

# Australasian SPARTACIST



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## Down With Reagan/Hawke Anti-Soviet War Drive!



The Reaganites' constant talk of "protracted nuclear war", "limited nuclear war", any kind of nuclear war against the "evil empire" of the Soviet Union has a lot of people worried, especially in Washington's West European allies. Over 70 percent of all West Germans now oppose the planned deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles scheduled for this December, because they know that these weapons, which are only six to eight minutes flight time from their targets in the USSR, could trigger a holocaust in which Central Europe would be the main battlefield (slaughterfield in

German). So the US and its NATO allies are concerned about a "hot autumn" of mass protest against the Euromissiles, whose deployment will indeed bring the world a large step closer to nuclear holocaust.

Then comes the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 provocation, so convenient as a means to whip up the level of anti-Soviet hysteria and, in both the US and West Europe, necessary to push through the Pentagon's war plans. With bipartisan support Congress duly passed Reagan's military budget, including the MX missile as well as the B-1 bomber and nerve gas. The MX,

called the "peacemaker" by Reagan in a touch borrowed from George Orwell's 1984, is the Pentagon's premier *first-strike* weapon. This fact was openly stated by then Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who promoted its development: "With the MX deployed in substantial numbers, in addition to the Minuteman, the US would have acquired the capability to destroy most of the Soviet silo-based ICBM force in a first strike" (quoted in Robert C Aldridge, *First Strike!* [1983]).

In the aftermath, however, the KAL 007 provocation has not worked out

exactly according to the Reaganites' plans. As more and more facts about the ill-fated flight come out, fewer and fewer people believe it was an innocent commercial flight which just happened to stray 300 miles off course over some of the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR. In other developments, the Soviet press reported that *Richard Nixon* canceled a reservation on the doomed jetliner at the last minute "because the CIA 'did not dare send a former president to his death' and alerted him" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 25 September). The West German magazine *Quick* had reported in its 8 September issue that Nixon had been booked on KAL 007 in seat B-2, in the row next to ultra-conservative US Congressman Larry McDonald, traveling to an anti-Communist celebration in Seoul. And the *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle* (2 October) reports that American officials are now crowing that, "Analysis of the KAL incident gives US intelligence what one source called 'a bonanza' of new information about Soviet radar gaps, communications capabilities and chains of command".

The Reaganites' wild anti-Soviet bellicosity in the past few weeks has to some degree backfired. Three weeks after the KAL 007 provocation and also after the sight of US warships bombarding Lebanon a *New York Times*/CBS poll showed that for the *first time* significantly more Americans disapproved of Reagan's conduct of foreign affairs than approved of it. The Reagan gang itself realized that their

## Reagan's Labor Lackeys

The drums for war against the Soviet Union are beating in Washington and they are being faithfully echoed by Bob Hawke's Labor government in Canberra. We said this would be an openly pro-Reagan Cold War government, the enemy of workers at home and abroad, and already we have been proven massively right. Reagan heads a degenerate and declining American empire which he wants to restore to its former glory through his insane anti-Soviet war drive. And the Australian ruling class, servile junior partners of the US and also regional imperialist jackals, have tied themselves to his demented vision. These well-trained lackeys are dragging this country "all the way with Reagan" down the road to a nuclear holocaust

from which even this remote island continent will not be exempted.

Who could doubt this after the Korean airliner provocation and now Grenada? Reagan was so hard up for international support for his "big win" over an island a quarter the population of Tasmania that he had Hawke traced to some sleepy Melbourne suburban shopping centre for a fifteen-minute phone call to line him up. Even Thatcher and the Queen in Britain were infuriated — "Marxist" Grenada was part of the Commonwealth. Canberra at first "could understand" US security concerns, then eventually screwed up the courage to issue the most pathetic and inoffensive criticism of all Reagan's Western allies (had it been consulted

it "would have counselled against"). Days later, in a panic it changed its "accidental" UN vote for "deeply deploring" the invasion to an abstention. So Hawke and Hayden don't want to deplete White Australia's thin defences for a "Commonwealth security force" on the other side of the world. But their troops are still in the US-led Sinai "peacekeeping" force in the Near East, with Lebanon turning into a bloody quagmire for Reagan. Whether they go to Grenada just depends on how hard the US wants to push. We say: from Vietnam to the Near East to the Caribbean, down with Hawke, he's Reagan's man! No Australian "peacekeepers" to Grenada! Get them out of Sinai!

