



Save the Tamils from JR's Genocide!

Holocaust in Sri Lanka

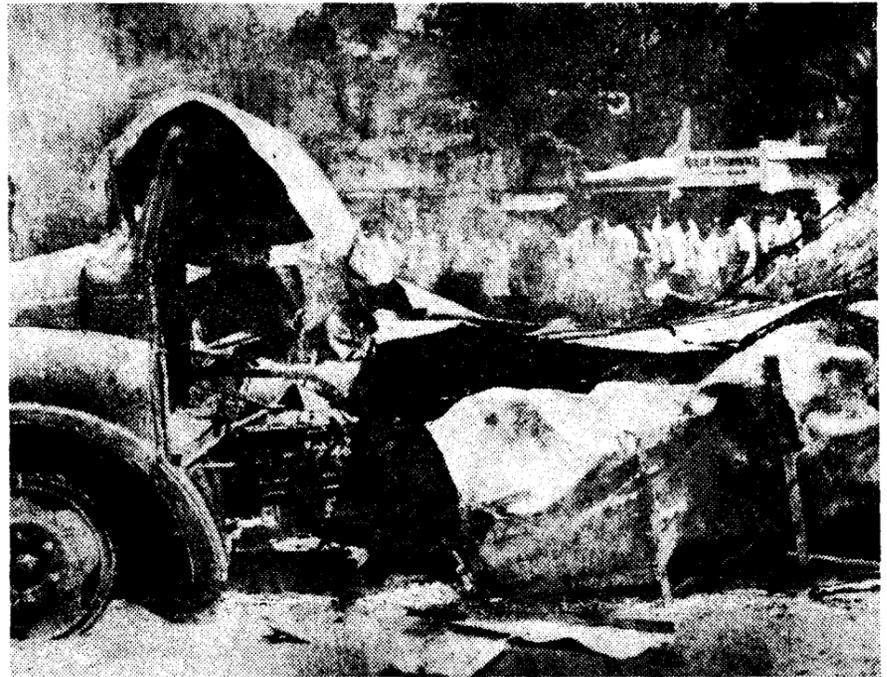
August 7 — In the following article reprinted from the 29 July *Workers Vanguard*, we write: "The bloody oppression of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is on the verge of turning into genocidal terror." Events have now passed beyond this critical turning point. The UNP government of JR Jayewardene has unleashed a holocaust against the Tamils of Sri Lanka, turning the entire island into a hellish inferno. An ABC correspondent who managed to get a line out of Colombo reported on 28 July that in the capital alone "the number of deaths could be as high as two, three or even four hundred":

"I was told that Tamils in the shops or houses during the riots were given the choice of burning to death inside or coming out and being axed to death. Most I'm told chose to burn to death inside."

That was one week ago. Since then the death toll has multiplied. Trincomalee, the scene of repeated rampaging by JR's navy, is a smoking ruin. Scant reports from the sealed-off Tamil-populated Northern Province tell of the firebombing from government helicopters of Jaffna, where it is said some three to five thousand, mainly Tamil youth, have been murdered. There are now one hundred thousand homeless in Colombo, while today's *Australian* cites two hundred thousand in the island as a

whole, herded into concentration camps and shipped by boat to the North. The holocaust has now shifted to the upland plantations, where reportedly around a thousand of the stateless "Indian" Tamil plantation workers have already been killed and countless more again shipped to the North where Jayewardene hopes to squeeze the survivors of his holocaust into a South African-like bantustan.

Around the globe the capitalist press has portrayed the carnage in Lanka as an "outbreak of racial strife", a "backlash against the Tamil separatist movement". This is a grisly lie. The genocide of the Tamil people is the work of JR Jayewardene, carried out not only by government-incited mobs of Sinhalese racists, but directly by the army and police. In all ways Jayewardene has become the Pinochet of Sri Lanka, choosing this moment to finally consolidate his naked dictatorship. The already bankrupt Lankan economy has now been devastated, bringing even greater misery to the island's toiling masses who for years have suffered under the savage dictates of the International Monetary Fund. Jayewardene has now extended his reign of terror to the left-wing parties of the Sinhala working class, banning not only the bourgeois Tamil United Liberation Front, the main parliamentary opposition party, but the Communist Party, the Janatha



Burned-out Tamil-owned truck, Colombo.

Vimukthi Peramuna and the Nawa Sama Samaja Party. Hundreds of leftists have been imprisoned. To even advocate Tamil Eelam — the formation of a separate Tamil state — is to become an outlaw, stripped of all civic rights and risking imprisonment and even death.

At the same time Jayewardene has launched an orgy of anti-

Sovietism, reportedly barricading the East German Embassy in Colombo, expelling en masse Soviet and Eastern bloc diplomatic staff (*Australian*, August 2) and outrageously accusing the USSR of orchestrating the mass murder and plunder which his bonapartist regime has executed. Major bourgeois newspapers internationally

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Protest Demonstrations Organised

Stop Jayewardene's "Final Solution"!

"There is going on in Ceylon at the moment a lot of murder and rape, burning of houses all over the island of Ceylon, where the government in power is using its army to commit genocide on the Tamil people", said a spokesman for the Tamil Association of Victoria to demonstrators outside the Ceylon Tea Centre in Melbourne on 27 July. With only a day's notice over 60 protesters, overwhelmingly Tamil, answered the Spartacist League's call for an emergency demonstration against JR Jayewardene's slaughter of the Tamil people. Despite a heavy downpour protesters vigorously chanted slogans one after the other for over an hour, including: "Smash JR's Genocide — Defend the

Tamil People! JR's Troops out of the North and East — No US Base at Trincomalee! For the Right of Self-Determination for the Tamil People!" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Tamil Plantation Workers!"

The Melbourne action was part of a campaign of protest launched by the international Spartacist tendency: in Paris on 29 July, 400 mainly Tamil protesters joined a demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France; on the same day in Toronto over 100 answered the call of the Trotskyst League of Canada. On 28 July in New York 100 protesters picketed the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN and the following day 200 Tamils from the American Northeast demon-

strated in New York City. In London the Spartacist League/Britain has taken part in demonstrations of thousands of Tamils and on 29 July held a well-attended public meeting, drawing the participation of many Tamils.

A Spartacist League statement handed out at the Melbourne protest vividly described the escalating anti-Tamil terror which has now become a holocaust:

"In the city of Trincomalee in the Tamil-populated Eastern Province, 600 to 700 Indian Tamil refugees were forcibly removed from the area in truck loads, not to be seen again. Gangs of Sinhalese thugs and JR's murderous police are committing

pogroms: burning down houses, hacking to death entire families as in Kuthul Uthu and stopping buses in order to murder passengers.... Latest reports are that in Colombo racist thugs led by Buddhist priests and backed by JR's army have looted and burned all the shops and industries belonging to Tamils."

A Spartacist spokesman emphasised that "the genocide of the Tamils in Sri Lanka is linked by many strings to a war drive against the USSR", in particular pointing to US imperialism's appetite to secure the strategically located harbour of Trincomalee for its "counterrevolutionary designs to reconquer the workers states like the

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For the Right of Tamil Eelam!

Stop JR...

continued from page one

Soviet Union and Vietnam". The speaker also noted that, along with "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene, the "Australian Prime Minister [is] a key anti-Soviet ally in this region". The Hawke government, which reneged on its promise to resume token economic aid to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, gives up to \$12 million in financial aid to the monstrous Sri Lankan UNP regime. Demonstrators chanted: "Stop All Australian Aid to JR's Butchers!" and "From Pine Gap to Trincomalee — No US Bases!" and Spartacist placards included the slogan: "Defence of Vietnam, USSR begins at Pine Gap, Diego Garcia, Trincomalee!"

Interestingly, the Melbourne protest was reported in the press of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a social-democratic group notorious for its association with the Ustasha-linked Croatian Movement for Statehood (see article page 8). The SWP is tied via Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" to the Sri Lankan Revolutionary Marxist Party, formerly led by the Sinhala-chauvinist, CIA-tainted, trade-union bureaucrat Bala Tampoe. In keeping with the SWP's virulent anti-Trotskyism and chronic dishonesty, the tiny *Direct Action* report (August 2) censors any mention of the Spartacist League organisers, describing the picket as "by Sri Lankans and their supporters". Of course, the SWP has maintained only the most token presence at recent protest demonstrations.

