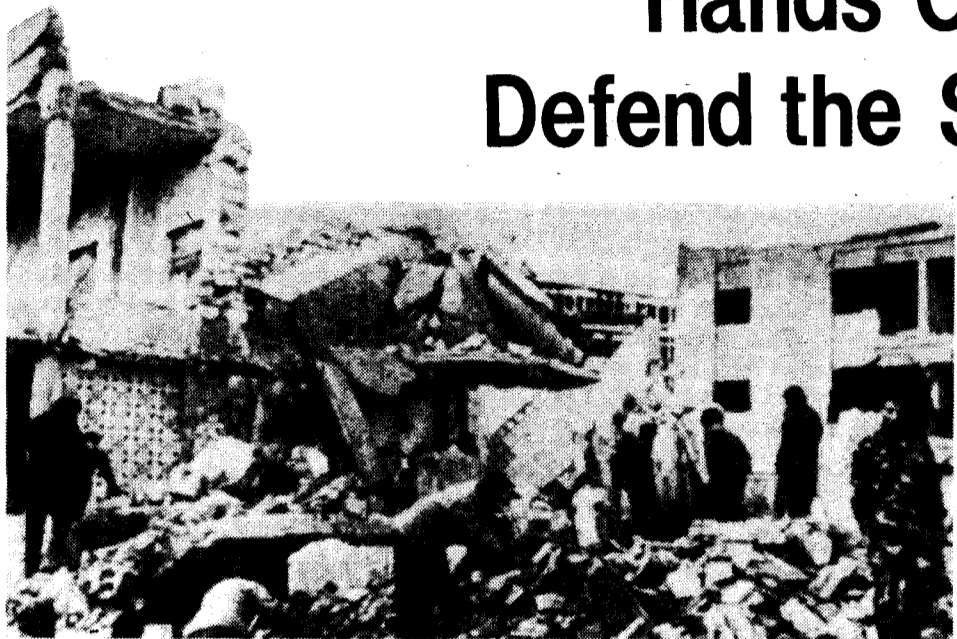




Hands Off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!



Carnage in wake of US terror bombing of Libya, April 1986 (left); CIA blows up oil depots in Corinto, Nicaragua, October 1983.

AP

Bloody US Cops of the World

SEPTEMBER 8 — Once again the White House and Pentagon are acting like global policemen running roughshod over the peoples of the world, literally "from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli". And they're not just sending in the Marines: the US Sixth Fleet holds provocative "exercises" off the coast of Libya, getting ready for a repeat of last spring's mass terror/murder raid on Tripoli; in the guise of "drug-busters", US special forces are sent to Bolivia and Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) narcs maraud around Mexico; Congress votes \$100 million to support the CIA's Nicaraguan contra terrorists. Now a murky hijacking of innocent airline passengers in Karachi and a botched "rescue" by Washington's ally General Zia has Reagan spokesmen licking their chops and promising new military attacks on Tripoli. From Libya to Nicaragua, from the Gulf of Sidra to the Sea of Okhotsk, US rulers claim a god-given right to strike anywhere on the planet in the crusade against what Reagan calls the Soviet "Evil Empire".

The Cold Warriors have targeted Moscow with nuclear first-strike plans, repeated incursions into Soviet waters and airspace, and arming of cutthroat mullahs fighting the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. But the Russians are getting tired of being played for patsies. Not long after the FBI picked up a low-level Soviet UN employee for spying in a sting operation, Nicholas Daniloff, a correspondent for *US News & World Report*, was arrested in Moscow, caught in *flagrante* accepting a package with top secret photographs and maps from an alleged Soviet "dissident". When Reagan tried to stick it to Gorbachev, demanding Daniloff be handed over unconditionally, the Kremlin leader said "nyet", and the Soviets are trying Daniloff on espionage charges. Now



Pentagon "aircraft carrier diplomacy" targets the Soviet Union.

the entire American establishment is treating Daniloff as if he were a kidnap victim: a *New York Times* (9 September) editorial compared the Soviet government to "outlaw hijackers and hostage-takers", demanding retaliation "even at a significant cost to diplomacy".

Reagan & Co want blood, but instead of going after the Russians directly there are "softer" military options — like Libya. Since the US attempt to assassinate Qaddafi in April failed, now they're threatening to invade the country in order to bring down the Arab nationalist strongman who has been a bugbear for the Reagan administration since it came to office. On August 24, some 25,000 US and Egyptian air and naval personnel commenced military maneuvers a stone's throw from Libyan territorial waters. By the time Operation Sea Wind concluded, the US had a naval armada in the southern Mediterranean including three aircraft carrier groups,

with hundreds of fighter jets, while 18 F-118 Air Force bombers flew into Britain. Last spring, after American warships in the Med blasted Libyan anti-aircraft sites, a squadron of Britain-based US F-118s rained terror on Tripoli, murdering Qaddafi's adopted baby daughter and more than 100 civilians. Now, at the height of the Karachi hijacking, the Pentagon ordered the *Forrestal* to stand by off the Libyan coast for "reconnaissance missions".

Washington officials started the latest round of Qaddafi-bashing saying this time they might launch a preemptive strike; "conclusive evidence that the Libyans have hatched new terrorist plots could be enough to trigger a new US raid" (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 August). Reagan's special envoy, super-spy Vernon Walters, made the rounds of NATO governments to convince them to tighten the screws of the economic blockade decreed by Washington to strangle

Tripoli. So Washington officials were practically salivating when the Karachi Pan Am hijacking came in right on cue, with initial reports that some "Libyan Revolutionary Cells" claimed responsibility. And then the hideous mass murder of Jewish worshipers in an Istanbul synagogue Saturday provided the excuse for the Israelis to stage a reprisal raid against "the Arabs".

With US warmasters poised to strike again, Libya has once more become a focal point of the anti-Soviet war drive aimed at restoring US imperialist hegemony. Hands off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan/Zia's Bloody Massacre in Karachi

With the US already busily fabricating new charges of "Libyan terrorism", the Pan Am hijacking came as a virtual godsend to Reagan. We have repeatedly pointed out that such senseless and criminal acts of indiscriminate terror play into the hands of the Israelis and the biggest terrorists of all — the American imperialists. But this case may have involved more than the delusions of desperate Palestinians mistakenly believing they are striking a blow at the Zionist state that has turned them into people without a land. Hijackers dressed in uniforms like Pakistani airport security personnel drove up in what looked like a police van. And what of the reports in the Indian press that passengers heard them speaking Urdu (a Pakistani language)? To put it mildly, this hijacking was oh-so-convenient for the Reaganauts. Libya accused US and Israeli intelligence agencies of orchestrating it. In any event those who had the least to gain were Qaddafi and the Libyans.

But if the circumstances surrounding the Pan Am hijacking are dubious,

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Bloody US Cops...

Continued from page one

the bloody "rescue" effort had the finger-prints of the Reagan administration all over it. After the slaughter, the White House issued a grotesque statement hailing the Pakistanis for acting "boldly and courageously"! The "rescue" was supposed to be modeled after the US-supervised storming of an airliner by Egyptian commandos in Malta last December, in which 57 people were killed. The Karachi hijackers were obviously heavily armed and prepared to kill: early on they shot to death an Indian American from Kenya. Demanding passage to Cyprus where several Arab guerrillas are imprisoned, they pushed back their "final deadline" several times. But in Israeli-style "counterterrorist" operations, there are no negotiations. The Reagan gang runs according to the mercenary slogan, "Kill 'em all and let god sort them out."

Karachi airport security knew that the Boeing 747's auxiliary power unit was due to fail after 16 hours on the ground. According to the scenario, the lights in the plane would dim and a team of Pakistani commandos would rush the plane. The power unit failed and at about the same time authorities turned off the runway lights — but no commandos! Their commander was reportedly "taking tea" at the time. Kurshid Anwar Mirza, head of the Pakistan Civil Aviation Authority, told reporters that he was about 150 yards from the plane when "suddenly we saw a stream of people coming out" screaming, "They're killing everyone! For God's sake, do something!" Mirza said commandos "were not in the vicinity" of the plane and that it took 10 to 15 minutes for them to arrive" (*New York Times*, 7 September).

Afterward the Pakistani government complained it wasn't prepared to carry out the operation. So who egged them on? Pan Am and US officials maintained contact with the spokesman of the hijackers through an Arabic-speaking employee: two DEA agents coached the Saudi "interpreter" throughout the day. White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan "had made several specific decisions in response to the hijacking." As usual, they said the US professional "counterterrorists", the Delta Force, were "on the way". In short, while the Americans are now claiming that it was solely a Pakistani operation, the Pakistanis were clearly taking orders from Washington and the Western White House. One might think that even they would be embarrassed by a commando operation in which the commandos didn't show up. But Reagan got what he wanted: a bloody massacre which he can now "avenge" at the Libyans' expense.

Certainly the Reaganites are hardly concerned about the butchery of civilians here. The Americans on



Yesterday's Ronbo: Imperialist bully Teddy Roosevelt swaggers through Caribbean.

board were overwhelmingly of Indian origin, as were the rest of the passengers, and the lives of brown people weigh very little in Reagan's crusade against communism. So they entrusted the job to Pakistan's General Zia, whose soldiers apparently saw no point in risking their asses to liberate a planeload of mainly Indian Hindus and Sikhs.

The stark fact is the passengers saved themselves. Survivors described the scene as a "holocaust", with hijackers firing wildly, children crying and blood spattered everywhere. Still incomplete casualties total 18 dead and at least 100 wounded, and the figures would have been even higher if some quick-thinking individuals hadn't inflated evacuation slides when the gunmen started shooting. Even more than fear of being hijacked, these days air travelers are justifiably scared stiff of being "rescued". (Maybe that's why the Pan Am cockpit crew flew the coop. Whatever happened to the captain staying with the ship?) From civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007, sent on a spy mission over strategic Soviet military installations, to Pan Am Flight 73 in Karachi, the rulers of the "Free World" consider airline passengers pawns in their Cold War.

Reagan's Terror, Inc Targets Qaddafi

For the "crime" of defying American imperialism and for being a military client of the Soviet Union, Libya's Qaddafi was chosen by Reagan early on to take the rap for all the world's terrorist incidents. For over five years the US has conducted a vendetta against this small desert country with a population of under 4 million. The American provocations have been drawn up well in advance — the pretexts fabricated later. The military assaults on Libya earlier this spring were agreed to at top-level meetings attended by Pentagon, White House and intelligence officials in July and December of 1985 — before the Rome/Vienna airport hijackings and the bombing of the La Belle disco in Berlin that were later cited as pretexts. The Berlin disco was a hangout for American black GIs and foreign (particularly Arab) workers — scarcely a target for Qaddafi.

The current buildup against Qaddafi followed the familiar Reagan MO: again according to the *Washington Post*, a series of meetings of the "highly secret Crisis Pre-Planning Group" and National Security Planning Group drew up the scenario. A few weeks later, timed to coincide with Operation Sea Wind, a report is "leaked" to the *Wall Street Journal* (25 August) that "the Pentagon is

completing plans" for a "quick, punishing" strike that would "rubble-ize" Libya. The three-pronged program included readying a massive naval strike force prepared to attack Libyan oil terminals; approaching France for a joint military campaign to drive Libyan troops out of neighboring Chad; and payrolling dissident military officers to foment a coup.

When Reagan's UN ambassador Vernon Walters recently toured European capitals, he produced so little "evidence" of Libyan "terrorism" that a German official concluded: "Beating up on Libya is something that's popular with the American electorate" (*New York Times*, 6 September). No doubt Don Regan and the rest of the White House "crisis pre-planners" are eyeing the November elections, but that doesn't mean it's just talk. Picking on what's regarded as a "soft option", the Reaganites are desperate for a cheap victory to restore American military prestige and gear up the US population to "roll

Medical workers rescue victim of Karachi airline hijacking.



back communism" worldwide. While some Congressmen, remembering the 50,000 American GIs shipped home in body bags from Vietnam, flinch at a Central American invasion *right now*, state terrorism against Libya is universally popular among Democrats and Republicans.

Last March, in the aftermath of the first US bombing of Libya, the international Spartacist tendency sent a journalistic team to Tripoli to underline our proletarian solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression. Today again, defense of Libya against US imperialism is an urgent responsibility for the international workers movement, as supposed "Soviet surrogates" are targeted as stepping stones toward anti-Soviet nuclear war.

Reaganite "Aircraft Carrier Diplomacy"

Noting the massive US naval intervention in the Gulf of Sidra last spring, the foreword to the 1986-87

edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships* (the authoritative reference book on the world's navies) commented that "modern gunboat diplomacy" is taking on increasing global importance. Back in March, a Soviet foreign ministry spokesman condemned the US' "act of piracy", declaring that "the United States has turned to so-called aircraft-carrier diplomacy" to blackmail Libya into toeing the "Free World" line (UPI, 25 March). The Sixth Fleet's "warm-up" for its invasion of the Gulf of Sidra was a brazen penetration of Soviet territorial waters near the Black Sea naval installation of Sevastopol. *Izvestia* (23 March) quoted Red Fleet Admiral VN Chernavin noting that "this time, we showed patience and restraint". The Soviets would have been entirely within their rights to have blown those Navy warships out of the water.

