialist revolution later (ie, never). This popular-frontist strategy has for over half a century produced only bloody defeats for the working masses, from Spain in the 1930s to Indonesia in 1965 to Chile in 1973.

Neither the "progressive" bourgeoisie nor the various petty-bourgeois forces can fulfill the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, which in South Africa means racial equality; a

revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote; smashing the bantustan system, and land to the impoverished black rural masses. Apartheid will not be destroyed without massive struggle by the black proletariat. And that struggle will necessarily produce organs of workers power (eg, strike committees, factory committees, soviets), placing the socialist revolution on the order of the day. In such a revolutionary crisis, misleaders like Rev Allan Boesak of the UDF — who whines "why can't prime minister Botha sit down and make agreements with the people of his own land?" — will seek most urgently a sellout "negotiated solution" with the apartheid butchers.

To counter such popular-frontist treachery requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party which fights from the outset for the political independence of the working class. But the UDF stands opposed to a workers party. The leaders of a trade union affiliated to this nationalist/Stalinist popular front argue:

"The other alternative would be for the unions to support/encourage the setting up of a 'Worker's Party' that will lead the workers in the struggle against the [constitutional] 'new deal'. This type of political grouping — it is argued — would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position...."

They then set up the straw man of a workers party "going it alone" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, November 1983).

A revolutionary workers party is here defined as isolated from the broad anti-apartheid struggle when in fact only such a party can mobilize all of South Africa's oppressed masses (for example, overcoming tribal divisions and enmities) in struggle against white racist rule. To conquer

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For Revolutionary Integrationism!

Tharunka Editors: Apologists for Black Segregation

The following reply was submitted to the University of NSW student paper Tharunka. As we go to press the editors are refusing to print it.

Tharunka's first edition for the second session, the supplement (vol 30, no 8), contained a full-page exchange between student supporters of the Spartacist League and Tharunka editor Wendy Carlisle. This debate was sparked by Tharunka's political censorship of our leaflet, "Vengeance for John Pat", after it was submitted for publication. The leaflet was a call to protest the WA Supreme Court's total acquittal on 23 May of the five police who beat and kicked to death a 16-year-old Aboriginal youth, John Pat, in Roebourne last year. At UNSW, Spartacist supporters had used this leaflet to organise students to a 60-strong, heavily black demonstration against this racist atrocity on June 1. The protest was initiated by Wollongong Aboriginals and built jointly with the Spartacist League around the demands, "Vengeance for John Pat!", "Drop the charges Against Roebourne Blacks!" and "Jail the Killer Cops!" We gave Tharunka the leaflet for publication and also offered a photo and a brief news resume of the protest to go with it.

Predictably the entire bourgeois media blacked out this important protest hitting back at state-backed racist murder and the papers of the reformist left either followed suit or carried falsified reports. Tharunka employed the tactic of political thought police, gutting the leaflet of its political content and our call to students, workers and all decent people to join us in protest. We energetically defended ourselves against this attempt to trample on our democratic and political rights with a leaflet widely distributed on and off campus entitled "Tharunka Censorship Serves White Australia". The fact that Tharunka editors later reprinted this in



Tharunka is in political opposition to 1 June protest by blacks, SL against state-sanctioned racist murder.

the supplement and felt compelled to come into the open to argue for their views is a victory for our rights and the rights of all students and workers on this campus. Any decent student newspaper would provide access in its pages to open and polemical debate on questions of political and social importance. Carlisle however continues to defend Tharunka's censorship saying, "True, we did edit out most of the rhetoric and hysteria from the Spart program but for what we thought were good reasons". Carlisle's "reasons" are, of course, political, and since her views are broadly representative of the whole spectrum of Laborite and liberal groups, we welcome the opportunity to continue the debate.

To begin, we admit in evidence the "leftist" Carlisle's right-hand man, one Peter Sanderson, Arts II, a creepy anti-communist whose congratulations to Tharunka for censoring "Spartacist lies" were gratefully acknowledged by Carlisle who added the headline "Thank You Tharunka" to his letter on page 1 of the supplement. Nowhere in this provocative, lying diatribe against

leftists and the Soviet Union does Sanderson state where he stands on the racist backlash and Pat's murder. He does however identify himself politically, concluding "Long live the Polish workers and Afghan resistance fighters", echoing the anti-communist nut in the White House who "jokes" about nuking the Russians off the face of the earth. Trying to defend her acts of petty bureaucracy, Carlisle is collecting some dubious allies.

At least her reply openly states her objections to our line on the John Pat murder and the way forward for the deeply oppressed Aboriginal population. Outlining what she describes as "Spart rhetoric, exclamation marks and other dribble", she says:

"you talked (raved) of vengeance for John Pat, and that this required a self defence strategy from the working class (although who they are, I don't know). There is nothing constructive in either vengeance or a defensive strategy."

What upsets Carlisle so much is that our aggressive partisanship challenges her empty "progressive" pretensions in the face of the murderous

oppression of the black population by the courts, cops and government of racist Australian capitalism. In both her reply and the earlier hack job on our leaflet, Carlisle and company come up with hostile indifference to any organised political response to this racist outrage. As we noted earlier, Tharunka's "news item" on the cops' acquittal kept in our political opposition to a whitewashing Royal Commission, while censoring out our political alternative of labour-centred social struggle, leaving Tharunka with much the same position as the Burke and Hawke Labor governments — that nothing will be done about this racist murder. Now in her reply Carlisle spends her time "raving" against our demand that John Pat's murder be avenged and his killers put behind bars where they belong. "What is that going to do to change things?" Carlisle whines against this call for minimal justice, thus siding with the racist status quo.

Her objections to our call for vengeance for the murder of John Pat and for jailing his murderers speaks volumes about her position on the fight for social justice for black people in this country. Contempt for the working class and a radical chic attitude of despair may be fashionable in the uni editorial offices and campus pubs and we leave Carlisle and her co-thinkers on the reformist left to it, but despair will never improve the quality of life of workers, women, blacks and minorities. And those are our people. Marxists understand that revolutionary social change is possible and we are committed to the struggle for it. We base our strategy on the class struggle and look to the example of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which led the first workers revolution in history, a victory which inspired the oppressed to struggle to throw off the massive injustice, oppression, chaos

reply

Let me first say that I don't intend to "defend" Tharunka's censorship of the Spartacist League's leaflet, captioned "Protest W.A. Courts Acquittal of Racist Murderers! Drop the Charges Against the Robourne Blacks! Gaol the Killer Cops. VENGEANCE FOR JOHN PAT!" which was reprinted in an edited version in Tharunka Vol. 30, No. 7, as "ALL WHITE JURY ACQUITS POLICE OF MURDER". However, since I've been encouraged to comment, I will.

I would also like to preface this "defence" with the observation that Tharunka printed the substantive text of the Spartacist leaflet because we felt this incident was yet another outrage against the Aboriginal people, and as such, should be brought to the students attention. True, we did edit out most of the rhetoric and hysteria from the Spart program but for what we thought were good reasons. We felt that students who might be interested in the issues you bring up would be turned off the minute they were confronted with a large dose of Spart rhetoric, exclamation marks and other dribble that you insist upon serving up. You said it yourselves when you talked (raved) of vengeance for John Pat, and that this required a self defence strategy from the working class (although who they are, I don't know). There is nothing constructive in either vengeance or a defensive strategy. You offer nothing in the way of informed comment, you prefer, to use your own words, a rather rudimentary self defence strategy which calls for a "gaoling" of killer cops. What is that going to do to change things? May I ask just where do you propose to gaol them, and whether this will occur within the present framework of society, or do you have other plans for that. Maybe you'd like to "integrate" oppressed cops.

The Editors,
Tharunka,
University of N.S.W.

We are submitting the attached leaflet, "Tharunka Censorship Serves White Australia", for publication in your next issue. It should go without saying that the copy is not to be subject to editorial alteration. However, given its content we would naturally expect you to print something in your own defence.

Greg Benfield (Arts I)
Phillipa Naughten (Arts I)
for the Spartacist League

The only thing your literature succeeds in doing is alienating students from issues which should be of concern to them.

What I actually spoke to one of your members about on the phone was self determination for the Aboriginal people. I am sure many Aboriginal people would be affronted and offended by the idea of integration, which still smells oh-so-sweet from bygone Liberal years. If the Aboriginal people choose segregation, not integration, (or anything else) then it would be their decision, not yours. One of the main things we as white people can do is work towards a just landrights legislation, and among other things, a comprehensive program of health and education (run by and for Aboriginal people). White people must help facilitate this process of self determination. There is absolutely no doubt that the current white imperialist capitalist and, I might add, patriarchal system has been devastating for the Aboriginal people; that they have been politically, socially and economically excluded, and that this has been one of the contributing factors in their exploitation and oppression. But is the remedy integration?

Tharunka

Tharunka is certainly not opposed to united, and when necessary, armed struggle. Gertrude Shope, who is head of the women's section of the A.N.C., and also on its executive committee put this point strongly when she talked of the necessity of black armed struggle in South Africa combined with an autonomous education program.

Besides, we don't think a student paper (or any other) should be so arrogant as to suggest a vehement "line" on anything, because such things are being adequately achieved by papers like The Australian which we might add, doesn't even pretend to present the news anymore. I would suggest that if students are interested in your "strategy" that they read your publication which is called Australian Spartacist.

Further, several of my friends who attended the demonstration that you refer to, would not agree with your point of view, but they are not so bigoted as to deny the importance of such a demonstration against this murder and just because they don't agree with your tactics doesn't mean they would regard you as white lackeys or Liberals. In the end though, it's the Sparts own brand of chauvanism which does more to damage and divide the left than the Liberals could ever hope to do. Responding to every inaccurate and distorted allegation in the Sparts Shit Sheet would be useless, but for those who profess to be against the cult of individualism, the Sparts have done a good job of isolating and spot-lighting myself at a time on campus when students are being assaulted with depressing regularity.

The Sparts have their heads in the sand, they insist upon reading Das Kapital as if it were 1860, and not 1984.