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# Russia . . .

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unrestrained warmongering rhetoric was getting them into trouble. According to a senior White House official, there was concern that "we were beating the drum too loudly and that it was time for Ronald Reagan, the peacemaker, to consolidate his image" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

So speaking before the UN on September 26 Reagan offered a new "disarmament" proposal. The US would deploy fewer Pershing 2s than now planned if the Russians would dismantle and destroy some of their SS-20 missiles already deployed in Europe. In other words, Reagan demanded, as usual, the unilateral disarmament of the USSR combined with a buildup of the NATO nuclear arsenal, which already includes the French and British medium-range missiles and US submarine-launched missiles in European waters. The Russians naturally rejected out of hand this "peace move" intended to radically alter the nuclear balance of forces in favor of US imperialism. Andropov reminded the world in his reply to Reagan, "The Soviet state has successfully overcome many trials, including crucial ones, during the six and a half decades of its existence", and he went on to affirm:

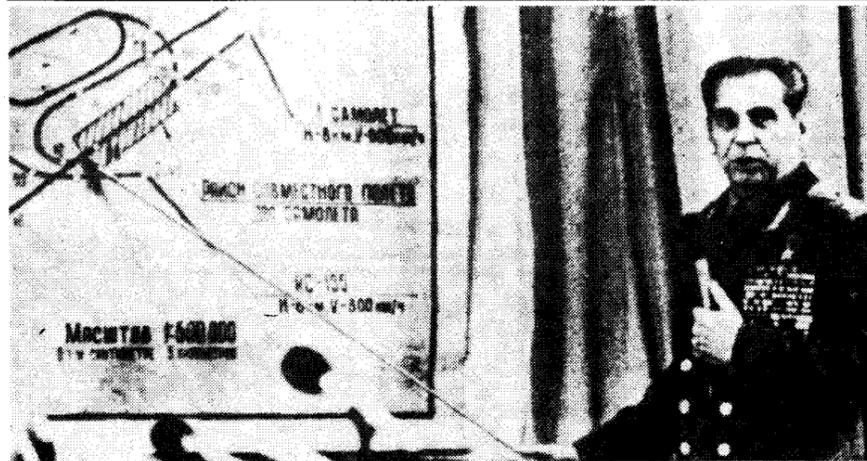
"The Soviet people can rest assured that our country's defense capability is being maintained at such a level that it would not be advisable for anyone to stage a trial of strength."

But the Reagan gang is looking for precisely such a trial of strength with the Soviet Union. As one of them put it a few weeks ago: "We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians" (*New York Times*, 18 September). The US ruling class wants to restore the short-lived "American century" of the late 1940s and '50s when it could and did practice nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union. But today the USSR has rough nuclear parity and is not about to allow Reagan & Co to attain their declared goal of military "superiority." Washington's global search for a trial of strength with the Soviet Union leads straight to World War III. *Don't Mess With the Russians!*

US imperialism has gotten itself into a real quagmire in Lebanon. Boy, is this one unwinnable. The Marines have a mission impossible in trying to prop up the government of Phalange gangsters — the mass murderers of Shatila/Sabra, in collusion with the Zionist army — who are hated by 90-plus percent of the Lebanese population. But behind the US military intervention on behalf of the Gemayel mafiosi in Lebanon is the global anti-Soviet war drive. Syria, whose

army controls eastern Lebanon, is the principal Soviet client state in the Near East. And the borders of the USSR itself are only a few hundred miles to the north. The liberal Republican head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy, who voted for the War Powers Resolution, nonetheless recognized: "I don't think any of us know where this is leading. It could lead to direct conflict with Syria or direct conflict with the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 24 September). The Marines in

missiles had two purposes: 1) the Pershing 2s are intended to increase the imperialists' first-strike capability against Russia; and 2) they are part of the Pentagon's strategy for an anti-Soviet war to be fought out in the European "theater". The West Germans, already frightened by American scenarios for "limited" nuclear war on *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* were "aghast" last week when the US armed forces paper, *Stars and Stripes*, reported that an American army unit was practicing mass burial



Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov exposes Reagan's lies in Moscow press conference, September 9. In his speech Marshal Ogarkov stated: "The Soviet armed forces, standing guard over the peaceful work of the Soviet people, constantly are in high combat readiness. Throughout the history of the Soviet State they have been discharging their duties with honour. In future, if need be, they will also perform their combat tasks."