Buried elsewhere in the same issue is a small article crowned with a call upon the Hawke Labor government "to break diplomatic ties with the Sri Lankan government until it takes emergency action to halt the racist attacks". This is something like calling on Hitler to take "emergency action" to stop the genocide of the Jews. Truly these hat-in-hand "socialists", entirely subservient to Australian imperialism's ruling Labor Party, have nothing to offer the Tamil people. Australian imperialism has always sought the closest relations with the Sri Lankan bourgeoisie, joining the US and Britain in rushing military aid to the "Sinhala-only" Popular Front regime of Mrs Bandaranaike in order to drown in blood the 1971 JVP-led youth uprising, thereby paving the way for Jayewardene — the Pinochet of Sri Lanka.

On 23 July, 29 spirited protesters, including several Tamils, demonstrated outside Sydney's Town Hall chanting "Smash JR's Genocide — Defend the Tamil people!" and "Bring down JR's UNP — US stay out of Trincomalee!" The protest was called by the Spartacist League when it first became clear outside the island that Jayewardene was orchestrating a dramatic escalation in his campaign of terror against the Tamil people. An SL press release pointed out that Jayewardene's anti-Tamil pogroms,

including against the "Indian" Tamil plantation workers, driving these stateless workers from the island's southern region, posed "de facto partition and the creation of a bantustan in the north".

For generations the "Indian" Tamils have toiled in slave-like conditions producing tea, rubber and coconut for the international market, constituting both the mainstay of the

Australian participation in such a UN force. The white racist Australian imperialists send their troops only where their US masters allow it — as in Vietnam — or where they tell them to, as in the Sinai where Australian troops served as border guards for Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon as part of the US anti-Soviet "Rapid Deployment Force". The truth is that Labor Prime Minister

a brutal oppressor of the national, ethnic and religious minorities of India. "No faith in Indira Gandhi — Remember the Mukti Bahini!" warned a Spartacist placard. For it must not be forgotten that when Gandhi went to war with Pakistan in 1972, using the just Bengali struggle for self-determination as the pretext, the Indian army established an iron hold on the East Bengalis, disarming and repressing the guerrillaist Mukti Bahini which had thrown itself into the arms of the Indian bourgeoisie. Surely the young Tamil liberation fighters and leftist defenders of the Tamil people — Sinhala and Tamil alike — would not fare differently. These militants represent the only hope for a just future for Lanka's oppressed and toiling masses, for it is from amongst this layer that the cadres of the revolutionary party of the Lankan proletariat — Tamil and Sinhala, women and men — will emerge.

It is the international working class and its allies which must urgently act to save the Tamil people from Jayewardene's "final solution". The lives of 3 million men, women and children — the fate of an entire people! — depends on this. Australian workers and workers of the world: don't let the "Führer" of Sri Lanka destroy the Tamil people! Australian wharfies: black all cargo to and from Sri Lanka!

In the burning hell of chauvinism that is Sri Lanka, the Spartacist League of Lanka, section of the international Spartacist tendency, seeks to forge a proletarian internationalist party to bring down Jayewardene's UNP dictatorship, a party that will reach out as brothers to the toilers and oppressed of India and all South Asia, for only socialist revolution led by the proletariat can bring justice for the Tamils and all the peoples of South Asia. ■



A Sp photo

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

Sri Lankan capitalist economy and a vital bond to the Indian subcontinent. As a Spartacist spokesman at the demonstration stated:

"We know, as does JR — and this fuels his genocidal intent — that only 25 miles away to the north of Sri Lanka, across the narrow Palk straits, tens of millions of Tamils live in the south of India. We proletarian internationalists look to the Tamils as the basis to forge the revolutionary link with Southern India, to the social revolution of all South Asia. Forward to a South Asian Soviet Federation!"

Six weeks earlier in Sydney a demonstration of some 80 Tamils, about one third women, called by the Eelam Tamil Association marched through the downtown area to Hyde Park on 11 June to protest draconian new emergency regulations enacted by the government. Demonstrators carried placards reading: "Taste Tamil blood in Ceylon Tea, Sri Lanka: Don't Destroy Eelam Tamils" and "Foreign Aid Used to Kill Tamils in Sri Lanka". The assembled protesters heartily applauded a Spartacist speaker who denounced Jayewardene's genocidal anti-Tamil terror and 58 pieces of Spartacist literature, including the Tamil-language *Illangai Spartacist* published by the Spartacist League/Lanka, and *Women & Revolution* were sold.

In Canberra on 2 August Spartacist supporters joined 150 Tamil protesters who came by bus from Sydney and Melbourne to demonstrate outside Parliament House and the Indian High Commission. Spartacist placards included the demands: "Down with JR! Stop Australian Aid to UNP regime!" and "Asylum for victims of anti-Tamil terror!" The protest was called jointly by the Eelam Tamil Association and the Tamil Association of Victoria. With the holocaust now raging in Lanka, Tamil leaders have turned in desperation to the United Nations, calling for a UN-sponsored "peace-keeping" force. A Spartacist placard read: "No faith in the UN — Remember Lebanon!" There the US-led imperialist "peacekeepers" enforced only the "peace" of the graveyard; by disarming the defenders of West Beirut they set up the horror of Sabra and Shatila. Earlier the "Unifil" forces guarding Israel's northern boundary were quickly brushed aside when Begin/Sharon's military went into action in June 1982.

Some Tamils have also proposed

Hawke is a Reagan man and JR Jayewardene, like Begin and "Major Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson, one of Reagan's favoured "Free World" butchers.

Above all Tamil leaders have looked towards Indian military intervention. No doubt the presence of Indian army divisions on the island would act to stay JR's butchery. Working class militants certainly long to see this mass murderer and rabidly anti-Soviet US lackey crushed like a cockroach. But Indira Gandhi is herself

"Black Sri Lankan Cargo!"

Reprinted below are extracts from an SL leaflet (dated August 5) distributed on the Melbourne docks under the heading "Stop Anti-Tamil genocide in Sri Lanka! Black Sri Lankan Cargo!"

... The international working class must act now to save the Tamil people from JR Jayewardene's "final solution".

Australian wharfies have a perfect opportunity to score a blow against the butcher JR. On August 7 at Berth 24 Victoria Dock and days later in Sydney an Indian ship, Vishva Kaumudi, will be off-loading and taking on Sri Lankan cargo. Waterside workers together with the ship's Indian seamen should see that the cargo on the dock stays there. And it would be a splendid act of working class solidarity if the Sri Lankan cargo now on board stays right where it is until it finds a resting place at the bottom of the Pacific. Australian maritime unions have a long history of such action from the Black Armada of

1945-48 to strike action in solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam during US and Australian imperialisms' dirty, losing war in Indochina. Organised labour must again use its power! Don't let JR Jayewardene destroy the Tamil people! Black all cargo to and from Sri Lanka! ...

Reliance on the Hawke Labor government to act in defence of the Tamils is a sure way to seal their fate. Hawke knows who his friends are and Reagan's anti-Soviet despot Jayewardene is one of them. Hawke's anti-union government reneged on its promise to resume economic aid to Vietnam but gives at least \$12 million annual financial aid to subsidise Jayewardene's genocide. Now Hawke has just thrown in an extra \$100,000 bonus! Waterside workers: it's up to you to take action to save the Tamil people. You've got the power — use it! Don't load the Vishva Kaumudi! ■

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NSW Rail Strike Sold Out

After 17 days the longest rail strike in NSW since 1917 was sold down the river on July 15. The AFULE drivers union had struck against the Wran Labor government's latest job-slashing "rationalisation" scheme — cutting from two to one the men up-front on the new high speed XPT passenger trains, as the prelude to cutting crews on all locomotives. For over two weeks the trains didn't roll in NSW. With their ranks solid and Australia's financial/commercial centre beginning to feel the pinch, striking railworkers were betrayed by their leaders and stabbed in the back by the NSW State Labour Council.

The powerful AFULE could have won this strike with a union leadership fighting to win it. Instead the AFULE tops fought to lose, joining the State Rail Authority (SRA) and the Labour Council in grinding down the membership's will to fight until the SRA's "settlement" could be imposed. Even then a third of the ranks voted against the sellout and there was bitterness and anger throughout the union. Only four days earlier the drivers unanimously rejected the SRA's "peace" proposal to get Wran's Arbitration Court to rubber-stamp government job-slashing. After the vote Labour Council acting secretary John

MacBean, who authored the SRA's back-to-work plan, vowed that defiant train drivers would be blackballed by the rest of the labour movement.

Sure enough the bewigged lordships of the Full Bench of the Arbitration Court were ordered to convene and their labour lieutenants summoned to appear. AFULE officials, both federal and state, pledged to do their best to get the men back to work and MacBean promised a delegated Labour Council meeting to endorse the SRA's plan before the next mass meeting of striking train drivers. This treachery turned into open strike-breaking with the Labour Council organising state bus drivers to run a free bus service from parking areas into the city. MacBean and his boss Barry Unsworth are all for "solidarity" with Polish Solidarity, the company union for the CIA and international bankers, but when it comes to supporting railworkers fighting to save their jobs — no way!