WENDY CARLISLE

THANKYOU THARUNKA

Dear Eds,

Congratulations on your censoring of that Spartacist League "garbage", submitted to Tharunka for the June 5th issue. On Thursday, June 14th, student supporters of the Spartacist League, were handing out copies of the article they had submitted to Tharunka, as well as a leaflet protesting the censoring of their article. After reading the article they wished to see printed, I can only thank Tharunka for cutting out much of what they wrote. For much of it was nothing but lies.

Firstly they claim that they support the Aboriginals, and to prove this they took part in a demonstration on June 1st, protesting the acquittal of policemen who murdered John Pat, an Aboriginal. Now if the Spartacists are a communist group which supports the USSR, they probably support that country's policy of collectivisation and state-ownership of all land. The Aboriginals, on the other hand, are a people fighting to regain their land and who would not be prepared to see it taken away from the state. So how can the Spartacists, (who share the Soviet Union's ideals) unite "in militant struggle" with the Aboriginals, an oppressed minority. Why should the Aboriginals unite with a group which supports a Superpower, that has a history of racial oppression, (e.g. Afghanistan). Perhaps the Spartacists are hoping to use the Aboriginals as a shield against the cops in order to protect their own hides.

Secondly, these left-wing creeps must be really naive if they think the student body is going to believe their claim that the Soviet Union is the defender of the oppressed peoples of the world. I now quote from their article, "Defend Vietnam/ USSR against imperialist attack!" What a load of garbage. The Soviet Union is as imperialistic and militaristic as the United States, so who are the Spartacists trying to kid. But I suppose the Spartacists will answer to this by saying that the Afghan resistance fighters are really Western journalists in disguise and that the Polish workers are really being oppressed by C.I.A. agents disguised as Polish troops.

At any rate my congratulations to Tharunka on not printing any Spartacist lies. The lunatic left (groups such as the Spartacist League) is as demented as the Fascist right. To the Spartacists I have this to say, "Long Live the Polish workers and the Afghan resistance fighters!"

Peter Sanderson
Arts II

and carnage of the capitalist world. In spite of the subsequent Stalinist degeneration the inspiration of the Russian Revolution remains to this day, as do the historic gains which it won and which we defend.

When masses of organised workers hit the streets against racist murder and force the bourgeoisie to jail a couple of their uniformed butchers, that will be a victory for our side and their side will pay. When militant pickets beat back scabs, when workers defence guards stop terror attacks by right-to-lifers on abortion clinics — we win, the oppressors and their lackeys lose. That's vengeance. These victories, this vengeance, strengthens the class consciousness of the oppressed and when the workers are conscious of their strength and class interests things change. Building the Trotskyist leadership to lead these struggles and to battle for the rights of all the oppressed is the task which we of the Spartacist League have set ourselves, to exact the ultimate vengeance through the overthrow of this murderous, decaying capitalist system and establish a workers republic.

When we analyse what program Carlisle has against black oppression (which she defines *against* our program of revolutionary integration), the conclusion is the same — she defends the racist status quo, although of course under the banner of Aboriginal "self determination".

"I am sure many Aboriginal people would be affronted and offended by the idea of integration, which still smells oh-so-sweet from bygone Liberal years. If the Aboriginal people choose segregation *not* integration, (or anything else) then it would be *their* decision, *not* yours. One of the main things we as white people can do is work towards a just landrights legislation, and among other things, a comprehensive program of health and education (run by and for Aboriginal people). White people must help to

Labor's Screws Murder Black Prisoner Avenge Robert Walker!

Western Australia: On 28 August yet another young black man, 25-year-old Robert Walker, was kicked and beaten to death by the armed enforcers of the West Australian state. In full view of up to fifty inmates of Fremantle jail, Walker was brutally murdered by four prison warders, dragged from his cell in the middle of the night, thrown down a flight of stairs and then batoned and kicked for *over a quarter of an hour* on a lighted grass area under the Division 2 cell block. According to Ray Mickelburg, one of 19 inmates who have come forward to testify against Walker's killers, a depression in the ground left by Walker's head was still filled with half an inch of blood the following morning. Grave fears are held for the lives and safety of these witnesses, as prison authorities completely deny the murderous beating, alleging that Walker died either by slashing his wrists or an overdose of a heavy duty tranquiliser.

This is the second brutal murder of a young black man by the state in Labor ruled WA that has been brought to public attention in less than a year. On September 28 last year 16-year-old John Pat was similarly kicked and

facilitate this process of self determination." (emphasis in original)

Here Carlisle self-consciously takes on the "white man's burden" and the framework is not that much different from the "progressive" colonial mentality. Who does she think she's kidding talking about Aboriginal people *choosing segregation*? Blacks in this country are already largely

beaten to death by five off-duty cops in the northern town of Roebourne. When the WA Supreme Court handed down a total acquittal of Pat's killers in May of this year we said they had handed the cops a licence — you can kill black people in this country and nothing will be done. This open terror by the capitalist courts, cops and prisons against the Aboriginal population is the murderous backdrop to escalating racist reaction in Hawke's Australia. In a climate fuelled by anti-Sovietism and "back to White Australia" racism it is increasingly the mining companies with their hysterical ravings against Aboriginal land rights, the racist anti-Asian ideologues like Blainey and the Bjelke-Petersens who set the tone for Hawke's "consensus".

Labor in power has changed nothing for the viciously oppressed Aboriginal population. In a state where the total black population is around three per cent fully *one third* of WA's prison population is black. Faced with public exposure of this case the WA Labor minister for prisons Joe Berinson has ordered an enquiry into Walker's death but his press statement on the killing shows where his government stands, completely covering up all

segregated, as even her reply admits, and it is enforced! With a few token exceptions they are institutionally and systematically excluded from social and productive life. Her amalgam of revolutionary integration, ie, breaking down the barriers which deny blacks access to jobs, education, health care etc, with the "bygone Liberal years", ie, the pre-1960s official government



Robert Walker

allegations of the warders' deadly beating. The Labor Party is committed to defending this racist capitalist system. The reformist, legalist perspective of loyally lobbying the ALP for "justice" pushed by organisations like the Socialist Workers Party can lead nowhere except to demoralisation and whitewashing government enquiries. Our strategy is to fight to mobilise the power of labour in the streets against these racist atrocities, part of our class-struggle perspective for working-class power, a revolutionary workers republic which has as its purpose destroying the root of racist terror: the capitalist system. Vengeance for Robert Walker and John Pat! Jail these killer cops and screws and throw away the key! ■

policy of "assimilation", is such a cheap and dishonest smear. For both Liberals and Labor, "assimilation" meant just a slower form of genocide, the destruction of the Aboriginals as a people through unrelieved oppression, racist neglect and complete exclusion from white society.

Australian capitalism was founded
Continued on page nine

Melb Uni Anti-Witchhunt Fight Vindicated

Last term the Activities Committee at Melbourne University (MU) directed its Clubs & Societies (C&S) sub-committee to register the Spartacist Club, "subject to renewal for 12 months periods". This unusual directive codifies what has been, de facto, our recognised status at MU since 1982. Then an unholy alliance of anti-communist, Russia-hating social democrats and open bourgeois reactionaries tried to witchhunt our club out of existence — and failed. Initiated by "Socialist" Club blowhard, Joe Belbruno, the anti-Spartacist inquisition was soon taken over by long-standing NCC fellow-traveller Joe De Simone, then in the Liberal Club.

At a campus renowned as the training ground for the Haydens, Morgans and Peacocks, and "enlightened" by a host of reactionary professors — the racist pig Blainey, the Cold Warrior Knopfelmacher, the Pilsudskiite Pole Szrednicki, to name a few — the propagation of Marxist politics was quite sufficient to send the entire administration-tied student bureaucracy into a redbaiting frenzy. Encouraged by the imperialist hysteria following the spiking of Solidarnosc's counterrevolution in Poland, they wanted to give us "one for Lech and the boys", as the campus newspaper *Farrago* put it.

Instead these dishonourable schoolboys got a fight they still can't forget. We mobilised support on and off the campus from students, campus workers and trade unionists, ALP figures and academics. We

demonstrated, held meetings, hit the campus with a barrage of leaflets and gathered over 750 signatures on a protest petition that the witchhunters choked on. Although denied "affiliated" status (enabling access to funding, a right we certainly claim), we succeeded in establishing our right as a working class political tendency to organise on the campus.

So, when our registration was challenged this last term by C&S officer Andrew Smith, two of the former witchhunters, ALPer Greg Louis and Charles Richardson of the Liberal Club, came up with the motion for our registration — not for the regulation three months but for twelve. "Some of you weren't here then", said Louis, who in 1982 howled as loudly as anyone about "Spart outsiders". "These people just don't give up", he continued. "There's nothing else like them on campus... the Spartacist Club is unique, and it has a right to exist." True enough.

The same C&S meeting where the Spartacist club was registered voted against registering a new front (the "James McAuley Society") for the Catholic, CIA (and Hawke)-allied reactionaries of B A Santamaria's National Civic Council (NCC). (One of McAuley's claims to fame at MU was establishing a group to counteract anti-war activism during the Vietnam war.) This petty bureaucratic manoeuvre to deny them a club, pushed by ALP Socialist Left supporters, cannot defeat the NCC.

In fact using an arm of the admin-

istration like the Activities Committee to "fight" them merely plays into their own hands. In a recent newsletter of its McAuley Society front the NCC make a pitch to any fellow anti-communists by suggesting that the Activities Committee should be suppressing the Spartacists instead of them. It was De Simone & Co two years ago who thought they could disrupt our meetings with impunity. They found out otherwise. We will defend our rights with whatever means necessary and intend to destroy the NCC's influence on the campuses and in the labour movement through political struggle, exposing them for what they are.

The name NCC has long been synonymous with anti-communist witchhunting. It should be remembered that during the 1982 witchhunt against the Spartacist Club, it was above all gut hostility to our forthright defence of the Soviet Union and its allies against the war aims of Australian imperialism and its US patron that drove our ALP and Socialist Club opponents into the arms of their Liberal/NCC competitors. We know that the Socialist Left for now would rather spend their time trying to suppress the NCC than us. They're very anti-NCC since it's their heads on the chopping block — but they can't fight the NCC because they won't break with Hawke.

