



Aquino Regime Unravelling

Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!

US Bases Out!

NOVEMBER 1 — The Philippines is today the weak link of US imperialism in the Far East. Last February, Washington dumped its long-time puppet dictator Ferdinand Marcos when popular hatred for his corrupt and brutal rule threatened to get totally out of hand. Hundreds of thousands swarmed into the streets of Manila under the slogan of "people power," but the White House was pulling the strings, engineering the rebellion by top military leaders and removing Marcos at the crucial moment. His replacement, the "liberal" Corazon Aquino, is beholden to the United States and the army for putting her in power. All wings of the American ruling class were exultant over this happy outcome. Secretary of State Shultz declared he was "bullish about the Philippines." Liberal Democrats con-

gratulated Reagan for bringing "democracy" to the former American colony and site of the two largest US military bases in the world outside North America.

However, Aquino's "February revolution" is now in deep trouble, and Washington is worried. The bourgeois state apparatus has been thrown into disarray by clashes between Aquino supporters and Marcos loyalists as well as squabbling in the cabinet, a den of Byzantine intrigue made up of hardline militarists, conservative businessmen and liberal reformers. At the same time, the end of Marcos' 20-year reign has aroused expectations in the masses which cannot begin to be satisfied short of socialist revolution. After eight months of "people power," 40 percent of the working population is still unemployed and three-quarters of all Filipinos go to bed hungry every night. Cory Aquino herself admits: "Many people believed that in the short space of six months, many of our problems would

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Edwin Tuyay



May Day In Manila: workers march under red banners. Fall of Marcos dictatorship aroused expectations among masses which cannot be fulfilled short of socialist revolution.

Sison Appeals to White Australian Imperialism

Hawke — Enemy of Australian/Filipino Workers

The strategic US bases of Clark Field and Subic Bay in the Philippines could be retained if the US military personnel were replaced by Filipinos and the bases were used for "refuelling purposes like the Vietnamese do for the Soviets" at Cam Ranh Bay. This is the position of Jose Maria Sison, a founding leader of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), expressed during a seminar at the University of New South Wales on 10 September.

During the discussion period a Spartacist speaker pointed out:

"The US bases in the Philippines are central to Reagan's war drive against Vietnam and the Soviet Union, just like the complementary US bases in Australia. Revolutionaries defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union against imperialism. The Hawke government in Australia is the willing agent of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive as is the Aquino government in your country. The main enemy is at home! The duty of revol-

utionaries here is to fight to smash the Hawke government and throw out the US bases through class struggle."

The Spartacist question, "do you defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union?" was contemptuously brushed aside by Sison with the remark that "Vietnam and the Soviet Union can defend themselves". The Filipino workers and peasants were inspired by the stunning victory of the Vietnamese Revolution. They remember well

that Clark and Subic were key staging areas for US and Australian imperialism's dirty colonial war in Indochina. And still those bases represent a mortal threat to Vietnam, the Soviet Union and to the toiling masses of the entire Asia-Pacific region. Sison's offer to retain these bases is a gross nationalist betrayal of Vietnam and represents a commitment to the *indefinite* subordination of the

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be solved. I guess this has disappointed some of them" (*Washington Post*, 14 September). To say the least! Mass peasant and worker unrest is mounting while the leftist insurgency is now rooted in 62 of the 73 provinces.

Currently, Manila is nervously watching a power play by Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, a long-time Marcos crony. Enrile has demanded that liberals in the cabinet be fired and cease-fire talks with the Communist-led New People's Army (NPA) be broken off. He has made no secret of his ambitions to be a new Marcos, and his people in the officer corps are full of coup talk. Enrile has threatened to resign and "do a Rambo" if his demands are not met, and recently toured the islands denouncing Aquino as "soft" on the guerrillas. While the American embassy and State Department declare "complete and unequivocal" US support for Aquino, Enrile wouldn't be up to these tricks without backing from some section of the Reagan administration. And while "Cory" tries to make up with "Johnny", making a show of tough talk to the NPA in order to appeal for military support, all eyes turn to armed forces chief Fidel Ramos, another former Marcos henchman, to see which way he will jump.

At the top of Philippine society, the government is unraveling. In the countryside, the state apparatus has been up-ended with Aquino's whole-



Juan Ponce Enrile threatens to "do a Rambo" if Aquino doesn't crack down on Communist-led insurgency.

sale appointment of "officers in charge" to replace Marcos' local flunkies. The OICs have little power against the entrenched patronage bosses and warlords, who commonly retain private armies of thugs. When these goons terrorize Aquino's appointees, the army just stands aside. Meanwhile, the NPA guerrillas are more than holding their own against the corrupt and demoralized military. Last June, Pentagon spokesman Richard Armitage told a Senate

committee that the "military situation [in the Philippines] is serious and getting worse, with Communists enjoying the initiative and assuming de facto control in areas where government influence has eroded over the years" (*Philippine Report*, June-July 1986).

The disarray of the state apparatus, along with severe economic distress caused by falling commodity prices on the world market and an enormous international debt, have led to an upsurge in labor struggle, both in urban and rural areas. In Metro Manila, there is an explosive strike wave, including transit workers, air traffic controllers, garment workers, hotel workers. And in the outlying provinces, sugar workers unions on Negros are rapidly extending their organization, banana plantation workers walk out on Mindanao, industrial and service workers strike in Cebu City. Most unnerving for US imperialism was an eleven-day strike last March of 22,000 workers at the Pentagon's giant Subic Naval Station and Clark Air Force Base, the linchpin of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Pacific. Sensing the weakness of the Aquino regime, the Filipino masses have moved against their oppressors and exploiters.

In short, there now exists in the Philippines a rare moment and exceptionally favorable opportunity to organize for proletarian socialist revolution. The ruling class and its state apparatus are unable to rule as before, while the masses are no longer willing to live in misery and are fighting as best they can for a better future. But the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a "democratic" figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule.

The Fraud of "People Power"

Last summer the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (7 July) published a perceptive article titled, "Philippines: The Revolution That Wasn't." (The author, Tiziano Terzani, was the *Spiegel* correspondent in Indochina both during the US' dirty colonial war and after the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution in 1975.) Pointing to the crowd of hawkers around the Malacanang Palace selling T-shirts with the slogan "People Power," the article notes that these cost 35 pesos apiece, a full day's wages for the average worker in Manila. So most of the poor are still wearing the shirts handed out by the old regime by the thousands during the last election campaign with the slogan, "Vote smart, Vote Marcos." Clearly, it was not the people who came to power in February:

"The social order has remained inviolate. Those who were on the bottom have not come to the top. The rich are still rich, the poor are still poor.

"It was like switching from Coca Cola to Pepsi Cola," said one disappointed Cory fan."

Corazon Aquino is herself a member of the old landed aristocracy which has dominated Filipino society for centuries, both under Spanish and American colonial rule and following "independence." Cory is a Cojuangco,

All Honour to Soviet Submariners

On October 3, a fire broke out on a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine some 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) northeast of Bermuda. The Soviet press agency TASS released details the next day, reporting that there were casualties and three Soviet sailors died in the accident, but there was no danger of a nuclear incident. The international Spartacist tendency sent a telegram of condolences, printed below, to the Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy. Subsequently, on October 6, TASS reported that despite rescue efforts by Soviet ships "the submarine ... sank at a great depth." Fortunately, there were no further losses.

05 October 1986

To: United Nations Mission of the USSR, New York
TASS, New York
Embassy of the USSR, Washington, D.C.
Consulate of the USSR, San Francisco
Embassy of the USSR, Paris
Pravda, Moscow
Soviet Navy, Moscow

Attn: Commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy

We note with extreme regret the loss of three of your men in active duty in the Atlantic Ocean.

We must believe that the mission of the boat was related to the defense of the peoples of the world against imperialism.

We can only hope that the boat remains operational in pursuit of its mission.

And we wish to extend our profound condolences to the families and comrades of the men who died in performance of their duties, and we can only wish very well for surviving members of the crew.

Helene Brosius, Secretary of the international Spartacist tendency

Spartacist League/U.S.
Trotskyist League of Canada
Lega Trotskista d'Italia
Spartacist League of Australia/New Zealand
Ligue Trotskyste de France
Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands
Spartacist League/Lanka
Spartacist League/Britain

and the family estate "Luisita" is one of the largest haciendas in the country, with more than 7,000 hectares, 6,100 workers, a golf course and racetrack. During the election campaign, Aquino promised to make Luisita a model of land reform, but later reneged. Meanwhile, the Jacintos got back their steel factories, the Lopez family recovered its TV stations, newspaper and banks seized by Marcos. Terzani summed up:

"Rather than a revolution, what occurred in Manila last February was a restoration: the reinstatement of the old aristocratic oligarchy of Spanish descent, with which Marcos clashed and which he partly replaced by his own clique of relatives and hangers-on."

One of the popular slogans of leftist demonstrators before the overthrow of Marcos was "Yesterday Nicaragua, tomorrow Philippines." Instead, it's as if Somoza was replaced not by the radical-nationalist Sandinistas but by

the Chamorro oligarchy, with the direct backing of the US.

Cory is the widow of Benigno Aquino, a millionaire bourgeois politician assassinated by the Marcos regime in 1983. "Ninoy" spent practically his entire career working for the American Central Intelligence Agency, first helping them crush the Communist-led Hukbalahap rebellion in the late 1940s-early '50s, and later attending the CIA's elite school in Quantico, Virginia. After Marcos declared martial law in 1972, Washington carefully cultivated Aquino to run the Philippines in case their puppet could no longer keep things under control. When Ninoy was gunned down on the tarmac at Manila airport in 1983, Cory took his place. By November 1984, the National Security Council was calling for Marcos "to set the stage for a peaceful and eventual transition to a successor

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AP



22,000 workers struck Clark AFB and Subic Bay Naval Station last March.

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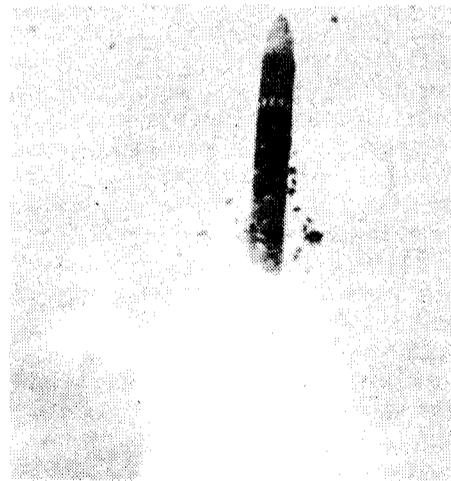
Marxist two-monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency.
EDITORIAL BOARD: Greg Blythe, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis (editor), G McIntyre, Sandra Morris
CIRCULATION: B. Shannon
PRODUCTION: Linda Brooke
Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication - Category B. Subscription \$2 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist Publications, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001. Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 21 Ross St, Glebe.

Soviet Bureaucracy at Iceland Summit: Limits to Betrayal?

From the moment Ronald Reagan walked out of the non-summit summit in Reykjavik, Iceland cursing at Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the media has been filled with morning-after speculations about the disarmament mega-deal that almost was. Democratic liberals who believe in the "arms control process" as the road to "peace" were upset that Reagan insisted on testing (and ultimately deploying) his trillion-dollar "Star Wars" space weapons scheme, instead of using it as a "bargaining chip." Former war secretary James Schlesinger fretted that the "opportunity of a generation" had been missed. The cynics in the Oval Office, meanwhile, claimed to have almost sealed a pact with the Russians to cut strategic nuclear arms by half within five years and eliminate all "offensive" ballistic missiles in ten. Reykjavik awakened widespread hopes, but anyone who thinks peace was almost at hand must believe in the tooth fairy.