The betrayal of the rail strike highlights the need for a sharp political break from all variants of Labor Party reformism. The "independent" Communist Party of Australia, itself entrenched in the trade union bureaucracy and loyal Hawke supporters, backed the MacBean/SRA plan at the

July 14 Labour Council meeting. Meanwhile, *Tribune* (July 13) moaned about the "weak position of the drivers" and "the problems of traditional (!) union responses". Then there is the Socialist Workers Party's supporters in the ARU like Lalitha Cheilliah, who told an *Australasian Spartacist* reporter she was opposed to bringing out her union — the largest on the railways — in a joint strike because if ARU members waited to be stood down, they could get the dole!

Likewise, supporters of the Qaddafi-loving Socialist Labour League in the "All Rail Union Alliance" such as Terry Cook from Chullora showed that the "full solidarity" pledged in their leaflet (distributed July 15) wasn't worth the paper it was written on. "Resolutions and telegrams must flood the offices of the Labour Council and rail unions," they wrote, while *Workers News* salesmen idiotically called for "nationalising" the state railways! Any union militant knows that even one walkout or strike by ARU or other transport workers would have done more than thousands of telegrams or resolutions towards winning the strike and breaking through the bitter craft divisions

fuelled by years of back-stabbing by the rival bureaucracies in the AFULE, ARU and other rail unions.

Now Fairfax's *Sydney Morning Herald* (July 19) gloats that "the world is becoming a tougher place for the State's railway workers" while praising as "exemplary" NSW Liberal leader Greiner's call to give rail drivers the PATCO-treatment. Rail workers must draw the lessons from this strike. A new class-struggle leadership is needed to turn back the bosses' onslaught. The Spartacist League leaflet (reprinted below) handed out at the July 11 AFULE mass meeting spelled out what was needed to win, to break the bureaucratic stranglehold and regenerate the unions as fighting workers organisations. Above all this requires a program for working class power through the setting up of a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class and establish a planned economy.

The issues at stake in this strike are basic; not just the vital safety issue, but the very existence of the union is on the line. Fully half of the AFULE's NSW membership will be wiped out if Wran/Ferguson win this one. But instead of fighting for *railworkers to win*, the AFULE officials and their Labor Council friends worked overtime all weekend to come up with a plan for the bosses to *stop* the longest rail

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Stop the Genocide of Kurds!

May 25 saw another genocidal attack on the Kurdish people by the Turkish bonapartist military junta, in cooperation with the dictatorial Ba'athist regime of Iraq. Two elite units of the Turkish army were sent across the Iraqi border in order to shoot Kurds who were crossing into Iraq. The *Guardian* (28 May 1983) commented that the "fighting may have begun ... when 7000 Iranian Kurds are believed to have tried to cross from Iran into Turkey and travel from there into Iraq". A May 31 statement by the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad (AKSA) commented that "Heavy fighting is going on and ... the Turkish army is said to be rushing more troops to its eastern frontier with Iraq."

The Turkish foreign office openly admitted the Turkish-Iraqi collaboration in this attack, stating that "consultations took place with our friend and neighbour the Iraqi government on the development". Meanwhile the right-wing Turkish bourgeois paper *Gunaydin* praised the operation with chauvinist hysteria as a "lesson" given to the Kurds.

No doubt this attack has whetted the appetites of Turkish irredentists who lay claim to areas like Mosul in Iraq. The Turkish junta is not only a key component of the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union but has been encouraged to play a role in maintaining counterrevolutionary 'order' in the region. However, an article in *Iscinin Sesi* (13 June 1983), paper of the "Leninists" of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) does not even mention the Kurds. They justify a joint demonstration held in Germany with Iraqi organisations on the grounds not of defending the Kurds against an attack made with the collaboration of the Iraqi regime but because "what is in question is an attack against Iraq". They talk of "the importance of establishing an alliance between Kurdish democrats and the Leninist forces of the TKP",



London, 31 May: with signs in English, Turkish, Farsi and Arabic, Spartacist contingent protests at Turkish Embassy, calling for Kurdish right of self-determination.

but in this concrete case they produce an effective denial of any defence of the rights and existence of the Kurds.

This "operation" follows the Turkish junta's recent condemnation of 35 Kurds to death in Diyarbakir for establishing a nationalist movement. This is one of several mass trials where leftists, working-class militants and even bourgeois liberals are being sentenced to life imprisonment and even death. Already the dungeons of the junta are full and torture is commonplace.

The Kurdish people are divided among five countries. The largest concentration is in Turkey, amounting to one fifth of the country's 50 million population. Since the September 1980 military takeover the junta has intensified the attacks on Kurdish nationalists and leftists (attacks which also occurred under the previous civilian regime), denying that a distinct Kurdish people even exists. Even using the Kurdish language in speech and literature is illegal and the junta's recent constitution further legitimised its repression, intimidation and murder.

Meanwhile in Iraq, deprived again

of basic democratic rights, the Kurds live under the dictatorial repression of Saddam Hossein's regime and continuously face forced population transfers. In Iran since the coming to power of the Persian-chauvinist fanatic Ayatollah Khomeini genocide against the Kurds has intensified, forcing many to try and escape the country. But in this attempt many fall into the murderous hands of the Ba'athists of Iraq and the Kemalist chauvinist military of Turkey. In Syria too, the Kurds suffer deep national oppression. In the Soviet Union the Kurdish community enjoy conditions far better than their compatriots face in the four capitalist states. In the latter their very right to exist is denied from all quarters.

To protest the latest attacks on the Kurds, a picket of the Turkish embassy was organised in London on May 31, with participants from AKSA, the Kurdistan Solidarity Committee, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey, supporters of the "Leninists" of the TKP and others. A contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) joined the

picket, carrying placards in Farsi, Turkish, Arabic and English demanding "Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria" and "For the right to self-determination of the Kurds". While some other demonstrators (including supporters of the TKP "Leninists") chanted "United Nations — where are you?" the SL/B counterposed "United Nations, den of thieves, is no friend of the Kurds — Out of the Middle East now!" Other SL/B chants called for workers and peasants governments throughout the Middle East. At the end most of the Kurds sang their national anthem, while the SL/B and some Kurds sang the "Internationale".

It is the elementary duty of the international proletariat and defenders of democratic rights to come to the defence of the Kurdish people against the all-sided genocide. Down with the butchers of the Kurds! Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria! For the right of the Kurds to self-determination! Forward to a Socialist Federation of the Middle East! ■

— Reprinted from Spartacist Britain no 51, July/August 1983

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Anti-Trotskyist Exclusion Foiled

Percy's "Doves" in Hawke's Nest

MELBOURNE July 16: "No More Vietnams" was the central slogan of an SWP conference organised here to mark the 4th anniversary of the Sandinista-led revolution in Nicaragua. Indeed, what could be a more appropriate theme for "socialists" who openly support their own imperialist government and treacherously counsel Sandinista Nicaragua to appease — not defeat — war-bent US imperialism? When the Spartacist League arrived at the conference the reformist cowards of the SWP went into a panic: "You're excluded!" bleated local SWP honcho Coral Channells, who vowed not to begin the meeting until the Trotskyists left. For fully 15 minutes the SWP disrupted their own conference (oops! — called under the auspices of CISCAC, of course). They even threatened to call it off altogether until it finally sunk in that SLers were there to stay and, moreover, prepared to ensure an open political discussion.

Outside of the Spartacist supporters present, the conference attracted some 40 listless SWPers and a few MIRistas with the hapless task of playing cheerleader for ALP MHR Peter Milton and ATEA industrial officer Patrick Mullane. Lewis Kent was also scheduled to speak, but the Victorian Labor MP instead sent a telegram, with a copy to the SL, stating: "I feel the fascist HDP's association with CISCAC prevents me from addressing you." It seems that, after all, crime *doesn't* pay. As it turned out, the SWP's HDP/Ustasha friends were conspicuously absent that day.

When SWPers weren't busy asking the usual Dorothy Dix questions like how to get more "unity" or how to better pressure the government they were wringing their hands over Hawke and Hayden's failure to implement the SWP's program, ie, official Labor Party policy in Vietnam and El Salvador, where Hawke/Hayden are doing their job running point for the US-led anti-Soviet war drive. But when the SWP suggested a motion "con-

demning" Hawke's praise for Reagan's Central America policy, Milton took objection to even the slightest public criticism of the top boss of the imperialist state. Naturally, the SWP complied and disappeared the motion, much the way they disappeared the SWP itself into CISCAC.