It's Hawke who stands behind the current NCC offensive in the metalworkers union. It's Hawke who "invited" the NCC-led "gang of four" unions back into the Victorian ALP in a major power move to lock up the ALP for the CIA and anti-Soviet war, hoping to destroy that wing of the Socialist Left wedded to anti-American nationalism. As with

David Combe, ASIO/CIA/Hawke deems the Socialist Left a "security threat". In fact the Socialist Left has been up to its ears administering Cain's anti-working class, anti-drinking/smoking/sex Labor government in Victoria.

We link our call to keep the NCC witchhunters out of the Victorian ALP to "Bring Down Hawke!" — a perspective of splitting the Labor Party along class lines in the fight for a class-struggle workers party. As the Spartacist Club leaflet advertising our "Cold War Labor in Power" forum of last term put it:

"The NCC's emergence back into the Labor Party mainstream under Hawke's open patronage further underlines what we Trotskyists have said since the ALP came to power: on every key question facing the working class and its allies, the starting point for struggle must be a break from Hawke's Labor government of capitalist austerity and Cold War!"

It is this class conscious program that we represent on campus. We say to the youth of today (who for the ruling class are the cannon fodder of tomorrow): your allies are the working class and oppressed masses, your future is in the destruction of this sick, irrational capitalist system. And if you liked what we had to offer at MU last term — from our forum, to our video showing of the November 27 '82 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League-initiated Labour/Black mobilisation that stopped the KKK in Washington DC, to our defence of blacks in this country and our call for vengeance against racist murder around the John Pat case, to our militant class-struggle protest against Blainey and racist backlash — be assured there's more to come. ■

Protest Mass State Terror Against Lankan Tamils!

US Imperialists Must Not Get Their Hands on Trincomalee!

One year after last summer's bloody pogroms against the Tamil national minority in Sri Lanka, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or beaten to death and tens of thousands driven from their homes, government troops and police have launched a new campaign of mass terror against the civilian population of the Northern Province. The right-wing government of J R Jayewardene has enlisted the aid of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, and British "mercenaries", killer-elite SAS commandos, in his murderous drive against Tamil separatists. Jayewardene's tactics now begin to resemble those of his tutors, who regularly inflict mass armed terror against defenseless civilian populations in Northern Ireland and in occupied Palestinian territory. And the racist South African apartheid regime, as part of the anti-Soviet US imperialist axis, has delivered arms and ammunition for JR's army to use to murder Tamils. But above all, "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene is Reagan's man in South Asia. JR's drive to crush the Tamils is part and parcel of US imperialist ambitions to dock its nuclear submarines, destroyers and carriers at Trincomalee, in the heavily Tamil Eastern Province. Trincomalee harbor is a key to US control of the Indian Ocean, for its arsenal of death aimed at the USSR and its allies.

The many hundreds killed in last year's massacre were memorialized in late July by a "hartal", a total stoppage by the populace in the Tamil Northern Province. Over the last year, JR has greatly expanded his repress-



Devastation of Tamil property during July, 1983 anti-Tamil massacres.

Spartacist League/Lanka

ive arsenal — Mossad agents, SAS commandos, helicopter gunships supplied by the US — and when they were ready to move, with their massive imperialist materiel in place, they launched a drive, using the small-scale Tamil nationalist guerrilla activities (mainly bank robberies and attacks on the police and Sinhalese army) as an excuse. Armed patrol boats of the Sri Lankan navy bombarded a coastal village in the North, Valvettiturai, on August 5. Convoys of armored vehicles attacked the village, shelling schools, shops and *kovils* (Hindu temples). Naval bombardment killed as many as 100 civilians; hundreds of homes and shops were destroyed; thousands of villagers were forced to flee. Troops rounded up and arrested all the young men over age 12 (some 700 of them) and took them to detention camps 350 miles to the south. In Point Pedro, another coastal village, government forces seized another 300 youths in a house-to-house roundup of suspected "Tigers" (guerrilla fighters for an independent state of Tamil Eelam).

On August 12 in Mannar, 50 miles south of Jaffna, virtually the entire town was burned to the ground by Sinhalese government troops. Hundreds of shops were destroyed; 5,000 were left homeless. "It is like an army of invasion flattening everything in its path", said Mannar's Catholic bishop (*New York Times*, 14 August). Arrested youths suspected of Tiger sympathies have been found dead, their bodies mutilated by torture. Repeatedly, innocent civilians have been massacred to vent the rage of the police and army at their inability to crush the Tamil rebels, who enjoy widespread support among the Tamil populace. Seeking to whitewash the Sinhala communalists and provide a further pretext for outlawing the Eelamist and leftist parties, Jayewardene absurdly accuses the leftist JVP of infiltrating the army and provoking the bloody pogroms.

A grisly example of JR's method of blaming the victims for their own massacre was the bombing of the Chunnakam police station on August 11, where some 22 "suspected Tamil terrorists" were bound and gagged, imprisoned in an evacuated police station boobytrapped with explosives set up to detonate when a rescue was attempted. There is also pervasive suspicion about who was responsible for the bombing of innocent bystanders at the Madras airport on August 2, an act clearly aimed at discrediting support for Tamil rights among Indians and denounced by Tamil separatist groups ([London] *Guardian*, 6 August).

Agitation is widespread among Tamils in India on behalf of the Lankan Tamils. In Madras on August 12, a thousand protesters stoned the US consulate, denouncing American backing for Jayewardene's bloody pogroms. On August 15, the day Indians celebrate their independence from the British, some 5,000 demonstrators were arrested in Tamil Nadu after a demonstration of solidarity with victims of the repression in Sri Lanka. While protesters denounced the Indian government's "attitude of indifference" to the plight of the Tamils in Lanka, Indira Gandhi — with the

blood of the Sikhs fresh on her hands — called for national unity "against forces of division encouraged by foreign elements or agencies" (*Le Monde*, 17 August). Gandhi, executioner of the radical nationalist Bangladeshi Mukti Bahini, of Indian religious and ethnic minorities from Amritsar to Andhra Pradesh, will not liberate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Under the motto "divide and rule", bloody communal divisions were fostered through centuries of colonial domination, and today are nurtured by capitalism in its death agony. Only proletarian revolution, on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent, can end communalist terror and ensure Tamil national rights.

Our international tendency is known on the island and abroad as a forthright and consistent defender of Tamil rights, including the right to Tamil self-determination — the right to Tamil Eelam. However, our slogan "No faith in Indira Gandhi, butcher of Sikhs and Mukti Bahini!" has elicited opposition in the Tamil exile community, along with attempts to exclude our tendency. This reflects growing political polarizations within the exile movement, with bourgeois forces seeking respectability and accommodation with the imperialist and Indian bourgeoisies while more militant sectors see themselves fighting for a socialist Eelam, and both wings have deep illusions in Gandhi's regime.

The reformist Sinhalese "left", cowering in the face of JR's bonapartism, looks toward a new popular-front coalition. They criminally refuse to support the unconditional right of Tamil self-determination. Of course they bemoan the bloodbath and claim to support concessions to the oppressed Tamil people, "but not if it means splitting the country". Indeed they are tied intimately to the "left" wing of Sinhala chauvinism. In the mid-1950s the Ceylonese left abandoned the Tamil people by forming a bloc with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), in the name of "fighting the right". To form its popular-front coalition with the SLFP, the "United Left Front", the left

Over \$400 Raised for Polytex Strike

Our warmest thanks to the readers, supporters and friends who responded to our call for solidarity and financial support to the long-fought strike of women workers at Polytex in Sri Lanka. Over \$400 has been forwarded to the Industrial Transport and General Workers Union from collections in Sydney and Melbourne. Although definitive details are not presently available we have word that the strike has ended, and with some success. It was our Lankan comrades' work in building support for this strike that led to our tendency internationally taking up the union's appeal for international aid and support (see "Victory to Heroic Women Strikers in Sri Lanka", *ASp* no 107, July/August 1984).

The favourable response to our appeal among Tamil militants in Melbourne was a pleasing statement of solidarity with these young

Sinhalese women workers battling the same enemy that murderously oppresses the Tamil people. Also a special word of thanks is due to our supporters Peter and Carol in Melbourne whose initiative and energy raised a quarter of our total contribution in short order. Other money was raised at a semi-public educational in Sydney on the Russian Revolution and by our supporters at NSW and Melbourne universities who collected money from students and campus workers and made the strike an issue on the campuses, for example at UNSW where the student newspaper *Tharunka* reprinted our appeal in full.

We must continue to find concrete and practical ways to strengthen the fighting capacity and organisation of these super-exploited workers with a focus on developing labour action internationally. ■

dumped its long-standing position favouring equal status for both Ceylon's vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and came out for the main SLFP slogan of chauvinism, "Sinhala only". The political splitting of Ceylonese society along communal lines was reflected within the union movement and in the emergence of the Federal Party as the bourgeois electoral voice of the Jaffna Tamils from 1956 onward. The left parties were rewarded by their bourgeois allies with ministerial portfolios, including an LSSP minister for plantations to oversee the super-exploitation of the stateless "Indian Tamil" tea workers whose sweated labor is central to the island's foreign-currency revenues.

The Lankan left's class treachery in peddling illusions in the SLFP did not keep the capitalist "United Front" government of Mrs Bandaranaike from eroding its support once in power. In 1971 an insurrectionary movement of young Sinhalese, the JVP, ignited the countryside and was mercilessly



Ligue Trotskyiste de France, Tamils protest against Sri Lankan Prime Minister Premadasa in Paris, 21 April 1983.

crushed. The drowning of the radical Sinhalese youth in blood was a national catastrophe and bloody "Mrs B" ruled under state of emergency regulations most of the time thereafter.

In the 1977 elections the SLFP was routed by Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) so decisively that the main opposition in Parliament became, not the SLFP or the left parties, but the Tamil MPs. Meanwhile, in

response to growing sentiment among Tamils in the North for a separate Tamil state of "Eelam", the Tamil parliamentarians had now become the "Tamil United Liberation Front" which adopted on paper the platform of seeking Eelam. Last year the UNP, as part of JR's bonapartist moves against parliamentary democracy, made the demand for Tamil separation a crime and proscribed Eelam advocates from parliament. Thereby they disposed of the main parliamentary opposition as well as in effect disenfranchising the Tamil people of the North, moving them a step in the direction of the statelessness of the "Indian Tamil" plantation workers in the uplands. Yet the UNP regime of would-be bonaparte Jayewardene is highly unstable, with a chauvinist extreme right wing on the rise and outright mutinies in the army.