Unfortunately, it appears that Gorbachev was one of those expecting to miraculously find a peace gift under his pillow. In order to achieve a "historic" pact, he was evidently ready to mortgage the proverbial store for a piece of paper signed by the world's leading imperialist. Even the viciously anti-Soviet *New York Times* (15 October) felt compelled to editorialize that many of the "sweeping agreements" in the proposed deal were made "largely on the basis of Soviet concessions." Among the significant concessions:

- The Soviets would eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe if the US did the same, while allowing Washington's British and French allies to keep theirs in place.



MX missile, part of US first-strike nuclear arsenal.

- The Soviets would cut back, by perhaps several hundred, the number of shorter-range missiles in Europe.

- After unilaterally imposing on themselves for the past year a moratorium on nuclear testing in the hopes that the US would do the same, the Soviets capitulated to Reagan's insistence on letting US nuclear tests continue. Instead there would be a vague commitment to phase out the tests "over time."

- Bombers and cruise missiles, where the Americans have the advantage, would not be eliminated under the proposed ten-year deal, while ballistic missiles (the Soviet strong suit) would go.

- Sea-launched cruise missiles, which the US constantly flaunts against the Soviet Union in endless provocative Navy "exercises," are exempted entirely from the deal.

Defend the Soviet Union! Workers Revolution Must Disarm the Imperialists!

- All this comes on top of the already agreed-to deal in which Gorbachev gave NATO the "right" to call "snap inspections" of Soviet conventional force maneuvers in Europe to "ease tensions."

"Things look much brighter than they did before," bragged Kenneth Adelman, the rocket-rattling head of Reagan's "arms control" agency after the summit. Massachusetts Democrat Ed Markey said it was

their exploitative class rule, and the working class and oppressed fighting for liberation. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, noted many years ago:

"Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases . . ."

Kennerly/Time



Reagan fumes over failure to disarm Russia at Iceland meeting with Gorbachev.

"the best deal the Russians have offered us since they sold us Alaska." The Reaganites think they can get what they want by slamming the Russians against the wall. And now the US has announced the expulsion of another 55 Soviet diplomats. The Soviets are well aware of the US strategy of nuclear blackmail. In his post-summit speech Gorbachev said:

"The West thinks or hopes that perhaps the Soviet Union will, in the final analysis, be unable to bear the arms race, economically will break and will therefore come and bow to the West."

— *New York Times*, 15 October

Unfortunately, the Kremlin is all too willing to accommodate, driven by the illusion that an expensive arms race can be avoided by a paper deal. Indeed, already there are hints being dropped by the Soviet Union that they might capitulate to Reagan's "Star Wars" demands, allowing "some research and testing . . . outside the laboratory" (*New York Times*, 19 October). The Soviet Union, homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, is in grave danger. But even Joseph Stalin discovered that there were limits to his betrayals to imperialism, when three million German soldiers poured across the Soviet border in June 1941, compelling him to fight or face the destruction of the foundations on which the bureaucracy rests.

Underlying the whole "arms control process" is the pacifist myth that wars are caused by weapons, and therefore war can be prevented or at least postponed by state-to-state agreements to freeze or reduce the number of arms. That's putting the cart before the horse. Weapons don't create imperialist war, the conflict arises out of the very depths of the worldwide class struggle, the struggle between the capitalists seeking to maintain

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war."

— "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam," July 1932

Reagan's First-Strike War Plans

So what was Reagan up to at Reykjavik? The centerpiece of his policy is the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as "Star Wars." This would involve deployment of high-tech weapons in space and on the ground — lasers, particle beam weapons and kinetic energy "rail" guns — to destroy Soviet missiles and warheads in flight. The Russians demanded the mildest

PBS



Don't mess with Russia! Soviet military power deters war-crazy US rulers.

of restraints, insisting that the US adhere to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty by keeping SDI in the laboratory for ten years. (Not even the most optimistic Star Warriors think the US would be ready to extensively test before then anyway.) But Reagan nixed it. Many reputable scientists regard SDI as a crackpot scheme (and a horribly expensive one) which can't possibly work. But these scientific criticisms are valid only if one buys Reagan's assertion that it is meant to be a defense against a Soviet first strike. Reagan has a different idea, as we wrote over a year ago:

"As an umbrella against surprise attack, 'Star Wars' is truly a hare-brained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems 'might perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike.'"

— "Reagan's First-Strike War Plans," WV No 370, 11 January 1985

In short, the "Star Wars" scheme is part of a US first-strike plan.

The cheapest way for the Russians to counter SDI is by adding to their inventory of long-range ballistic missiles, to ensure that enough of them will survive a US first strike to deliver a devastating retaliatory blow — and thus by their existence act as a deterrent against attack. But the whole thrust of Reagan's push at Reykjavik was to reduce the inventory of Russian long-range ballistic missiles. If that were done, the Russians at a certain point would no longer have a deterrent force credible to the nuclear nuts in the White House (Reagan no doubt plans to have a reliable successor in place) who would feel they could launch a first strike with impunity. Thus the reduction of the number of Soviet weapons would actually heighten the danger of war.

The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed "disarmament" deal were signed. Indeed, to the extent that there hasn't been a world war since 1945, it is due to the fact that the Soviet Union developed atomic weapons and ballistic missiles, staying the hand of US imperialism in particular. Anti-Soviet liberal Seymour Hersh admits as much in his book

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government." And that's what eventually happened, though it took some hard talk from the White House to shoehorn the aging dictator out of Malacanang Palace.

However, the fraud of "people power" is not just the product of the Aquinos' intimate relations with the CIA and of Cory belonging to the landlord/capitalist oligarchy. In the epoch of capitalism's decay, the native bourgeoisies of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, junior partners of the imperialists, are incapable of carrying out the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. As Leon Trotsky summed up the experience of the three Russian Revolutions (1905, February 1917 and October 1917):

"... the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

— L D Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

In order to complete the democratic tasks, in particular agrarian revolution to abolish the feudal-derived servitude of the peasantry, the proletariat in power, led by its communist party, will necessarily undertake "deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a permanent revolution."

Nowhere is this more vividly confirmed than in the Philippines today. Aquino's "February revolution" achieved neither democracy nor agrarian reform (much less revolution), and talk of national emancipation is a hoax. Conquered by emerging US imperialism in the Spanish-American War of 1898, ever since "independence" in 1946 the Philippines has been a very special American neocolony in the Far East. Ninety percent of the Philippine officer corps have trained in the US. There are 40,000 US military and support personnel at Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base, which were main staging areas for the American war on Vietnam. Today, as the axis of the ASEAN alliance of anti-Communist Southeast Asian regimes, one of their key tasks is to keep Soviet naval forces from using Cam Ranh Bay to break out of US encirclement. No bourgeois regime will be allowed to close down these bases. Indeed, Washington dumped Marcos for

Aquino hoping that Cory's popularity would make the bases more secure. But the US bases have become a lightning rod for popular protest pitting the Philippine masses against the Aquino regime. On July 4, a rally of 5,000 outside the US embassy demanding removal of the bases was dispersed by police.

The economic ties of the Philippines to US imperialism are no less binding than the military ones. American

theless, some prominent CPP supporters and fellow travelers in the Bayan coalition campaigned as individuals for Aquino.

What Marcos intended was indeed a sham election, but when as usual he stole it, the Philippines erupted in mass protests. When the Aquino forces and their American patrons moved to get rid of the tottering dictator, the CPP found itself on the sidelines and hardly intervened at all.

Alberto Marquez-AP



Imperialist darling Cory Aquino with Stalinist nationalists Buscayno (left) and Sison (right).

capitalists hold over half of all foreign investment and rake off two-thirds of all profits in manufacturing. While Aquino begs handouts from Reagan and Congress, half of all the country's foreign exchange earnings go to pay off Wall Street, the City of London and Tokyo banks just for the interest on the Philippines' \$25 billion foreign debt. Much of this debt was built up to pay for Marcos' corrupt and brutal regime, yet it is unthinkable that Aquino would repudiate this debt and stop paying the blood money sucked by foreign bankers from the Filipino workers and peasants. To break the chains of imperialism will require a socialist revolution whose influence would quickly spread through the region and hit at the imperialist countries themselves, from second-rate powers like Australia to Japan and the United States.

Philippine Stalinism in Disarray

The present crisis of the Philippine bourgeois order will be resolved by revolution or counterrevolution — there is no middle way. And thus it has led to a crisis of Philippine Stalinism, which in its own way is tied to the landlord/capitalist regime. During the last years of Marcos' rule, growing popular opposition provided an increasing stream of recruits for the New People's Army, military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). By late 1984, the NPA claimed 20,000 full- and part-time fighters in 45 guerrilla fronts operating in 56 provinces. The purpose of this armed struggle, however, was not to achieve a military victory that would sweep aside landlord/capitalist rule, but as pressure for a popular front with the anti-Marcos bourgeois opposition.

While the NPA insurgency along with mass protests and workers strikes in the cities fatally undermined the Marcos regime, the Aquino opposition was expressly aimed at excluding leftist influence. When, under pressure from Washington, Marcos called a "snap election" for February 7 in order to legitimize his rule, the Communist Party was caught in a dilemma. Damned if it did and damned if it didn't in terms of bourgeois electoral politics, the CPP leadership narrowly decided to boycott the vote which the party's legal front, the National Democratic Front (NDF), called a "sham, that is mainly designed to blunt a rapidly developing popular protest movement." None-

Commenting on the Stalinists' disarray at the time we wrote:

"The reason for this confusion is simple: fighting not for a socialist program but on a purely 'democratic' platform, the main left groups had difficulty explaining their political differences with [Aquino's] Laban. Yet they could not participate, because the whole sham 'democratic exercise' was designed to defeat the Communists. And in fact, the yellow flags of Aquino/Laurel managed to gain ascendancy over the red flags of the left in the streets of Manila and elsewhere."

— "Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," WV No 398, 28 February

Left out in the cold, some Communist Party leaders defended the February boycott, denouncing Aquino as little more than an American stooge. But upon being released from prison, CPP founding leader Jose Maria Sison declared, "The Aquino Government has done a lot in just a few days to democratize the situation," adding, "I might even volunteer my help to her Government" (*New York Times*, 6 March).

The contradiction between the Stalinists' appetite to cohabit with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and Aquino's CIA anti-Communism has since produced a seismic rift within the CPP. Sison launched a "correction" faction to join the "people power" mass movement, ie, to hop in bed with Cory. The result was a public self-criticism in the May issue of the party organ, *Ang Bayan*, which "characterized the boycott policy as a major political blunder":

"In large measure the Party and its forces were on the sidelines, unable to lead or influence the hundreds of thousands of people who moved with amazing speed and decisiveness to overthrow the regime."

Instead, they advocated "critically participating in the snap election" — i.e. voting for Aquino. "The people were almost entirely left out from the composition of the new government," they lamented the next month. The new CPP line was for a "democratic coalition government" which would achieve "emancipation of the people from imperialism and feudalism" (*Ang Bayan*, June 1986).

Apparently, Sison & Co. think the boycott cost them cabinet posts. But they aren't giving up. In pursuit of this goal, the CPP has recently set up the Partido ng Bayan (People's Party), which, said Sison during a recent speaking tour in Australia, "will seek to take over the reins of government or

share power in a coalition government through elections and other legal means" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September). But this right turn has not gone down without strong internal resistance. Two reputed hardliners in the CPP leadership, chairman Rodolfo Salas and secretary general Rafael Baylasis, were deposed as a result of the "rectification" campaign. (Salas was arrested in Manila in late September and remains in prison.) Opposition to the pro-Aquino line is apparently also strong among sections of the party cadres and ranks. If pressure continues to build in the Philippines, the CPP could undergo a major left split.