Lebanon are yet another tripwire for World War III.

The acute danger of World War III is not caused, as American liberal "freezers" and European anti-missile protesters believe, by an "insane arms race" of the "two superpowers". The drive toward nuclear war is the drive of capitalist imperialism to destroy the land of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the world working class in history. Six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration have certainly dimmed the glow of October; the USSR today is a far cry from the international revolutionary beacon it was under Lenin and Trotsky. But the historic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution still remain — the socialized property and planned economy — and these must be defended! It is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which up to now has kept US imperialism at bay, which kept it from invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro, from using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Soviet military strength, even in the hands of a nationalistic bureaucratic caste, has bought the world proletariat precious time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation.

### Stop First-Strike Missiles in Germany!

The 1979 NATO decision to place a new generation of medium-range

procedures. Accompanying photographs showed bulldozed graves similar to those the Nazis used for the victims of the Holocaust. A television commentator asked, "Doesn't the American military realize . . . that with such macabre practices they are suggesting that nuclear war is increasingly likely?" An Army spokesman replied, not to worry, "mass burials would be resorted to only in case of massive loss of life".

The fear of being sacrificed as pawns in a war between the "superpowers" has fed into resurgent German nationalism, this time clothed in "left" colors. Naturally, the German masses don't want to be annihilated. But behind the nationalism of the "peace movement" stands the revanchist appetites of German imperialism to reconquer East Europe. Thus Rudolf Bahro, former East German Stalinist turned anti-Communist Green, actually welcomes Reagan's unrestrained warmongering because "it can only advance our aims — to withdraw both parts of Germany and Europe from the two military blocs and to neutralize Europe" (*New York Times*, 30 September). This thinly disguised call for capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) is really a call for a "Fourth Reich" to dominate Europe, this time under the rule of "democratic" German capitalism. As in two previous world wars, the fundamental military obstacle will be Russia.

German imperialism is no more pacific than its American and French allies. It merely has a rather different strategy than the Reaganite first-strikers for reconquering the Soviet bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. As the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote last year:

"The German bankers do not want a third world war now, whether fought with nuclear or conventional weapons, because they would lose it now. Thus, the German bourgeoisie is striving to undermine the planned economies through credits, commodities and joint projects and at the same time to penetrate these with bourgeois ideol-

ogy in social-democratic colors with the support of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy."

— "The Ominous Resurgence of German Nationalism," *Spartacist* (English edition) no 35, Autumn 1983

But the legitimate fear of nuclear annihilation and national sentiments of the German masses can be mobilized on a communist program. The TLD calls for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as the motor for a United Socialist States of Europe.

And the missiles can be stopped, though not by human daisy chains and civil disobedience, popular referenda and similar petty-bourgeois pipe-dreams. What is necessary is the mobilization of the powerful German proletariat against the anti-Soviet war drive. While the "peace movement" is going through the motions with impotent mass demonstrations against the Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled for the end of the month, the German Trotskyists demand: "Stop NATO First-Strike Weapons with Workers' Strikes!" (*Spartacist*, October 1983). The call for labor action against the missiles is not a cry in the wilderness, moreover. Thus for the upcoming congress of the Metal Workers Union, some 58 resolutions have been proposed on the issue of the rockets, including several advocating work stoppages. (The union tops' response is for a 5-minute "warning strike"! In response the TLD has raised the demand for a two-day general strike against the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles. Linked to recent sit-down strikes at shipyards in Bremen and Hamburg, this could prepare a really "hot autumn" for the German bourgeoisie and bring down the Kohl government through strike action.

Military preparedness and a determination to match the imperialists through developing advanced nuclear weapons are crucial to defending the revolutionary conquests inherited from the Russian October Revolution. This has been acutely understood by Soviet leaders ever since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, though the petty-bourgeois pacifists willfully ignore this basic truth. Yet the counterrevolutionary danger cannot be eliminated simply through military action. In his *Pravda* statement, Andropov replied to Reagan: "Those who encroached on the integrity of our state, its independence and our system found themselves on the garbage heap of history" (*New York Times*, 29 September). This was true of Hitler, but today the USSR faces a resurgent German imperialism. In fact, the leaders of today's Japan and West Germany, many of whom have direct ties to the previous fascist regimes, were installed by Moscow's erstwhile "democratic" ally, Washington, as soon as the US had crushed its imperialist rivals in World War II.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet 50c

## Spartacist Pamphlet

**KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation**

Contains articles which document the exposures surrounding KAL 007 as they emerged and analyse from a Marxist revolutionary standpoint the political/military aims of this "Mission Provocation".