"Splitting the country"? It is JR's UNP and the mutinous pogromists of the army who are forcibly separating the island's peoples. It is the genocidal

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For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

We print below the greetings of the international Spartacist tendency presented to a conference of Kurdish militants held in Central Europe this northern summer.

Comrades, I bring you greetings from the international Spartacist tendency. As revolutionaries, we insist that the future liberation of the oppressed Kurdish masses lies in their own implacable fight for national and social liberation hand in hand with the struggle of truly internationalist Marxist forces elsewhere and, taken altogether, constituting the true Leninist communist international resolutely committed to smashing all exploitation and oppression on this planet. The international Spartacist tendency is vigilant against every attack on the Kurdish people, against every injustice. From Sydney, in Australia, to London to Germany, the iSt has demonstrated alongside Kurdish militants in defence of their rights. As a contribution to your deliberations, we offer our opinions, based on the lessons of history, particularly the verification in struggle of comrade Lenin, who led the first successful, multinational class struggle.

Emblazoned on our banner we make clear our firm upholding of the Kurdish right to self-determination. Self-determination is a democratic right, but its fulfillment can take many different forms. We have to believe that, based on the character of the four capitalist governments which oppress the Kurds and suppress their rights, there can be no viable solution to Kurdish self-determination under capitalism.

Most of us would probably agree that we seek a socialist solution. But what does this mean? It must be made precise programmatically. Consider the many different African states which achieved independence and now, while calling themselves Marxist and socialist, continue to despotically rule thoroughly capitalist states, abusing their own people and adjacent ones. The achievement of socialism necessarily entails the expropriation of the possessors — the landlords and capitalists — and the rule of the workers and peasants.

Comrades, history teaches us that without the social force of the proletariat, and without a Leninist party to organise that power and act as a tribune of the people, the heroic struggles of the past have often been mired in defeat. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian

and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be made to become determined champions of the Kurdish right of self-determination against the great power chauvinism of their own bourgeoisies. The Bolsheviks led the Russian labouring masses to realise that they could never become free without resolute struggle against Great Russian chauvinism. Such a revolutionary party must be built in each state and become the weapon for leading the proletarian and peasant masses to victory and in consequence to encour-

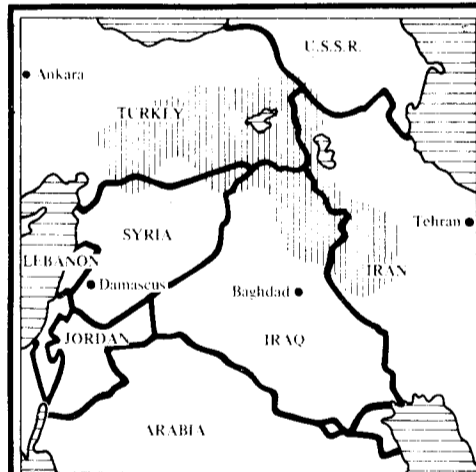
Ottoman Empire, the Balkans — itself a historical cauldron of national hatreds like the Near East — a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party, led by the Croat Tito, managed to cohere the workers state, albeit deformed, of Yugoslavia.

In contrast, Lebanon is the supreme example of the inability of the capitalist and property-owning classes to arrive at anything tending toward the satisfaction of the masses. The Palestinians can expect nothing from the Arab bourgeoisies, who once again

Comrades, it was the great historic example of the Russian Revolution which dramatically confirmed that in the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary proletariat in power. There are numerous oppressed peoples which lack a strong working class component. While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside of the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity. That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem that has been faced before. Indeed, it was the resolute struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the Tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia. Inversely, inspired by the workers taking power in Petrograd and Moscow and aided by the detachments of Trotsky's Red Army, the oppressed nationalities of what is now Soviet Central Asia and Outer Mongolia found the path to their own liberation from the yoke of national and feudal oppression, especially through the instrumentality of the organised women and youth. Even today, many Kurds look to the Soviet Union where their brothers and sisters exercise their democratic national rights and enjoy the benefits of twentieth century science and technology and of education.

The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be region-wide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The proletarian revolution is in reality an end product of multiple battles, movements and campaigns. We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist federation of the Near East. Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-1924 where the Bolsheviks offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction.

Thank you, comrades.



Regions inhabited by Kurdish nation. Right, Kurdish woman guerrilla fighter.



age such victory elsewhere.

We know that counted amongst those revolutionary fighters will be the Kurdish woman. Today the slave of slaves, when her consciousness is awakened she will be amongst the best fighters for the ideas of revolution and the ideas of communism.

The Kurdish people seek desperately to break out of the quagmire of national oppression and chauvinism. In the squalid nationalist blood feud between Iran and Iraq, we in the iSt pointed out that the working people of Iran, the working people of Iraq, have no interest in the victory of either side. We said: turn this reactionary, nationalist war into a civil war against the mullahs and colonels. To the Kurdish people, savagely attacked by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards, we pointed out that the Iran-Iraq war offers them a unique opportunity to carve out a nation state, the best since the short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946.

Comrades, we must learn from the struggles of other oppressed nationalities. In the northern tier of the

revealed their total and craven subordination to the designs of the blood-sucking imperialist powers, especially the US, which sought to install itself in the Lebanon as a jumping-off point for its anti-Soviet campaign. The present Zionist state must be destroyed and replaced by working class communist power based on the Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers, the latter representing an extremely valuable cultural and technical resource in the context of building the socialist federation of the Near East.

The US' ignominious withdrawal from the Lebanon has not diminished the imperialists' anti-Sovietism. Today, US imperialism's policies centre full square upon an anti-Soviet war drive, linking up with its European NATO allies including Kohl's imperialist government, aimed at the gains that remain of the October Revolution — state ownership of the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade and the planned economy. We are for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal attempts at capitalist restoration.

ANZUS

Continued from page one

the CIA's super-secret spy base at Pine Gap. Whether or not the Democrats win the US elections, as Lange obviously hopes, he's in for some Cold War trouble. However, as the working class upsurge against the 1975 CIA/Kerr coup in Australia potentially showed, US intervention could blow up in its face.

The Australian reformist left hail Lange's example as their own "independent" and "non-aligned" policy in action. But this is no real alternative to the Tories or Hawke's CIA-loyal nationalism. The struggle against ANZUS is a class struggle and the New Zealand as well as the Australian workers must take their place in the conscious ranks of the international proletariat — in defence of the Soviet and Vietnamese deformed workers states against imperialism and internal capitalist counterrevolution. There is no "neutral" camp in the global class war. Smash ANZUS! Drive the US bases out of New Zealand, Australia and the Indian Ocean! Defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

The snap election which swept Labour to office was precipitated when a maverick National Party MP crossed the floor in a parliamentary vote on this very issue. National prime minister Sir Robert "Piggy" Muldoon grabbed the opportunity to go to the polls before the already sick economy got even sicker, whereupon he was promptly thrown out.

Lange had his hands full before the champagne corks had even stopped popping. To stem the collapse of the NZ dollar he resorted to a drastic 20 per cent devaluation. And straight after the election Muldoon's outgoing National Party government hosted a meeting of the ANZUS Council in Wellington where US Secretary of State Shultz and the distrusted, but all the more sycophantic, Bill Hayden arrived in town to get heavy on the nuclear ships issue. Their communique pointedly stated, "Access by allied aircraft and ships to the airfields and ports of ANZUS members was reaffirmed as essential to the continuing effectiveness of the alliance" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July). Backing Shultz up all the way, Hayden related for Lange's benefit his painful "learning experience" as ALP leader in 1982 when the US State Department arm-twisted him into the realisation that ANZUS lackeys don't get away with banning US warships. Lange thinks he's going to change the Americans' mind when he visits Washington later this month. Fat chance. But for the moment the US is holding off the pressure, announcing no more US naval visits until next February.

NZ Nationalism and Cold War "Neutrality"

The US is counting on Lange, himself quite a right-wing social democrat, to overturn the NZLP policy. But his attempt to water it down at the 1983 national conference met a stinging rebuke, and now he's basking in New Zealand having "attracted the focus of attention of the peoples of the world by saying that we absolutely abhor the nuclear arms race" (*Australian*, 10 September). Lange's election victory represents an upsurge of isolationist, "neutralist", New Zealand nationalism extending across a broad political spectrum, including dissident National MPs and smaller bourgeois parties like Social Credit and especially the reactionary "free market" New Zealand Party

(NZP) of property developer millionaire Bob Jones, whose 12 per cent of the vote helped bring down Muldoon. A recent split from the National Party, the NZP is perhaps the purest expression, free of "left wing" trappings, of the petty-bourgeois illusion that little New Zealand with its 3 million people and 70 million sheep can opt out of the Cold War. The NZP program is a bizarre mixture — it wants to eliminate any vestiges of the "welfare state", institute industrial conscription for the unemployed, pull New Zealand out of ANZUS altogether, be friends with the USSR (NZ's fourth biggest trading partner) and dismantle most of the NZ military, ie, the bourgeois state power!

Opposition to the US nuclear ships is widely popular, reflecting the feeling that NZ, unlike Australia, gets little out of ANZUS anyway. Last year the visits of both US and British naval units sparked big protests and even dock strikes. Inside the NZLP, this has fueled the emergence of a strong anti-ANZUS liberal-nationalist "left". Leading "left" figure and outgoing NZLP president, Jim Anderton, declared the ban on US nuclear ships "non-negotiable", and on 9 September a euphoric Labour national conference voted for NZ withdrawal from "all military exercises and alliances with nuclear powers", for pulling its troops out of Sinai and Singapore and closing down the US air force operation at Christchurch airport.

A Whitlam at Large in Cold War II

Lange reminds one of nothing so much as the long-gone Whitlam ALP government in the long-gone days of detente. Like Whitlam, he wants more relative "independence" within the framework of the imperialist "free world", to put New Zealand on the map. Such policies are quite aberrant for a small imperialist power in Cold War II. For example, he has demonstratively broken with apartheid South Africa, undoubtedly to curry favour in "third world" capitals but also because relations with South Africa are a big issue within the country, deeply split by the massive anti-Springbok tour demonstrations in 1981. But while their diplomats have packed their bags in Wellington, the apartheid butchers are increasingly breaking out of isolation elsewhere — a key part of the same "free world". Lange says that ANZUS survived the banning of US nuclear ship visits before 1975, so why not now? Then, the US and its ANZUS lackeys were smarting from their historic defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Now, Reagan, and Hawke, want to erase the bourgeois-defeatist "Vietnam syndrome" and are furiously rearming for nuclear revenge on both the Vietnamese and Russian revolutions.