This fall, while three American aircraft carrier battle groups are menacing Libya, the US Navy is staging provocative military maneuvers even closer to Soviet home. The carrier *Vinson* was part of a battle group off the Soviet Far East conducting "the largest US Navy exercise in the Bering Sea since World War II" (*Washington Post*, 30 August), not far from a key Soviet submarine base at Petropavlovsk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Meanwhile, NATO exercises are being held off the coast of Norway, near key Soviet naval/air installations on the Kola Peninsula. And this month the battleship *New Jersey* is reported to be part of a US battle group scheduled for more "exercises" in the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk, the region where KAL Flight 007 intruded into Soviet airspace in 1983.

In the classic style of Cold War brinkmanship, Washington is engaged in a deadly game of "nuclear chicken", hoping to terrorize the Russians into abject capitulation. Meanwhile, in the "back yard" of the American Empire, Reagan is going around proclaiming US "super-sovereignty" like he was back in the

days of Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, when the Great White Fleet cruised around the Caribbean establishing American protectorates and installing the Batistas and Somozas who tyrannized workers and peasants for decades. Now in the name of "drug wars" American soldiers are once again slashing and burning their way through Latin America. On April 8, Reagan signed a National Security Decision Directive ordering the Pentagon to work with other US agencies and foreign governments in dragnets and airborne assaults by American troops.

In mid-July, "Operation Blast Furnace" was launched in Bolivia, as a task force of US Special Forces moved in supposedly to root out the drug traffickers. The *Navy Times* (1 September) commented: "For some of the American aircrews, Bolivia is the ninth country to which they have been deployed since they got the UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters two years

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Australasian Spartacist

Australasian

SPARTACIST

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Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland

The article below was first printed in Workers Hammer no 80, June 1986, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.

"Solidarity with Solidarnosc" has been a key slogan linking much of the Western left to NATO imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. For example, last December the French "far left" Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) joined hands with the CIA-financed Force Ouvriere and the Catholic trade-union group to protest president Francois Mitterrand's meeting with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski. In effect they want the French imperialist state to break off even diplomatic relations with Poland. Ernest Mandel, godfather of the French LCR, has over Poland become the pope's "Trotskyist", proclaiming Solidarnosc to be "the best socialists in the world"! Mandel's supporters in Britain and the US have adapted the Solidarnosc logo for the mastheads of their own newspapers, as did Argentine fake-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In Britain, the Healy outfit sparked a right-wing witchhunt against militant miners leader Arthur Scargill when they attacked him for denouncing Solidarnosc as "anti-socialist".

Solidarnosc spokesmen both underground in Poland and in exile have repaid their enthusiasts in the Western left with blackest ingratitude. Taking their cue from Ronald Reagan, they have denounced the social-democratic-led "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. The so-called "Walesa Report", issued last August, called for a "full market" economy for Poland. And in September the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc came out for capitalist restoration in the most extreme and unashamed way conceivable. They called for private industry, private banks and even the opening of a stock market in Poland, as well as "legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment" for foreign capital. In other words, they want Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt bankers to take over the Polish economy!

What a low blow for Solidarnosc' "left" apologists in the West, who stand exposed as dupes of the CIA and Vatican. One of these outfits, Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (13 February) in Britain, writes:

"Pro-imperialist, Catholic, right wing — they want to restore capitalism'. That was how many left-wingers in the West saw the Polish workers' movement Solidarnosc when it flowered in 1980-1.

"A new economic programme issued by Solidarnosc's underground leadership (the TKK) seems to prove them right."

It sure does, Sean, doesn't it! In fact, damn few left-wingers in the West in 1980-81 saw Solidarnosc for what it was: pro-imperialist, Catholic, right-wing. All manner of social democrats, the Eurocommunists, anarcho-libertarian types, etc hailed this clerical-nationalist movement with wild enthusiasm. So did the main currents falsely claiming the mantle of Trotsky-



Workers Vanguard
Lech Walesa grabs money from Western sources, 1980; now Solidarnosc underground leadership demands stock markets and foreign capital investment in Poland.

ism (Mandel, Moreno, Pierre Lambert).

The international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone in warning against the terrible danger of counter-revolution in Poland. We thus protested when in September 1981 Solidarnosc opened an office in New York City in facilities provided by the violently anti-Communist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO trade unions. For this action we were threatened by no less an institution of the American bourgeoisie than the *Wall Street Journal*! "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's foreign operations, a *Journal* editorial (29 September 1981) thundered, "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching". The *Wall Street Journal* and Reagan gang embraced Walesa, Bujak & Co as their people in Poland.

While *Socialist Organiser* now grudgingly admits that Solidarnosc is for capitalist restoration, nevertheless Matgamna's outfit still supports it against the bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state. This position is actually worse than its former fraudulent claim that Solidarnosc was fighting for workers democracy:

"So maybe Solidarnosc, or a central section of it, is now advocating the restoration of a capitalist market economy in Poland. Does that mean that the Western left should support Jaruzelski?"

"No. No more than we should support a bourgeois-democratic government in the West which suppresses a Stalinist-minded workers' movement....

"Likewise in Poland we should defend Solidarnosc even under pro-Western leadership."

To begin with, it is false to define Solidarnosc as "the Polish workers movement". While originally sparked by legitimate workers' grievances against the Stalinist bureaucracy,

the Fatherland and its independence" (quoted in Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* [1984]).

What is fundamentally wrong with *Socialist Organiser's* position, however, is not just its flagrantly false picture of Solidarnosc. It is the grotesque equation of bourgeois democracy in the West with Stalinism in the Eastern bloc. It is this "third campist" equation which leads Matgamna & Co to ally themselves with Reagan and Thatcher in supporting capitalist counterrevolution in the name of "defending the Polish workers".

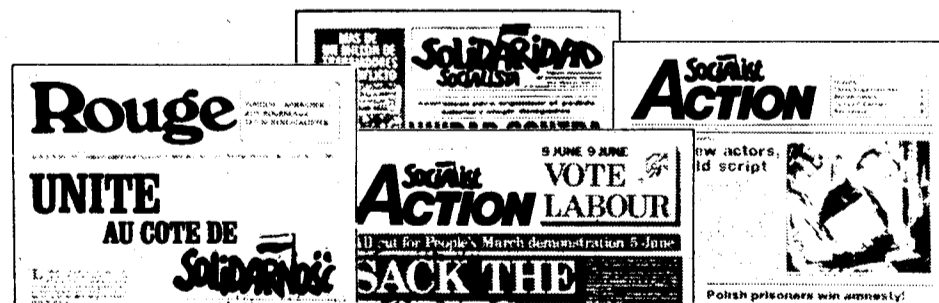
Poland 1981: Counterrevolutionary Bid for Power

To cover this up *Socialist Organiser* claims that in 1980-81 Solidarnosc stood for workers democracy and only since then has it moved to the right, now calling outright for capitalist restoration:

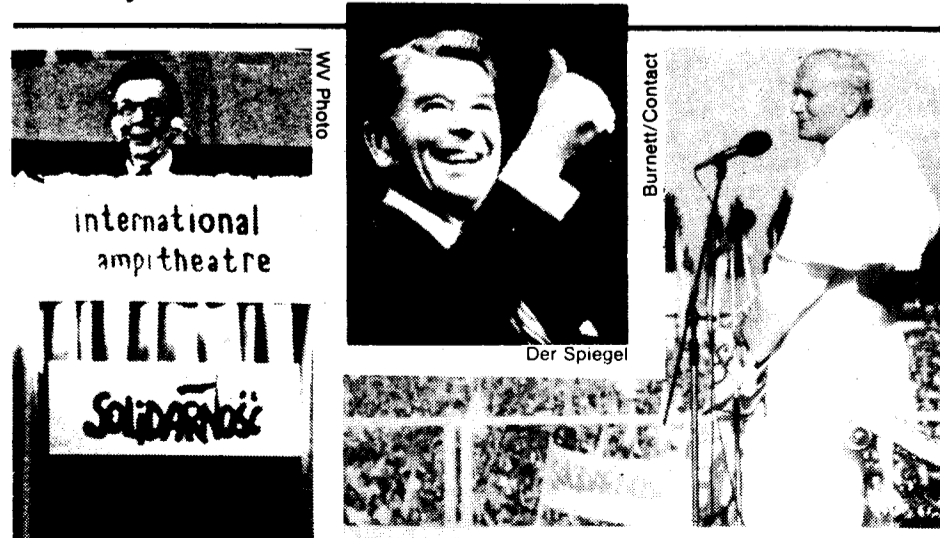
"In 1980-81, when Solidarnosc was in the ascendant, its central theme was workers' control; but now, battered, repressed and hunted, the Solidarnosc underground leaders have turned to market economics as a 'realistic' (their term) alternative to bureaucratic mismanagement."

Anyone not wilfully blind could see from the outset that Walesa, Bujak & Co aimed to make Poland safe for "free world" imperialism. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarnosc consolidated around a program of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in almost chemically pure form. This program could have been written by Radio Free Europe. It called for "free elections" in Poland and "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc. It demanded that Poland join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel whose initials spell starvation

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Fake-left press (above) joins with anti-Communist reactionaries Lane Kirkland, Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla in hailing counterrevolutionary Solidarność.



Solidarność

Continued from page three

and police-state terror from Bolivia to Bangladesh. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was defeated. And to top it off, invited to the Solidarność congress was the notorious American CIA labor operator Irving Brown, a man synonymous with the Cold War subversion of the workers movement in West Europe and the colonial world.

As for Solidarność agitation around "workers self-management", this was intended to dismantle centralized economic planning, and the "self-managed" enterprises were to be run on the basis of *market profitability*. Thus the program adopted by Solidarność at its September 1981 congress declares: "The organizational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power.... The union recognizes the need to restore the equilibrium of the market..." (*Bulletin Solidarność*, March 1982).

Solidarność' advocacy of self-management in 1981 had nothing to do with "industrial democracy" as it's called in Western social-democratic circles. Rather it was a move to oust the incumbent managers and replace them with pro-Western anti-Communists. For example, the Conference of Workers Self-Management at the LOT national airlines proposed for the airline's new managing director one Stanislaw Kutek. A former emigre, Kutek had lived in Britain for 35 years and even served in the Royal Navy during the Korean War. He was a retired capitalist who had amassed a fortune from his own aviation company. Kutek's program for LOT was to stop buying Soviet-made planes and buy American instead:

"I've got contacts in the American companies — they'll sell us some good Boeings at a reasonable price. And there's no problem about paying for them: I've got lots of friends in the Western banks."

— Quoted in Henry Norr, "Solidarity and Self-Management, May-July 1981," *Poland Watch* no 7 [1985]

That is what Solidarność meant by "workers self-management" in practice, "rationalizing" the Polish economy by turning it over to the capitalists.

That much of the Polish working class wanted the likes of Stanislaw Kutek to run the economy testified to the complete bankruptcy of Stalinist rule. Three decades of gross economic mismanagement and political oppression along with endless broken promises of reform and democratization had driven the mass of the Polish people into the arms of Pope Karol Wojtyla, Ronald Reagan and the Common Market of NATO Europe. A top White House official saw in the Polish crisis the greatest opportunity to roll back Communism in the Soviet sphere since 1945.

By the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war and counter-revolution. In early December the Solidarność leadership held a secret meeting in the town of Radom. The "moderate" Lech Walesa declared: "Confrontation is inevitable and it will take place.... We are aware that we are dismantling the system." Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Warsaw region of Solidarność, asserted: "The first action of the workers' militia will be aimed at liberating the radio and television headquarters.... The Government must at last be overthrown." Jacek Kuron, Poland's leading social democrat, stated: "The

Solidarność Blueprint for Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from the "Economic Demands" of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarność (24 September 1985), reprinted from *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin [London] 14 November 1985*.

● "Alongside state ownership in the national economy, there should be a room [sic] for a wide range of private ownership which should include industry.... Fair competition should decide which kind of ownership will predominate in the various fields of the national economy.

● Alongside the central banks, there should be deposit banks, acting as independent enterprises and earning profits by lending on interest.

● Alongside the market for goods and services, there should be a stock market, enabling anyone to buy shares and bonds, to become one of the sources of capital for the development of enterprises.

● The reform must be market orientated and should encourage economic activity based on healthy competition.... Prices must be allowed to be shaped by the market.

● In cases of unprofitable enterprises, the principle of bankruptcy and insolvency should be vigorously adhered to.

● Private foreign capital should have legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment in Poland, also in the form, among others, of joint private-state capital companies."

ground must be well prepared to overpower the authorities" (quoted in Kevin Ruane, *The Polish Challenge* [1982]). Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność' bid for power was checked a few weeks later in a nearly bloodless counter-coup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski.