From its origins in 1968 as a pro-Chinese split from the old Moscow-line Philippines Communist Party (PCP), the initially Maoist CPP has always been wedded to the Stalinist schema of a "two-stage" revolution. Indeed, Sison earlier criticized the PCP for over-emphasizing the class struggle at the expense of Filipino nationalism: "the matter of national liberation was obscured by the slogans of class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class" (*Struggle for National Democracy* [1967]). "We should not confuse the national-democratic stage and the socialist phase of the Philippine Revolution," he declared in 1970 in his major political work, *Philippine Society and Revolution* (written under the name Amado Guerrero). "Only after the national-democratic stage has been completed can the proletarian revolutionary leadership carry out the socialist revolution as the transitional stage towards communism."

From Chiang Kai-shek's China in the 1920s to Allende's Chile, this anti-Marxist call for "democracy now, socialism later" has led to bloody defeat for the workers. Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a "democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government," only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow. Would-be communists in the Philippines need only look next door to Indonesia and recall the 1965 slaughter of half a million or more Communists, the bloody tab for the PKI's participation in the Sukarno regime. Significantly, as the situation heats up in the Philippines, in October the Suharto regime in Jakarta executed 17 of the Communist prisoners who had languished in jail these last 21 years (*Asiaweek*, 19 October).

If Sison and his "correction faction" are pushing for a coalition with Aquino, what perspective can CPP dissidents offer? A purer version of a "national-democratic" government? The present regime is the closest thing to bourgeois democracy the Philippines is ever likely to see. To oppose Aquino while still seeking a bloc with the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie is to place oneself in a political no man's land. The only progressive alternative to Aquino and Enrile is a workers and peasants government. And this is a burning issue today as the workers and peasants have massively undertaken to struggle against their exploiters and oppressors.

Filipino Workers, Peasants On the Move

The upsurge in labor activity led by avowed leftists has both the Philippines bourgeoisie and its American big brothers worried. *Business Week* (15 September) headlined "The Philippine Left Has Washington Spooked," complaining of illegal strikes and unions conducting "Marxist teach-ins":

Australasian Spartacist

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SL Thwarts Zionist Students Anti-Soviet Campaign

Hawke's vicious white Australia, in tandem with its US godfather, is gearing up for war against the workers states of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. On the campuses Hawke's Cold War Labor regime has put the wind in the sails of a reactionary cabal ranging from anti-Soviet Zionists, the deadly anti-Communist Moonies and bible-thumping Christian fundamentalists through to the virulently anti-Soviet "CIA socialists" of the International Socialists. Ever since Reagan bombed Libya, which Hawke applauded, and his subsequent smashing of the Builders Labourers Federation, students at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) have been subjected to a constant barrage of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda from this crowd.

On 9 October UNSW Zionists, led by Darren Cohen, held a "Day of Action" against the Soviet Union and sought to target the Soviet-defencist Spartacist League (SL) with a deliberate but unsuccessful provocation. Twenty raving, right-wing Zionists surrounded our literature table and our three supporters, attempting to use a human wall to seal off the communists. Meanwhile two photographers, ominously including one from the weekly *Australian Jewish Times* (AJT), which is the major Zionist mouthpiece in Australia, happily snapped away. But we stood our ground, and students were still buying our papers when the Zionists finally left the scene. Sure enough, two weeks later the AJT (23 October 1986) published a photograph and a lying report of the anti-Soviet, anti-

Spartacist provocation, outrageously trying to set us up as the provocateurs!

We Trotskyists are not intimidated by a motley rabble of Zionist students, or by their powerful orchestrators in the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Australian Zionist Council. We responded with an aggressive political campaign against UNSW's little Pereses and Shamirs the next week. A team of Spartacists hit the campus with a big, flashy display board featuring our program defending the USSR, Libya and the Palestinian people against Hawke, Reagan and Shamir. Significant numbers of students won't go along with Hawke's Cold War; we sold lots of papers and received a warm response from a broad range of students including a woman of Jewish background who thanked us for "putting forward the other side", and a PLO supporter who complained of the Zionists' disruption of pro-Palestinian activities on the campus. Of those Zionists we met who had participated in the provocation the week before, most backpedalled in a cowardly way, trying to deny responsibility. One whined that he was "just a pebble". A pimple on Hawke's posterior more like it, and one which got the appropriate squeezing.

We've had combat with these people before. Last April seven Zionists came to our forum at UNSW in defence of Libya and got creamed. We exposed how they applauded Reagan's cold-blooded terror bombing of Libya, in which Qaddafi's baby daughter was murdered, and how they support Israel's genocidal bombings of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and the slaughter of Sabra and Shatila

by the fascist Phalange in 1982 and by the Shi'ite Amal in 1985. The Zionists' side is with Nazi-lover Reagan, who laid a wreath at SS graves at Bitburg last year. They support the anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic refusal by Reagan to allow into the US General Dragunsky, Jewish Soviet war hero and a leader of the Red Army which liberated Jews from Hitler's concentration camps.

An unholy alliance of Zionists and anti-Semites is forged in the great anti-Soviet crusade. As we detailed in *Australasian Spartacist* (no 116, July/August 1986), Australia is a haven for Nazi war criminals. But in the AJT (16 October 1986) regular columnist Sam Lipski attacks the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles for its exposure of Nazis in Australia — because it's upsetting the Zionists' anti-Soviet friends here among the fascistic, anti-Semitic Captive Nations.

Hawke, Reagan's white cop in Southeast Asia, loves Zionist Israel. The Australian ruling class is rabidly racist and anti-Semitic (the Jewish big bourgeois Myer family has always been excluded from the Melbourne Club), but there is nevertheless a fundamental identification of outlook — genocidal racialism and anti-Sovietism. Imperialist Australia and Zionist Israel share the fortress mentality of besieged imperialist outposts surrounded by hundreds of millions of "hostiles", with the difference that Australia's "Arabs", the Asians, are much further away. Thus, in 1974, Hawke made his notorious statement: "If I were the

Israeli Prime Minister I wouldn't give a damn about world morality — I would use the atomic bomb to protect my own" (d'Alpuget's *Robert J Hawke, a Biography*).

Recent revelations by Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu proved that Israel has stockpiled up to 200 nuclear warheads. Whatever the actual detail in the whole murky affair surrounding Vanunu's revelations, one thing does seem clear — Hawke's ASIO collaborated with Israel's Mossad (the Israeli secret police) to have Vanunu spirited back to Israel for trial *in camera* for treason.

Capitalism in its death agony spews forth all manner of filth and threatens to plunge the world into anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. What do the Zionist rulers, with whom Hawke solidarises, intend to do with so many nukes? With 200 they can certainly take out the Arabs, but they have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia*. To paraphrase what we wrote concerning Begin's 1982 blitzkrieg in Lebanon — Shamir, Reagan, Hawke and Hitler: for all of them, the end of their class rule is coequal with the end of the universe. And that makes them exceedingly dangerous.

Both Zionist Israel and White Australia are historically doomed. The only progressive solution is the forging of a united Hebrew/Arab Trotskyist party in Israel and a multi-racial Trotskyist party in Australia, to lead the working class in proletarian revolution to sweep the insane imperialist butchers from power. For a Socialist Federation of the Near East! For a workers republic in Australia, as part of Socialist Asia! ■

"The leftist gains are far more serious than the fading challenge from die-hard Marcos supporters... In addition to their rural insurgency, the leftists are taking advantage of what they call the 'democratic space'... The left is scoring its biggest gains in labor. More strikes have occurred so far this year than all of last year under Marcos."

The head of the American Chamber of Commerce vituperated against "people power" run amok. The principal object of the capitalists' ire is the leftist labor federation Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), or May 1st Movement, which has mushroomed from 35,000 members in 1980 to over 600,000 today. That makes it three times as large as the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), notorious for its ties to the Marcos dictatorship and sweetheart contracts with employers. The TUCP is also a major recipient of US dollars via the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute, a known CIA front.

With hundreds of walkouts since February, Manila has become strike city. The origins are directly economic: Philippines workers are the lowest-paid in the Pacific Rim. Most do not receive even the minimum wage of 57 pesos (less than \$3) a day — 32 pesos for agricultural workers — and real wages have been falling under the hammer blows of inflation. Aquino's labor minister, Augusto Sanchez, a "human rights" lawyer, has been reluctant to move against strikers, hoping that the strike wave will fizzle

out. But businessmen have been getting restless, and in late July Enrile ordered the army in as strike-breakers. On August 1, strikers at Pepsi-Cola's Metro Manila bottling plant fought a pitched battle with company goons. The next day, armed soldiers moved on transit strikers south of the capital. The military has also been used against garment workers, hotel workers, phosphate workers and to militarize sugar estates on the island of Negros.

KMU general secretary Rolando Olalia told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (28 August) his union's goal was "socialism." And the May 1st Movement repeatedly spearheaded mass protests against the tyrant Marcos. Last February 26, it had scheduled a nationwide *welgang bayan* ("people's strike") against the dictator — who fled on Reagan's orders the night before. However, on May Day this year when the KMU mobilized for a huge rally estimated at 250,000 in Manila, on the platform together with CPP leaders Sison and Buscayno sat Cory Aquino and General Ramos! The May issue of the CPP's *Ang Bayan* declares, "Part of the workers' anti-imperialist struggles is alliance with national capitalists," and calls for "a bigger voice for the national bourgeoisie in the economy and in the formulation of economic policies"! In the concrete, rather than mobilizing political strike action to achieve the worker's demands, the KMU has called for defending Labor Minister Sanchez and ousting Defense Minister Enrile.

Meanwhile, peasants are demanding land reform, a touchy subject for Aquino. When 20,000 supporters of the National Peasant Movement of the Philippines recently marched on the presidential palace, their way was blocked by thousands of heavily armed soldiers behind barbed wire barricades, recalling the tumultuous anti-Marcos protests. A spokesman for the demonstrators said of Aquino: "We feel that she is not listening, and that instead, she is worrying about losing Hacienda Luisita" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 October). It's all in the family: her close relative Eduardo Cojuangco was the "coconut king" under Marcos, and owned 25,000 acres on Negros policed by his private army. The Aquino agrarian "reform" plan calls for reducing *landowners'* debt by recovering money illegally skimmed off profits of the sugar marketing board by Marcos cronies, and *selling* idle land to landless rural workers!

In the countryside, things are at the point of explosion on the sugar island of Negros. Bacolod bishop Antonio Fortich calls it a "social volcano." As the price of sugar fell from 65 cents a pound in 1974 to four cents today, a third of the actual production cost, the planters have fired tens of thousands of workers. But social unrest has spread apace. In the last few years the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW), affiliated to the KMU, has grown rapidly among the 300,000 sugar workers on Negros. Protection by the NPA guerrillas has been essential for the NFSW facing the planters' hired guns who

regularly "salvage" (disappear) union organizers. The *San Francisco Examiner* (11 August) reports that in "the southern half of the island [Negros], the NPA controls large parts of the countryside, according to local priests."

Cease-fire With the NPA?

The "counterinsurgency" experts at the US embassy had hoped that with Marcos out of the way, the guerrillas would stream down from the hills, leaving only a "hard core" that could be easily wiped out. Wasn't Marcos the "best recruiter" for the Communists, having driven even bourgeois oppositionists into the arms of the CPP? However, the amnesty netted only some 100 guerrillas, most of them probably previously planted "zombies" (agents). Guerrilla operations have continued, from Cagayan province in northern Luzon to the island of Mindanao in the south, though at a reduced level. Meanwhile, Pentagon estimates of NPA strength have grown from 16,000 to 22,000, controlling an estimated 20 percent of the countryside.