Lange knows what the US could do to the NZ economy, heavily reliant on agricultural exports. "The US and Japan have the capacity to make this country sweat blood", he said, interviewed on the ABC program *Four Corners* (1 September). But, Lange continued, laying out his own Cold War credentials, "they don't operate like that . . . not like the other super-power". "The Mouse That Roared" wants to ignore the lesson the CIA taught Whitlam in 1975. However the Laborites in Australia have learned their lesson well. Hawke, who in 1975 played the fireman who doused the incipient general strike against the "constitutional coup", is today the prophet of CIA nationalism. Now he is at one with ASIO and the CIA in equating any "anti-American" opposition to his slavish Cold War course with pro-Sovietism. For almost the whole of

1983 former ALP national secretary David Combe was publicly vilified as a KGB "agent of influence" for his friendship with Soviet diplomat Valeriy Ivanov and of course his "bitter hostility" to the CIA over 1975. Now Lange is in the sights of these social-democratic enforcers for the CIA.

ANZUS — Key to US War Plans in the Pacific

Concretely, opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive begins in struggle against one's "own" ruling class and its part in it. In Australia this means firstly the secret, sinister and strategic spy/communications bases like Pine Gap/North West Cape. They are what the US fears for most should the ANZUS Treaty unravel. NZ ports by themselves are not essential for US naval operations but the political effect if Lange hangs hard, firstly in Australia and then among other US regional allies, is what bothers the US warmongers.

The massive US nuclear and conventional military build-up in and around the Pacific depends on access to friendly ports and airfields which in turn depend on the interlocking network of military alliances and arrangements of which ANZUS is the solid cornerstone. This year for example the US began deploying some 350 Tomahawk cruise missiles on its Pacific fleet, without a fraction of the fuss their arrival generated in Europe. As a Soviet-scare piece entitled "The Red Challenge in the Pacific — and the American Response" by Fedor Mediansky (*Bulletin*, 4 September) noted, under Reagan "the upgrading of the Pacific Command's nuclear war-fighting posture has become a top priority".

While there's nothing like Pine Gap in New Zealand, there is the recently exposed spy base at Tangimoana, part of a US tracking network key to anti-submarine warfare. More importantly, just as it spilled blood for its British godfather in two world wars, and later for the Americans in Korea and Vietnam, New Zealand continues to be a key component in massive and regular military exercises with the US and its allies — and not just in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, as shown by the joint "Anzac" contingent in the Sinai. New Zealand has one of its two regular army battalions stationed in Singapore under the ANZUK agreement to bolster ASEAN. Along with Australia it trains officers and supplies military aid to the Marcos regime as well as neo-colonies like Fiji, and it sends aid to the Son Sann Kampuchean counter-revolutionary scum. Sometimes New Zealand even goes in where Canberra won't, like when Muldoon sent a frigate to help bloodthirsty Margaret Thatcher's navy in the Falklands war. NZLP conference resolutions are all very well, but the highly "moral" Mr Lange has no intention of stopping these commitments to imperialist "peace-keeping". Australian and NZ military out of Sinai and Southeast

Asia! US bases out of NZ and Australia!


The South Pacific islands and micro-states are Australia and New Zealand's neo-colonial backyard. When the US invaded Grenada, Muldoon's defence minister openly threatened to do the same to the "non-aligned" Vanuatu regime of Father Walter Lini because it had just opened diplomatic relations with Cuba! This was no idle threat either as shown by the NZ military's formation of a special "Ready Reaction" strike force. "It is not desirable that we should be cast in the role of a surrogate policeman for great power interests in the South Pacific", says NZ Labour MP Helen Clark (*Bulletin*, 14 August). No, the "left" nationalists want the NZ imperialist army to police the South Pacific for their "own" bosses, not for any big power.

The South Pacific is the only arena where Australian little-league imperialist bully boys ever get to push anybody around, and that's just what Hawke did in pushing through his "nuclear-free South Pacific" proposal at the August South Pacific Forum (which could be more appropriately called Australia's Ministry of Colonies). Here is a "nuclear-free" zone even the Pentagon first-strikers can love. It completely exempts the nuclear-armed US fleet, excludes US bases in Australia (which relay firing orders and targeting information for its missiles) and neatly avoids US bases north of the equator like Guam and Belau, where the Trident II submarines will be based. Its content is 1) to line the Pacific up against NZ 2) deny the Soviet navy any possible bases in the islands and 3) under cover of stopping French nuclear tests to promote "independence" for the remaining French Pacific colonies hoping to install Australian imperialism as the new overlords in places like New Caledonia (the second-biggest nickel producer in the world).

Lange's victory was good news for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the New Zealand bourgeoisie. Both wanted the end of Muldoon's policies of heavy government intervention into the economy and arbitrary rule (like when he bullied the bankers to take up government stock at below-market interest rates). In an effort to stem New Zealand's economic decline, which began when the EEC froze out its agricultural exports, Muldoon had initiated a rash of speculative "think big" resource projects. The resulting massive international borrowing and a series of huge budget deficits left the country with a \$NZ17 billion foreign debt (a greater proportion of its gross domestic product than Brazil). Economic growth is virtually at a standstill, high unemployment is driving the country's youth to emigrate in their hundreds of thousands (mainly to Australia), and the NZ dollar has nose-dived.

Muldoon was widely hated throughout New Zealand society. The unions

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Philippines...

Continued from page two

that it was this state of affairs that was in large part responsible for shaping the minds of the early radicals who were founders of the Communist Parties after 1917. You can sense the enormous impact the Russian Revolution had on the people of the East. Our proximity to Vietnam across Manila Bay only accentuated the importance of the Russian Question.

There are 7 million Chinese in the Philippines, over one million of them are in Manila. We enjoyed visiting Manila's Chinatown. A lot of the Chinese in Manila are traders. There is a definite Chinese influence on the Filipinos in food, films and culture. Their presence is a binding influence on the Philippines, alongside the Chinese populations of Indonesia and the rest of Southeast Asia. In fact their significant influence upon the economies, politics and culture of the region makes me think that it was in large part their exclusion and massacre in the Victorian and NSW gold-fields that was a big part of making Australia the white imperialist outpost it is today.

The politics of the local Chinese populace during the war is interesting and important. Many were split between support of the KMT and the CCP. They participated alongside the Huks in a resistance struggle against the Japanese invasion. The Japanese were particularly brutal towards the Chinese. I believe that close to 10 per cent of the Chinese population of the Philippines was massacred. At the end of the war the question of collaboration became very significant, for the Chinese and Filipino populace. The Chinese in fact set up their own trial



July 27, Manila: Anti-Marcos demonstrators confront massed riot police.

bodies for collaborators. The US not only attempted to protect the collaborators from justice but installed them in power after the war. These events were precursors of the post war civil war.

Today it is a measure of the utter bankruptcy of the bourgeois opposition and indeed for the popular front strategy that poisonous anti-Chinese rhetoric features so prominently. *Malaya* [identified with the bourgeois opposition] in letters, columns and business features rails against the Chinese.

There are a number of strikes that are currently going on in the Philippines. The papers recently reported that the Manila dockworkers are on the verge of strike action after negotiations recently broke down. Marcos recently laid down the minimum wage at 51 pesos [A\$3-4] per day. But only a few industries are

even given that much. We drove past a bus drivers picket line. They were on strike for the minimum wage. Not far from where we were staying there was a picket line of food chain workers. It gave us enormous pleasure to honour their picket line and donate to their strike fund.

I am sure that you can understand how electrifying these strikes are in Marcos' Philippines. It is widely recognised here that it was the heroic BEPZ (Bataan Export Processing Zones) strikes that put an enormous dent in Marcos' martial law. All indications are that the KMU is growing bolder. Recently two KMU leaders were jailed. I have included a photo of this. Just over a week before we arrived a picket line in Bataan was attacked and the strikers brutalised by cops. The workers responded with a 5000-strong march on the Ministry of Labour on July 23. They marched

separately from the UNIDO/ROAR/CORD/JAJA/student rally on the same day. All in all there were 20,000 demonstrators that day. They had been granted a permit to march but this had been revoked at the last minute by the military because of "communist presence". They marched anyway. The whole day consisted of clashes with the military who used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators. *Bulletin Today* commented that they were lucky only tear gas was used.

Music in the Philippines is American pop music. Everybody listens to it. The news is American. There are 250,000 American soldiers in the Philippines. Every political group has its own line on the question. The opposition puts a rider on its anti-bases line with concern over the Soviet presence in Cam Ranh Bay. In the 60s US soldiers participated in anti-war demos. During the Huk rebellion one of the Huk leaders was an ex-US soldier — William J Pomeroy. The PCP was formed in large part from American CP visits to the Philippines. This included Earl Browder.

Almost daily there are reports of military/NPA struggles in the provinces. *Bulletin Today* reports that the military has to improve its quality. They have had too many desertions. This is obviously where the CIA will step in. The military's actions and the breakdown of the economy is driving hundreds of thousands of peasants into Manila. The land question is staring us in the face. But the PCP does not have a strategy for power. Consequently they leave things to the thoroughly corrupt bourgeois opposition. For the brave and emboldened Filipino proletariat it is suicidal. ■

had faced a 20-month wage-price freeze and an avalanche of anti-union laws like the "voluntary unionism" law outlawing the closed shop. Rising racist reaction has targeted the native Maori population, and the immigrant Pacific Islanders (used as cheap labour when the economy was buoyant and now denied citizenship and facing deportation). The IMF and Lange program to "deregulate" economic controls (prices, wages and interest rates), lower barriers to imports and foreign investment and drastically dismantle the welfare state can only sharpen this situation and the immigration of NZ's working population (whose wages are already 15 per cent lower than in Australia). The bankers and bosses preach that "New Zealand has been living beyond its means" and they look to Lange with his "born again" nationalism and the trade-union bureaucracy to provide the ideological salve and political muscle to impose the "necessary sacrifices".