The "Workers Opposition": Anti-Communist Syndicalists

Since then the Solidarność leaders have made it ever more clear that their "comrades" in the West are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. To divert attention from the brazenly pro-capitalist Temporary Coordinating Commission the "left" cheerleaders for Solidarność are playing up a new grouping in Poland, the Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition. "The Left in Solidarność", proclaims *Socialist Organiser*, "have declared themselves in favour of an anti-bureaucratic revolution, waged by the working class and aimed at achieving the full liberation of the working class." The Mandelites' *International Viewpoint* likewise claims that the Workers Opposition "identifies with the working class, stands for its self-organization, and poses the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy."

In reality the Press Alliance is a syndicalist current in the stream of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Polish nationalism. Its attitude toward the militantly pro-imperialist Solidarność leadership is one of comradely criticism, not opposition. It does not condemn "the reprivatization of the means of production" as a program for bloody counterrevolution but considers it a legitimate difference of opinion within the "democratic opposition". The Alliance does not regard Walesa, Bujak & Co as enemies of socialism and workers liberation but as errant comrades in the common struggle against the "totalitarian" bureaucracy. Thus the Workers Opposition stands four-square for Solidarność' bid for power in 1981.

Marxists stand for the planned, centralized administration of the economy by a democratically governed workers state. But despite their proclaimed "leftism", the Alliance is just as hostile to this socialist program as are the advocates of "re-privatization". Indeed, that is what unites them. In fact, the Alliance deliberately refuses to call itself socialist, a term it only uses in quotation marks to define what it is

not. The Workers Opposition draft platform declares:

"The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is socialization, outside of the state and in the framework of a system of workers self-management, of the means of production that are today statized." [our emphasis]

— reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 23 December 1985

This is a social-democratic/syndicalist utopia. Workers self-management outside the framework of state ownership and control amounts to an economic system of producer co-operatives which are necessarily

enough. To use a term commonly employed by the Trotskyist movement, the Polish Workers Opposition is a "third campist" grouping. That is, it views Western imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy as equally militarist, equally expansionist, equally driving toward war:

"To the slogan 'Down with the militarist policy of the US and imperialism,' which we support totally and without reservation, we add the complementary slogan, 'Down with the militarist policy of the Kremlin and totalitarianism!'"

— "The Fight for Peace and Workers Power," reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 24 March

Like many "third campist" groupings in the West, the Polish Alliance maintains that Wall Street and the Kremlin are essentially collaborative, that they form a kind of joint partnership exploiting and oppressing the workers of the world. The first issue of *Workers Cause*, one of the four papers making up the Press Alliance, declared that it "has enemies with whom no accord or alliance can ever be concluded — they are the bureaucracy (that is, the social layer that exploits the workers); as well as the bourgeoisie, which guarantees the survival of the long bankrupt bureaucracy."

This is a flagrant denial of the most fundamental reality governing world politics. Reagan guarantees the survival of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski?! In the most naked and aggressive way, from Nicaragua to Libya to Afghanistan, US imperialism is bent on rolling back and eventually destroying Soviet power. That is why the Pentagon is spending hundreds of billions on weaponry to decapitate the Kremlin leadership in a nuclear first strike. And that is why the CIA funneled millions to Solidarność, mainly via the

Workers Vanguard



September 1981 — Spartacist protests opening of Solidarność office in New York, in facilities provided by fanatically anti-Soviet AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

governed by *market competition*. Profitable enterprises would buy up bankrupt ones and exploit their labor in a fully capitalist manner. And what's to stop enterprises which are losing money or simply want more capital from going into partnership with Western multinationals and financiers? The Solidarność leadership's demand for stock markets and private foreign investment in Poland is in no sense an abandonment of its 1981 program. It is the logical extension of "workers self-management".

The documents of this Workers Opposition are abstract, bloodless, almost scholastic. In the half dozen or so that we've read in translation there is no mention of Ronald Reagan or Pope John Paul II (formerly cardinal of Cracow). Nonetheless, its position on the Cold War is clear

fanatically anti-Communist leadership of the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. That is also why the equally fanatically anti-Communist underground leadership of Solidarność is calling for Wall Street to take over Poland's collectivized economy. Walesa, Bujak & Co far better understand the *real* relation of Western capitalism to the Soviet-bloc degenerated and deformed workers states than do the "third campists" of the Workers Opposition.

But the reality of the Cold War — which is at bottom a *class war* — always breaks through "third campist" posturing. Those groups which shout "a curse on both your houses" are inexorably drawn into the camp of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy and national independence". This is demonstrated dramati-

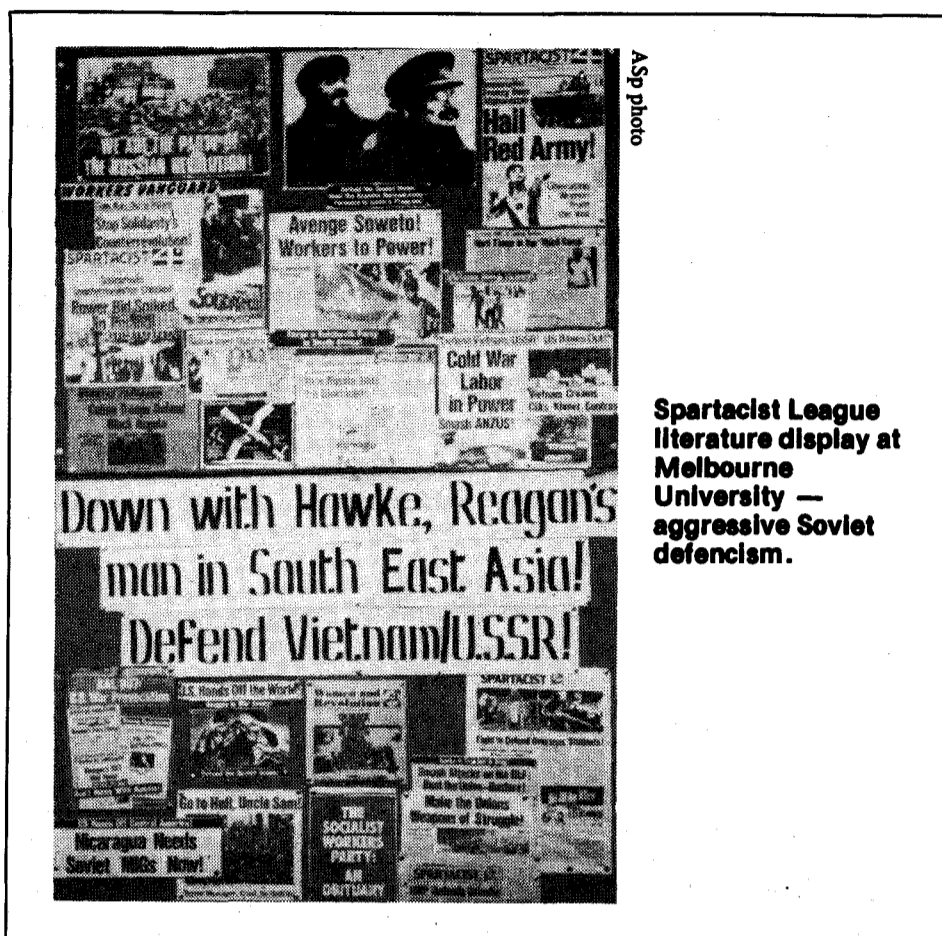
Australasian Spartacist

CIA "Socialists" Spiked at Melb Uni

Comrades,

This is Cold War II. World imperialism from Reagan to Thatcher to Hawke are beating the war drums loud and clear and what they're after is the Soviet Union, land of the first successful workers revolution which was led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. It remains to this day, albeit degenerated, as a warning to imperialism that the working class is capitalism's gravedigger. Where you stand on the Russian question is decisive. We of the Spartacist League are proudly known for our staunch Soviet defencism and proletarian opposition to Hawke's vicious Labor government. The International Socialists (IS) on the other hand are best known for their virulent anti-Sovietism. Their key slogan "Down with imperialism East and West" is a transparent cover for support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union, especially support to their "own" Australian imperialism. At Melbourne Uni in term II we had some run-ins which are an indicator of what happens when "East meets West" in Cold War II.

When we approach the IS with our paper they tend to get hysterical. It seems to be a natural reflex for these people when they see headlines like "Down with Reagan/Hawke anti-Soviet war drive!". On a recent occasion an ISer felt driven to rip our paper. It was *Workers Vanguard* and I'm very proud of our bold revolutionary press. So I told her off, and when she attempted to do it again I gave her a good shove making clear I would defend the paper from further damage. Later I was selling in the foyer loudly proclaiming "Defend the Soviet Union" alongside this IS guy who was saying "Smash imperialism East and West". This would-be bully boy got frustrated and tried to block me right off from potential readers, almost stepping on top of me. I pushed him out of the way and this guy who's a good foot taller than me tried



Spartacist League literature display at Melbourne University — aggressive Soviet defencism.

intimidation again, giving me a hard shove. I pushed him again and made clear he was *not* going to quarantine Soviet defencist politics from the Uni foyer. This time he got the message and scurried away. The following week we went back to this privileged institute with a great display of our politics (see photo), reinforced by the presence of some of our larger comrades to let the IS know that we're for political combat, but anything physical will be stopped.

So why did they rip the paper? The article being displayed was headlined "Solidarnosc Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland". In 1981 the IS stood in support of this one and only "union" that BLF-buster Hawke and PATCO-buster Reagan love. When

Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary bid was spiked the IS demonstrated alongside the fascistic Captive Nations, which, incidentally, they also did in 1980 against the Red Army in Afghanistan when they were joined by Ross 'the Skull' May, notorious Australian anti-Asian Nazi scum. In their 1986 July issue of the misnamed *The Socialist* they had an article headed "Solidarity For Ever?" which bemoans the fact that Reagan didn't warn Solidarnosc of the crackdown. They say: "An earlier warning could've been decisive. The Americans didn't give one because they quite cynically calculated that there was better Cold War propaganda to be gained from letting Solidarity be crushed". So they're mad at Reagan

because they reckon he let the team down. Like we say the "third camp" is the imperialist camp. Reagan wanted to see Polish workers throwing Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks but like the IS was frustrated when the West's Trojan Horse was put down with relative ease by the Polish army.

Everytime we've seen the IS on campus since they've run away, especially their leadership like Mick Armstrong and Tess Lee Ack who chose to leave the campus altogether rather than take up the table space they had booked and risk a political fight with us. We're practised at fighting anti-red hysterics at Melbourne Uni, especially over the question of Solidarnosc. In 1982 we fought off a witchhunt by the campus administration and the Laborite, Liberal, NCC and Socialist Club types (including IS supporters), who were all united and motivated against us because of our proletarian stand on Poland.

For any student interested in revolutionary politics and looking at the left, they would do well to look first at what each group says about the Soviet Union, because when you touch the Russian question you touch a revolution. As the great Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky said on the eve of World War II:

"The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." (In Defense of Marxism)

Aye, and there's the rub!
DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!
THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!

Comradely,
Christine S.

cally in Poland by the career of Jacek Kuron.

Kuron's Path to Counterrevolution

The first issue of *Workers Front*, one of the papers of the Press Alliance, reprinted the lengthy 1965 "Open Letter" to Communist party members by Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. Kuron went on to become the most prominent Polish dissident in the Gierek era of the 1970s as founder and leader of KOR (Workers Defence Committee). He played a decisive role in the origins of Solidarnosc and an important one in the 1980-81 crisis. Kuron continues to be a major figure in the underground opposition.

When Kuron and his comrades were sentenced to prison in the mid-1960s for distributing the "Open Letter", they marched out of court singing the "Internationale". The politics of the "Open Letter" is in fundamental ways far to the left of the present Workers Opposition. It denounced Polish Stalinism for favoring "the traditional political right" headed by the Catholic hierarchy. It also drew a hard line against Western social democracy and parliamentarism — "the parliamentary system is one in which the working class and the entire society finds itself deprived of all influence on government" — and called for a government based on workers councils.

Yet a dozen or so years later Kuron called for the transformation of Poland along the lines of Finland, that is, into a "neutral" bourgeois-democratic state. At the same time his cohort Adam Michnik argued that the Polish left should abandon its traditional anticlericalism and form a united front with the Catholic hierarchy against the Communist regime. A few years later KOR became a sympathizing member of the Second International of Helmut Schmidt and Francois Mitterrand.

How does one account for the transformation of Kuron from a left opponent of Stalinism into Pope Wojtyla's social democrat? It would be scholastic to blame it all on some theoretical original sin. Nonetheless, the 1965 "Open Letter" is fundamentally flawed in a way which does help explain Kuron's subsequent rightward course. The Kuron circle were not politically unsophisticated people. Among them was Ludwik Hass, one of the few survivors of the pre-war Polish Trotskyist movement. Kuron was thus familiar with but *rejected* the Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste resting upon socialized (and therefore progressive) economic foundations. The "Open Letter" maintained that the bureaucracy "exploits the workers" and had transformed the means of production into "a single centralized national 'capital'".

In the mid-1960s Kuron adopted a "plague on both your houses" toward the Cold War, in large part because he believed that Western imperialism accepted the status quo in the Soviet bloc in return for the Kremlin's quid pro quo. The "Open Letter" maintained that "the two principal blocs ... are waging an economic, diplomatic and political competition based on the division of the world into established spheres of influence." In this period impressionistic New Left radicals in the West held a similar view of the Cold War.