Thanks to the SL this otherwise tedious affair was livened up with some revolutionary politics. A Spartacist speaker early on in the discussion pointed out:

"The line of CISCAC, the line of the SWP, is the line of imperialism. What does 'No More Vietnams' mean? ... Vietnam was a victory. It was a victory that the workers and peasants won internationally. To say 'No More Vietnams' is the line of an imperialist power still smarting from that defeat."

SWPer Renfrey Clarke responded that "it doesn't mean no more national liberation struggles, it means no more 500,000 US troops, no more fleets of B-52 bombers". Clarke's concern for the cost-effectiveness of the war for US imperialism comes as no surprise from the man who loved "The Deer Hunter", lauding this profoundly reactionary and lying film as an "anti-war" flick because "we are compelled to hate the conflict [the Vietnam war] for the tragedy it inflicts on the film's heroes"; namely, the US imperialists (*Direct Action*, April 26, 1979).

Our heroes are the workers and peasants of Vietnam who *defeated* US imperialism and its Australian junior partners on the battlefield! Not so for the SWP. These traitors went so far as to organise an El Salvador protest on July 4, *American Independence Day* — the very day that is celebrated by Cuban *gusanos* and Vietnamese dope-pushers! As for Clarke's portrayal of the *class civil war* in Vietnam as a "national liberation struggle", this is nothing new. In El Salvador, where the SWP supports Bowen/Ungo's line for a "negotiated solution" to stop the "spread of communism" and cheat the Salvadoran workers and peasants out of the victory they are fighting for,

the SWP likewise pretends that there is no class line drawn — all the better to cross it.

Clarke continued to "explain" his pro-imperialist line with an anti-working class diatribe in defence of capitalism in Nicaragua, where he claimed "the masses would simply not understand what the Sandinistas were doing if they had attempted to expropriate all the capitalists". The Nicaraguan workers and peasants are paying with their lives for the "generosity" shown to the capitalists by the petty-bourgeois bonapartist Sandinista regime. As one Spartacist supporter put it:

"Maintaining the bourgeoisie is simply maintaining a fifth column for

counterrevolution within the country. We say: expropriate the bourgeoisie! ... Kill the invaders! Defend, complete, extend the revolution!"

To anti-Soviet popular-frontism SWP style, the Trotskyists counterposed internationalist class struggle: for defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism; against Solidarnosc counterrevolution; for military victory to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas; for smashing the contras; for the defence of the workers unions against Reagan's man Hawke. "We take a side", a Spartacist speaker summed up, "just like we took a side in Vietnam where we say: Vietnam was a victory!" Two, three, many defeats for imperialism! ■



Sydney, July 16: SL picket held outside SWP/CISCAC conference co-sponsored by RACLA. Slogans chanted by picketers included: "Down with Reagan/Hawke Cold War from Vietnam to El Salvador! Vietnam was a Victory — 2, 3, Many Defeats for Imperialism! Smash the Samozaists — Workers to Power! SWP: Suckers for HDP — Smash Ustasha Fascists!" and "SWP Loves Solidarity — So Does Hawke and the NCC!" SL-placards included: "SWP Loves Walesa (Too Bad for Fidel!) SWP Supports 'Pax Americana' in West Beirut, San Salvador! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists — Take San Salvador!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs — Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

SWP Knife Attack Against Trotskyists

Reprinted below is an SL leaflet dated June 13 1983.

On Saturday, June 11 at the Melbourne bookstore of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a potentially murderous assault was launched against three Spartacist League supporters. Moments after entering the bookstore, SL supporter Andrew Georgiou was attacked by an SWP member. The assailant was pushed back; he rushed into an adjoining office and returned to thrust a surgical scalpel concealed in his hand to the throat of comrade Georgiou. The would-be assassin was again repelled and then brandished the razor sharp blade at all three SL supporters. Three SWPers — Chris Slee, John Hall and GAF scab Maurice Sibelle — witnessed the attack and refused to identify the assailant.

Today the SWP uses the methods of Vietnamese *gusanos*, the remnants of the Saigon puppet regime who fled to this imperialist outpost to escape the wrath of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. These scum have many times turned their bloodied knives against the workers movement. The



Knife-wielding Resistance Punk

use of deadly force by the SWP against the Spartacists on June 11 has been prepared by a long and rapidly escalating practice of SWP violence, political exclusionism and slander. This is the organisation which mobilised 30 goons to keep the Spartacists out of their April "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" in Melbourne. On the goon squad barring the entrance

were members of the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), an outfit which acts and talks like a Ustasha front, openly lauding the mass butcher Ante Pavelic who turned the Axis satellite state of Croatia into a vast slaughter-yard for hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Croats.

On behalf of its sinister Croatian friends the SWP threw out an elderly Polish Jew, Jacob Bilander, when this survivor of the Nazi holocaust rose to denounce the Ustasha fascists at the HDP's conference workshop. It was at this conference that the SWP Big Liars — and bigots to boot — got caught out when SWP cadre Andrew Jamieson told a woman he thought was "just a Spart" but turned out to be the speaker at the conference workshop on gays that he'd "like to shoot NAMBLA", a small North American gay activist group now viciously hounded by the FBI.

The tremendous political gulf between the reformist SWP and the Trotskyist SL has further widened as the SWP moves hard and fast to the right under the impact of heightened

imperialist anti-Sovietism while singing "solidarity with Solidarity" along with Reagan, Hawke and the Pope. Now with Reagan's man Hawke in power the SWP is willing to pay any price to prove their fealty to imperialist Australia's ruling party. They reckon it's open season on reds who oppose Hawke's chauvinist, anti-working class Labor government, that anything goes against the revolutionaries who fight in defence of proletarian state power from Poland to Vietnam. These thugs badly need a taste of their own medicine. The SWP will take the consequences for their actions. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building the Leninist vanguard party that will lead our class to victory. Our program is the precious weapon of the class conscious workers, and we will fight to defend it.

Postscript: For the information of our readers, the knife-wielding Resistance punk, reportedly known as Peter M, was sighted last month on Broadway in downtown Sydney with no pants and a yellow stripe down his back. SWP thugs: Beware! ■

Australasian Spartacist

Stalinist Deal with the Vatican?

The Pope of Counterrevolution

JUNE 28 — Pope John Paul Wojtyla's eight-day "pilgrimage" to his Polish "homeland" unleashed an orgy of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations, as all knew it would. He reignited the forces of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution which were temporarily checked by General Jaruzelski's December 1981 countercoup against Solidarnosc' bid for power. Everyone has been asking, why did Warsaw allow it? What did the beleaguered Polish Stalinists hope to gain from the pope's inflammatory visit?

As we go to press there are sensational and increasingly detailed reports of a deal between the Vatican pontiff and the Polish general. Allegedly martial law would be lifted in exchange for the disappearance of Solidarnosc and a return to oblivion for its leader, Lech Walesa. A new "union" would be sanctioned under the direct control of the Catholic church hierarchy. In addition, the church would establish a bank providing loans for Poland's several million peasant smallholders and petty entrepreneurs. In turn, Western imperialist powers — Wojtyla's masters — would lift sanctions to ease the economic pressure on Poland.

We are not in a position to know if such a deal were made. But we warn: this would threaten the very foundations of proletarian state power in Poland, endangering the entire Soviet bloc. The Catholic hierarchy seeks institutionalized control over the economic life of the nation, interposing itself as an intermediary between the regime and the petty bourgeoisie and working class. We Trotskyists, who in late 1981 proclaimed "Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution!" insist that only through proletarian political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states and socialist revolution in the capitalist West can the forces of counterrevolution be defeated.

Pilgrimage for the Cold War

"He goes right in there and stops just short of stirring up rebellion", Republican Senator Charles Percy observed approvingly (*New York Times*, 24 June). And indeed Wojtyla whipped up anti-Communist hysteria, exhibiting his authority in Poland in order to increase his bargaining power. For more than a week he roamed the country, preaching the gospel according to NATO, demanding Polish "sovereignty" and "freedom" from Russian "domination":

- "The fate of Poland in 1983 cannot be a matter of indifference to the nations of the world, especially Europe and America" (Warsaw).

- "Solidarity" was a time "when the Polish worker stood up for himself with the gospel in hand and a prayer on his lips" (Czestochowa).

- "Do not be swallowed up by immorality and indifference... The nation is called to victory" (Krakow).