The Federation of Labour (FOL) bureaucracy, dominated by the NZLP "lefts" and the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Socialist Unity Party (SUP), are only too willing to police Lange's version of Hawke's "national consensus". The economic "alternative" they push in return is just as reactionary as Lange and the IMF's "free market" program — chauvinist import controls and "New Zealand-made" protectionism, which can only fuel racism as it blames foreign workers while amnestying its own ruling class and economic system for unemployment and economic stagnation. The "lefts" parochial nationalist fears are directed particularly against the "free trade" Closer Economic Relations agreement with Australia which it is hoped by 1988 will establish an Australasian common market.

Certainly the working people on both sides of the Tasman have no interest in political-economic union be-

tween these two imperialist jackals. Under capitalism this is a program for a united white *laager* in the Pacific as attested to recently by anti-Asian ideologue Geoffrey Blainey. "Ultimately defence fears and fear of political upheavals will most likely push Australia and New Zealand together" (quoted from a speech this year in *NZ Monthly Review*, March 1984). We are for the closest unity in struggle between the Australian and New Zealand proletariats and, against the isolationist nationalism of these smug imperialist outposts which marks the reformist left in both countries, we insist that the mission of both working classes is to overthrow their respective capitalist classes and destroy imperialist domination of the South Pacific and South-east Asia through revolutionary class struggle at home and abroad.

In New Zealand this task begins with the need to build a Trotskyist party forged in struggle against all variants of the Labor-loyal, "little New Zealand" nationalist left. It must be profoundly internationalist in program and practice for the constant nationalist pressures generated by the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents on these islands can only be resisted as part of a democratic-centralist international movement. Similarly New Zealand revolutionaries must pay special attention to the oppressed Maori and Islander populations. Unlike the Australian Aborigines who are overwhelmingly excluded from social production and therefore social power, the Maoris and Islanders who make up a significant minority of the population are integrated into the proletariat amongst the most oppressed layers. They will therefore play a crucial leadership role in the revolutionary struggle. As such they also constitute a vital link to the impoverished South Pacific islands.

The name of our organisation, the

Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, and our paper, *Australasian Spartacist*, reflect the origins of our organisation in New Zealand. We are determined to build Bolshevik parties in both Australia, where our work is presently based, and New Zealand as sections of the international Spartacist tendency, the only genuine Trotskyist party in the world today. Reforge the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution! ■

Tharunka...

Continued from page five

on white racism, killing off the blacks (or at least keeping them out of sight) and keeping out the Asians. Carlisle's dewy-eyed "separate but equal" myth of free choice is a grotesque lie. Her cover is land rights for Aborigines. While we militantly support and defend concrete gains for black land rights, as a strategy it is no solution to black oppression. We can well understand moods of black separatism as a product of despair at this racist society, but within the framework of Australian society this could only mean a bantustan-like existence for blacks. For social democrats like Carlisle it is just a patronising defence of the segregationist status quo.

We do not define ourselves as "white people". We are part of the international Spartacist tendency, seeking to build a multi-racial world party that fights all forms of national and racial oppression. In talking about the Aboriginal question we *begin* from the racist segregationist reality and say that the task of the labour movement is to break down and destroy that segregation in all its forms. Without this there will never be the "comprehensive program of health and education" that Carlisle talks about. One of our party spokesmen

outlined our position well at a 27 June public meeting at Sydney Trades Hall on the John Pat case:

"...the fight for Aboriginal rights is the fight for integration, full social equality. The right to jobs, equal wages, equal political rights, free quality health care, open admissions to universities with stipend for those who can't afford it. And that means class struggle, that means a fight against this racist austerity government. That means a fight in the unions, that means mass strikes to seize the factories, that means class struggle all the way through to a collectivised economy and workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia, in which black people have full social equality and the only thing black people are called in this country is comrade."

Two last points: Carlisle/Sanderson have a genuine coming together, a real division of labour, in their hatred of the prospect of blacks and reds uniting in common struggle. The dubious Sanderson, like the League of Rights, believes that militant blacks can only be communist dupes (or "Soviet surrogates") and the social democrat Carlisle threatens the same line with her hypocritical wailing, "you can't tell blacks what to do". This of course points to something much more fundamental raised by Sanderson with his Reaganite war cry. For just as the Red Army in Afghanistan brings the light of social progress to that immiserated population labouring under pre-feudal barbarity (particularly the women), so too the possibility of capitalist restoration in Poland under the leadership of the Catholic Church would threaten the whole of Europe with reaction and nuclear world war. And just as surely the proletarian revolution in Australia and Southeast Asia will see the true rebirth of human dignity and freedom for the Aboriginal people of this country. ■

Reagan. . .

Continued from page one

Preparing for a new war the US ruling class has dusted off the hoary old anti-Communist battle cry of Cold War I, when Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers vowed to "roll back" Communism in the Soviet bloc. Now the battle cry "overturn Yalta" has been taken up by the new Cold War alliance, from Republican Reagan to French social democrat Mitterrand to the Polish nationalists of Solidarnosc. "Down with Yalta" is the rally call for World War III.

Reagan's "joke" is no "slip", but a program. And it's not the first time it has come into the open. Just after Reagan took office one of his high National Security Council officials, Richard Pipes, announced that the Soviet Union had the "choice" of either "changing their Communist system in the direction followed by the West or going to war". He got a slap on the wrist for talking out loud. In June the Marine chief of staff for plans, Lt Gen Bernard Trainor, said "limited war" with the Soviets was an "almost inevitable probability" in the next few years. He ought to know. As for Reagan's "voice test", the Soviet news agency TASS was authorized to state:

"The episode has been justly seen as a manifestation of the self-same frames of mind which have already been formulated officially before in calls for a 'crusade', the doctrines of limited and protracted nuclear wars and in military-political plans of securing world dominance to the United States."

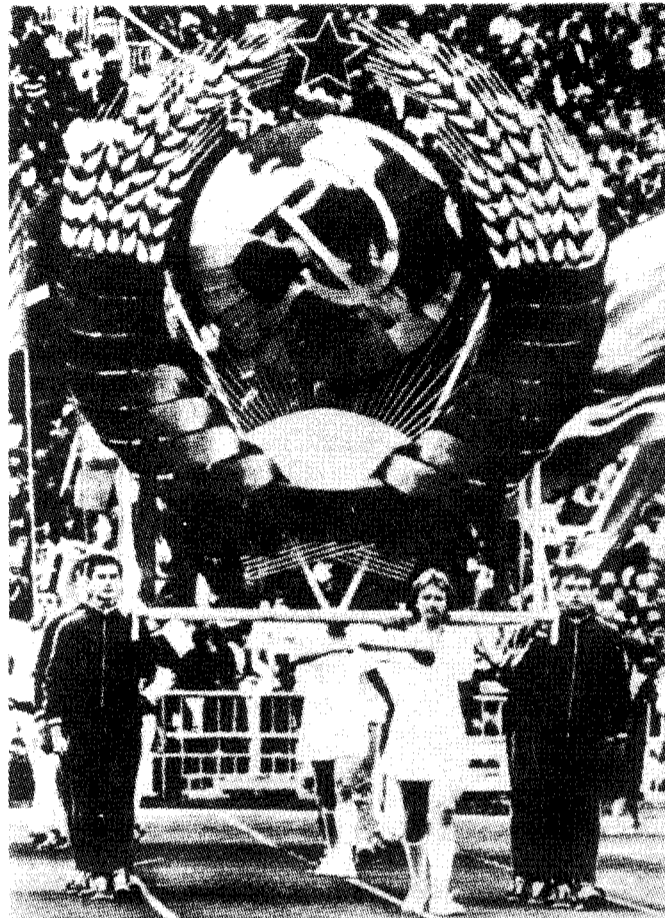
Pravda added, in what must be one of the understatements of the century, "The incident further confirms the need to maintain the highest vigilance before the aggressive plans of the United States and NATO". Absolutely!

For the billions of oppressed and working people on this planet the Russian October Revolution raises a beacon of hope, showing the way to a future without poverty and degradation. Despite its bureaucratic degeneration under the regime of Stalin and his heirs, the tremendous social and economic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution remain — the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a planned economy.

To all those misguided peaceniks who call for "Disarmament — East and West", we say: if it were not for Soviet nuclear weapons the US imperialists would be riding roughshod all over the world: Havana would be in the hands of the Mafia and the drug traffickers, Marshal Ky would be goose-stepping in Saigon and doddering tsarist officers would have been dancing on Lenin's tomb. The labor movement in the West would be smashed and every democratic gain for blacks and other minorities crushed under heel. All class-conscious workers and friends of human freedom are duty-bound to defend the Soviet Union — the main military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states — against the imperialists.

Reagan's sinister anti-Soviet war drive can and must be spiked by the restless giant of American labor. The Republicans think they can ride the modest upturn in the US economy back into the White House. But from the copper fields of Arizona to the auto plants of Toledo-Detroit, that upturn has begun to generate a renewal of industrial struggle recalling the militant class battles that built the CIO. Workers are determined to take back the "give-backs" their misleaders gave to the bosses during the recent depression.

Just as black struggle for equality shattered McCarthyism, so labor and black struggle can shatter the far more dangerous Cold War II of Reagan and Mondale. Black people, socially segregated at the bottom of this society, are the most alienated from "American dream" illusions and have the most to gain from smashing the racist, imperialist status quo politically represented by both Republicans and Democrats. The Achilles' heel of US capitalism is the powerful position of black workers in strategically key industries. Black unionists now constitute 31 percent of the AFL-CIO membership, concentrated in Detroit auto, Chicago steel, East and Gulf Coast longshore and New York subways. These black workers are



Moscow "Friendship Games" 1984 — Soviet-bloc athletes leave "free world" Olympic medallists in the dust.

integrally tied to the ghetto poor whose liberation is manifestly impossible without the destruction of the capitalist system and a radical redistribution of social wealth under workers' rule.

To unchain the integrated labor movement, working people must break with the Democrats and form their own class-struggle workers party. Black workers will be in the forefront of the emancipation of American labor. US workers don't need a reformist party like the British Labour Party, which while based on the unions aspires to administer the capitalist state for the bosses. The central lesson of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky is that the social emancipation of American labor, this most powerful yet politically backward working class, requires a proletarian vanguard of class-conscious fighters steered and united by the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world revolution.