However, following the Vietnam War, in the mid-1970s US imperialism scrapped "detente" and revived up the anti-Soviet Cold War under the banner of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade. Washington now put its considerable diplomatic and economic muscle behind encouraging and protecting pro-Western "dissidents" in the Soviet bloc. Poland was an especial target both because it had the strongest right-wing forces in East Europe and because Gierek's unbelievable economic mismanagement made the Warsaw regime desperate for Western financial help.

The development of Kuron's KOR in the late 1970s was directly linked to Washington's "human rights" campaign. When Carter himself visited Warsaw in 1977:

"At a press conference Carter loudly praised the Polish record on human rights and religious tolerance, in the

next breath announcing a further \$200 million of US credits. 'Linkage' could hardly be more explicit than that. If the KOR activists had still been imprisoned, it is doubtful if the credits would have flowed so freely."

— Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*

US imperialism's modest investment in KOR paid handsome dividends. The activities of Kuron, Michnik & Co prepared the explosion of anti-Soviet clerical-nationalism in and around Solidarnosc in 1980-81.

For Polish Trotskyism!

Poland, however, is not one reactionary mass. Propagandists for Solidarnosc define the Polish nation as fervently Catholic and fanatically anti-Russian. Yet historically the Polish working class was socialist and secular, and Poland had one of the oldest and strongest Marxist traditions of any European country.

The first Marxist working-class organisation in the Russian tsarist empire was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s, the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Warynski, which worked closely with the Russian revolutionary populists. In the next generation Poland produced one of the greatest figures of international socialism, Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland

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SLL: Scabs on BLF, USSR

We told it straight: "Socialist Labour League Scabs on BLF" (*Australasian Spartacist* [ASp] no 116, July/August 1986). Since mid-May Socialist Labour League (SLL) supporter Bruce Cameron has been crossing the BLF picket line at the Footscray Pool site in Melbourne, while outside sacked BLF militants, including Spartacist supporter Martin Neal, battled vicious cop onslaughts. The SLL have responded to our exposure of their scab role with a two-part series on the Spartacist League (SL) in successive issues of their newspaper *Workers News* (WN, 16 and 19 August 1986).

The articles entitled "Spartacists slander SLL and all BLFs" and "Reactionary history of Spartacists" respectively, say volumes about the SLL. While screaming "lies" and "fraud" about our exposure of Cameron's scabbing, *Workers News* goes on to admit it. They favourably quote one BLF picket that "Bruce is the best supporter we have inside". *Inside* means on the bosses' side of the picket line doing what people who cross picket lines always do, ie scabbing. Then they justify it with the classic scab defence: "The plumbers were told if they persisted they would be sacked and would receive no backing from the union".

The SLL complains bitterly about our defence of basic trade union principles, citing in particular our statement that to defend the BLF against the Hawke/ACTU deregistration, "What was necessary was not to 'stay on sites' but to shut them down". The SL fought for a nationwide building workers strike with militant mass pickets to ensure they remain shut, linked to a mass refusal to sign the government's scab contract (see ASp nos 115 and 116). According to the SLL, "Such declarations slander all labourers who despite the confusion and anger in some quarters trusted their leadership and went over to the BWIU". Well, we put no stock in the SLL's ability to speak for "all labourers" but we recognise an alibi for one of their supporters when we see one, in this case for ex-BLF/now BWIU member Alan Hardy — who after weeks of WN denouncing the government's scab contract signed over. The reason's the same as Cameron's scabbing: save your job and the bureaucrats said so.

We pointed out that the BLF battle was a watershed for the union movement of this country. Hawke used the no-strike Accord as a hammer to smash the BLF and in turn threaten all union struggles. The Australian bourgeoisie has reacted to the defeat of the BLF with a thirst for blood — Hawke set it up for them. Sections of the bourgeoisie, spearheaded by the Peko-Wallsend bosses, announce that this time around they don't need Arbitration to carry out their dirty work. The dismissal of over 1000 Robe River Peko-Wallsend workers was an anti-union provocation directed against every trade unionist in this country. It is the Cold War climate of Hawke's Australia that is breeding the ultra-reactionary New Right, replete with their program for "restructuring" society. They are setting themselves up as the potential financial brokers for an extra-parliamentary strikebreaking scab force that already has its precedents in farmers bodies organised to bust union picket lines and organisation. What

the working class needs today, desperately, is some hard class struggle. It should have happened in response to the attacks on the BLF, it didn't. The missing factor was a class struggle leadership. The ALP/ACTU bureaucracy is the principal obstacle to a working class fightback. But the SLL pleaded to the sworn enemies of the BLF, the ACTU/TLC scabherders, to "end their collaboration with the Labor government's union-busting" (WN, 10 May 1986).

Any militant trade unionist can tell you that picket lines mean don't cross and that they are the dividing line

socialist organisation! And as part of this provocation, the WL called on the court to pry into the SWP's minutes, finances — in short every aspect of their functioning. The Healyite heritage of the SLL has long been that the armed cop thugs of the bourgeoisie are incipient "comrades".

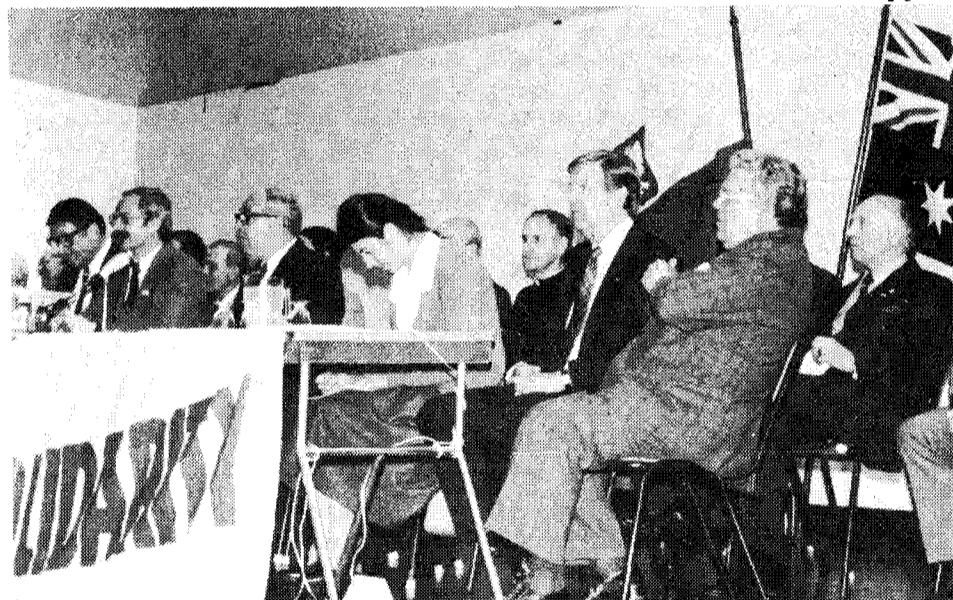
SLL: Laborite White Australia Socialists

As Trotskyists we understand the strike picket to be the basic nucleus of the proletarian army — a central facet of the need for workers self-

ASp photo



ASp photo



SLL supporter Cameron scabs on the BLF (top). SLL calls for votes for CIA boy Unsworth seen here, third from right, on NCC platform hailing Reagan's and the SLL's favourite union, Polish Solidarnosc (below).

between the bosses, their scabs and cops and the working class in struggle. The picket line is the class line — and the central cadre of the SLL have a pretty long record of straying to the bosses' side of it. In 1979 Nick Beams and Co, as the mercenary servants of the capitalist Libyan and Iraqi regimes crossed the class line in blood by hailing the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Iraqi state. And earlier this year ASp (no 115, May/June 1986) exposed the fact that the SLL for "commercial" reasons had been printing the fascistic Vietnamese-language newspaper *Bell of Saigon* (for a detailed history of these degenerate children of former cult guru Gerry Healy see *Spartacist* English edition, no 36-37, "Healyism Implodes").

But then the SLL have always had great faith in the bourgeois state. In 1979 when US Workers League (under David North, the SLL's newly acquired mentors) agent Alan Gelfand was expelled from the US Socialist Workers Party (SWP), North and Co sued the SWP in federal court. Thus the Northites were calling on the class enemy to determine the membership of a self-proclaimed

defence. The orientation of revolutionaries toward picket lines, and strike struggles, linked to the struggle to forge a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, is spelt out in Leon Trotsky's *Transitional Program*:

"The Bolshevik-Leninist stands in the front-line trenches of all kinds of struggles, even when they involve

only the most modest material interests or democratic rights of the working class. He takes active part in mass trade unions for the purpose of strengthening them and raising their spirit of militancy. He fights uncompromisingly against any attempt to subordinate the unions to the bourgeois state and bind the proletariat to 'compulsory arbitration' and every other form of police guardianship"

Following the dramatic implosion of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the split in their own ranks, the SLL are desperate to reassert the Healyite "status quo". It has become clear from the SLL's anti-Spartacist "polemic" justifying scabbing and from conversations with SLL members and supporters that the Beams leadership is having trouble selling to their membership capitulation to the Hawke government. We've heard they've dusted off Lenin's *Left Wing Communism*. But Lenin was no Laborite and no scab! He had the Australian reformist left's number 83 years ago when he described the "economist" trend in Russian working class politics: "That struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is that which is going on at the given moment. This is precisely the trend of unbounded opportunism, which passively adapts itself to spontaneity" (Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*) Unlike the Communist Party and SWP who in their own way are consistently reformist, however, the SLL are corrupt, political liars and bandits. Their "program" is not even consistent opportunism — but rather a series of lies and zigzags.

Hate Unsworth, Hate the Socialist Labour League

The SLL considers that we have "slandered" the Australian working class by pointing to the history of craftist scabbing here — and then with the case of plumber Cameron proceed to both prove the existence of craftist scabbing and to justify it. What they're really outraged about is the exposure of the Labor "lefts" and the trade union bureaucracy to whom they passively adapt. For the SLL the transformation of the consciousness of the proletariat, and therefore the forging of a proletarian vanguard conscious of its class interests, is inconceivable despite their pretensions to "Trotskyism". For them there is only the ALP and the trade union bureaucracy who must be made to "fight for socialism".

ASp photo



Spartacist contingent on May Day 1986. For hard class struggle to win!

In essence this is a thoroughly disarming program that ties the working class to its bureaucratic misleaders. To militant workers who question reliance on the Hawke government, the SLL can only advise "Vote Labor". When confronted with this SLL members explain that the working class is not yet "disillusioned" enough with Hawke to warrant opposition. In the recent NSW state by-election in Rockdale, notorious CIA-unionist, now Labor premier Unsworth, scraped in with a vote of less than 50 "disillusioned" Labor votes. A massive 25 per cent of this heavily migrant, working class, "blue ribbon Labor" electorate couldn't stomach voting for him, casting informal protest votes or refusing to vote at all. The dutifully loyal SLL campaigned for Unsworth with the slogan "Vote Labor to expose reformism" (WN, 26 July 1986). In the Redlands by-election in Queensland last year when sacked SEQEB workers fielded an independent candidate against the Labor Party, the SLL again called for a vote to Labor. Apparently the sacked and betrayed SEQEB workers were not disillusioned enough either!

For confused SLL ranks we recommend as complementary reading Lenin's *State and Revolution*. For Marxist revolutionaries the capitalist state and its apparatus cannot be reformed — it needs to be smashed. The SLL marvel at how we could have called for "No Vote to Labor" as far back as 1983. It flowed inextricably from our class opposition to Hawke's pro-ANZUS, pro-Accord reactionary designs. With three years of capitalist ALP government austerity and anti-Soviet war preparations the stakes are higher, the need even greater, to split the working class from the labour lieutenants of capital. For a workers republic of Australia part of socialist Asia!

But in the SLL's brand of politics this perspective is anathema, crystallised "ultra-leftism". The Australian labour movement is shackled by almost a hundred years of the chains of the Arbitration system. In order to achieve the precondition for a revolutionary transformation of Australian society the successful struggle for the complete independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois state and its organs is basic. In their "Socialist Labour League central committee statement: Defend the BLF" (WN, 10 May 1986) they said that: "The political vehicle for the collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist state is the Labor government's prices and incomes accord". For these

pathetically passive Laborites the Arbitration Commission will do quite well for "independent" union struggle — until presumably the proletariat achieves "socialist" consciousness. In the same article they note that: "The Labor government, which is organising this attack on the BLF, is in no sense a workers government". And yet three months later in his article "How to keep the Liberals out" (WN, 30 August 1986) Beams says: "We have not advocated that the Labor 'lefts' cease support for the government against the Liberals but that they start a fight against the bankers' program of the government"; "We do not demand that the Labor 'lefts' try to 'introduce' socialism but that they fight for policies to defend the interests of the working class and begin taking practical steps towards the achievement of socialism".