Pope Wojtyla was the imperialists' man in Poland. His visit gave a "legitimate" cover for massive anti-Communist demonstrations, far and away the largest since Walesa's power grab was split two and a half years

ago. Altogether, an estimated ten million people filled the churches, the parks, the soccer stadiums dominated by monstrous altars and crosses. Solidarnosc activists brandished their crosses and banners, wore their Black Madonna pins, flashed their V-signs and marched through the streets proclaiming, "The priests are with us. The pope is with us."

It was a week-long orgy of anti-Russian Polish nationalism: every religious image made political, every "sacred" site chosen to further the chilling appeal: the pilgrimage to the icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, credited with having broken the siege of the "foreign invaders" (Swedish Protestants in 1655). "Before your altars, we entreat you, oh lord, deign to restore to us a free homeland", intoned the pope, dressed in royal crown and red cape emblazoned with the Polish eagle and the cross. Home Army songs are sung at mass, along with "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland" and "March, March Dombrowski", ode to the emigre general who fought the Russians under Napoleon. And everywhere Wojtyla warns about the "arrogance of power".

The beleaguered Stalinist officialdom is dismayed by it all. "The pope is the only authority in the country", one of them exclaimed (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 June). A genuinely communist regime, as opposed to this wretched bureaucracy, would have a base in the population to pursue the struggle against clericalism. What is involved is *not* a religious issue, a matter of personal faith in god. Marxists do not go around burning crucifixes and knocking down churches. If the church stays out of political life, then social development over the generations will determine



Pope stirs the spirit of clerical counterrevolution in Nowa Huta — town of the Stakhanovite "Man of Marble", now a Solidarnosc stronghold.

whether or not people continue to believe in an afterlife.

But Wojtyla is making a bid to enhance the already enormous political weight of the Catholic church in Polish society. (In fact, the Italian wing of the Vatican is clearly upset that the Polish pope has become so deeply embroiled in the political life of his homeland.) After his second meeting with Jaruzelski, a son of the Polish upper classes educated by the Jesuits, reports began circulating about a deal, most of them emanating from Rome.

Lech Walesa is reportedly being dumped as the church's favorite son in Poland. Since the general strike on the Baltic coast in August 1980, the Vatican has constantly praised him for having uncompromisingly and unconditionally followed the directives of the church. This, of course, led him to become a front man for Western imperialism, financially for the West Germans, militarily for the Americans. His proud boast was that he had never read a book — which is how he got invited to lecture at Harvard. He is a Polish version of Father Gapon, who was finally murdered by the Social Revolutionaries as a tsarist agent. Well, now the Vatican paper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, observes, "Officially Lech Walesa once more leaves the scene" because "he has lost his battle". Walesa is undoubtedly too far gone to have learned from what is happening to him, so we will not lecture to him that the path of the

socialist class struggle is the way. But maybe others in Poland will learn from his contemptible fate.

Stalinists Conciliate Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

For decades the Polish Stalinists have conciliated the Catholic church in a vain effort to secure social stability. After the 1956 "thaw" the church was allowed to become the *only* voice of political opposition. At the same time, the Polish Stalinists abandoned agricultural collectivization and so perpetuated a class of priest-ridden peasant smallholders hostile to socialism. When Karol Wojtyla, then archbishop of Krakow, was elected the first Polish pope in 1978, we warned:

"To the Stalinists Pope John Paul II may seem a prince of peace and detente, a man of the post-Helsinki period. Domestically the Gierk regime portrays him as a symbol of Communist-Catholic coexistence. But he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counterrevolution. And it is precisely the Stalinists who are responsible for the existence of this grave threat to the social conquests of the degenerated and deformed workers states."

— "The President's Pope?"
Workers Vanguard no 217,
20 October 1978

Behind Pope Wojtyla stands the power of Western imperialism, now in
continued on page six

SWP Calls for Marshall Plan in Vietnam

Hawke's foreign emissary Hayden vows to "free" Vietnam from "stifling dependency" on the Soviet Union, so out pops the Socialist Workers Party's model for economic "aid" to Vietnam: the post-war US Marshall Plan! In a back page feature article headed "What we did to Vietnam" in order to emphasise its shameless identification with the crimes of predatory Australian imperialism, *Direct Action* (July 5) writes:

"After World War II, the US provided aid under the Marshall Plan to restore devastated Europe. The same generosity has not been shown to Vietnam."

Shades of Lech Walesa! — on tour to Japan in the heyday of Solidarnosc this son of the Polish Pope (and the IMF) lauded the mad bombers of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for their role in the reconstruction of Japanese imperialism.

Quite simply, the SWP's "aid" program amounts to a call for bloody capitalist counterrevolution in Indochina. Every high school student knows that the US Marshall Plan was designed to bolster the ruined



economies of capitalist Europe, principally West Germany, as a bulwark against Soviet Communism. In its self-appointed role as the true "conscience" of Hawke's ruling Labor Party, the SWP has embraced as its own ALP policy stipulating "strenuous diplomatic efforts to promote regional solutions to Indo Chinese problems and... attempt to decrease the involvement of the superpowers", i.e. the Soviet Union (see *Labor Militant*, June 1983). Which is exactly what Hayden

is doing, having secured the reluctant approval of Shultz. These days the SWP has made the bourgeois-defeatist slogan "No More Vietnams" one of its "3 Whales" of recruitment, along with support to Vatican-inspired capitalist counterrevolution in Poland and defence of Ustasha barbarism in wartime Croatia (see article page 8).

While the SWP was diving for cover behind ALP policy in face of the recent US-orchestrated Chinese and Thai provocations against Vietnam, the Spartacist League raised the call: "Australian workers: black *all* aid to the Thai generals and Son Sann guerrillas!" We were there to protest when Wran feted Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang at Sydney's State Office Block last April, raising aloft our banner reading: "US/China: Hands Off Vietnam! Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!" The SWP "social-imperialists" advocate economic aid as an instrument for imperialist anti-Sovietism. But we Trotskyists demand: *Smash the imperialist economic blockade of Vietnam! Not one Australian bullet or plane to the ASEAN butchers!* ■

Rail...

continued from page three

strike in NSW since 1917! For 14 days Australia's financial centre has been crippled, millions of dollars have been lost. The bosses and their Labor government lackeys are starting to hurt, so Labour Council acting secretary MacBean walks out of the barber shop and comes up with this gem: keep the three operational XPT trains off the rails until Wran's hatchetmen are ready to finish the job against railworkers. The plan is already in place, the union leadership have pledged in advance to accept the SRA's Arbitration Court "investigation" that will try and enforce one-man rosters on the XPTs. The union tops are trying to sell this betrayal as a standoff with the government. Bullshit! Railworkers: don't throw away your power! The fight is on now, and now is the time to go for victory. No faith in Arbitration! Vote MacBean's sellout down!

The XPTs are only the tip of the iceberg; Wran and Hill are talking about 10,000 jobs going in the SRA. The bosses and their Labor government are conceding nothing, threatening not only massive stand-downs, but wholesale destruction of the railway workforce. That's what the *Herald's* "example" of Comeng (where the XPTs were built) means. There's lots of people — bankers, industrialists etc — paying big money to see this strike lose. They know that if the AFULE is beaten, they'll have a free hand to ram their job-slashing, wage-cutting program down the throat of every union. But the allies of the railworkers are plenty powerful too. If the AFULE takes a determined stand, workers all over the state and across the country can be rallied to its cause.

Every working man and woman who rides the trains in this city knows how important safety is. And there isn't a section of the labour movement in NSW that hasn't had its jobs and hard-won wages stolen by Wran — bus workers, oilworkers, printers, dockyard workers, hospital workers, teachers; you name it. All these workers have a score to settle with Wran. A hard rail strike can provide the opportunity of winning a big victory for all of labour. This means breaking through the back-stabbing craft lines fostered by the government and union tops alike by bringing out the ARU, the largest rail union, and all public transport unions, backed up with strike action by other government workers and a joint strike of all rail unions nationwide. NSW bus drivers have a special stake in this battle — every day they pay for their

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leadership's refusal two years ago to fight Wran's destruction of hundreds of conductors jobs. Mass picketing by transport workers can shut down tight the scab bus-depots! If city transport stops, then Sydney stops. Plus Wran is in lots of trouble at the moment having been caught out over the Humphreys' case. Government workers have bled for years to bail out his union-hating Labor government — now is the time to hit back!