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## From Roebourne to Redfern Blacks Face Cop Terror

# Vengeance for John Pat!

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA:** On 29 September 17 year old Aboriginal John Pat was murdered in the Pilbara town of Roebourne, 1200 kilometres north of Perth. Eight police, including four off-duty cops, attacked a group of black youth outside the town's only hotel after taunting them with racial insults. Pat was punched to the ground, repeatedly kicked in the head then dragged unconscious by the hair to a police van. "They threw him in like a dead kangaroo", said one of the witnesses. One hour later he was "discovered" dead in his police cell. Four black youths arrested with Pat have filed reports of police brutality, one hospitalised with spinal bruising. No charges were laid and right now these racist killer cops in Labor-run Western Australia still roam the streets.

Days later the cops arrested and jailed Mavis Pat for swearing at the murderers of her son. The town exploded when another black woman was arrested at the hotel and over 100 blacks stormed the hotel, forcing the cops to retreat in a hail of bottles and shouts of "murderers, murderers". Any white witnesses giving evidence against the cops have faced harassment and threats of violence. After she had put in an affidavit the local

barmaid, Cathy Park, was sacked and told to get out of town. As for the police they openly flaunt their racist filth. Senior cops at the inquest defended Pat's murderous treatment as perfectly normal: "you grab Aboriginals where you can get a secure hold on them" because "when stirred up and looking for a fight [they] tend to get very greasy and slippery", testified sergeant Pethick who heads up the police force at Wickham (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November).

Murderous racism is the everyday reality for Aboriginal people in this country. And not just in the Far West. We remember Ronald McIntosh, a young Aboriginal shot dead in Moree last year by white racists that are now out free on bail. More recently, on November 2, in the heavily black residential sections of Sydney's Redfern, Aboriginal fury exploded in running street battles with police after over 100 of Wran's cops went on a rampaging riot, attacking Aboriginals in the local Clifton Hotel, beating and dragging many blacks out of their nearby homes to be arrested. The cops particularly targeted black women. One woman miscarried after being beaten, another had teeth knocked out and Aboriginal Legal Service spokesmen charged that

arrested Aboriginal women were sexually assaulted. With several senior cops present and all identification tags removed the cop riot had all the markings of a planned provocation. With the Wran Labor government and its cops mired in charges of corruption the motion passed the next day by Redfern Aboriginal residents declaring it was "prearranged to get the Wran Government off the front page" rings all too true. We note too that Ronald McIntosh's killers went to trial in Sydney only days after. Get Wran's racist cops out of Aboriginal areas!

"Land rights" will do nothing to change the hideous reality facing the Aboriginal population. We defend any actual extension of land rights for blacks (which usually means land title to the decrepit reserves or virtually worthless land) but we reject with disgust the Labor/liberal "solution" of land rights to racist terror and degradation. "Land rights" in this crisis-ridden white imperialist enclave will only mean a further relegation into bantustan-like existence for blacks ("out of sight, out of mind"), a segregationist policy of institutionalised poverty and unemployment.

We look instead to the social power of organised labour to champion the rights and defence of blacks and their

integration into the proletariat as part of a revolutionary strategy to smash White Australia. We do not pretend to hide the gulf that presently exists between the organised workers movement with its racist Laborite leadership and the desperately oppressed black population. But we understand what Marx meant when he told the English working class that they could never hope to emancipate themselves while they were complicit in the colonial oppression of the Irish. This goes doubly for the Australian workers in this nasty white imperialist outpost, built on the near genocide of the original black population. While the Australian proletariat remains in, at best, racist indifference to the daily racist discrimination and terror that excludes or marginalises Aboriginal people from this society they will never make a social revolution. As revolutionists we aim to build a party that will be a fighting tribune for all the oppressed. Even the most elementary justice, democratic rights and human dignity for Aboriginal people requires a revolutionary proletarian perspective for it means destroying the racist capitalist state root and branch. Vengeance for John Pat! Jail his cop killers and throw away the keys! ■

## On the Kurdish Question

Reprinted below is a slightly edited and abridged presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Andrew Giannakis to a solidarity meeting organised by the Kurdish Association in Sydney on 27 August 1983. The meeting was attended by over 150 people, mostly Kurds. An SL literature table sold a large amount of literature, including publications in Turkish and Farsi.