There it is: a Labor government pledged to socialist policies — an imperialist government pledged to the reform of the imperialist state. This is why the SLL take particular objection to our slogans "Hawke is Thatcher in Drag" and "For Hard Class Struggle to Bring Down Hawke!" — slogans which were greeted with enthusiasm by BLF members. The Russian 1917 Revolution and the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky drew the definitive line between pro-capitalist social democracy and communism. For the SLL the agency of social change is not the working class leading the oppressed but the trade union bureaucracy pressuring the imperialist state. Thus these Healyites without Healy always end up siding with their "own" imperialism against both the working class at home and the workers states.

Indeed the SLL adopt and promote all the trappings of backward Laborite consciousness, generated within the working class by the Laborite bureaucracy. They have always denied the existence of special forms of oppression (racial, sexual) and say nothing about women's oppression, a key question for the socialist revolution. The SLL supported the Cain government's attack on the small Paedophile Support Group (PSG). SLL supporters in the Technical Teachers Union (TTUV) spearheaded a campaign against defence of militant gay activist teacher Alison Thorne, who had spoken out in defence of the PSG. As Leninist tribunes of the oppressed we oppose reactionary age-of-consent laws and defended the PSG. Genuine communists seek to fight, not flatter, the backwardness of the workers. This is all the more crucial in a period of



Spartacist League protests jailing of members of RCL, Northite Lankan section, at SLL-called picket in Sydney on 6 August 1986.

Telegram

To: Cyril Herath
Inspector General of Police
Colombo, Sri Lanka

28 July 1986

Spartacist League protests jailing of Revolutionary Communist League members, Wijie Dias, Brutan Perera, R Perera. Demand immediate release of RCL members and all victims of UNP government's anti-Tamil, anti-working class repression.

Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

social reaction such as we now face, for combatting all forms of social oppression and the racial and sexual divisions they foster is the precondition for revolutionary class consciousness, for forging a socialist proletariat which can rise to the task of taking state power through leading the oppressed and exploited. It is especially crucial in this imperialist outpost in Asia, where the deep-going chauvinism intensifies backwardness of all kinds.

Defend the Workers Unions! Defend the Workers States!

The attacks on the BLF were a critical part of the Hawke anti-Soviet war drive. The truth today is that the anti-Soviet war drive and capitalist crisis impinge directly on workers' living standards, unions and livelihoods. In the naval dockyards at Sydney's Cockatoo Island, workers are threatened with a company/ASIO vetting attack which is being promoted as a safeguard for Australian defence. It aims to set up individual militants on the island, as part of a naked union-busting drive and McCarthyite anti-red purge. The Cockatoo Island bosses certainly have not forgotten the important victory won last year for industrial unionism when Spartacist supporter and militant ironworker Neil Flormimell refused to scab on striking electricians and won massive support for his stand amongst workers island wide, forcing the bosses to back down from their attempts to sack him (see *ASp* supplement "Make the Unions Weapons of Struggle!" 3 April 1985).

In an ironworkers meeting on the island, Flormimell nailed the government/ASIO/company moves for what they are — an anti-Soviet war measure, invasion of workers' rights, liberties and attack on their unions. Former SLL supporters Bill Haggerty and now-Communist League supporter Noel Hazard opposed Flormimell's call and instead moved to lay the whole issue in the laps of the Electrical Trades Union (ETU) and Federated Ironworkers (FIA) bureaucracy for "consideration". A sure kiss of death, since the ETU/FIA CIA-loving bureaucracy are aligned with Australian imperialism and its defence

industry. This is par for the course for Haggerty and Hazard. Last year when Hazard was still an SLL supporter, they opposed calls to extend strike action island wide to defend Flormimell and the basic union principle of one out, all out. For the SLL Laborites, their capitulationist politics always end up in reliance on the labour bureaucracy and in opposition to class struggle.

Imperialism, world-wide is gearing up for anti-Soviet war, and the SLL is right behind them. To prove their allegiance to Australian imperialism and their labour lieutenants the SLL came out after Reagan's terror bombing of Libya in April of this year with the outrageous lie that: "The mandatory statements of condemnation and propaganda point-scoring the Soviet leadership issued after the US attack cannot hide their complicity in Reagan's crime" (WN, 19 April 1986). The SLL bought this line straight from Reagan. Remember this happened right after the US had sent Navy spy ships six miles inside Soviet waters as a precursor to the Libya raids — an overt war provocation. At least the bourgeois-nationalist Qaddafi had a better sense of reality when he said: "If America defeats Libya, Algeria and Syria, it will pose a true danger to the Soviet Union" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1986).

The SLL take a leaf from their former mentors of the British WRP whose intense anti-Sovietism led them to scab on the British miners. They sold their services to Thatcherite Cold War when they set up British miners' leader Arthur Scargill for witchhunting at the 1983 Trades Union Congress, for nailing Polish Solidarnosc as anti-socialist. Scargill's isolation gave Thatcher the green light for her onslaught against the miners.

WN (19 August 1986) accuses us of giving "complete support to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland, Russia, Vietnam and Afghanistan . . ." We could not help but notice that this very statement appeared just above a photograph of an SL contingent carrying amongst others a placard reading "Stalinism undermines the workers states — for Trotskyist parties to power!"

Intense Stalinophobia underlies the SLL's politics. Their side is with

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Our heritage. Trotskyist-led Teamster strikers beat back cops during 1934 Minneapolis general strike.

October/November 1986

SLL Scabs ...

Continued from page seven

Reagan/Thatcher/Hawke — from Afghanistan where they side with reactionary/feudalist CIA-backed Islamic rebels against the Red Army, to Poland where they love counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc. The Trotskyist program for political revolution in the deformed workers states is distorted by the SLL into its very opposite — a cover for supporting the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by any force irrespective of its class nature. Far from being the monolith that all petty-bourgeois and social-democratic cretins like to think, the Stalinist bureaucracy is a contradictory phenomenon. At one and the same time it is forced by the very nature of its parasitic position and the designs of international capital to seek to defend the collectivised property forms on which it rests, even as it undermines those very property forms by its policies of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence". For Trotskyists, political revolution — the regeneration of authentic Soviet democracy in the USSR and its return to the road of proletarian internationalism — is based on unconditional military defence of the collectivised property forms against imperialist attack and the threat of internal counterrevolution. This task is crucially linked to the perspective of international proletarian revolution and the revolutionary understanding that *the main enemy is at home!* Revolutionary perspective is diametrically counterposed to the cynical gyrations of the Laborite SLL. We don't even think the SLL expects anyone to believe them — on the contrary their lies and zigzags are designed to weed out anyone with anything of a backbone in their organisation. ■

Solidarność ...

Continued from page five

and Lithuania was, along with Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the vanguard of the European workers movement as decaying capitalism drove toward the slaughterhouse of World War I. The early Polish Communist Party of the 1920s, under Luxemburg's disciple Adolf Warski, wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the European workers movement of that period. And Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International found a response in Warsaw. During the early 1930s an oppositional grouping in the Communist Party led by Isaac Deutscher was won to Trotskyism. And even after this group was expelled from the party, there remained a strong undercurrent of sympathy for Trotsky among Polish Communists fighting the fascist Marshal Pilsudski (now a Solidarnosc hero) and the "regime of the colonels".

What characterized all of these

great figures of Polish socialism, as Deutscher has pointed out, was their call for revolutionary unity with the Russian and German workers. The emergence of the nationalist Solidarnosc movement could come about only in a political vacuum created by the destruction of the traditions of international communism in Poland through savage persecution — Polish Pilsudskiite, German Nazi and Stalinist. Perhaps the greatest crime of Polish Stalinism was to so discredit socialism that much of the Polish working class has looked to Reagan's America and the Vatican for salvation. Yet it is only the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism on the Vistula which offers a future for the working people of Poland. Shortly after Jaruzelski's near bloodless coup we wrote in "What Next for Poland?" (WV No. 298, 5 February 1982):

"The workers intoxicated by the clerical-nationalist fervor of Solidarnosc have received a sobering shock. Many are asking themselves what went wrong and are now open to new solutions. . . .

"Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."

The documents of the "Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition" define this tendency as anti-Communist syndicalists, a "left" face of Solidarnosc counterrevolution. A genuine left opposition would have denounced Walesa & Co's embracing of Western capitalism, and proclaimed its unconditional defense of socialized property and the Soviet bloc against counterrevolution; it would have fought the clerical domination in Solidarnosc, calling for full separation of church and state; it would call for a return to the path of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the "three L's" of the Communist International, in building a Trotskyist party in Poland as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Bloody US Cops ...

Continued from page two

ago." And on August 14, Vice President Bush and Attorney General Meese unveiled "Operation Alliance", entailing hundreds of additional cops, aircraft, and other weaponry to police the Mexican border. The US interventions in Bolivia and Mexico are clearly designed to "soften up" the American public for direct intervention against Sandinista Nicaragua. Even in Peoria, everyone knows that the contras are a bunch of losers who are only good for murdering teachers and destroying day-care centers. From Libya to Grenada, the Pentagon planners want an "easy win". But as one of the main architects of the Vietnam War, McGeorge Bundy,

noted, Nicaragua is to Grenada as a hand grenade to a marshmallow.

Emerging victorious from World War II after A-bombing defenseless Japanese civilians, US imperialism proclaimed the coming of the "American century". However, the drive to run the world according to the dictates of Washington and Wall Street was checked by the extension of deformed workers states into Eastern Europe, the development of Soviet nuclear weapons and the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Still, the US was able to act as a gendarme policing the "Free World" — eg, the 1954 CIA coup against the nationalist Arbenz government in Guatemala, the CIA's 1961 assassination of Patrice Lumumba, leader of the independence struggle in the Congo. Then came Vietnam. This was supposed to be the big victory over Communist insurgency. Instead the "American century" was buried in the swamps of Indochina, as the American people lost any stomach for Third World military adventures (the "Vietnam syndrome").

Now Reagan wants to reassert America's role as cops of the world. No pretext is too flimsy, no provocation too dangerous for the Reagan gang flexing its military muscle around the globe. The US imperialists are tugging on the trip wires for a thermonuclear World War III. They can only be answered by revolutionary class struggle. The working people of America, united with their class brothers around the world, must rise to their historic mission and disarm the bloody imperialists through proletarian revolution.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 411, 12 September 1986

Pine Gap ...

Continued from page twelve

attempts at capitalist restoration and counterrevolution. In the face of this massive buildup to anti-Soviet World War III we stand at our posts. We are not pacifists. The struggle between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is a conflict between two social systems: on the one hand the dying, rotten, oppressive imperialist system; on the other side the planned, collectivised economy of workers property forms of the Soviet Union. We have a side. Just as in a strike struggle between a workers union against the bosses and their state where we side with the workers, we side with the workers state. We mean to defend it militantly, aggressively and armed with the program of international class struggle.

Now in this country, the Labor Party nationalists and all stripes of Australian reformists amnesty Australian imperialism by preaching that the main enemy is in Washington. Along with Lenin and the German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht we hold that

the main enemy is at home. The fight against imperialism in war and in peace means class struggle at home. In Australia that includes the struggle to shut down the US intelligence bases at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape in Western Australia. In the course of the struggle to rip Australia out of the world imperialist system it is necessary to rip these strategic US bases out of the war arsenal targeting the first workers state.


KAL 007: Reagan's Big Lie

Now about KAL 007. The basis of Reagan's Big Lie was basically twofold. One was that KAL 007, a Boeing 747 jumbo jet, was "accidentally" 365 miles off course. The other was that the Soviets supposedly knew that it was a civilian airliner and deliberately shot it down. What are the facts? KAL 007 deliberately flew over Soviet defence installations to trigger every Soviet radar and communications facility it could, to test the timing of Soviet air defences, to scramble Soviet jets, and especially to trigger the phased-array radar that the Soviets had been building at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia — which US reconnaissance satellites had picked up about six weeks before the KAL 007 war provocation took place. There's an interesting book here by RW Johnson, *Shootdown: The Verdict on KAL 007*. Johnson calculates the odds that this Boeing 747 was accidentally off course 365 miles at roughly a few billion trillion to one. A Boeing 747 is equipped with an inertial navigation system (INS). With the INS on an average 5,000 mile flight an acceptable deviance is one mile. William Reynaud, who's a NASA official, did a study on the functioning of inertial navigation systems over a five year period. What he found was that 22 flights have gone significantly off course, most of them under a hundred miles — only one, 250 miles. That is one flight in 20,000 flights over a period of five years with this inertial navigation system. KAL 007, flying with this inertial navigation system and being 365 miles off course, set the world record.