In war you have to know who your friends are and who your enemies are. Railworkers had better know that behind Wran stands Hawke, pushing the same program of ALP austerity and strikebreaking as top boss of the Australian imperialist state. Bradford, Willingale etc have shown whose side they are on. When the bureaucrats called off last January's strike in the midst of the federal elections, they were fighting for Hawke's job, not the jobs of railway workers. AFULE members weren't defeated then, they were sold out. Today the AFULE tops want to do the same, hoping to exhaust the union's militancy by backing down again. What's necessary now is a united strike around a fighting program to win:

- For a joint AFULE-ARU strike! Break down the craft lines, for industrial unionism! Bring out the rail clerks, the ferry workers, the bus drivers, all state transport workers for an all-out fight against Wran!

- Smash the SRA's job-cutting "rationalisation" plans! Restore all job cuts, 30 hours work at no loss in pay, and massive new hiring!

- Smash Hawke's wage freeze, screw the ALP-ACTU "prices and incomes accord", for a big pay rise across the board with an ironclad cost-of-living allowance clause!

- For massive funding to restore the railways! For free public transport, abolish the fares!

- For a class-struggle leadership: no more sellouts to Wran/Hawke's Labor government! Break with the ALP labour traitors — build a class-struggle workers party! For elected strike committees and regular mass meetings to run the negotiations and make sure that this strike wins!

Railworkers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls! Vote MacBean's sell-out down! ■

Poland...

continued from page five

particular its capacity for economic blackmail. Poland owes \$25 billion or more to Western bankers and governments. The Jaruzelski regime hoped that allowing the pope's visit would ease Reagan's economic sanctions and perhaps open the way for additional Western credits or, at least, easier repayment terms. The minister of religion and atheism, Adam Lopatka, explained this disastrous maneuver: "The trip by the head of the Vatican state and the church will make the continuation of this unfriendly policy toward Poland more difficult." Not a chance. Reagan & Co will stop being "unfriendly" toward Poland only when Wojtyla is in power in the Belvedere Palace and Jaruzelski is in prison or dead.

While the Moscow Stalinists have taken a harder line on Poland than their Warsaw counterparts, they very much want to cut down their present massive subsidies to the Polish kulaks and neo-Pilsudskiite scum. So the Kremlin, too, is under pressure to accept a deal with the Vatican. The Polish crisis is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinists to capitalist restorationist forces and

world imperialism. A Trotskyist leadership in the USSR would make short shrift of the mess in Poland.

Wojtyla's anti-Communist pilgrimage and the reported deal to establish a church-run "union" in Poland demonstrate anew that the Stalinist bureaucracy acts as a transmission belt for the imperialist pressures on the Soviet bloc. There can be no "peaceful coexistence" with the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund, Ronald Reagan, NATO and other agencies of global counter-revolution. The social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and their extension to East Europe after World War II can be defended only by proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist bureaucracy and restores the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, as a bastion of world communism. ■

— Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 333, 1 July 1983

Holocaust...

continued from page one

reported that Jayewardene has called on the US, Britain, Pakistan and Bangladesh to provide military assistance against the threat of "foreign invasion" by the USSR's Indian client state, vowing "if India by some chance decided to invade us, we will fight" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, August 2). For now the brutal Ghandi has rejected appeals for military intervention, instead using her army to shoot into crowds of pro-Tamil demonstrators in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. As the following article points out, a direct intervention by India, while it would stop the genocide of the Tamils, would tend to result in reversing the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities.

In the midst of the slaughter in Sri Lanka, the Hawke Labor government, loyal junior partner of Reaganite US imperialism, supplemented its annual grant of \$12 million to the UNP regime with a gift to JR of \$100,000, announcing with fiendish cynicism that this was to help "victims of the violence". The working class and its allies must raise a mighty outcry against Jayewardene's genocide — bringing the formidable power of organised labour to bear through concrete union action to halt all Australian aid to the UNP butchers and to secure asylum for their victims (see box page 2, "Black Sri Lankan Cargo!").

The international Spartacist tendency and the Spartacist League/Lanka have consistently upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state if they so choose. However, we have counseled *against* separation, understanding that a revolutionary policy for the emancipation of the oppressed Tamils must be based on the Tamil estate proletariat — up till now the heart of the Sri Lankan export economy. These super-exploited and horribly downtrodden agricultural workers have been central to our perspective for a *united* struggle for a workers and peasants government of Sri Lanka, representing also the basis to forge the revolutionary link with southern India and the social revolution of all South Asia. But Jayewardene is now destroying the Tamil estate proletariat, driving those who have not been killed into the North and perhaps even to India. This is a catastrophe for the proletariat of all South Asia. Moreover, the genocide of the Tamils almost certainly necessitates the formation of an independent Tamil state as a precondition to proletarian unity with the now deeply-chauvinist Sinhala working class.

What is now posed is the call for a plebiscite of the Tamils to decide on

the formation of an independent state of Eelam in the north. The formation of such a state in the barren north, out of the ashes of Jayewardene's holocaust, will not bring justice to the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Lasting national and class justice for the Tamils will be secured only through socialist revolution extending throughout South Asia. Forward to a Soviet Federation of South Asia!

JULY 26 — The bloody oppression of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is on the verge of turning into genocidal terror. Sri Lankan strongman President JR Jayewardene, emboldened by his phony referendum — "an election to end all elections" — last December appears to be moving toward the "final solution" to the Tamil problem. As we go to press, racist Sinhalese mobs, incited and protected by the government, are on the rampage from Colombo to Trincomalee. The Tamil-populated Northern Province, long under military occupation, has been sealed off from the rest of the country. Tamil leaders and religious activists being held under the semi-bonapartist regime's Prevention of Terrorism Act are daily being arrested, tortured and killed. All class-conscious workers, socialists and defenders of democratic rights must demand: Stop the terror against Tamils in Sri Lanka!

This drastic turn of events, setting the stage for a pogrom, incited and organized by the government, of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, was triggered last week in the northern city of Jaffna, when a group of soldiers invaded a women's teacher-training school, raping several young women. Reportedly, two of the women committed suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth erected barricades: two army patrol vehicles were ambushed, touching off a gun battle in which 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The government's reaction was to clamp a stranglehold on the Northern Province preparatory to unleashing a reign of bloody terror. On July 25 in Colombo's Welikada Prison, where most of the prominent Tamil political prisoners are held, 35 Tamil fighters were murdered at the hands of raging Sinhalese prisoners, who were clearly incited and probably armed by the prison authorities.

Jaffna is now reportedly a ghost town, as terrified residents huddle in their homes, merchants chain down their doors, and heavily armed police and army jeeps patrol the city and its outskirts. Since late June, two main Tamil papers, *Suthanthiran* and the internationally respected English-language *Saturday Review* have been banned, their offices sealed and editors detained. Now rail and bus transport between Jaffna and Colombo have been cut off. And most ominously, the government is calling upon all Sinhalese to leave the Northern Province to clear the way for the army's bloodletting. The same thing happened just before the anti-Tamil massacre in 1981, when the Jaffna public library, cultural and historical repository for the Tamil people, was burned to the ground.

In the capital city of Colombo, gangs of racist youth, trucked in, aided and abetted by the government, are roaming the streets engaging in systematic, massive burning and

SL Lanka Fund Drive

We would like to thank supporters and friends who contributed to the Spartacist League/Lanka fund drive. The fund drive ended successfully on 30 June, exceeding by 72 percent its target of 5000 rupees.

looting of hundreds of Tamil stores, houses and vehicles. At press time scores had reportedly been killed. As the [London] *Guardian* (25 July) wrote:

"Pillars of smoke and flame rose over the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo, yesterday as mobs attacked the minority Tamil community and burned and looted their homes and stores. Witnesses claimed counting at least 12 corpses on the streets. Hundreds of shops and scores of vehicles were destroyed...."

"But all over the city by mid-morning, lorries jammed with young men shouting anti-Tamil slogans were moving into Tamil areas and into shopping centres, picking out Tamil stores...."

"By noon, Colombo resembled a city after a bombing raid. Smoke obscured the sun, main roads were blocked by burnt-out vehicles and thousands of city workers, most on foot streamed back to their homes to avoid the violence...."

JR Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) government, prostrate before the International Monetary Fund, has introduced drastic austerity measures and schemes such as the "Free Trade Zones" in order to shore up the bankrupt economy. In exchange for access to US markets for the cheap goods produced by the super-exploited Sinhalese women in these zones, JR is willing to trade the strategically important deep-water harbor of Trincomalee, a previously Tamil area. Possession of this port once decided the fate of all India. Here, over the last several years, a conscious program of Sinhalese colonization has been implemented by the government. US imperialism's appetite to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean as a staging area for control of the Indian subcontinent and Persian Gulf and as part of its encirclement of the Soviet Union is thus integrally tied to the preparation for an anti-Tamil pogrom.