The military has also continued its customary bombing, strafing, shelling and burning villages, killing and looting the peasantry. In late September, NPA top military commander Rodolfo Salas was arrested when he was in Manila in connection with cease-fire negotiations. Clearly this was a move by Enrile/Ramos to scuttle Aquino's attempt at

Continued on page nine

Spartacist Brief Against "Creationism" in the Classroom

IN DEFENCE OF SCIENCE

"A tidal wave of enforced intolerance is sweeping America," states the *amicus curiae* brief filed by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee in the US Supreme Court August 18 against the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the public schools. The brief was filed on behalf of the Louisiana Board of Education in its opposition to the State of Louisiana's "Balanced-Treatment Act" mandating the teaching of "creation-science" whenever scientific evolution is taught.

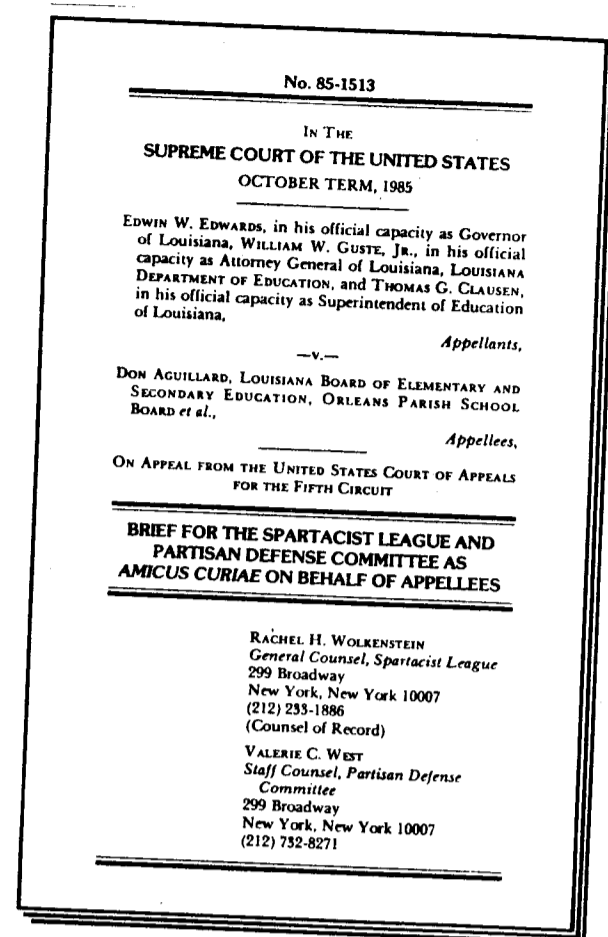
The act is part of a sinister nationwide campaign by the Moral Majority and fundamentalist far right to parochialize public education. Twenty-one state legislatures have considered or are considering similar legislation. Four months after the Louisiana Act was signed into law in July 1982, federal district court judge Adrian Dupaltier struck it down as unconstitutional. Again in January 1985, Dupaltier issued a summary judgement that the act violated the First Amendment. This decision was narrowly

upheld on appeal by the full Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in an 8-to-7 decision. Ominously, the Supreme Court denied a motion to affirm that decision and agreed to hear the state's appeal.

At issue, the SL and PDC brief states, "is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations." Turning the slogans of "religious freedom" and "academic freedom" into their opposite, the creationists are waging war on the gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 and the defeat of slavery in the Civil War. This First Amendment case has evoked widespread support from major scientific, religious, educational and civil rights groups, including a brief submitted this past week by 72 Nobel laureate scientists and 24 scientific organisations.

The separation of church and state has been a fundamental component of proletarian revolutions from the Paris Commune to the victorious Soviet republic of Lenin and Trotsky. Marxism has as its foundation the gains of the Enlightenment and bourgeois revolutions which freed scientific and social development from the shackles of feudalism, particularly the contributions of Charles Darwin, by which man as part of nature, in social struggle to master nature, became a field of scientific inquiry. Scientific evolution, the Spartacist suit underlined, definitively destroys the myths of racial superiority.

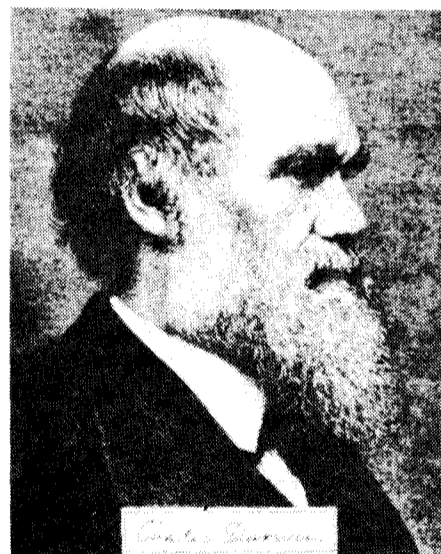
This case, particularly in its social context, invites comparison to the 1925 "monkey trial" of John Thomas Scopes for teaching evolution in Dayton, Tennessee. Reconstruction had been defeated in the South as the KKK enforced Jim Crow segregation with lynching and cross-burnings, reaching their height the year of the trial when a white-robed rabble of 40,000 poured through the streets of the nation's capital. In the North a draconian anti-red and anti-immigrant witchhunt jailed tens of thousands, while Sacco and Vanzetti were sent to the



chair. Today's bible-thumping bigots crusade against "atheistic evolution" as a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the warmongering White House and anti-Bill of Rights Supreme Court to abortion clinic firebombers, the cop mass murderers of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia and the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country.

The decay of capitalist society is dramatically demonstrated when the men who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear technology and weaponry have minds filled with the worst superstitions, ignorance and bigotry of the Dark Ages. They believe man's history is to be found in the literal interpretation of the Book of Genesis, and mankind's future is spelled out in the Armageddon of "Revelations," as they are preparing to plunge the world into a fiery end in an apocalyptic battle against the "Evil Empire" of "godless" Russia. The only future for humanity in which man may realise his full potential unfettered by dark obscurantism and social oppression must necessarily be a socialist one.

We reprint below in its entirety the Spartacist League/Partisan Defense Committee *amicus* brief.



NY Public Library

Charles Darwin, founder of the science of evolution.

QUESTION PRESENTED

WAS THE COURT OF APPEALS CORRECT IN FINDING THAT THE LOUISIANA "BALANCED-TREATMENT ACT" VIOLATED THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION?

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

The Louisiana "Balanced-Treatment Act" violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the United States Constitution because it is in furtherance of religion in that it propagates biblical creationism in the public schools. The essential starting point is that "creation-science" is religion. There is no secular purpose to this Act.

At issue is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations.

BRIEF OF THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE

Pursuant to Rule 36.1 of the Rules of this Court, the organizations named above file this brief in support of the appellees. Consent for the filing of briefs *amicus curiae* has been granted to all interested parties by both the appellants and appellees. Letters to that effect have been filed with this Court.

INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE

The Spartacist League is a Marxist political organization with a history of over twenty years of activity in the United States, including running candidates for public office, holding classes and public forums on Marxist history, international and domestic politics, and publishing a biweekly newspaper, *Workers Vanguard* and a theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. It gives aid and support to cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people.

Before this Court is a challenge to a fundamental principle of the American republic and one of the

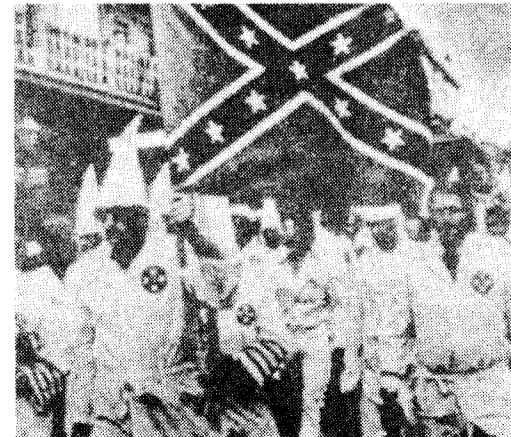
most basic gains of the American Revolution of 1776 — separation of church and state. The battlefield on which this is being fought is the public schools. The weapon being used is the religious dogma of biblical creation against scientific theorizing about evolution. The potential casualty is not only the separation of church and state, but the education of masses of children in the science and culture of the world.

The gains of the American bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, codifying the defeat of slavery during the Civil War, were progressive developments in the history of mankind. They are part of the outcome of a long and complicated, and in the case of the Civil War, bloody struggle during which feudal fetters on political freedom, economic

UPI Photos



Crusaders for ignorance, bigotry and war on Soviet Union: fundamentalist preacher Jerry Falwell, Reagan and Ku Klux Klan.



Australasian Spartacist

freedom, religious freedom and scientific freedoms were broken or transcended.

During the Age of Enlightenment the basis was laid for the eradication of medieval superstition by scientific knowledge — for defeat over the forces of obscurantism. The current battle poses the defense of the gains of the American Revolution, Civil War — and the Enlightenment.

A tidal wave of enforced intolerance is sweeping America. Government is pandering to the religious fundamentalist movement, politically bellicose with its program of action to rejuvenate the "moral fiber" of a demoralized and economically declining nation. Simultaneously, in the current social climate in the United States, the terrorist ultra-right flourishes as seen in the bombing of abortion clinics, Ku Klux Klan mobilizations and attacks on blacks and Asians. Thus the attacks on the First Amendment and the growing reactionary terrorist threats are reflections of the tendency towards state bonapartism, part and parcel of the drive towards war.

War has been declared on "secular humanism." The dictionary defines humanism as "a doctrine, set of attitudes, or way of life centered upon human interests or values: as a philosophy which rejects supernaturalism, regards man as a natural object, and asserts the essential dignity and worth of man and his capacity to achieve self-realization through the use of reason and scientific method." *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, p 1100 (1976). To the fundamentalists and Moral Majority everything from atheism to the United Nations, the writings of Hawthorne and Hemingway, from sex education to the theory of evolution are anathema as examples of secular humanism.

Evolution, the science of man's "descent with modification," is the particular object of the fundamentalist religious attack. The reasons for this lie in the fact that evolutionary theory deprives man of a mythical "special" status in nature, and exposes the lack of scientific basis for the various religious and other justifications for belief in racial inferiority. The not so hidden agenda of the proponents of teaching creationism in the schools is to enforce the destructive and dangerous dogma of racial inferiority.

To the organizations here filing as *amicus curiae*, the study of scientific evolution is fundamental to man's quest for a materialist understanding of our world and human society, not the least because it provides material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority.

As Marxists, *amicus curiae* are profoundly committed to education and knowledge. One of the hallmarks of any struggle for social emancipation is the struggle of the oppressed against the internal, mental stripes left by the master's whip: the fight for knowledge and for access to the culture hoarded by the privileged classes.

This country used to be notable for the relatively democratic nature of public education — largely a product of the Civil War and struggles by an ethnically diverse working class for social reform. Today there is an all sided assault on public education, of which the current attack, if successful, will render future generations ignorant and prey to the superstitions of our ancestors.