A Boeing 747 has three VHF radio systems that work independently. Part of the Reaganite's line was that that the radios were out, except 15 minutes before they were shot down KAL 007 radioed Tokyo airport. Moreover, the guy that was flying this plane, Captain Chun, had a record as an ace fighter pilot and was KAL's number one pilot. This guy didn't make mistakes! That was his reputation. And supposedly with the inertial navigation system, the weather radar ground picture, three functioning radio sets, thirteen radio beacons, and KAL 015 flying in tandem with it — somehow he was 365 miles off course. Well, bullshit! This guy rendezvoused with an RC-135 intelligence plane for about 10 minutes,

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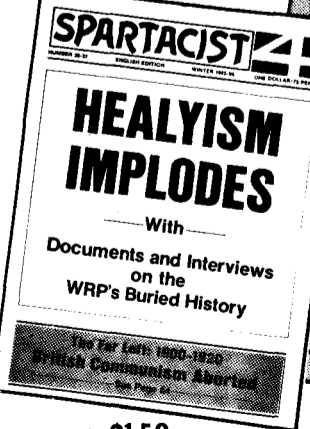
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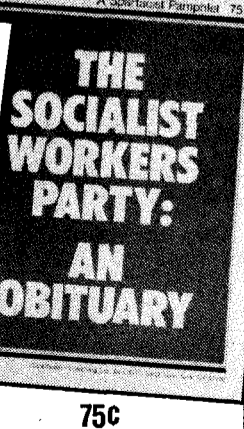
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turned over the Kamchatka Peninsula, flew southwest inside the Kuril Islands, and turned again over sensitive Soviet air bases on Sakhalin Island. This was no accident.

Then there's this question about whether the Soviets knew that KAL 007 was a civilian airliner. On a dark, cloudy night KAL 007 was flying without its navigation lights on. It did not respond to Soviet radio contact despite the fact that its radios were clearly working. The Soviet fighter that finally got it, long before it got it, something like 15 minutes, fired 120 tracer shells past the cockpit. But this ace fighter pilot Chun "missed" it! And then KAL 007 took what looks very suspiciously like evasive action. Civilian airliners do not act like that — they just don't!

In September 1983 it quickly became public knowledge that an RC-135 intelligence plane was in the area of KAL 007's flight. In the words of two former US Air Force intelligence officers:

"The RC-135 has a super-advanced, ultra-secure communications system which is linked to the most sophisti-

and get out clean or go down and you shut up — forever. In the 1960s there was a guy named Gary Powers who was flying a U-2 spy flight over the Soviet Union. The Soviets shot him down. The Americans denied it completely. Except then the Soviets turned this bird up on television and said, "Look, imperialist spy". Eisenhower went nuts! Gary Powers was supposed to die! He was not supposed to turn up on Soviet television.

The US Bulldup in the Pacific

To understand the KAL 007 war provocation, some perspective on what the imperialists are doing in the north-west Pacific is useful. I read the other day a column by BA Santamaria, in which he ranted about the supposedly massive and growing Soviet designs on the Pacific — one of the ultimate, strategic targets of which, according to him, is Australia! Santamaria doesn't just see reds under the bed. He sees the whole Red Fleet under there! And of course this has been an increas-

1983 involving three whole carrier battle groups: the *USS Enterprise*, *Midway* and *Coral Sea*, plus four warships from Canada's Pacific fleet. This armada rendezvoused in the Aleutian Islands, they cruised down the Siberian coast within minutes flying time from the Soviet naval installation at Petropavlovsk. Just imagine how Washington would react if the Red Fleet pulled something similar off the Chesapeake Bay or the Gulf of Mexico. These manoeuvres were nothing less than a dress rehearsal for a major strike against and invasion of the Soviet Far East. To make the point quite clear US Admiral Long said that the Pacific region "is, I believe, the one where a confrontation with the Soviet Union is most likely to take place". The Reaganites are *planning* on it — right now!

The Soviets on the other hand are no push-overs. As the late Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Ustinov said:

"No 'preemptive strike' will help the strategists on the other side of the ocean to avert a devastating retaliatory strike. Nothing will save the ag-

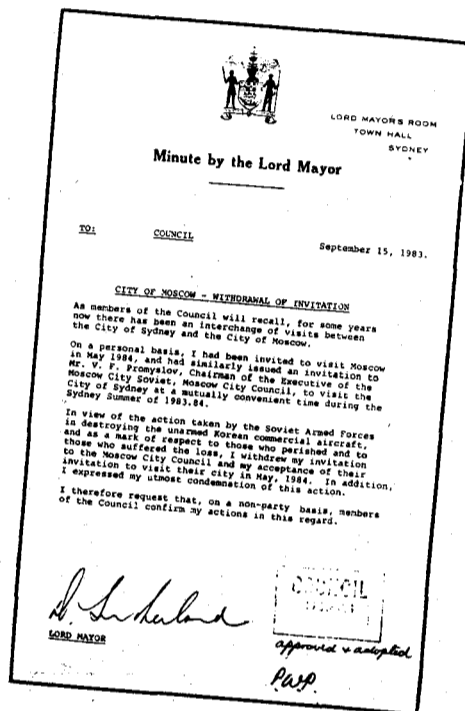
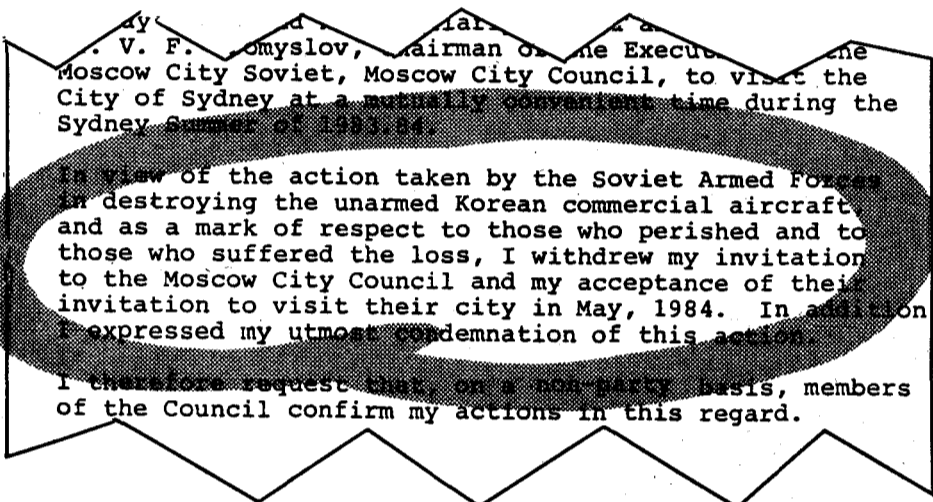
implications of the US bases here it is useful to look at the strategic doctrine called Mutually Assured Destruction, otherwise known as MAD. It's an appropriate acronym for the imperialists' "deterrence" argument, the one Hawke and Hayden use to justify the bases here. The MAD doctrine is based on two central ideas. First, that neither country's strategic nuclear deterrent forces are vulnerable to first strike by another power. Second, neither country should be able to protect its population and industry so as to deny the other the certainty of wreaking a very high, unacceptable level of destruction.

Reagan's "Star Wars" is supposed to change all that. As you can see from the Challenger disaster, and the fact that they have not even been able to stop blowing up their satellites on the ground, it's not going so well for "Star Wars". And we're very happy about that. But even if it worked only one percent of the land-launched ballistic missiles from the Soviet Union have to get through that thing to make the whole system fall apart. And that does not include the Cruise missiles, the submarine-launched ballistic missiles, the real retaliatory strategic weapons. As presented by Reagan it's a big con job on the American people. But as a ballistic missile defence in conjunction with a first-strike strategy, then in a twisted way it makes a certain amount of sense.

There are two kinds of targets in nuclear strategy, hard and soft. Soft targets are cities. They're easy. One of the weapons which used to be considered ideally suited to MAD doctrine was the submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM). The mobility and invisibility of nuclear-powered missile submarines makes them almost immune to surprise attack. Not many are required to blow away several whole cities and huge chunks of industry — highly unacceptable to the target country. With the difficulties of submarine communication and navigation they are (or were) useful primarily for taking out cities but not useful for the pinpoint accuracy and devastating explosive power necessary to take out missile silos, command, communication and control centres, and other "counterforce" "hard" targets — the ones you take out in a first strike.

To do that you've got to have an absolutely precise inventory of where the enemy is. You need accurate navigation and completely co-ordinated target information in advance to know precisely (within a matter of feet) where the targets are, where all the holes in your target's defences are,

Continued on page ten



Labor Sydney Mayor Sutherland played his part in Reagan/Hawke's orchestrated anti-Soviet hysteria over KAL 007. Sutherland recently "represented" Sydney during Johannesburg centenary "celebrations".

cated communications network in the world. This system, sometimes referred to as 'backchannel', permits the instantaneous reporting of real-time, tactical intelligence to the highest levels of the US government, including the president, from any location in the world.... Because of these RC-135 capacities, we believe that the entire sweep of events... was monitored and analyzed by US intelligence."

In addition to the RC-135 a US electronic intelligence satellite made three passes over the route of KAL 007 in the course of its journey. KAL 007 was a spy mission and a war provocation.

Some have argued that KAL 007's flight over Soviet territory couldn't have been intentional because it would have been suicide. But it was meant to be a suicide mission: you succeed

ingly shrill refrain from Hayden, Hawke and Keating.

A look at the relative strength of the US and the Soviet forces in the region shows that once again the imperialists are lying through their teeth. The Soviet Union faces in the area of the Sea of Japan three major hostile forces: the US, Japan and China. The US has major air and naval bases at Shemya and Adak in the Aleutian Islands; a naval base at Yokohama; they have the Kadena air base at Okinawa; they have air bases at Osan, Kunsan and Taegu in South Korea; they have air and naval bases at Guam in the Mariana Islands; Subic Bay and Clark Field in the Philippines. The US Seventh Fleet which patrols the western Pacific has four enormous aircraft carriers — 90,000 tonnes each! They're floating airfields.

Since May of 1981, the US has pursued a policy called "horizontal escalation". Caspar Weinberger said that if the Soviets were to attack US interests (now, note the word "interests"; he's not even talking about a military attack), "We must be able to launch counteroffensives in other regions and exploit the aggressor's weaknesses wherever we find them". That has been the US policy for five years. In March 1983 former Pentagon official and defence analyst William Kennedy said that the northwest Pacific is the ideal place for such action: "That is the only place on earth where geography would permit the US to marshal superior forces at points crucial to Soviet interests and objectives while making it difficult or impossible for the Soviets to respond in kind".

The US conducted an exercise called "Fleetex '83" in March and April of

gressor from retribution if he uses nuclear weapons in a first strike against the Soviet Union and its allies....

"We do not seek nuclear superiority, but neither will we allow the US administration to use nuclear blackmail to conduct a policy of strength against us."

That was in *Pravda*, November 1983. Well said! But military preparedness is not enough. In the face of the deadly US imperialist military threat the Stalinist illusions in disarmament and peaceful coexistence, the abiding belief that they can make a deal with imperialism, is a mortal danger. Look what happened with the Stalin-Hitler pact.

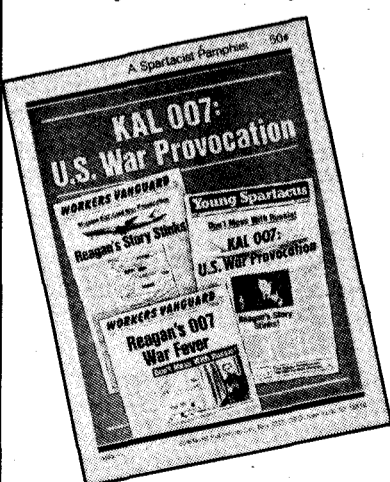
To defend the gains of October it is necessary to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to the road for which they founded the Third International. It is necessary to deepen and extend the revolution internationally. So we say defend the workers states through proletarian political revolution — clean the compromisers out of the Kremlin, forward to the program of Lenin and Trotsky!

Oust US Bases Through Class Struggle!

Why do we say that Pine Gap is key to first-strike insanity? The MX missile, the Cruise missile, the Trident nuclear missile submarines: these are first-strike weapons. The point about the bases is that they are part of weapons systems, and must be considered in conjunction with other US installations in the region, like Guam in the Marianas, Clark Field in the Philippines, Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. They all have to go.

To understand the first-strike

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Pine Gap...

Continued from page nine

and to ensure that follow-up modifications to target information can be transmitted with reasonable speed. This is where the US/Australia "joint" facilities come in.

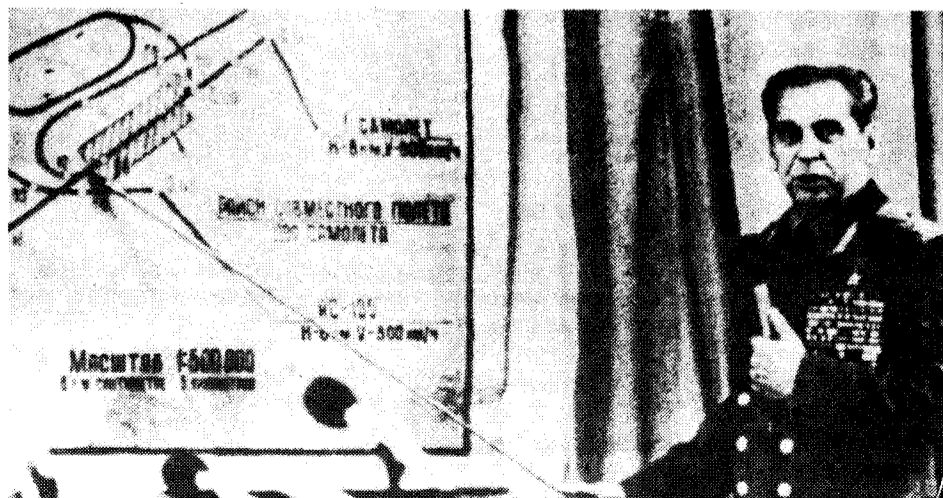
Look at Pine Gap. It's tied into four satellite programs which provide photographic and electronic intelligence, signals intelligence, almost instant global communications. This allows the US to map Soviet radar networks, to monitor telemetry signals, and to intercept Soviet telephone and radio microwave communications. The "ferret" satellite which made three passes over KAL 007 on its spy mission was doubtless feeding Pine Gap all the electronic data as Soviet defences responded, including especially on the Soviet's Krasnoyarsk radar: its operating frequency, its coverage fan, etc.