Currently, Trincomalee has become an arena of escalating communal violence. Last month Sinhalese gangs set fire to a bus carrying Tamils from Jaffna to Trincomalee. Some 20 people were cremated in the blaze and 60 seriously injured. A young Tamil couple who helped rescue the survivors were found hacked to death the next day along with their young child. On July 5, an Amnesty International news release documented the hideous systematic torture of Tamil activists:

"In some cases detainees have been kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months after arrest. Torture is said to include hanging victims

upside down from hooks, beating them with metal bars and driving needles under the toenails and fingernails."

But that was last month, today many of the torture victims have been butchered.

In desperation the leaders of the Sri Lankan Tamil community have appealed to Indian head of state Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. Indian diplomatic staff in Colombo suffered attacks and arson against their homes following a Sri Lankan press campaign against Indian "meddling" in Sri Lanka's affairs last week. New Delhi had expressed concern over UNP anti-Tamil measures. And in India's state of Tamil Nadu an opposition party has called for a half-day general strike for tomorrow in the state capital of Madras, protesting the atrocities against Tamils in Lanka. JR has rejected all protests by the Indians, Amnesty International and others as "internal meddling" and/or spreading false accusations. Certainly the presence of several divisions of the Indian army just across the narrow straits of Palk would act to restrain Jayewardene's blood lust against the Tamils. But the fate of Lanka's Tamil masses must not be left to Indira Gandhi, the brutal oppressor of her own national, ethnic, religious minorities in India. Indeed, a direct intervention by India, while it would stop the anti-Tamil terror, would tend to result (like the Turkish invasion of Cyprus) in reversing the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities.

This urgent task — a question of life and death for three million people — falls squarely upon the international working class and its allies. The international Spartacist tendency is organizing a campaign of protest to stop the terror against the Tamils in Lanka. The defense of the Tamils, now facing genocide, must be linked to a revolutionary socialist perspective, which alone can secure national justice for all the peoples of South Asia. This is the proletarian internationalist perspective of the Spartacist League/Lanka.

- Army and police out of Tamil areas!
- Free all victims of UNP terror!
- Down with the Bonapartist JR regime! Restore democratic rights and elections!
- For the right of self-determination for the Tamils in Sri Lanka!

- Full citizenship rights for stateless Tamil plantation workers!
- US imperialism, hands off Trincomalee! Out of Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean!
- Forward to a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka as part of a Socialist Federation of South Asia! ■

SWP...

continued from page eight

things inside have got to be bad when second-rate hacks like Sol Salby and Roger Miles (who?) are left to write *Direct Action*, while long-time cadre like Nita Kieg or Jamie Doughney and so many others have disappeared from its turgid pages, save an occasional article on the housing crisis — though those two in particular probably got axed over Poland (see "SWP 'Third Campists' Fall Out Over Poland", *Australasian Spartacist*, June/July 1983). Of course, no one in the SWP uttered a word of complaint until the CPA and associated Labor Party milieu started to turn the heat on.

An important factor that must be kept in mind is the enormous instability generated in the SWP by its break from Jack Barnes' American SWP, which for years did all the thinking for its Australian namesake. Which is not to suggest that the vindictive, eccentric Barnes, now caught between State Department socialism and his own brand of sycophantic Castroism, has any special claims to sanity. Following this traumatic breach the SWP engaged in some heavy petting sessions with Barnes' arch enemy Ernest Mandel, even bringing the leader of international fake-Trotskyism (the "United" Secretariat) to Melbourne for the "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" where Mandel maintained a stony (public) silence on the company the SWP has been keeping.

The basis for this tentative convergence is/was Poland, over which Mandel has definitively passed from centrism to the camp of social-democratic reformism as an outspoken fan of Francois Mitterrand's ruling Socialist Party. This must have seemed like a pretty good bet for a factional bloc, all the more so since the SWP is itself internally torn over "tactics" on "solidarity with Solidarity", but we wouldn't be at all surprised if the HDP got in the way. To be sure, Mandel's opportunism is boundless, but (a) it was in part to

capitulate to Tito's brand of "objectively revolutionary" Stalinism that Mandel first broke from Trotskyism towards Pabloist liquidation, and (b) why would any ostensible socialist want to rub shoulders with fascist butchers like the Ustasha? But then, who knows; maybe *International Viewpoint* will start running articles on "exciting new developments" in the Australian "Croatian Community".

The SWP pretends they can't figure out why everyone is making such a fuss over screwing around with some "leftward moving" Ustasha supporters:

"For 'Tribune,' the Spartacist League, the Socialist Labor League [which having long ago sold its soul to Qaddafi has jumped in to peddle its old FBI slanders — *ASp*], and the ALP 'lefts,' the HDP question provides them with an opportunity to attack the Socialist Workers Party.

"They are worried by the gains made by the SWP in the past year or so, in size and political influence, and a drive against a 'Ustasha front' supported by the SWP seems a convenient opportunity to get at the SWP."

— *Direct Action* supplement

Sure.

Basically the SWP wishes the whole thing would just go away. Repeatedly they "apologise to readers for having to take up this issue at such length", adding that "it is not the central issue facing workers in Australia right now". What the SWP really means is: look, we support the Hawke government; we support Solidarnosc; we're for "No More Vietnams" — can't you just forgive us this one little indulgence? But alas, for Percy that is, the HDP affair signals a bizarre form of political suicide. Seeing that the SWP appears so intent on politically self-destructing, it is the duty of revolutionists and all decent opponents of fascist barbarism to do what they can to help it on its way. ■

Correction

In our article "Ernest Mandel on Tour for Cold War Social Democracy" (*Australasian Spartacist* no 102, June/July 1983) on the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference", we wrote: "The SWP even threw out of the HDP's workshop a Polish Jew who had survived the Nazi holocaust, an ex-CPer in his 60s by the name of Jacob Bilander." It has come to our attention that Jacob Bilander was never actually a member of the CP.

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July 15, 1983

Denis Freney,
Tribune

Dear Denis,

I'm writing to propose a debate between myself, for the SWP, and you, for the CPA, on the topic of Croatia and the SWP.

I think you would agree that the extensive coverage this question has received in *Direct Action* and *Tribune* (and recently in the *Australian*) make it an issue of great interest on the left right now.

A debate would help to clarify the matter and would certainly attract a wide audience.

Recently the SWP debated the International Socialists on Cuba in a well-conducted and well-attended event. I believe that this proposed debate would be a similar success.

I would suggest that it be a public event with the exception that it not be open to members of either the Spartacist League or the Socialist Labor League. The first are chronically and aggressively disruptive and the second charge us, on every possible occasion, with being cops.

I'd like to hear your response to this proposal. If you think that it would be a useful event, we could get in touch to discuss a date, a venue, and a precise format.

Yours sincerely,

David Holmes
Sydney District Organiser

Copies to Spartacist League, SIL, Mark Adams and David Hirst as they are involved in the debate so far. I do not believe in "secret diplomacy" and am sending them a copy of your letter to me also.
PO Box 4716,
Sydney South NSW 2000
July 20 1983

David Holmes,
Sydney district organiser,
SWP

Dear David,

Thank you for your letter of July 15 proposing a debate on the HDP and Croatia.

I never refuse challenges to debate on issues that are of some importance. However I also insist on the following points:

1) Topic: I believe the topic should be something like: "The HDP - Ustasha terrorists or Croatian nationalists?" or something which includes both sides of the dispute.

2) Titles: I do not wish to speak officially on behalf of the CPA. We are a democratic organisation and I do not wish every comment I might make to be attributable to the CPA. As you will be aware, however, we have been fighting the Ustasha, exposing their activities, over decades and we continue to do so. My general position is undoubtedly that of the CPA. However I will only speak as a Tribune journalist.

3) Exclusions: I find it extraordinary that you propose that the Spartacists and the SIL be excluded, but presumably you will encourage your Ustasha friends to come along. I have the deepest political disagreements with both the Sparts and the SIL, and they have with me, I regard both as politically irrelevant. But I am not afraid to have them present and certainly totally reject any exclusions of anyone from the meeting. If anyone was to be excluded it would be the HDP.

4) Format of the meeting: I was not present at the SWP-IS debate, but from independent people who were I was disturbed to hear the way it was managed to exclude any real debate from the floor. I would therefore propose the usual meeting format: perhaps 30 minutes for you and I to present our views. Questions for a further 30 minutes. Speeches from the floor, with representation of all tendencies present for another 30 minutes, and 10 minutes each at the end for us to reply.

5) Independent chairperson: A person who is independent and experience and who is mutually acceptable. I haven't mentioned it to Hall Greenland but I was thinking of someone like him.