The fundamental principles of the First Amendment — the free speech and press as well as the religion clauses — are intertwined with the progress of mankind. Some thirty years ago, on the occasion of a proposal to appoint a United States ambassador to the Vatican, this point was succinctly made by James P Cannon, veteran American Trotskyist:

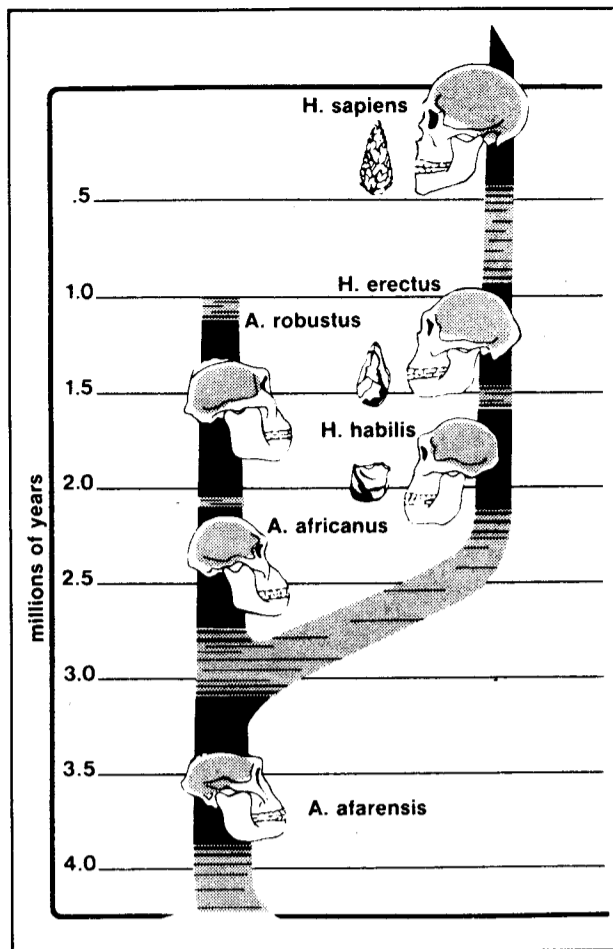
"Under ... the First Amendment, free thinkers and atheists, heathens and public sinners, who are very numerous in this country, have had a chance to breathe and spread enlightenment without fear of the dungeon and the rack. The First Amendment has been a protecting shield for the Children of Light and has enabled them to make their great contributions to literature, art and science. A breach in this provision of the Constitution, leading to its eventual repeal, would be an unspeakable calamity aiding and strengthening the forces of reaction and obscurantism here and all over the world."

— *Notebook of an Agitator*, "Church and State," pp 282-283 (Pathfinder Press, 1973)

For the reasons set forth above the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee are compelled to submit this Brief *Amicus Curiae*.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

The State of Louisiana's Balanced-Treatment Act, La. Rev. Stat. Ann sec. 17:286 (West's 1982) mandates the teaching of creationism under the rubric of "creation-science" whenever evolutionary science is taught. The Act declares that its purpose is "acade-



Depiction of man's evolution by anthropologist Donald Johanson, discoverer of famous "Lucy" skeleton.

mic freedom" and demands the establishment of state and local boards to develop a curriculum guide and provide college level faculty to assist. Penalties are imposed for any discrimination against a teacher of "creation-science," but not for a teacher of evolutionary science.

The majority of the Court of Appeals affirmed the district court's judgement that the law is unconstitutional. "Notwithstanding the supposed complexities of religion-versus-state issues and the lively debates they generate, this particular case is a simple one, subject to a simple disposal: the Act violates the establishment clause of the first amendment because the purpose of the statute is to promote a religious belief," (765 F.2d 1251).

Amicus adopts the statement of the case as set forth in Appellees Brief, particularly as it sets forth the legislative history of the Act.

There is a historical context to this issue — and it begins long before the Scopes "Monkey Trial" in Dayton, Tennessee. The battle being fought originated during the Enlightenment. On the ideological plane it was the forces of religious reaction against humanism and the development of science. It was not only the fight of Darwin, but that of Galileo two hundred fifty years earlier. On the political plane it was the monarchy and church

united against the democratic republic. In short, the period is identified in materialist historical terms as that of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

The Balanced-Treatment Act is part of a campaign by the fundamentalist religious right to impose their program on the totality of American society. Having failed at promoting and defending state laws which directly outlaw the teaching of evolution, the proponents of the Louisiana law attempt to justify the teaching of creationism by a definition of it as "science." The essential starting point, however, is the fact that creationism is not science, but religion.

The advocates of the "Balanced-Treatment Act" have tried to buttress their claim with pseudo-scientific affidavits and assertions of the scientific basis for creation. But the description of "creation-science" as "abrupt appearance in complex form" discloses all. The creationists assert they deny *only* the fact of "macro-evolution" (evolution of all species from simple one-celled animals, originating in the primordial soup), while affirming that "micro-evolution" (evolution within a species, type or family) does occur. This pseudo-scientific jargon means that they deny the descent of man from earlier forms of primate life — since the days of Charles Darwin this has been the central aim of the religious opponents of evolution.

Creationists trade on semantic unclarity and willful ignorance when they argue that scientists refer to evolution as a "theory." The term theory as used by scientists means "a coherent group of general propositions used as principles of explanation for a class of phenomena." *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, p 1471 (1967). This is quite the contrary of the popular use of the term theory, eg "a mere hypothesis, conjecture, or guess." Scientific theories are proved through research and experimentation. Since codified by Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* in 1859, the scientific theory of evolution has been more than amply proven to be a fact. That evolution happened is a fact. The exact process by which it happened continues to be one of the most vital, controversial areas of scientific research.

The scientific ferment surrounding evolutionary theory does not mean that scientists are doubtful about the theory of evolution. Quite the contrary: unlike religion, science accepts nothing as dogma. The ability to test the theory through research and experimentation is what makes a theory scientific rather than mystical or religious.

The creationists' use of controversy among evolutionary scientists to discredit evolutionary theory is dishonest. They attempt to use the works of Harvard biologist and geologist Stephen J Gould — a vocal activist on behalf of evolution — as "evidence" to support creation. Gould explicitly denounced the creationists' attempt to distort his theory of punctuated equilibria into support for their religion. "Evolution as Fact and Theory," *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes* (W W Norton & Company, Inc, 1984). Gould's theory, propounded in collaboration with Niles Eldredge in 1972, argues that evolutionary change occurs in "bursts" of rapid

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Crown Publishers



Counterclockwise from top left: Galileo tried by Catholic church in 1633 for declaring Earth revolves around the sun; Rembrandt's "The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp" (1632), depicting one of first public autopsies; Delacroix's painting of Liberty marching in French revolution.

In Defence of Science . . .

Continued from page seven

speciation, followed by longer periods of stable existence. This theory has nothing to do with creationism.

In addition to distorting the work of current evolutionary scientists as support for the "scientific basis" for creationism, the appellants rely in part on "eminent 19th century scientists," Louis Agassiz, Georges Cuvier and Sir Richard Owen. Owen was in fact an evolutionist; Cuvier's creationism "disproved the linchpin of modern fundamentalist creationism: an age of but a few thousand years for the earth." See, Gould, "The Stinkstones of Oeningen," *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*, p 104. Agassiz was widely ridiculed in the scientific community for his opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution; Agassiz was also a notorious racist who subscribed to the theory of polygeny (separate creation of human races). When asked by a member of President Lincoln's Inquiry Commission in 1863 for his considered opinion on the role of blacks in American society, Agassiz replied: "they are incapable of living on a footing of social equality with the whites . . ." Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (W W Norton & Co, Inc, 1981), p 48.

The Balanced-Treatment Act will inhibit the teaching of evolution, intellectually impoverish future generations of children and rob them of scientific understanding. Whether or not a creator or some other religious or mystical power had anything to do with the history of life on our planet is a matter for the individual as his own private beliefs and not a matter for the public schools.

LEGAL ARGUMENT

THE LOUISIANA "BALANCED-TREATMENT ACT" MANDATING THE TEACHING OF CREATIONISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS VIOLATES THE FIRST AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION IN THAT IT IS IN FURTHERANCE OF RELIGION

The First Amendment is the "keystone of our Government . . . the freedoms it guarantees provide the best insurance against destruction of all freedom," Mr Justice Black dissent in *Dennis v United States*, 341 US 494, 580 (1951).

The First Amendment primarily consecrates the political and legal theory of the Enlightenment, a criticism of general feudal arbitrariness. It and the other texts of the Bill of Rights are "historical texts, and as such constitute a precis or summary of the abuses of feudalism throughout Europe . . . [D]irected against feudalism, it was the philosophy



Harvard biologist Stephen Jay Gould, defender of evolutionary science against "creationist" obscurantism.

of enlightenment in opposition to the philosophy of obscurantism." Mitchell Franklin, "Infamy and Constitutional Civil Liberties," *Lawyers Guild Review*, Vol XIV, No 1, Spring 1954.

The First Amendment is a unified totality, the "text is indeed both general and absolute. In one sentence it separates church and state and guarantees free opinion." *Id.*, at 5.

It is long established that the First Amendment is unified in its various clauses by the central liberty of freedom of conscience. *Cantwell v Connecticut*, 310 US 296 (1940), *Wooley v Maynard*, 430 US 705, 714-715 (1977), *Widmar v Vincent*, 454 US 263, 269 (1981), *Wallace v Jaffree*, 105 S Ct 2479, 86 L Ed2d 29, 39-40 (1985).



Heroic Massachusetts 54th, first black regiment in the Civil War charging Fort Wagner, South Carolina, July 1863.

The legal force and continued applicability of the First Amendment rests with the fact that the Constitution of the United States is in reality three constitutions, each of which states in legal formulations the outcome of vital historic changes in American social history. The First Constitution, that of 1787, justified an American separation between national or general power and state or particular power. This was called federalism; and behind the shield of it American slavery existed and developed for several decades until such servitude was destroyed by the Civil War.

Within two years, the First Constitution was subordinated. The Second Constitution was introduced in 1789 through the Bill of Rights consecrated in the first ten amendments of the Constitution.

After the defeat of slavery on the battlefields of the Civil War, the Third Constitution was initiated. It is grounded on the Reconstruction Amendments, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution. Thus the Third Constitution codifies the completion of the US bourgeois democratic revolution creating a democratic, national American State, founded on the hegemony of the first ten amendments and of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, appropriately subordinating the so-called federalism of the First Constitution.

The import of this constitutional history is that the Constitution and particularly the Bill of Rights is a living document, infused with flexibility by the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, subordinating the state governments to these democratic principles. See *Gitlow v New York*, 268 US 652, 666 (1925), *Cantwell v Connecticut*, *supra*, *Everson v Board of Education*, 330 US 1, 15-16 (1947).

The principled separation of church and state was the most radical of these rights. Henry Steele Commager explained:

"We tend to forget that separation of church and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked. It commanded more attention, applause and censure than the creation of the new nations or the rejection of colonialism. No other Western nation had ever tried so reckless an experiment."

— *New York Times*, 16 September 1984

The fundamental concern of the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment is the relationship between religious expression and the state. The underlying historical perception is that a union between religion and government leads to persecution and civil strife, *Everson v Board of Education*, *supra* and "tends to destroy government and degrade religion," *Engel v Vitale*, 370 US 421, 431 (1962).

In *School District of Abington v Schempp*, 374 US 203, 215 (1963) the court approvingly quoted *Board of Education v Minor*, 23 Ohio St 211, 253 (1872) which stated:

"The great bulk of human affairs and human interests is left by any free government to individual enterprise and individual action. Religion is eminently one of these interests, lying outside the true and legitimate province of government."

Citing Thomas Jefferson, the rigour of this principle has been described as, "intended to erect a wall of separation between church and State." *Everson v Board of Education*, *supra*, at 16. Furthermore, as the Court held *Everson*:

"The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another." 330 US, at 15.