Also present were representatives of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), the Turkish Workers Association and the Iranian National Society. But amongst the presentations to the meeting the Spartacist League alone counterposed a socialist strategy to treacherous nationalism and class collaborationism, a strategy focused on the powerful proletariat in the Kurdish populated areas in the Near East.

The 15 or so SWPers who did show for the meeting spent most of their time hiding their support for Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution" and its butchery against the Kurdish population. When challenged after the meeting by SLers and a Kurdish militant they ran away, which prompted one young Kurdish woman to remark that the SWP is "against us" and the SL are "for us". The SWP's only contribution to the meeting, apart from hiding their pro-Khomeini politics in a lying "solidarity" statement was to lump the Soviet Union in with Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran as oppressors of the Kurds. The SWP champions of Ustasha-style "national liberation" were the only ones to do so. It was the SL that pointed out that the Kurds live qualitatively better as a result of the great October Revolution of 1917.

The key question that confronts

Kurdish militants is the burning necessity for an internationalist party with a proletarian revolutionary perspective, in hard opposition to the many shades of nationalists, mullahs and officers that all have Kurdish blood on their hands. The Iraqi revolution of 1958, referred to by Comrade Giannakis in his speech, laid bare the broad contours of such a perspective, concentrated on the Iraqi proletariat, for social emancipation throughout the whole region. The Iraqi revolution was betrayed by the Stalinists. In pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" Khrushchev ordered the CP to turn power over to General Kassem and his nationalist officers, who in turn suppressed the Iraqi CP and its working-class base. Khrushchev was responding to the "Eisenhower Doctrine" of containing "Soviet aggression", ie, the landing of 10,000 US marines in Beirut for use as a staging area for military intervention into Iraq.

Now the US Marines are in Beirut again, seeking to build a bridgehead for anti-Soviet war in the Near East. Their entry into Beirut as "peacekeepers" allegedly to save the Palestinians from slaughter at the hands of the Zionist blitzkrieg was supported by the PLO's Arafat and all his fake-left cheerleaders. They must take responsibility for the inevitable massacres that followed the disarming and expulsion of the Palestinian fighters, a tragic confirmation of the Trotskyist understanding that petty-bourgeois nationalism will always subordinate itself to imperialism.

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To Kurdish militants, to the Kurdish oppressed across the four countries where Kurdish separate identity is not



Kurdish militants shot by Khomeini's firing squad.

even recognised and their language illegal, we of the Spartacist League stand firmly on a revolutionary perspective, a program than can crack the yoke of exploitation and oppression throughout the Middle East.

In 1978 in Iran, in the midst of the anti-Shah rebellion, we said "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" We warned that Khomeini's rule would be no less brutal, no less vicious than that of the Pahlavi dynasty. We stood alone against the ostensible left and we campaigned for the right of self-determination for the Kurds. We campaigned for an independent working-class axis against the mullahs.

The Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party of Australia, the Communist Party, the whole ostensible left lauded Khomeini's rise to power. They called it a victory! It was not a victory. They still call it a victory. In

fact a lie was perpetrated here, claiming they [the SWP] stood for the right of self-determination. But we ask for whom was it a victory? It was no victory: for the working class, where strikers get savagely repressed; for the left, whose parties are all banned; for women who are forced to wear the veil; for the homosexuals. It was not a victory for the Kurds or the national minorities of Iran. While traditional feudal Kurdish leaders like Mohammed Ahmad Moffizadeh, a religious leader, offered to support Khomeini's Islamic republic in return for "autonomy", the period was brief before Khomeini turned his genocidal plans upon the Kurds. Today the parties of the SWP and the Socialist Party, the Tudeh Party and HKS, are facing repression. Their loyalty to Khomeini did not save them. We defend them against the repression but we point out that the price

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## Anti-Soviet SWP Dumps "Trotskyist" label

# Big Lies and Strange Bedfellows

"Leon Trotsky is an agent of the Mikado." "Lenin received German gold." "Jewish ritual demands drinking the blood of Christian youth." Now we hear that the Spartacist League (SL) attacks meetings to defend Vietnam. And where does this latest Big Lie come from? None other than the poisoned pens and mouths of Jim Percy's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), an organisation most lately renowned for its championing of the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), a group broadly viewed in the labour movement as a front for the fascist Ustasha.