And what about the US facility at North West Cape? US nuclear-armed submarines in the whole region, including both the Indian and Pacific Oceans, are the principle users of the NW Cape VLF communications facility. In 1977 NW Cape got an AN/MS-61 antenna tied into the Defense Satellite Communications System which enables it to play a global communications function, including in Europe. Moreover, the National Security Agency at NW Cape uses its HF and VLF receivers as electronic intelligence receivers for monitoring Soviet naval communications from Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and other Soviet bases — presumably including those on Sakhalin Island and Petropavlovsk.

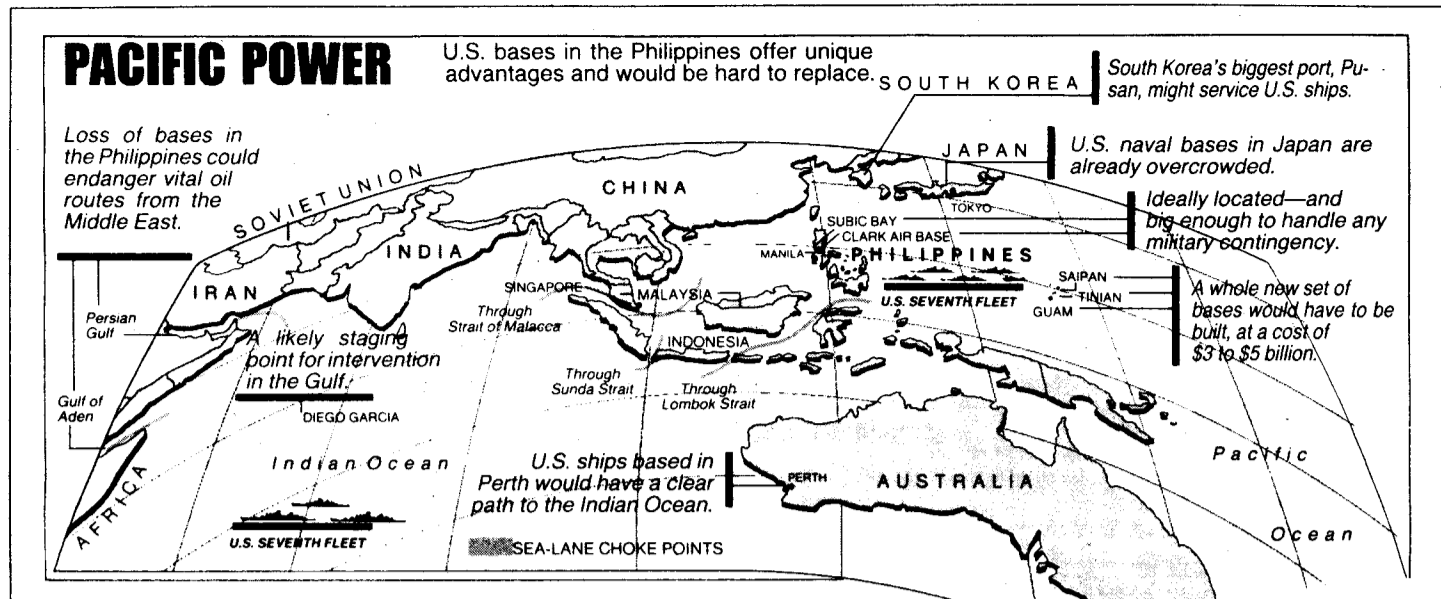
Keep in mind the points I made about the new Trident SLBMs as first-strike weapons. NW Cape addresses the communications question. Pine Gap sucks in enough radar and communications information, not to mention highly exact photographic intelligence, to keep US intelligence analysts at work for years. And then there's the Omega station at Gippsland in Victoria. Omega is an all-weather, continuous, world-wide VLF radio navigation system for aircraft, surface ships and submarines. This is a partial picture of what the bases here do. They play a war role now. In 1972 NW Cape was completely extended, as the Americans were mining the harbour of Haiphong in Vietnam. In 1983 Pine Gap was a ground station for KAL 007. In March and April of this year, when Reagan was murdering women and children in their sleep in Libya, the bases here were involved. The US bases are war bases — key to Reagan's first-strike insanity.

☆☆☆

Trotsky said that without the leadership of a revolutionary party the proletariat cannot conquer. What's in the way is a crisis of leadership. In this country the proletariat still sees the



Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov exposes Reagan's lies in Moscow press conference, 9 September 1986. AP



US bases in Australia key to Reagan's anti-Soviet first-strike buildup in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. US Bases Out! Defend USSR/Vietnam! Smash ASEAN, US/Australian military alliance!

Australian Labor Party as its party. It still sees the ACTU union leadership as its leadership. The reformist left adapts to, orbits around and relies on the ALP/ACTU. Now recent events, the wheat crisis, the fall of the dollar, the smashing of the BLF, one thing after another has shaken that view but it has not broken it. Without a revolutionary leadership which shows



Hawke is Reagan's man. Within hours of KAL 007 shootdown Hawke was on the line to Reagan getting the big lie story straight.

the way forward and has the resolve to carry the struggle through to the end, the proletariat will not break from its existing leadership or worldview.

The ALP and the reformist left play very hard on the justifiable fears of the Australian masses in the face of nuclear holocaust and try to steer that anxiety into a pacifist road. And, of course, the staid Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, echoed by the Socialist Party of Australia and the Organisation of Communist Unity here, the Clancyites, push the line of "peace and disarmament". We differentiate between the pacifism of the masses and the pacifism of the rulers. The adage runs something like: when the

rulers talk disarmament they're arming to the teeth, when they talk peace they mean to go to war. But pacifism and disarmament are not the way to end war because war is the product of the period of capitalism in its death agony. You have got to root it out at the source — you've got to overthrow the capitalist system. Only an internationalist, proletarian, revol-

utionary perspective can end war. Without that, behind all the talk of peace you get a lot of nationalist, anti-Soviet garbage.

Let me talk about the NDP briefly. In December of 1984 the Labor Party got a big scare. The Nuclear Disarmament Party came out and got about five per cent of the vote. Part of the NDP program was for nuclear disarmament East and West. Have any of you ever talked to the International Socialists (IS)? Disarmament East and West, that's their program. It means flood Poland with capitalist dollars; put the pope on the ruling chair in Poland; disarm the Soviets; get the Cuban troops out of Angola. They are a left lobby for imperialism. So too the NDP. Amidst all the pacifist palaver of the NDP came out the real program: for a strong conventional national defence force! A conventional national defence force — like US and Australian imperialism fought with in Vietnam. That was conventional that was not atomic.

The task of the proletariat is not the defence of the national state but its complete and final liquidation. In defending the Soviet Union we defend the gains of the October Revolution. We defend the dictatorship of the proletariat which is for the time being imprisoned by national boundaries. The reformist left and of course the ALP "lefts" defend the national status quo: they march under the green and gold along the peaceful

road to socialism, they defend white Australia imperialism. Well, down that yellow socialist road lies the continued exploitation of wage slavery, the ruthless exploitation of women, blacks and all social minorities and in the not too distant future nuclear holocaust. We counterpose to this the perspective of proletarian internationalism: class war against imperialist war; the fight for a workers republic of Australia in socialist Asia.

Another thing that's interesting about the "peace movement" is the attitude toward the bases. Again the leadership tries to steer sentiment into nationalist, anti-Soviet channels. There are those like the governing Australian Labor Party and the Communist Party of Australia who defend the presence of the bases here. Those that supposedly oppose them do so under the rhetoric that the "bases make Australia a nuclear target". The point is, however that the bases are part of a weapons system that targets the land of the October 1917 Revolution. This weapons system is in the hands of imperialist maniacs, including Hawke, who mean to roll back the gains of the working class throughout the world to postpone the collapse of imperialism — by starting World War III if necessary. Only hard fought class struggle in defence of the workers unions and the workers states — which among other things means that those bases are targets for immediate closure — is the road forward. ■

ANZUS...

Continued from page twelve

bloc, "a soldier of the West in the East". On 27 June, proclaiming "We part as friends, but we part company as far as the alliance is concerned", Shultz was also sending a message to US allies, especially the US-installed government of Corazon Aquino in the Philippines. The US will not tolerate anyone acting against its "security interests". The Aquino government was placed in power by the US to secure its strategic bases targeting Vietnam and controlling the Pacific rim, and to crush the NPA-led insurgency. And if Aquino won't do it the US will find someone who will.

As revolutionary defenders of the gains of the Russian and Vietnamese Revolutions we feel considerable satisfaction and pride at the determination of the New Zealand people (centrally in the labour movement and amongst Maoris and Islanders who have been the main obstacle to Lange's attempted retreats from his stated position) to spike ANZUS and the Pentagon's war plans. Two years of US and Australian government diplomatic and economic "pressure", the murderous terror bombing of the

Australasian Spartacist

Rainbow Warrior by France, with US and Australian complicity (see *Australasian Spartacist* no 113, October/November 1985) have served only to harden the resolve of New Zealanders not to be annihilated in Reagan's insane anti-Soviet war drive. On the other hand, despite mass sentiment, Lange plays by the imperialist rules, which includes "honour" among imperialist thieves, spies and terrorists. For example, his massively unjust and massively unpopular UN-sponsored release of the two French secret service Rainbow Warrior terrorists for "reassignment" to the Pacific "Club Med"-like atoll of Hao. Reliance on Lange's Labour Party government is a deathtrap!

Pacifist isolationism, the notion that New Zealand can opt out of World War III, is a dangerous illusion. Lange's role is to keep the pacifist sentiments of the New Zealand people well within the bounds of "free world" anti-Sovietism while attacking his own working class for the bourgeoisie. His reaction on being kicked out of ANZUS was to declare "we are not withdrawing from ANZUS" and to stridently proclaim his solidarity with imperialist anti-Soviet war-mongering:

"Is it that New Zealand will be susceptible to a concerted Soviet invasion without anyone coming to their aid?"

"... parties who are not in the ANZUS treaty, like small island states in the Pacific — are they in fact utterly defenceless?"

"Or is there a collective interest by people who are broadly of Western orientation to see that there is no physical molesting of small countries by huge countries?" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June)

Lange is popular for his anti-nuke stance but is earning increasing hostility from the working class, especially from the Maoris and Islanders who are integrated at the bottom of the proletariat, as his Finance Minister Roger Douglas imposes a grinding capitalist austerity to bolster the profits of the New

destabilisation and sabotage. At every step the struggle against imperialist war must be waged by relentless class struggle. Only proletarian revolution can disarm imperialism.

With New Zealand's exit from ANZUS, Australia, as host to the first strike US bases at Pine Gap, North West Cape and Nurrungar, has taken on added importance as the southern borderguard of the US Pacific empire. And the Hawke government took every opportunity to draw ever closer to its powerful US ally. The joint statement by George Shultz and Foreign Minister Hayden at the end of the San Francisco ANZUS talks in August said the Australian government "disagreed completely with New Zealand policy" and "expressed its understanding of the action which the US had taken" (*Australian*, 13 August).

But growing inter-imperialist rivalries, manifested in the protectionist trade war between the US and the EC over agricultural produce, threw a spanner in the works. US plans to sell subsidised wheat to the Soviet Union threatened to cut Australia out of its own lucrative market for wheat, and unleashed a

nationalist outcry against US betrayal and "hypocrisy". The reactionary, anti-working class National Farmers Federation (NFF) called on the government to use the bases as bargaining chips to secure the wheat market, an idea which was later toyed with momentarily by both Hayden and Treasurer Keating, and the US administration got worried about the anti-American nationalism of the Labor left breaking out to challenge the bases. However, the ALP left with its refrain of Australian



U.S. SUBSIDIZED
WHEAT to U.S.S.R.
ROUBLES for WEAPONS

Canberra, 4 August: NFF protester dumps wheat on US embassy lawn. \$15 million "anti-union fund", strikebreakers from Mudginberri to Ballarat, anti-communist NFF is self-avowed enemy of working class.

to the whole region, and the free world for that matter" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August). The bases are not negotiable, as Whitlam found out, and the Hawke ALP has learned that lesson well. And as the Hawke government becomes even more unstable it can be expected that it will grow even more stridently militaristic and anti-Soviet in an effort to keep its US godfather on side.

It is necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party, a Trotskyist party, to lead the working class and all the oppressed in defence of the working class' gains, at home and abroad, on the road to the establishment of a workers government. In the anti-Soviet war drive the proletariat has a side — for the defence of the gains of the Russian and Vietnamese Revolutions against the irredentist appetites of its own ruling class.