The First Amendment "requires the state to be neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and non-believers," *Id.*, at 18; *School District of Abington v Schempp*, *supra*, at 216. And, as stated in *Wallace v Jaffree*, "when the underlying principle has been examined in the crucible of litigation, the Court has unambiguously concluded that the individual freedom of conscience protected by the First Amendment embraces the right to select any religious faith or none at all," *Supra*, at 41.

As applied to the American schoolroom, the Court is compelled to protect against violations of the First Amendment, *Epperson v Arkansas*, 393 US 97, 104 (1968), including laws respecting a particular religious belief, *School District of Abington v Schempp*, *supra*, at 215. The state's right to prescribe its public school curriculum is limited to the extent that it may not compel or prohibit the teaching of a theory or doctrine for religious reasons. *Epperson*, *supra*, at 107. The vigilant protection of the First Amendment is nowhere more vital than in American public education. *Id.*, at 104.

Mr Justice Brennan, concurring in *School District of Abington v Schempp*, *supra*, at 230 stated: "Americans regard the public schools as a most vital civic institution for the preservation of a democratic system of government. It is therefore understandable that the constitutional prohibitions encounter their severest test when they are sought to be applied in the school classroom."

The instant law, mandating the teaching of creationism in the Louisiana public schools, cannot survive constitutional scrutiny. The standard applied in testing the violation of the Establishment Clause was set in *Lemon v Kurtzman*, 403 US 602, 612-613 (1971): (1) whether the statute has a secular legislative purpose; (2) whether the principal or primary effect of the statute advances or inhibits religion; and (3) whether the statute fosters an excessive entanglement with religion.

With the recognition that creationism is a religious belief and in cognizance of the weighty social history surrounding the battle between science and religion — the Enlightenment and obscurantism — it is indisputable that the Louisiana Act is in furtherance of religion and serves no secular purpose.

CONCLUSION

For all the reasons set forth above, the decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit should be upheld.

Dated: New York, New York
August 18, 1986

Respectfully submitted,

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— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
no 410, 29 August 1986

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Philippines ...

Continued from page five

negotiations with the rebels. They want a free hand for a bloodbath, using an army whose officers from top to bottom are still running rackets while their soldiers often have no boots, little food and defective equipment. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) of Enrile/Ramos invites comparison with the puppet army of Thieu/Ky which was routed in South Vietnam. "It will take a lot more time before they have a capable combat force they need," commented US ambassador Richard Bosworth (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 September).

Given Marcos' failure to crush the NPA despite a bloated 250,000-strong army and a dozen years of martial law, the Aquino forces aim to isolate the Communists politically and use the cease-fire negotiations to buy time. But if Aquino lacks the military wherewithal to crush the NPA, neither does she have the political and economic means to buy them off. Not that the nationalist Stalinists of the CPP won't play ball. Sison has called for a "lasting cease-fire in connection with the formation of a coalition government," suggesting that the NPA could become a "strength in reserve" to defend Aquino "in the face of an armed forces that she does not fully control" (*Washington Post*, 6 June). The CPP leader even said, while touring Australia, that his party would retain the US bases, only demanding that the Pentagon cut back its personnel!

Washington's instructions to Cory, emphatically reiterated during her recent trip to the US where she begged Congress for more aid, are to crush the leftist insurgency. For the CPP/NPA to lay down their arms for the mere promise of amnesty would be suicidal, especially when Aquino could be ousted by a right-wing military coup in the near future. So while the government is using negotiations to buy time, the CPP is using them as a pressure tactic to gain a "popular front" with liberal elements of the Aquino regime.

Where Stalinist/nationalist guerrilla struggles have reached the level of civil war, proletarian revolutionaries give *military support* to the leftist insurgents against the bloody armies of bourgeois reaction and imperialism. But we give *no political support* to their petty-bourgeois leaderships.

The Trotskyists seek instead a socialist revolution centered on the urban working class and based on organs of proletarian power (soviets, factory committees, workers militias). In El Salvador we call for military victory to the leftist insurgents of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), to smash the armed fist of the bourgeois state and open the road to proletarian revolution. (However, the popular-frontist FMLN leaders are instead bent on pursuing an illusory "negotiated solution" with Duarte's death squad "democracy.")

In the Philippines, the NPA's peasant insurgency remains at the level of widespread but relatively small-scale guerrilla operations, and the center of social conflict has shifted to the working class, both urban and rural. Were the CPP's hoped-for "national democratic coalition government" to materialize, it would strengthen the bourgeois state, leading in time to savage repression against the workers movement as well as Communist cadres. A general truce or cease-fire by the NPA would take the pressure off the army and give Philippine capitalism a breathing space to restabilize. As long as the present situation of neither-peace-nor-war continues, with the NPA holding down the neocolonial army in the countryside and prolonging the state of disarray, it will buy precious time for the proletariat to take advantage of the limited "democratic" opening, which cannot last for long, to organize for seizing state power.

For a Philippines October!

When the US Air Force flew Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos and their numerous retinue to Hawaii, with another cargo jet to haul the crates of bonds, currency and shoes, the rulers in Manila and Washington breathed a collective sigh of relief. But in the aftermath, class polarization in the Philippines has progressively sharpened. Yet, ironically, as the Filipino masses have grown increasingly disillusioned in the hoax of "people power," the bulk of the Philippines left has grown increasingly desperate to hitch their cart to Cory's ox. Thus the struggles of the worker-peasant masses have not been guided by a revolutionary program, but undercut by their leaders' reformist capitulation to the CIA's latest puppet. What is dramatically clear is the *absence* of a Bolshevik-Leninist



Embattled sugar workers on island of Negros show fighting spirit, May Day 1984.

vanguard fighting to turn the phony "February revolution" into an authentic Philippines October.

Upon his release from Marcos' prison, CPP leader Sison declared that "he was prepared to support the 'positive aspects' of the Government of President Corazon C Aquino" (*New York Times*, 6 March). This is precisely the line taken by Stalin and Kamenev in 1917 toward the "democratic" Provisional Government in Russia following the overthrow of the tsar, which unlike the February coup d'etat in Manila was a genuine political revolution. Lenin cabled on March 6 from Switzerland with a counterposed line of revolutionary opposition: "Our tactics: no trust in and no support of the new government; Kerensky is especially suspect; arming of the proletariat is the only guarantee..." Upon arriving in Petrograd, Lenin went on to state in his famous "April Theses":

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is passing from the first stage of the revolution — which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie — to its second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."

— V I Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (7 April 1917)

Where Lenin warned in his March telegram, "no rapprochement with other parties," today the CPP calls for a "democratic coalition government" with Aquino herself plus assorted impotent liberals.

(When some months later, the tsarist general Kornilov marched on Petrograd to overthrow the weak Kerensky regime, aiming to crush the soviets and the left, the Bolsheviks took the lead in mobilizing the workers against the rightist threat. This set the stage for the Bolsheviks to take power, ousting Kerensky, within a matter of weeks. Likewise, in the Philippines the working class and its allies must mobilize independently to quash any coup attempt by Enrile and his fellow right-wing militarists whose aim is to unleash a bloodbath of the left, labor and peasant guerrillas.)

Lenin's call in the April Theses for constructing "a state of the Paris Commune type," a government of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, was congruent with views earlier advanced by Trotsky, whose theory of permanent revolution envisioned a dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to carry out the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution and consequently undertake the socialist tasks of the proletarian revolution. It is striking that those forces internationally who besmirch the tradition of Trotskyism have grievously failed

to call for a program of permanent revolution in the Philippines today. Thus Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" issued a declaration on March 2 which nowhere mentions proletarian revolution — or the need for a Trotskyist party — and only calls on "the democratic and anti-imperialist movement" to "continue to organize and struggle for its aims" (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 April).

The American Socialist Workers Party, in turn, which today denounces Trotskyism as "ultraleft" and cheerleads for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua, calls for "extending" the Aquino "revolution" of "people power" (*ibid*). And the US Workers League publishes a four-part series by Nick Beams, Australian acolyte of the WL's dubious David North, which after much verbiage about the "Fight for Trotskyism" advocates "a critical vote for Aquino" in the February elections (*Bulletin*, 20 May)! This parliamentary cretinist support for the bourgeois, pro-imperialist standard-bearer of CIA "democracy" is counterposed to everything Lenin and Trotsky ever fought for. In contrast, we wrote at the time:

"But for the Filipino people, the replacement of the corrupt, brutal Marcos dictatorship with the 'clean team' of Aquino and [vice president] Salvador Laurel will mean the substitution of one set of American lackeys for another. Marxists say: beware of coups 'Made in USA' ...

"A fight against imperialist domination and the anti-Soviet war drive which determines the life of the Philippines, described by the London *Economist* as an 'archipelagic aircraft carrier,' requires class struggle against popular-front illusions and for workers revolution, led by Trotskyist parties, from the Philippines to the US."

— WV No 398, 28 February

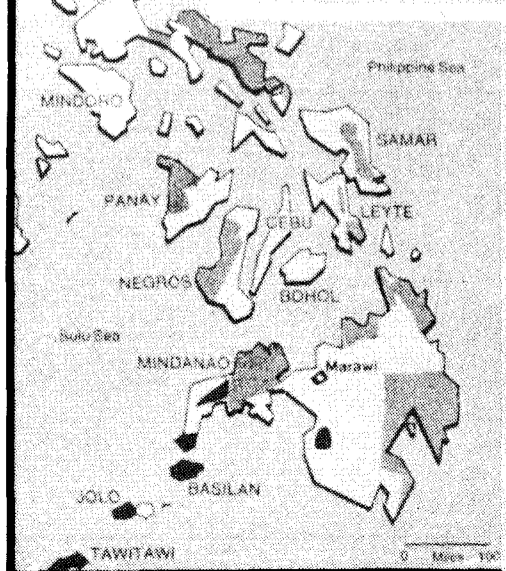
The Stalinist program of "two-stage" revolution seeks to resuscitate the Menshevik line in tsarist Russia, whose bankruptcy was demonstrated by the Bolshevik October Revolution — the greatest victory for the international proletariat in history. In the imperialist epoch, there is no room for the emergence of an independent national capitalism, and all the more so in America's Philippine neocolony where Kennedy liberals intertwine with the old landlord families. But at the same time, uneven and combined development has produced a modern working class alongside the age-old exploitation of the peasantry. The bloody US imperialists, who slaughtered two million in Indochina, will not let their Philippine fortress go lightly. Thus victorious workers revolution in the Philippines would strike a powerful blow against the global anti-Soviet war drive, smash the imperialist encirclement of heroic Vietnam, and spark a revolutionary upsurge throughout the region.

For a workers and peasants government in the Philippines! Forge a Trotskyist party, Philippines section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 415, 7 November 1986



General/Black Star



Leftist guerrillas of New People's Army control an estimated 20 percent of Philippine countryside.

Insurgency in the Philippines

Sporadically active in large areas of the Philippines, the New Peoples Army, Moro National Liberation Front and Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army are composed mainly of small guerrilla units. Except for the city of Marawi on Mindanao, guerrilla activity is confined to the countryside.

- Active presence of New Peoples Army (Communist)
- Active presence of Moro National Liberation Front (Moslem)
- Active presence of Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army (local insurgency led by a former priest)

New York Times

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Sison ...

Continued from page one

Filipino masses to imperialist domination.

In numerous public meetings, bourgeois and left media interviews and, most significantly, talks with what he slyly called "Australian bureaucrats" — Bill Hayden's Foreign Affairs department — Sison made it clear his main purpose was to promote a popular front in Manila. As he told the ABC's Richard Carleton on television, "the bottom line is for the NDF [National Democratic Front] and the Aquino government to work together ... maybe in a coalition government, maybe with NDF people in the Cabinet."