In the 16 August edition of the SWP's *Direct Action* the same Dave Holmes who charges the Yugoslav government with "terrorism" while painting convicted Ustasha assassins as "freedom fighters" now attempts to create an obscene amalgam between the Spartacists, Trotskyist revolutionaries, and the counterrevolutionary scum who fled to this white imperialist outpost to escape the just wrath of the Vietnamese masses:

"On August 13, thugs from the Spartacist League, a bizarre sectarian group, attempted to wreck an important meeting in defence of Vietnam . . . The meeting was protected by a defence guard as it was feared that right-wing Vietnamese elements might launch an attack. But the attack that did come was from a different quarter."

So what really happened? The SWP called a "public" meeting on Vietnam under the auspices of its CARPA front at Sydney Trades Hall, a venue historically open to the entire workers movement, strung a line of stick-wielding goons across the entrance to the building to physically enforce the *political exclusion of the Spartacists*, and then when some of their goons got hurt in the course of this dirty work, squealed: "this outrageous attack completely justified the decision of CARPA not to admit the Spartacists to the meeting".

Of course, the SWP has plenty to fear from our political exposure of their self-proclaimed "defence" of Vietnam. As *Australasian Spartacist* has pointed out, the SWP's idea of "aid" to the embattled Vietnamese workers state is the US Marshall Plan (I), Eisenhower's instrument for "containing" communism in post-war Europe following Hitler's defeat by the Soviet Red Army (see "SWP Calls for Marshall Plan in Vietnam", *ASp* 103, Aug/Sept 1983). The source of this treachery isn't hard to find: since coming to power Robert Hawke's imperialist Labor government has vowed to "free" Vietnam from "stifling dependency" on the Soviet Union — while reneging on resuming token economic aid. Militant internationalist defence of Vietnam and the gains of the great Russian Revolution that stand behind it is central to our opposition to the Hawke government. It is this program that the SWP has emphatically, violently, counterposed itself to. They greeted Hawke's election as a "victory" and have now assigned themselves the task of proving that this right-wing, pro-Reagan government really isn't imperialist. The SWP/CARPA 13 August "defence of Vietnam" platform of course was mainly a platform for "dissident" ALP politicians, like Ken Fry. Like Fry, the SWP moans



Spartacist League pickets SWP/CARPA "public" meeting on Vietnam, 13 August. Down with anti-communist exclusions!

that Hawke must stick to ALP policy which in the case of Vietnam ties token economic aid to "strenuous diplomatic efforts" to secure the *withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea*, ie, the same policy for counterrevolution Australian imperialism shares with the US, China and the ASEAN states.

While maintaining a figleaf of opposition to particular government policies the SWP has been eager to demonstrate its own brand of US-loyal social patriotism. Thus they organised a "protest" around Central America this year on American Independence Day (July 4) under the slogan "No More Vietnams", the very slogan which encapsulates the program of *all wings of US and Australian imperialism*, still smarting from their military and political defeat on the battlefields of Indochina. But for the workers and peasants of Central America, for revolutionaries here and around the world, *Vietnam was a victory!* Speaking from Managua airport on September 6, visiting Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach warned the US government that "North American intervention in Nicaragua could lead to many Vietnams" (*New York Times*, 7 September). Against those like the SWP who grovel to the imperialist rulers, who spit on the Vietnamese and the Central American fighters, the SL says: *two, three, many defeats for US imperialism and its Australian lackey!*

Perhaps the SWP is hoping that a smear campaign against the Reds who oppose Hawke and defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union will distract attention from the stench of corruption surrounding the HDP affair. For the waves created by the HDP affair have been felt inside the SWP as well, stirring the troubled waters of this highly unstable organisation and aggravating already inflamed factional polarisations. Latest reports are that Nita Keig, formerly a top insider in the Percy regime, faces expulsion for forming a "secret faction". Of course it's no secret that Keig and former Mandelite Communist League leader Ron Poulsen went oppositional nearly two years ago over whether it was good "tactics" to support Solidarnosc

counterrevolution by marching with the "Captive Nations" crew. In this Keig cited the dubious authority of "the US comrades", namely Jack Barnes' American Socialist Workers Party which happens to be at war within the United Secretariat against Ernest Mandel on this very question. But a few months after Keig's Barnesite line was voted down at the SWP's 1983 national conference, the final coup de grace to the pro-Barnes faction was delivered when Mandel hit town as the star attraction at the SWP's mistitled "Karl Marx Centenary" conference. Now it's rumoured that both Mandel and Barnes have condemned the SWP's consorting with the HDP.