Both the NZ and Australian reformist left are saturated with Laborite nationalism. Over Easter of this year a group of Spartacists from Australia attended a conference in Christchurch. The conference had been called by a tiny group of fake-Trotskyists called the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL), supporters of Ernest Mandel's "United" Secretariat, and was attended by all the major NZ left groups. As a Spartacist spokesman observed of the conference:

"There is no possibility for opposition to the ANZUS treaty unless we are clear on one thing. Opposition to the ANZUS treaty is based on the fact that this treaty is a war treaty, it was sealed in the blood and fire of Korea, it is an anti-communist war treaty. It was enacted again in Vietnam where 'our' governments, Australia and New Zealand, participated in a rotten war against a social revolution. And Lange supports it. And [yet] there's been no discussion whatsoever in this conference, or anywhere else in the left press that I've been able to read since I've been here, of opposition to it except on the basis of simple bourgeois pacifism.... The main slogan which must be understood is that the main enemy is at home!"

The NZ left wants to "leave it to Lange". The pro-Moscow Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SUP), largest and most influential of the NZ left groups, joined by the Socialist Action League, cothinkers of Jack Barnes'

anti-Trotskyist US SWP, were shocked at the proposal of the RCL to stand candidates against Labour in the 1987 elections, and denounced them (falsely) as "ultra-left" and "sectarian" for it. In fact a senior SUP cadre in Auckland argued to us that it would be "ultra-left" to campaign against ANZUS because that would be "going too far ahead of the people". Which puts the SUP way to the right of a sizeable proportion of the population. The SUP's line reflects the criminal illusions of the Soviet bureaucracy in detente and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, especially the likes of Lange. Their paper *Tribune* congratulated Lange for having "opened the way for a positive, long-lasting security" (*New Zealand Tribune*, 30 June).

Not to be outdone in Labourite nationalist crawling, a call was made at the conference by the representative of the ex-Maoist, now social-democratic Workers Communist League (WCL) for all those present to make submissions to the aforementioned NZ defence review so they could get their opinions heard on how to reorganise the NZ state power. In a similar vein the RCL made a proposal to include a "workers defence policy" for capitalist New Zealand in its program. Aghast at the baldness of the proposal an SL speaker exclaimed: "National defence under imperialism! 'Defence' for the working class is the destruction of imperialism, the formation of its own workers government".

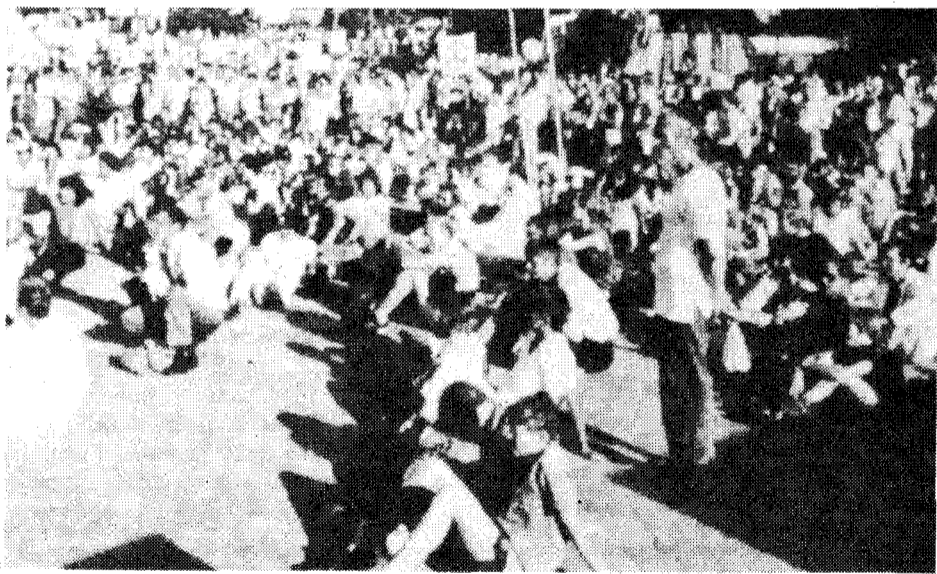
And across the Tasman Sea the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia, more concerned at maintaining a favourable balance of trade for Australia than that the USSR should get cheap wheat, said in the recent US/Australia trade dispute: "The Australian government should have acted immediately... to secure the Soviet and Chinese wheat market". They worried that: "If Australia fails to adopt an independent foreign policy, we may well find our country in a position of extreme isolation. The economic consequences of that would be disastrous" (*The Guardian*, 6 August 1986). And their complaint about the bases is not that they target the Soviet Union, but that "The US bases serve US global interests and have little or nothing to do with protecting Australia".

As for the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the measure of its so-called "break" with the ALP was its embracing two years ago of the anti-Soviet, nationalist Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP), to the extent of printing in their own paper the NDP's reactionary call for "non-nuclear defence" of capitalist Australia and demands for the Soviet Union to get out of Afghanistan and Cam Ranh Bay.

The urgent task in the struggle against imperialism and war on both sides of the Tasman is to forge internationalist Trotskyist parties which fight Laborite nationalism at every step. As Leon Trotsky said:

"A 'socialist' who preaches national defense is a petty-bourgeois reactionary at the service of decaying capitalism. Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace. Only by realising fully the objectively reactionary role of the imperialist state can the proletarian vanguard become invulnerable to all types of social patriotism. This means that a real break with the ideology and policy of 'national defence' is possible only from the standpoint of the international proletarian revolution."

("War And The Fourth International", Trotsky, *Writings* 1933-34) ■



New Zealand anti-nuke protest. They don't want to be sheep in Reagan's nuclear slaughter.

Zealand bourgeoisie. And for all the anti-nuke rhetoric, the New Zealand bourgeoisie has no intention of disarming. A recently completed NZ defence review envisions a revamped conventional NZ state power to more effectively police New Zealand's mini-imperialist exploitation of the south Pacific and of its own working people.

New Zealand has earned the undying enmity of the Reagan administration and the CIA. As shown by the 1973 Pinochet coup in Chile and the ouster of Whitlam in 1975 for poking at Pine Gap, this has its consequences. The CIA has already been busy at work destabilising Lange's government. But the NZ proletariat must understand that its main enemy is its own ruling class. It is the ruling class at home which acts as the agents of imperialist

"control" of the bases came up with a proposal by Victorian MPs Peter Staples and Andrew Theophanous to ask the US to pay \$500 million in rent on the bases, a pledge of loyalty to the bases and to the Australian capitalist dollar.

Hawke immediately sought a bloc with the US State Department, Defence Department, the defence industries (Australia is the US' second largest cash buyer of military hardware) and the CIA against the US farm lobby — and got it. Both Shultz and Defence Secretary Weinberger made it known they were unhappy with the wheat deal, and the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* editorialised that selling wheat to the Soviets should not get in the way of the anti-Soviet alliance. Weinberger gave the bottom line: "The bases are of enormous benefit to both countries and indeed



KAL 007: US War Provocation

Pine Gap Key to First Strike Insanity

Workers Revolution to Stop Reagan/Hawke Anti-Soviet War Drive! US Bases Out!

We print below an article based on a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member, Paul Connor, at an SL public meeting in Sydney on 11 September 1986.

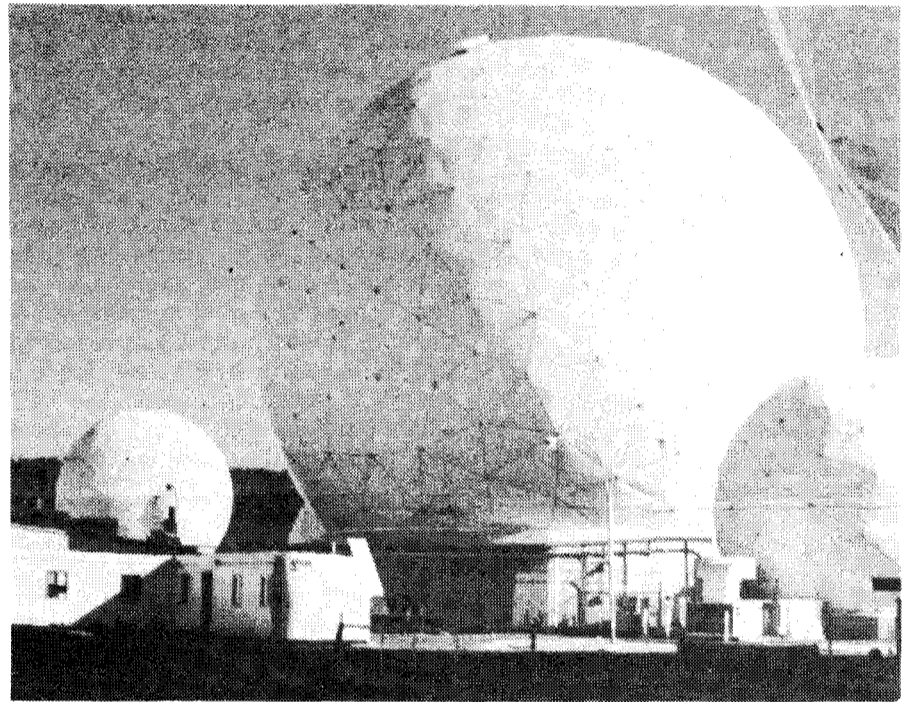
Three years ago this month Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down in Soviet air space while flying over vital Soviet military installations on Sakhalin Island. Crew and passengers in that flight were all killed — 269 people, including women and children. The blood of those people is on the hands of Ronald Reagan. KAL 007 was a carefully planned intelligence mission and part of a program of deliberate provocation being carried out by the Reaganites against the Soviet Union.

The Melbourne *Herald* of 2 September 1983, said that the US intelligence base at Pine Gap acted as the ground station for KAL 007 throughout the entire flight. It was very likely doing a hell of a lot more than that. Further press information about Pine Gap and KAL 007 was squashed fast by the imperialist government of Labor Party Prime Minister Robert Hawke as he joined

with Reagan in the propaganda campaign that was designed to turn the KAL 007 shootdown into a rallying cry for war against the Soviet Union.

Australian imperialism's labour lieutenants joined that campaign as the ACTU at the September 1983 Congress condemned the Soviets and placed bans on Soviet mail and Aeroflot flights. Now it's important to understand what that meant. In the wars of intervention against the young Soviet state — which the Australian armed forces participated in — the object of the imperialists was to seal off the Soviets, economically, politically and in every other way so as to crush them. Reagan/Hawke tried to use KAL for a repeat of 1919 — to blockade, to seal off the USSR. The bans on Soviet mail carried out by the APTU leadership, the bans on Aeroflot: these were acts of war! That 1983 ACTU Congress was a watershed in regimenting this country for war — not only against the Soviet Union and Vietnam but also against the unions at home.

The working class has got to know that the imperialists mean to launch World War III and that they must be



Pine Gap. US war base targets Soviet Union.

Time

stopped. With his Strategic Defense Initiative or "Star Wars" program, his Cruise missile and MX missile programs, his Trident nuclear missile submarine program, the 1.5 trillion dollar war budget — which is the largest war budget in peacetime ever — Reagan is planning a nuclear first strike against what he calls the "Evil Empire". And no risk is too high in the mad world of the Reaganites for

ensuring the world dominance of US imperialism, even the eclipse of civilisation on this planet.

We Trotskyists, organised in the international Spartacist tendency, fight for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states, and most especially in this region Vietnam, against imperialist attack and internal

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ANZUS Torpedoed! Smash US/Aust Alliance!

In the Pacific region US imperialism is having its problems with its allies. US military planners are worried about growing instability in South Korea, and about the future of their strategically critical Clark and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines, with its NPA insurgency. Despite Prime Minister Nakasone's recent successes in fostering anti-Soviet militarism, Japan, "front line" US ally on the Soviet Union's crucial eastern flank, is the scene of mass anti-militarist and anti-US sentiment born of its direct experi-

ence of nuclear devastation in WWII and its continued US military occupation. US plans to sell subsidised wheat to the Soviet Union as part of its protectionist trade war over agricultural products with the EC created yet another headache when anti-American nationalism in Australia bubbled to the surface threatening the first-strike US bases.

When New Zealand (NZ) Prime Minister David Lange announced that he would introduce legislation into parliament banning nuclear-armed

and powered ships from NZ ports, appropriately enough on the anniversary of the US nuclear bombing of Hiroshima, that was the last straw. The US is the only state ever to use nuclear weapons against civilians, and moreover, the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were intended as brutal, genocidal demonstrations of US power to the Soviet Union. But this time US imperialism is not on about "demonstrations", but the "final solution".

The US fears contagion of the "NZ

disease". In the words of US Secretary of State George Shultz: "It would be a tragedy for freedom and Western values for the policy of New Zealand to spread". For maximum effect the US chose to announce the expulsion of New Zealand from ANZUS at an ASEAN foreign ministers meeting in Manila in June, attended as well by foreign ministers from Australia, Japan, and some European countries. *Pravda* (26 June) accurately remarked that ASEAN is becoming a military

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