Sison's pursuit of a popular front with Aquino, that is, the political subordination of the working class to capitalism and its US big brother across the Pacific on the grounds that Aquino represents a supposedly "progressive" wing of the exploiters, is the sure road to bloody catastrophe for the workers and peasants. It would repeat the Indonesian disaster of 1965, when the left and working class paid with over half a million dead for the PKI's suppression of the class struggle in order to maintain its popular front with the "progressive" Sukarno.

During a public meeting in Melbourne on 3 October Sison devoted most of his speech to praising Australian capitalism. He said the profits of Australian capitalism could "be used for noble purposes, unlike the ignoble ones of the US and Japan." Really? Like the \$77 million worth of Australian aid being used to build roads for the military's campaign against the NPA! "Australia can be a reserve force for the Philippines' struggle for national liberation." In fact, Australia presently trains a significant proportion of the Filipino officer corps! The Australian "reactionary racism that was rampant in earlier times has subsided to a great extent." Sison should try telling this to Australian Aborigines, or for that matter to the few thousand Filipino immigrants here!

Sison is appealing to the Australian racist ruling class which, as junior partner of US imperialism, participated in the anti-communist colonial wars in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam. Under Hawke, Australian capitalism has dramatically reinforced its regional role as Reagan's key enforcer and lackey. Hawke/Hayden supported Marcos in every way until the US signalled it was unplugging him. Hayden has repeatedly floated the offer to send Australian troops to defend the US bases. In an interview in the 9 November *National Times* on Sunday Hayden advocated increased Australian military aid to the brutal and corrupt army of Enrile and Ramos and his "strong support" for the retention of the US bases in the Philippines. The Hawke regime, waging war on the working class at home, is a mortal enemy of the oppressed Asian and Pacific working masses in their struggle for liberation.

Jose Maria Sison was brought to Australia by the usual "Third World Solidarity" crowd, whose main organised components are the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Like the CPA, the SWP fulsomely greeted the CIA-sanctioned February "peoples power" coup with headlines like "Aquino moves left" (*Direct Action*, 2 April) and sympathetic reports on the "progressive" potential of the "reform" group in the Philippines' officer corps (*Direct Action*, 9 April) — Enrile's power base. Their not-so-

very-critical support for the Aquino regime is a striking illustration of their basic social-patriotic identification with "their own" racist, capitalist ruling class.

The oppression of the Filipino masses cannot even begin to be addressed short of socialist revolution. The urgent necessity is the construction of a revolutionary party modelled on Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks to lead the workers in struggle against all wings of the bourgeoisie. As reformists committed to no more than pressuring the ruling class into a more "progressive" role in the region, the SWP and CPA uncritically hail Sison's Menshevik schema for class betrayal, knowing that the stabilisation of Philippine capitalism is what their masters demand.

The technology and resources of this privileged white outpost in Asia must indeed be placed at the disposal of the viciously exploited working people of the region, including our class brothers and sisters in the Philippines. But that will require socialist revolution against the bosses of this country. That in turn requires the forging of a Trotskyist party to break the working class from this Cold War Labor government and all those who promote racist Laborism in the working class. For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia! ■

Betrayal?...

Continued from page three

about Henry Kissinger and the Nixon years. Nixon let the word leak out to Hanoi that he was indeed crazy enough to use nuclear weapons, so the North Vietnamese would supposedly crawl to the bargaining table; it was an attempt to mimic Eisenhower's nuclear threats against China during the Korean War. "I call it the madman theory," Nixon confided to one of his close aides. But, as Hersh explains, the North Vietnamese weren't intimidated:

"There was a basic flaw in Nixon's 'madman theory.' Eisenhower's threat had been made at a time when the United States had a virtual monopoly on nuclear weapons. That situation did not exist in the late 1960s, and the credibility of Nixon's threat was reduced by the possibility that the Soviet Union, or even Communist China, would retaliate after an American first use of nuclear weapons."

— Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* (1983)

Cuba and Vietnam would never have been allowed to consolidate their social revolutions, and the US would have tried to dismember the Soviet Union and bring back private property (if not the tsar), if it weren't for the fact that Russia had the bomb, and SS-18 missiles to deliver it!

Road to Peace: World Revolution

The dangerous cringing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the face of US belligerence has only encouraged Reaganite reactionaries to push harder. Yet Moscow continues to plead, because the Stalinists with their nationalist blinders look to the false road of collaboration with the imperialist powers. Such a "defense" of the Soviet Union leads to catastrophe. To understand the origins of this peculiar blindness one must understand the rise to power of the Stalinist political counterrevolution in the 1920s.

Lenin, the great founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, never excluded the necessity of the Soviet state — surrounded as it was and is by hostile imperialist powers — to make deals with them and maneuver for time. But he never gave an inch to the idea that

Smash Cain's Anti-BLF Vendetta!

John Cain, Labor premier of Victoria, is pursuing what remains of the "outlawed" Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) with the same savage vindictiveness that he now wages war on the nurses strike. But not everything is going his way. Despite the abject capitulation of the Gallagher leadership in urging the membership to "sign over", many rank and file militants continue to resist being told by Cain what union they should be in. There is massive discontent on building sites as workers see their hard-won gains eroded as the scabherding leaders of the BWIU and FEDFA do the bosses bidding.

On 20 October BLF militant and Spartacist supporter Tony Caruso was barred as a BLF representative from attending a Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) health and safety course for delegates from unions from the Metropolitan Trans-

port Authority (MTA). No less than the deputy president of the VTHC rushed from his office to tell the meeting that this outrageous political exclusion was solely on "procedural" grounds. Caruso denounced this wretched collusion by the union "tops" with Cain's anti-BLF vendetta and called for union defence of the BLF across craft divisions. Caruso and three other delegates walked out in disgust.

Tony Caruso along with nine other BLers at the same MTA site have refused to sign over, standing against Cain's anti-union vendetta. Building workers must take on the bosses/government attacks with a class struggle fight for industrial unionism based on the complete independence of the working class from the capitalist state apparatus, uniting all building unionists into one mighty fist. ■

this could buy permanent "peace," only a respite for the newly-born workers state. While Churchill talked of crushing it in the cradle, the young Soviet republic was under intense economic as well as military pressure, flowing from the fact that the 1917 Revolution had taken place in a backward, largely peasant country where the urban working class was a small minority. Lenin himself made a point of this in 1921:

"A workers' state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers' state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions."

— "The Party Crisis" (January 1921)

Lenin knew that the survival of the workers state "with bureaucratic distortions" depended on worldwide proletarian revolution. But this perspective was thwarted by the rise of a conservative privileged bureaucracy under Stalin, who purged and murdered the Old Bolsheviks and consolidated his rule around the anti-internationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Gone was the call for world revolution — indeed, the outbreak of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries like Spain was regarded as a menace by Stalin — and Soviet foreign policy was transformed into the grossest class collaboration with so-called "progressive" capitalists. Trotsky summarized this betrayal as follows:

"The bureaucracy has not only broken with the past, but has deprived itself of the ability to understand the most important lessons of that past. The chief of these lessons was that the Soviet power could not have held out for twelve months without the direct help of the international, and especially the European, proletariat, and without a revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples. The only reason the Austro-German military powers did not carry their attack upon Soviet Russia through to the end was that

they felt behind their back the hot breath of the revolution....

"The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis the safety of the workers' state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution."

— Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937

Trotsky called for a proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union to restore direct workers' rule over the centralized planned economy. Now more than ever, such a revolution is needed to defend the gains of 1917.

In the US, the Stalinist strategy is reflected in the Communist Party's endless exhortations to vote for liberal Democratic candidates, from Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 to Walter Mondale in 1984. The thorough discrediting of the Democratic Party for its role in the imperialist rape of Vietnam in the '60s has left that bourgeois party in disarray, but today the CP continues to promote various "progressive" Democrats like New York candidate for US Senate Mark Green, who just bought Reagan's Star Wars. The Democrats' program is merely to develop a more "rational" mix of weaponry to use against the Soviet Union, with a stronger emphasis on conventional warfare. It's no accident the Democrats have agreed to fund Reagan's contras, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan — they're all in the anti-Soviet war drive together.

The problem is not simply that there's an irrational man in the White House, or even the sinister "military-industrial complex" much touted by the Stalinists, but the irrational social system, capitalism, whose motor force — maximum profit — is driving us toward nuclear war. The real hope for humanity lies in the struggle of the

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working class against the capitalist class, for the establishment of a workers government under the leadership of a revolutionary party. The Soviet bomb has bought precious time for the working class, but time is running out. Had Soviet trade unions demonstratively extended the hand of solidarity to the ILA longshoremen during their recent strike against the bosses' takebacks, for instance, that would have been worth more than a thousand treaties.

Just before getting on the plane to Reykjavik, Reagan took heart in the comments of what he called the "great American" Robert E Lee, who "knew the extremes of hope and despair." Lee hoped to save the dying institution of chattel slavery, but his Confederate army was smashed in the Civil War. Reagan hopes to save capitalist wage slavery, but the working class must finish the Civil War with proletarian revolution, under the program of Lenin and Trotsky. That is the aim of the Spartacist League.

— reprinted from **Workers Vanguard**
no 414, 24 October 1986

Free Bill Hurrey. ■ ■

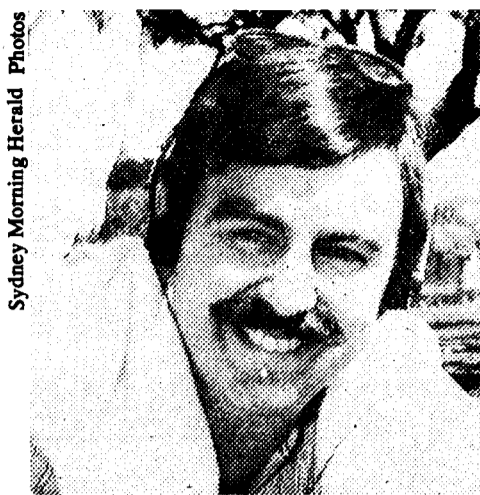
Continued from page twelve

school principal, in league with the cops, coerced a number of students to testify. One youth admitted to being a cop informer and "gay-basher"; another that he made up charges because Hurrey would not let him drive his sports car. Even the trial judge, Miller, advised the jury to regard the youths' evidence as suspect. Miller went on to make clear that it was homosexuality on trial, citing the Bible: "... in the Book sodomy is described as an abominable offence. It is still an abominable offence." (*Outrage* August 1986).

Under the hypocritical guise of "protecting children" and "defending the family" Sturgess has heavily victimised Hurrey and Moore and destroyed *their* families in the process. An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 November 1986) by Greg Roberts, casting doubt on the trumped-up allegations against Hurrey and Moore, quoted Hurrey's parents: "What's happened is that Bill was made a sacrificial lamb, and it should be remembered that none of these so-called victims could hardly be called defenseless children." Moore's wife was equally bitter: "The prosecution, the public, the papers have had two years of criticising him ... It's my children who will suffer because they've lost a father and I've lost a husband."

Hurrey and Moore should be freed immediately, and paid massive compensation for the damage done to their lives. Now, rotting in jail they can only expect more terror at the hands of the screws and brutalised elements amongst the inmates notorious for the treatment they mete out to "sex offenders."

Via Sturgess the Queensland government is targeting gays as part



Bill Hurrey (left), David Moore (right): victims of anti-gay frame-up.

of a general assault on civil liberties. Last summer then-Attorney General Harper produced the Liquor Act Amendment banning "perverts and sexual deviants" from bars, calling on publicans to police the white population in the same manner as they have always enforced the colour bar against Aboriginals and Islanders.