Third World War Games

A couple of months ago Reagan declared the Los Angeles Olympics would be "a great morale builder — a chance to wave the flag together". The White House was determined to have its display of hate-the-Soviets jingoism even without the Soviets there to be abused and threatened. So as August began, frenzied crowds were chanting "USA! USA! USA!" in an orgy of "new patriotism" at the LA games. Two weeks later at the Republican Party rally in Dallas, they were chanting "Four More Years!" The conservative London *Economist* dubbed it "Reagan's Coronation", but to many it was reminiscent of Mel Brooks' parody "Springtime for Hitler", when Reagan proclaimed a "springtime of hope for America".

There hasn't been such a flag-waving, saber-rattling summer since 1936, when Hitler staged the Berlin Olympic games before crowds snapping the "Sieg Heil" salute and singing "Deutschland uber Alles" as the Olympic torch was carried into the stadium. This jingoism prepared the social climate for German remilitarisation leading to World War II.

Without the participation of the Soviet bloc athletes who would have won from half to two-thirds of the events, all the prattling about a "new American dominance" at the games is manifestly garbage. In May the Russians announced they were pulling out of the Olympics, citing the campaign incited and sanctioned by US rulers of intimidation, harassment,

behind a cyclone fence to pen up protesters; of those who ventured outside, hundreds were arrested and many got their heads bashed as well.

In Dallas, they held prayer breakfasts where Reagan declared politics and religion inseparable, and one after another evangelical preacher proclaimed the almighty was on the side of the GOP. Moral Majority pulpit-pounder Jerry Falwell hailed the convention's commitment to the "liberation of the unborn" and declared the Republicans "God's instruments in rebuilding America". This was a revivalist convention of the right-wing crackpot fringe, where Reagan was a middle-of-the-roader. Falwell's prayer contained what the *New York Times* (24 August) called "a veiled threat against Vice President Bush, a moderate". Support for abortion was equated with communist revolution.

The Democrats no less than the Republicans had everybody draped in the stars and stripes. Besides threatening to bore the American populace to death for the next four years, Mondale is campaigning as if his constituency were the Council on Foreign Relations, the Fortune 500 and the Trilateral Commission — incredibly calling for a tax increase, and generally trying to show he would be "more responsible" than Reagan at the helm of American imperialism.

Above all, Mondale & Co are for the anti-Soviet war drive down the line. Under Reagan the "defense" budget has soared from \$117 billion in 1979 to \$264 billion in 1984. This is described as the largest peacetime military buildup in history, because in fact it is a war buildup. Yet in San Francisco, Mondale repeatedly proclaimed his support for continued growth in military spending — anyone who suggested that the defense budget could be trimmed even a little was ruthlessly squashed during the platform fight. As Andrew Cockburn wrote in the *New York Times* (13 August), Mondale above all wants to avoid being called "soft on defense" by the "Conqueror of Grenada". Cockburn noted that "all existing programs to develop new weapons systems, with the single exception of the B-1 bomber, were begun in the Brown Pentagon", under the Democrats.

Over El Salvador, with Duarte now installed as the CIA's front man for "death squad democracy", the Democrats fell into line, voting for \$70 million additional military aid to Reagan's butcher army. In an astute article, "Mondale's GOP Latin Policy" (*New York Times*, 24 August), Alan Tonelson, associate editor of the influential bourgeois journal *Foreign Policy* wrote that the Democrats' bottom line acceptance of the Republican policies in Central America "could make deeper United States military involvement inevitable no matter who wins in November". He points out that the Democrats' platform reference to "the strategic importance of Central America" indicates that "the party would support military intervention as a last-ditch effort to stave off a leftist takeover". It appears, he says, that "the only significant difference between the Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America is the speed and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it".

The dangerous illusion of a "limited war" with the Soviets is clearly what Washington policy is aiming at, from the MX to the Middle East, and above all in Central America. In Dallas, Reagan, Bush and America's Madame Nhu, Jeane Kirkpatrick, repeatedly belled about their great "success" in invading tiny Grenada. And on the eve of the Dallas convention, Washington threatened to do to the

possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet athletes. We hail Moscow's decision to stand up to Reagan: "Moscow finally said 'Enough!' and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em. . . . Now the 'first capitalist games' will explicitly be nothing but the 'NATO Olympics'" ("Soviets KO Cold War Olympics", *WV* no 355, 25 May).

The US rulers tried to intimidate domestic opposition with their "Blue Thunder Olympics", whipping up a "terrorism" scare to justify a 17,000-man security force, FBI machine gunners, helicopter squads, the works. Ominous threats were leveled against left groups including the Spartacist League. The government's "preventive terrorism" was nothing but a cover for a massive police-state military mobilization. It turns out the only act of "terrorism" at the Olympics was committed by the police. The police chief hailed the heroism of an LAPD cop who discovered and disarmed a bomb in a bus carrying Turkish athletes to an Air France jet. Later the "hero cop" confessed he was the one who planted the bomb in the first place!

SF and Dallas — Tale of Two Cities

For the last several months the US population has been subjected to the quadrennial, multimillion-dollar spectacle of American bourgeois politics: the presidential "race" pitting Democrat vs Republican.

It was a tale of two cities. In liberal San Francisco, there was a string of gay, labor and peace demonstrations representing different "constituencies" trying to influence the party of the American popular front. The cops set off a mini-concentration camp

new Managua airport what it did to the Cuban-built airfield in Grenada. One befogged delegate, recalling jingoist schemes as far back as Aaron Burr, even called for the annexation of Mexico so that the US could supposedly share a common border with El Salvador! Meanwhile the Pentagon has concentrated task forces off the Caribbean and Pacific coasts of Central America. The administration may hold off until after the US elections, but both Mondale and House Speaker Tip O'Neill have warned of a "December surprise" — an invasion of Central America — if Reagan wins in November.

A US occupation of Central America will be no Grenada-style walkover but a long, dirty colonial war. And despite all the hoopla about the "new patriotism" (fueled by an Olympics without any competition), the American people do not want another Vietnam. Reagan's biggest imperialist adventure to date, sending the Marines into Lebanon, ended in a complete debacle

after the Marine headquarters was blown up killing 241 US servicemen. Moreover, a large percentage of US combat forces consist of black and Hispanic youth, who certainly do not want to die for Yankee imperialism. Militant internationalist struggle by the American working class in alliance with their class brothers fighting in Central America can knock Reagan's rough riders out of the saddle and stop Yankee imperialism in its tracks.

For Class Struggle Against Imperialism — At Home and Abroad!

The fighting raging in El Salvador and Nicaragua is not, as the muddle-headed CISPES rad/libs and assorted reformists see it, simply some narrow national fight for "self-determination". Central America is the hot spot of the new Cold War, the front line of the fight to prevent Reagan from "rolling back" revolutions,

from Havana to Hanoi and Moscow. This is what all the talk of Yalta is about. Reagan wants to rewrite the final act of World War II, by unleashing nuclear holocaust.

From Moscow to Havana to the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas in Nicaragua and leftist guerrillas in El Salvador — the Stalinists and nationalist reformists all look to Walter Mondale as a "lesser evil". Anyone but a blind man can see that there is more than "a dime's worth of difference" between Mondale and Reagan, yet despite their tactical disputes both are capitalist candidates, campaigning for the anti-Soviet war drive which threatens the future of humanity. The imperialists only understand the language of power! The Democrats' hesitations over Central America are due to fears of sinking into another *losing* war like Vietnam. No negotiated sellout in El Salvador, but a rip-roaring guerrilla offensive — *for military victory to leftist insurgents!* In Nicaragua step

one in securing the country against a counterrevolutionary invasion is to wipe out the domestic "fifth column" by expropriating the bourgeoisie: *defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!*

Above all there must be class struggle at home. The pro-capitalist labor fakers and black misleaders treacherously tie American working people to the Democratic Party — the party of Vietnam, Taft-Hartley anti-labor laws and Dixiecrat racism. Reagan must be brought down through mass militant labor/black action! US imperialists hands off Central America! Hot cargo all US arms to Central America — For labor strikes against a Yankee invasion! Oust the labor fakers, break with the Democrats, the "liberal" wing of the anti-Soviet war drive! Build a workers party that fights for socialist revolution in America and the world! ■

— Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 361, 31 August 1984

Apartheid ...

Continued from page three

power a workers party must fight every form of racist oppression, making and initiating principled united fronts (that is, common *actions*) with all anti-apartheid forces. It would, for example, actively participate in the boycott campaign against the present anti-democratic constitutional "reform" while promoting the class unity of black and coloured (as well as Indian) workers. This policy is counterposed to popular-frontist *political blocs* such as the UDF, which is based on a liberal nationalist program.

South Africa's black nationalists and Stalinists have for years appealed to Western (ie, imperialist) governments and institutions to isolate the apartheid state. Liberals have happily taken up this campaign (it's cheap), boycotting everything South African from sardines to Krugerrands and demanding that universities divest their stocks and bonds of any corporations with South African operations. These exercises in liberal moralism have no effect at all on South Africa while serving to prettify the "democratic" imperialist countries like Reagan's America. Real, not sham, solidarity with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa means, above all, strengthening the power of the black proletariat. The American and West European labor movements must together with their class brothers in South Africa force multinational outfits like Ford and General Motors to recognize black trade unions and to abolish the color bar and all forms of apartheid in the South African operations. Smash apartheid! Forward to a black-centered workers and peasants government!

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Lankan Tamils ...

Continued from page seven

terror as official state policy which has driven tens of thousands of Tamils from the south into the economically barren north, while many of the Tamil militants have fled to India. Previously there was economic interpenetration of the population, with the Tamil bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie extremely important in Colombo, for instance. While the rest of the left opposed Tamil self-determination, we were for that *right* but argued against exercising it, pointing out that economically and in other ways it would be a catastrophe. Now this ca-

tastrophe has happened, national separation is a reality. Thus today we demand: "For the Right to Tamil Eelam! For a Socialist Federation of Eelam and Lanka!"