Meanwhile Barnes' local supporters continue to revolt over Afghanistan, demanding that their party bring its queasy pro-Soviet stance into line with the US SWP (and Mandel's) third-campist "troops out" position. Said minority reporter David Howard to an SWP national committee plenum last year:

"I get the impression from a number of comrades that they aren't terribly enthusiastic about the presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. I'd just ask comrades to go back to the original copies of *Direct Action* and the way we motivated, the way we explained, the way we presented the Soviet intervention to the Australian working class . . . In fact, we hailed it!"

— SWP Discussion Bulletin, October 1982

In fact, as Howard and the SWP well know, it is the Spartacist League which hailed, and continues to hail, the Soviet Red Army in action against CIA-backed mullahs who shoot school teachers for instructing little girls to read and write. This is not the least of the reasons for the SWP's discomfort; Barnes has once before threatened them with the spectre of Spartacism (see "SWP's About-Face on Afghanistan", *Spartacist*, Summer 1981). Now, continues Howard, "comrades say, they're 'reluctant' concerning the presence of Soviet troops, at times 'profoundly unhappy'". No doubt. But given the evident state of factional disarray, the SWP's present Afghani-

stan line will not be purged before Barnes' supporters are neutralised or suffer the same fate.

Now, with the Croatian "national struggle" relegated to the back pages of *Direct Action*, the SWP is chasing another hot "opportunity", the sorry remains of the post-split Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). The SWP's political convergence with pro-Ustasha counterrevolution may be pretty bizarre but it is only the logical conclusion of the USec's long-held view that any and all oppositional forces in the Soviet bloc are progressive forces for "political revolution" against the Stalinist bureaucracy, no matter how openly pro-imperialist and anti-communist. So the spectacle of the pro-Moscow Stalinists running around with this group which also vicariously declared itself "the most closely aligned to [Polish] Solidarity in Australia" has raised some eyebrows, notably in the anti-communist Communist Party of Australia (CPA), themselves busy discussing how fastest and best to escape "independent" existence and liquidate into Hawke's ALP.

Gloating over the SWP's troubles the CPA's David McKnight taunts and red-baits his fellow social democrats for lining up with what the SWP has always called the "hard-line Stalinists", and along the way reports the SWP grabbing the opportunity to publicise dumping their always grotesquely misplaced "Trotskyist" label.

"We don't feel that the label Trotskyist is either useful or accurate in describing ourselves or our political positions," SWP official Doug Lorimer told *Tribune*. . . . Breakaway groups from the Fourth International, such as the Socialist Labour League and the Spartacist League, exhibit quite strong sectarian tendencies and these are, in our view, just logical extensions of certain ideas that have been prevalent in the movement generally . . . taken to their furthest extreme," Lorimer said.

— Strange new alliance of left parties, *Tribune*, 2 November

Of course the SWP's dumping of "Trotskyism" is not mainly for the benefit of the SPA Stalinists but rather the Labor Party circles the SWP-SPA "alliance" hopes to influence. Both of these organisations are in trouble and on the outs with the Cold War Labor mainstream — but their desperate search for "unity" is doomed to a miserable end. The SWP is an aggressively anti-Soviet grouping, as was so amply demonstrated over Poland, and, no matter how capitulatory, the SPA is damned in the eyes of Hawke's ALP so long as it remains a Moscow-line party.