The 1984 arrest of Hurrey led directly to a 14-month-long official government inquiry by Sturgess into so-called "child abuse" and "aberrant sex." The result, known as the Sturgess Report, seeks to reverse the onus of proof in criminal law and to take the silence of an accused under questioning by police as evidence of guilt. It also recommends that doctors be given the right to use force to search a person, looking for "substances in orifices."

Sturgess wants the state to have the right to sexually molest its subjects! It is Sturgess himself, and the ruling class he represents, who is sick. Voraciously poring through the



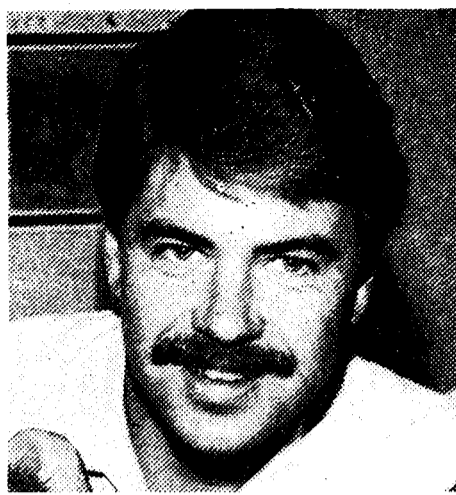
Anti-gay witchhunter Sturgess.

personal columns of gay magazines looking for "evidence" about "deviants", sending young assistants to gay bars, bath houses and even public toilets on the quest for "evidence", he takes sadistic pleasure in terrorising the population. He could easily have found a suitable job in Hitler's Third Reich, but the scary thing is he wears a business suit, not a black uniform and shiny boots, and is the chief public prosecutor of a state government of "democratic" Australia.

From the trampling of Aboriginal land rights claims, the smashing of the SEQEB unionists, the outrageous 1985 abortion clinic raids, to Hurrey and Moore, the Petersen government acts like they can destroy people's lives with impunity. Unionists, homosexuals, women, blacks: all share an interest in bringing down the reactionary Petersen government!

Queensland is Australia

To be sure, the Queensland Deep North has always expressed the most extreme forms of ignorant White Australia bigotry. But across the country the state Labor governments are fostering sexual bigotry under the



guise of an orchestrated hysteria about "child abuse" and AIDS, in exactly the same fashion as the Queensland government. The NSW Anti-Discrimination Board has reported an upsurge of anti-gay harassment due to the media manipulated AIDS scare, while simultaneously the Labor government is closing down the Sexually Transmitted Diseases clinics which have been among the few places offering AIDS treatment and counselling services. In Sydney's gay mecca, Darlinghurst, the murderous "national sport" of gay bashing has reached epidemic proportions.

In "civilised" Victoria, the Cain Labor government launched a vicious witchhunt in 1983 against the tiny Paedophile Support Group (PSG). Alone on the left the Spartacist League defended the PSG. Marxists oppose state intervention into the private lives of citizens. The guiding principle for sexual relations between people (including youth) should be effective consent. The *entire* fake left supported the Cain anti-gay witchhunt, fueling the bourgeoisie's hypocritical "child abuse" hysteria. In fact, when school teacher Alison Thorne was sacked for speaking out against the witchhunt, the Healyites-without-Healy of the Socialist Labour League campaigned in her union, the Technical Teachers Union of Victoria, to keep her sacked! Education Minister Cathie is still refusing to reinstate Thorne. The reformist Socialist Workers Party joined the hysteria over the PSG, raving about "child rapists" and supporting the reactionary age-of-consent laws which are designed to suppress the sexuality of youth and which recognise no possibility of consensual sex. All the reformists share a fundamental identification with the bigoted values of White Australia social democratic Laborism.

The ruling Hawke Labor government, and the ruling class it serves, aims to regiment the population as part of its war on the unions at home and preparations for war on the workers states of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The defeat of the Queensland power workers was a turning point, precursor to Hawke's smashing of the BLF and the New Right offensive against the unions. The SEQEB workers were shafted by Hawke and the treacherous ACTU tops who turned the lights back on for Petersen in February 1985. But the power was there to have made the Petersen government, Sturgess Report and all, a dead letter.

Everything that is ugly about this brutal, ignorant, anti-sex, racist and hostile society, with its culture of white pigs, is getting uglier. For their drive to war against the land of the Great October Revolution the ruling class needs to shore up the fundamental economic unit of capitalism, and its chief ideological transmission belt, the nuclear family. It is the nuclear family which is the central pillar of women's oppression under capitalism. The road to the liberation of women, gays, blacks, all the oppressed, is the road of socialist revolution. It is

necessary to build an internationalist revolutionary vanguard party to act as "the tribune of the people," leading the proletariat and behind it all the oppressed in the struggle for a workers government and a decent life for all. It is to this task that the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

Nurses... ■ ■

Continued from page twelve

court." When the Victorian THC tried to take over the negotiations, 1500 nurses rallied outside Trades Hall, November 7, chanting "No interference from Trades Hall Council." The industrial courts are no neutral "arbitrators" and "conciliators" but the employers' tools for chaining the unions to the capitalist state. And the THC/ACTU misleaders are old hands at selling out strikes.

A central obstacle to winning this strike for all workers lies in the leaders of the hospital unions. While the HEF's scabbing on the nurses' strike is a crime, the RANF has *never* supported a strike of the HEF, representing workers even lower down the hospital system pecking-order. It was only earlier this year that HEF members fought a bitter strike against Cain's government while nurses continued to work. The RANF's Irene Bolger and HEF's Les Butler — both members of the ALP "Socialist Left" — embody the scab-ridden craft-unionism of all wings of the trade union bureaucracy, and their fundamental unity with Hawke and Cain in the ALP. And the RANF leadership exhibits the racist protectionism of the Laborites when it opposes the entry of Filipino and English nurses into Australia. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families! For a sliding scale of wages and hours to fight unemployment and wage-cutting! For industrial unionism against scabby craft-unionism!

The reformist left's "support" for the strike consists in tailing the class-collaborationist Laborites. The Socialist Workers Party acts as press agents for Irene Bolger, Les Butler, Bill Hartley, or any other "left" Laborite that will give them an interview. The Socialist Labour League calls upon the "left" pro-capitalist union/ALP bureaucrats to "organise full support" for the nurses, "sack the ALP right-wing" and organise a "Labor government pledged to socialist policies." They seek to channel workers' anger with the treacherous ALP back into the ALP and safe parliamentary, craft-union channels via the "lefts."

Our aim is different: to build a revolutionary workers party which will struggle to root out the traditions of racism, male-chauvinism and craftism fostered in the workers movement by the class collaborationist labour bureaucracy, and to replace them with a program of revolutionary internationalism. For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia! ■

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For Mass Pickets! Shut Down the Hospitals!

Nurses Take On Labor Union Busters

Now into its fourth week, the strike by 24,000 members of the Royal Australian Nurses Federation (RANF) has spread to all major Victorian public hospitals and some private hospitals, and threatens to explode nationally as nurses in South Australia and NSW are also engaged in industrial disputes. Called over wage levels, ie wage cutting and downgrading of job classifications, this strike not only poses defence of the rights of the over-worked and underpaid nurses and other hospital workers. It threatens the Labor governments' union-busting, wage-cutting, conditions-gouging Accord with the labour bureaucracy, designed to regiment the workers movement of this country for Reagan's drive towards war against the Soviet Union and its allies like heroic Vietnam. Yet Hospital Employees Federation (HEF) nurses aides, cleaners and orderlies and other hospital staff continue to work. The HEF and other hospital workers must be called out and the hospitals, public and private, shut down tight through militant mass picket lines. A few scabs hobbling around on crutches will quickly spread the word that scabbing is dangerous to your health. Victory to the nurses stike!

From SEQEB to Peko-Wallsend to the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), the bosses have been waging a one-sided class war on the working class. The BLF was a watershed as the



Nurses at Melbourne rally: hard class struggle can beat Cain.

entire trade union bureaucracy either passively watched or actively colluded with the Labor governments' black-listing of an entire union. Militant workers around the country now see the broadly-supported nurses strike as a chance to turn the situation around. A few contingents of wharfies, transport workers, BLF militants to beef up the picket lines would make the point to Cain that hospital workers do not stand alone. At the Royal Women's Hospital picket line one sign read: "No vote to Labor." This points to the necessity of building a political *alternative* to the ALP, a revolutionary workers party through splitting the

ALP's base from the pro-capitalist tops — based on an all-sided program of hard class struggle.

Predictably the capitalist press, Premier Cain and his "Health" Minister White ooze hypocritical concern about patients and emergency cases. But it is the ruling class and their Labor lackeys who are driving hospital conditions into the ground with years of criminal neglect and funding cutbacks. Meanwhile Hawke parades around the country his F-18s and guided-missile destroyers — part of a billion-dollar anti-Soviet war build-up. To underline the connection Hawke has offered Cain the use of

military hospitals and personnel to smash the strike. The anti-Soviet war drive means union-busting and austerity at home. For free, quality health care for all! Smash the anti-Soviet war drive!

The very names of the hospitals — Queen Victoria, Prince Henry, Royal Womens — emphasize the Victorian-era paternal administration of the hospital system which makes nurses virtual state-controlled domestics, carrying out "women's work." Many nurses can recall when they could be dismissed if they married. The gutter press has been quick to push sexist innuendo — probably emanating straight from Cain's chambers — about RANF leader Irene Bolger's private life. Strikers have raised the lack of adequate child-care facilities for this predominantly female workforce. Free, 24-hour child-care should be available in *all* industries in order to help breakdown the enforced segregation and exclusion of women. Nurses' conservative "professional" illusions have long held them in chains and continue to pose a weakness to the strike. But as one nurse picket told us: "I've not done this before, but I'm learning fast!"

RANF members have shown considerable resolve in pursuing their strike. They flouted a State Industrial Commission order to return to work, branding the Commission a "kangaroo" **Continued on page eleven**

Free Bill Hurrey, David Moore!

Smash Petersen, Sturgess Anti-Gay Witchhunt!

Bill Hurrey, Brisbane's most popular disc jockey, was arrested in November 1984 on 26 charges relating to homosexuality. This July he was sentenced to five years jail with hard labour, convicted after a 28-day trial on 17 charges consisting of conspiracy, sodomy and "indecently dealing with boys". This November, ex-cop and father of five, David Moore followed Hurrey into Boggo Road jail for six years for seven "sex offences" against youths. Hurrey and Moore are victims

of Queensland Director of Public Prosecutions Des Sturgess' sinister, bible-thumping witchhunt against gays.

Hurrey and Moore have been framed up. Hurrey is widely known in Brisbane and is openly homosexual. His radio show continually topped the ratings. This cultured man, who has one of the largest jazz record collections in the country, and who is a personal friend of black American singer Stevie Wonder, has been given

the Oscar Wilde treatment. Moore, too was widely known from his children's television appearances when he was a cop, warning against child molestation. Now he has become a victim of the reactionary campaign he publicly represented. Hurrey and Moore are being pilloried by Sturgess and the Queensland government precisely because they are so prominent. The government intends to convey to the whole population that thou shalt have "adult" heterosexual

sex in the missionary position ... or else.

Hurrey's barrister said of the 11 youths who testified against Hurrey: "a greater bunch of thieves, liars, pimps and shakedown merchants you could not hope to find outside a maximum security prison" (*Australian* 7 July 1986). Sturgess personally visited the parents of one witness to ensure the youth testified. A Catholic boys'

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