The chauvinist class collaboration of the reformist left has led many Tamil militants to conclude that common class struggle with Sinhala workers is no longer a possibility. But the enemy of the Lankan Tamils is also the enemy of women textile workers at Polytex (who recently successfully struck against attempts to fire workers); the enemy of students facing armed cop terror on the university campuses. The Sinhalese workers and peasants are not South African whites — an elite which profits directly from the super-exploitation of South African black labour — but are themselves pauperized and oppressed by the greedy capitalist rulers and the rapacious imperialist IMF. The defeatist strategy of guerrillism only isolates revolutionaries from the real source of social and economic power that can bring down this racist capitalist system. The recent strike of Tamil plantation workers, who held out against great provocations to win their demands, points the road to liberation for Lanka's working people and national minorities, the road of class struggle. An authentic Bolshevik vanguard party, section of a reborn Fourth International, must link the struggles of Lanka's working people with the cause of Tamil self-determination through the fight to end capitalist exploitation and national oppression, the legacy of imperialist domination, in Lanka and throughout the subcontinent.

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Britain...

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tions by strikers. A general strike would tap massive sentiment throughout society to smash the Tory onslaught on jobs, living conditions and services.

To date, several port areas have not yet joined the dockers' national strike. Militants must fight for mass flying pickets of miners and dockers to ensure all ports are shut tight and to spread the strikes further. Joint elected strike committees, drawing in representatives of other unions taking action alongside miners and dockers, as well as the coal field women's groups, the unemployed and oppressed minorities, can provide organisation at the base and prevent bureaucratic sabotage. Disciplined union defence squads are needed to

defeat the cop/scab terror on the picket lines and elsewhere. Striking lorry drivers in their juggernauts could provide a firm antidote to the scab cowboy owner-operators who threatened to burn down the port of Dover in an effort to break the strike last time. Call the TGWU lorry drivers out on strike now! Union security provisions of the National Dock Labour Scheme must be extended to the non-registered ports like Dover and Felixstowe. And no settlement for the dockers which leaves the miners out alone!

The defeatists and backstabbers inside the labour movement are linked by a common attitude toward Thatcher's anti-Soviet war drive. This was established last autumn at the TUC congress, when miners' president Arthur Scargill was roundly witch-hunted for his correct condemnation of CIA-backed Polish Solidarnosc, the favourite "union" of Thatcher and Reagan. TUC general secretary Len Murray and his cohorts used the attack on Scargill to push through their "new realism" policy of lie-down-and-play-dead — and that was the go-ahead for Thatcher to attack the miners. A year later, the most hardened pro-CIA Cold Warriors of the labour movement like Bill Sirs of the Steelworkers and Frank Chapple of the Electricians have been the most vociferous in urging their members to cross miners' picket lines.

The Labour/TUC "lefts", while today compelled by the depth of Thatcher's attacks to put up some resistance, also fear the prospect of all-out conflict with the capitalist state. The dockers' leaders called off the last strike in exchange for worthless paper promises at a time when Thatcher was threatening to call out the troops. The rail union leaders made their own separate pay settlement earlier to avoid striking alongside the miners, and are talking about a work-to-rule to protest British Rail redundancies weeks in the future when *now* is the time to act. Leading Labour "left" Tony Benn withdrew his brief call for industrial action alongside the miners when the party executive slapped him on the wrist. And Scargill, despite his genuine desire to win the strike and willingness to stand up against the anti-Soviet war drive, was locked away in worthless talks with the Coal Board during the last dock strike, when he should have been out addressing mass meetings of transport, railway and maritime unions. He refused to stand at the head of his class and organise for necessary classwide action when it counted.

Now the "lefts" are spending their time trying to cook up resolutions for

next week's TUC congress in Brighton, when what is needed is immediate joint strike action by the TGWU, railwaymen and seamen with the miners. To hell with Len Murray & Co — no militant worth his salt would entrust his fate to these backstabbers. Let's have a situation where not a train, not a lorry, not a ship is moving in or around Britain, and then a hundred thousand strikers descending on Brighton to inform their right-wing bureaucrats that anyone not prepared to join them is out of a job and *out of the way*.

Even as Neil Kinnock was being booed by militants at the Durham miners' gala last month, Scargill pointed to the election of another Labour government as the outcome of this class battle. But the hard-fought strike struggles of 1972-74 brought only a Labour government of strike-breaking and wage control. What's needed in the course of this historical class fight is for a new *revolutionary* leadership to begin to come to the fore, one that does not look to pro-capitalist Labourism for solutions but is ready to mobilise for the inevitable head-on confrontation with the capitalist class and its state.

Nobody doubts the lengths to which the bloodthirsty Thatcher would go to smash this strike — she's already called for a Falklands-style war against the "enemy within". And now wide sections of the population are aware that she had the *Belgrano* crew murdered for the sheer pleasure of it, and was prepared to nuke the Argentines. But the Iron Lady can't run this country without railways, docks, shipping, mines. And there are quite a few lads from working-class backgrounds in the army who would be reluctant to take up arms against hundreds of thousands of workers on strike.

The future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shaping up. There can be no retreat: it's either a "big bang" hot autumn of militant class struggle or nuclear winter under Thatcher. What's needed today is a general strike to smash the Tory government's attacks and bring it down. And that would open the road to the rapid construction of a revolutionary vanguard party which, splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party away from the servile pro-capitalist misleaders of the right and "left", would lead the fight for a genuine workers government to expropriate the capitalists and provide a future with jobs and decent living standards for all. *General strike now!* ■

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Shut the Country Down — Bring Down Thatcher!

Strikes Rip Britain

LONDON, August 27 — Coal is shut down. Now key docks are out. For the second time in a little over a month Britain hangs on the verge of a general strike.

On August 24 Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) leaders called a national dock strike. The strike was precipitated when Scottish dockers at Hunterston, who had been blacking coal and iron ore shipments in solidarity with the striking miners, walked off the job after scab contractors and steelmen unloaded a coal-carrying ship. The strategically placed dockers, whose action poses a crippling of this island economy within a few weeks, now join the 140,000 miners who have battled so heroically for nearly six months. And within minutes of dockers' leader John Connolly announcing the strike — threatening to back it up with strike action by TGWU-organised lorry drivers — the rail unions issued instructions to honor dockers' pickets and seamen began blacking cross-Channel traffic.

The British labour movement stands at a decisive crossroads. For 18 weeks the miners fought virtually alone against the bloodthirsty Thatcher and her army of cops, SAS men and scabs. Finally in July the dockers came out. The government was rattled. The pound fell to its lowest level, interest rates rose dramatically — the Iron Lady could have been toppled. Then the TGWU leaders capitulated and the bosses again smelled blood. But now the miners' hard and tenacious battle, which has inspired huge sections of the labour movement and the oppressed, has again won them a major ally on the picket line. The dockers' renewed strike means that the power to defeat Thatcher is palpably there. This time there had better not be any retreat: either it's fought through into a hard political challenge threatening this government or it's capitulation to Thatcher and the crippling of British labour.

Today a series of strategic unions are either striking alongside the miners or taking some sort of official action in their support. Militants must call on the leaders of these unions to launch all-out coordinated strike action now. As we wrote a month ago:

"The NUS, NUR, ASLEF [railway engineers] and TGWU must call all their members out in immediate strike action. If rail, transport, mines and maritime are shut down, that will be a general strike. It will lay a powerful basis for pulling out other key sections

of workers, especially in steel and power, over the heads of their scabberding misleaders.... A revived, fighting version of the Triple Alliance of miners, dockers and railwaymen is the way to organise a *general strike now*, based on united common strike action by these key national unions and over the heads of the craven TUC [Trades Union Congress]."

— "Miners, Dock Workers Shutting Down Britain," *Workers Vanguard* no 359, 20 July.

Such a general strike must be organised around a set of concrete demands: Victory to the miners — Smash the attack on the dockers union! No more redundancies — No more denationalisations! For a 10 per cent wage rise across the board linked to full cost-of-living indexing! Drop all charges against victimised strikers! These modest demands won't be granted by the existing Tory government. But a determined fight for them can weld together decisive sections of the labour movement in a struggle that topples warmonger Thatcher. The key is a leadership prepared to go all-out in a battle against the capitalist state, a battle which necessarily poses the question of power: *which class rules?*

The TUC and Labour Party leadership fear and hate the prospect of such class struggle above all else — and



Pickers at Orgreave battle Thatcher's cops.

are doing everything in their power to sabotage it. While the TUC's Cold War right-wing leadership openly scabberds, Labour chief Neil Kinnock has been working frantically to forestall the threatened "big bang" of union struggle in the autumn. "I don't think that the trade union leadership would go for it because it would be such a monumental gamble and because it is not the way British trade unionism works," said the despicable Kinnock of the prospect of a hot autumn of political strikes (*Guardian*, 14 August). Throughout the miners' battle he and his deputy Roy Hattersley have echoed Thatcher in calling for a strikebreaking ballot and denouncing "violence" by strikers.

The British workers movement today sees a sharp polarisation between those who want to fight and those who believe that the trade unions are beaten or fear to mobilise their power. The Cold War defeatists are prepared to see the unions crippled rather than fight. But millions of workers want to smash the scabberding.

At stake in this fight is the existence of real picket lines and other weapons of labour solidarity without which effective unions are impossible. The bosses have focused their hatred on the militant, mass flying pickets of the miners — and with good reason. The miners have fought with unrivalled tenacity against state assaults, provocations, thousands of arrests, two picket line murders. Thousands-strong picket lines have seen barricades of flaming tyres and burnt-out Coal Board lorries, spreading the strike and stymieing the bosses' back-to-work schemes. It is the deep traditions of trade union solidarity on which Tony Cliff [British Socialist Workers Party leader who boasts SWP members cross picket lines at steel plants] et al spit that have engendered such broad support for the miners and threatened to blow the Thatcher government away.

Thus when John Connolly announced the second national dock strike, he cited the accumulated rage of his members, who day after day had to rub shoulders with scab lorry drivers earning 140 pounds a day for transporting coal: "Quite frankly, our people at Hunterston got sick of it." Racial and national divisions too have been transcended by a common hatred for a common enemy. Striking miners have marched shoulder to shoulder with Republican militants in Northern Ireland. Young blacks in Brixton have formed defence guards to drive off cops who sought to break up collec-

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Miners defend Welsh NUM office against Tory government's sequestration order.