6) Finance: I would propose a charge of, say, \$1 entry for everyone, profits to be divided equally after cost of hall paid. Each side to pay for whatever publicity they produce.

As far as I am concerned, only point one is open to negotiations, as well as times mentioned in point 4 and choice of an independent chairperson and charge for entry in point 6.0 naturally and a plea of charity.

Yours, Denis Freney

For general information and amusement, we reproduce here an exchange of letters between CPA anti-Trotskyist "expert" Denis Freney and the SWP.



SWP Defends Ustasha

Jim Percy's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has gone off the deep end. This kinky social-democratic operation has been thrown into crisis thanks to the notoriety it so rightly deserves as a defender of Ustasha fascism. For over a year now the SWP has pursued relations with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), which in terms of organisational continuity and political identification acts and talks like a Ustasha front, openly proclaiming as its goal the dismemberment of the Yugoslav workers state and hailing in its press, *Hrvatski Tjednik*, some of the most bloodthirsty of the Ustasha's butchers. These are the remnants of Ante Pavelic's "Independent State of Croatia", brought to power in 1941 on the bayonets of the invading German and Italian armies. Under the watchful eye of the Axis occupiers, Pavelic turned the satellite state of Croatia into a vast slaughter-yard for Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats. It took social revolution by Tito's all-Yugoslav Partisans, encompassing Communist fighters of all nationalities, to defeat the Ustasha fascists and their Nazi overlords. It is this social revolution that the losers of the Yugoslav civil war long to overturn through bloody counterrevolution.

The SWP's alliance with the HDP has exploded into a first-rate public scandal, first ignited by the Spartacist League's forceful intervention outside the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" in Melbourne last April where Jacob Bilander, a Jewish survivor of the Nazi holocaust, was thrown out after denouncing the Ustasha's monstrous crimes at a special HDP workshop. The SWP/HDP affair has been splashed across the pages of the Communist Party of Australia's (CPA) *Tribune* and even made the big bourgeois press with an article in Murdoch's *Australian* (12 July). Headed "How the ultra-Right may have finally suckered the ultra-Left", *Australian* journalist David Hirst notes that "egg seems to be sticking on the faces of the SWP-*Direct Action*" and reports rumours of "an anti-Croat faction emerging within the SWP". On 19 June the issue was aired on ABC radio in Sydney on its *Background Briefing* program presented by Mark Aarons, the son of former CPA leader Laurie Aarons. Then on 11 July a Sydney campus station, 2SER-FM,

ran a debate between *Tribune's* Denis Freney and SWP leader Dave Holmes. Given the history of Ustasha terror in Australia, the SWP should hardly be surprised that Labor Party doors across the political spectrum have been slamming in their face, like ex-Senator Mulvihill who adorned the SWP's "solidarity with Solidarity" platform in December 1981, but who now writes to *Direct Action* (19 July) defending Yugoslav anti-Soviet "non-alignment", or Victorian Labor MP Lewis Kent who telegraphed a 16 July SWP/CISCAC conference (see article page 4): "I feel the fascist HDP's association with CISCAC prevents me from addressing you".

In response the SWP devoted a special issue of *Socialist Worker* (August 1983) to "Croatian nationalism and the fight for socialism" and in July produced a 4-page *Direct Action* supplement about "the Croatian national struggle" which announces: "The SWP and the HDP are going on a campaign to get out the truth." And what is the "truth"? This is what the supplement says: (1) "the Ustasha was not a fascist movement"; (2) "Pavelic's real betrayal of the Croatian national cause was his subordination of that struggle to the interests of German and Italian imperialism"; (3) "Even the scale of the Ustasha crimes, real and horrifying as they were, has been deliberately and massively exaggerated"; (4) "it is the Belgrade regime that must answer to the charge of 'terrorism'" (emphasis in original). This is the kind of trash that usually comes from the mouths of Nazi apologists who claim the holocaust never happened. From a supposed "socialist" grouping such statements are unprecedented, amazing, utterly degenerate.

The SWP has now reached the point of openly defending specific acts of Ustasha terror against the Yugoslav workers state. For years these cowardly reformists have painstakingly sought to establish an image as peace-loving folk with a deep respect for all that is legal, but an exception is made for Miro Baresic, now in a Swedish prison for the 1971 assassination of Yugoslav ambassador Rolovic. On 2SER-FM SWP spokesman Holmes lauds this murder as an "act of struggle against national oppression".

According to *Rooted in Secrecy* by Victorian Labor MP Joan Coxsedg et al, Rolovic visited Australia in 1970 to deliver a secret *aide memoire* documenting Ustasha activities in Australia. Coxsedg charges the McMahon Liberal government and ASIO with complicity in Rolovic's murder, pointing out that the *aide memoire* must have been revealed to the Ustasha because the killers claimed their bloody deed as an act of reprisal for Rolovic's exposure of the clandestine, terrorist HRB. The SWP's July supplement, however, repeats in

confront the wartime experience of the regime of Pavelic and the Ustasha":

"This may mean interviews with former Ustasha leaders who for many in the Croatian community represent a militant nationalist tradition and who may be changing politically" (our emphasis).

— *Direct Action* supplement

All of which brings us to the HDP itself. As acknowledged by Dedic on *Background Briefing*, the major component of the HDP came from the Croatian National Resistance (HNO), which in turn was founded by the



Tito (fourth from left) and Partisan leaders in their underground headquarters on the island of Vis. Partisan-forged all-Yugoslav resistance triumphed over the Ustasha fascists and their Nazi overlords through social revolution.

print Holmes' statement, further defending this act of fascist terror with the claim that Rolovic was an agent of the Yugoslav secret police — so he deserved it.

Assassin Miro Baresic's photo is featured on the front-page of the 19 July *Hrvatski Tjednik*, which just happens to include a lengthy interview in Croatian with Jimom Percijem, aka Jim Percy. In the same issue is an interview with Danijel Crijen, described in an earlier edition as "a great son of the Croats" who "worshipped the Poglavnik Ante Pavelic". A Ustasha leader for 50 years, Crijen was in charge of propaganda under Pavelic, ie, the Croatian Goebbels (*Background Briefing*). Then there is the 19 April *Hrvatski Tjednik* which ran an article by Dinko Dedic — the HDP speaker at the SWP's "Karl Marx Conference" — commemorating the 10 April anniversary of Pavelic's rise to power. Accompanying the article is a large photo of Jure Francetic, commander of the infamous Black Legion, with a caption extolling this butcher as a "symbol of the Croatian people's will for freedom liberated from all ideologies and collaboration". Francetic, we might add, was "liberated" from "collaboration" when the Nazis disarmed his Black Legion for fear that its bestial atrocities would fuel support for the Partisans. But then such company should please "Jimom Percijem" since the SWP's major complaint against Pavelic was his failure to "break" from German imperialism to "travel the Cuban road"! This rogues gallery of fascist butchers paid tribute in the HDP's "Croatian Weekly" is actually cited by the SWP as an example of how the HDP "is forced to

Ustasha chief of concentration camps, General Luburic, and for years led in Australia by Srecko Rover, who is wanted for war crimes in Yugoslavia. The HDP's current international president is Nikola Stedul, from 1974 the international secretary of the HNO; earlier Stedul was a member of Pavelic's rival HOP. The West German leader of the HDP, Stipe Bilandzic was jailed for an armed attack on the Yugoslav consulate in Bad Godesberg while a leader of the HNO. According to anti-Ustasha fighter Marijan Jurjevic in his book *Ustasha under the Southern Cross*, HNO branches in Australia were named after notorious war criminals. Thus the Geelong branch bore Francetic's name, the Sydney branch that of Ante Vrban. The commander of the Stara Gradiska concentration camp, Vrban was accused at a War Crimes trial of massacring 3000 children, some by bashing their brains against a wall. His defence was that he killed only 63. Such are the roots of the HDP which, says *Direct Action* (21 June), "cannot be held responsible for the crimes of the Ustasha" committed "almost 40 years ago"!

Why is the SWP doing what it is doing, you might ask? Several possibilities come to mind: (1) for money; (2) someone who hates the SWP gave Percy a prefrontal lobotomy; (3) the SWP is so factionally polarised over their links with the HDP that their present leadership has no option of backing down; (4) all of the above. Certainly there is no lack of SWP/Resistance members who intimate on the sly their discomfort with the whole squalid business to supporters of the Spartacist League. And one knows that

continued on page seven



One of many examples: HDP paper *Hrvatski Tjednik* (April 19, 1983) glorifies as a "symbol of the Croatian will for freedom" Ustasha butcher Jure Francetic, leader of the Black Legion.