For our part we welcome the SWP's admission that it has nothing to do with "sectarian" Trotskyism. As Hawke heats up Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive at home these increasingly panicky and degenerate reformists feel their very survival rests on throwing overboard every pretence to a revolutionary tradition while attempting to suppress the Trotskyist SL with political exclusions, violence, and Big Lies. We have no intention of being suppressed and, as the SWP has already found out, it will pay a price if it thinks it can tread on the Spartacist League. ■

Australasian Spartacist

# In Reply to the Healyites (and all "Little Australia" Nationalists) Against White Australia "Socialism"

Last April *Australasian Spartacist* no 101 ran an article entitled "Life in a Remote White Imperialist Enclave" (originally printed in the International Women's Day issue of the Spartacist League/US journal *Women & Revolution*), which in angular fashion took up the question of women's oppression in this country as an integral part of a revolutionary and internationalist perspective. Its main fire was directed at the program and values of the Australian Laborite nationalist tradition which has historically dominated the left and workers movement. Laborism, with its White Australia racism, brutal male chauvinism, narrow economist trade unionism, parliamentary cretinism and glorification of the philistine "national culture", is the political expression of the trade union/ALP bureaucracy. This bribed and reactionary labour aristocracy are the agents of the Australian bourgeoisie in the working class, who want to maintain this country as a bastion of white imperialist privilege and reaction in Asia.

The article was meant to needle anti-Soviet and Laborite nationalist sensibilities and we are glad to report it succeeded, provoking a somewhat hysterical response headed "Spartacist hysteria has a political basis" in *Workers News* (25 June), the never-quite-daily paper of the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL). The SLL is the Australian satellite of Gerry Healy's British-based "International Committee", a pseudo-Trotskyist tendency which long ago degenerated into political banditry. Their organisation and press are out for hire and some years ago their deeply corrupt pimping for Muammar Qaddafi, megalomaniacal Islamic dictator of Libya, and a passing parade of Middle Eastern bourgeois despots, effectively removed them from the workers movement. Thus they support the

operation for Qaddafi rests on their domestic posture as the "militant" workerist wing of Laborite nationalism. Thus answering the Healyite squeals of outrage is not just a matter of elementary political hygiene, because the "little Australia" Laborite nerve we hit is one they share with all the Australian reformist "left".

## Out of Their Own Mouths . . . .

The Healyite defence of Laborite nationalism is quite open and unashamed. *Workers News* simply quotes sections of our article with no attempt at refutation:

"According to the Spartacists, Australia is a 'land of sport and drink' where 'wife and child beating are a 'normal' part of life'. This is the Spartacists' view of the working class. 'Racist reaction is on the rise, not only in the country towns where black unemployment runs at 90 per cent, but in the industrial cities, like the coal and steel towns of Wollongong and Newcastle, where unemployment stands at 20 per cent and protectionist poison is fuelling anti-Asian racism.' There is more: 'In this penal settler-colony outpost in Asia, first of British and now American imperialism, "little Australia" social-democratic nationalism is not only white racist, but proud of its brutally male chauvinist and self-indulgent parochial philistine "national character" — best described as the culture of white pigs.'"

For our Healyite hack, one Mike Head, such simple truths about Laborism and Australian reality are a "jaundiced middle class view of the working class". Our hardly controversial observation that the working class "remains dominated by the reformist Labor Party bureaucracy" is turned into a "mournful" denial of its revolutionary potential. For such left Laborites, unable to conceive of breaking the working class away from

the forging of an internationalist class-struggle workers party — these are among the critical issues facing the woman worker today." For the Healyite scribblers this is just the views of an "unstable section of the 'radical' middle class now moving to the right at a rate of knots". But those who are moving rapidly rightward are the anti-Soviet Laborite "lefts", tied to the apron strings of the bureaucracy and the Cold War Hawke government and completely incapable of chal-

that support to the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive and eternal loyalty to the ALP at election time are two of the most decisive questions on which the Australian "left" must pass the test or be cast outside the Laborite pale. The central pillars of social-democratic reformism are support to its "own" imperialism in war, and subservience to the capitalist state and "democratic" parliamentarism.

The SLL, like the SWP and similar groupings, were born anti-Soviet, co-



Communist Party of Australia delegates with Asian comrades at the fourth congress of the Communist International, Moscow, 1922.

enging their straitjacket on the class struggle.

## Backward Workerism vs Class Consciousness.

It is telling that the Healyites say nothing about women's oppression, a key question for the socialist revolution which our original article was all about. They have always denied the existence of special forms of oppression (racial, sexual) and their dim-witted *lider maximo* Jim Mulgrew is known for his vile abuse of women political opponents. Their workerist glorification of the backwardness of the working class is summed up in former American Healyite leader Tim Wohlforth's comment: "the working class hates faggots, women libbers and hippies and so do we", and springs from adaptation to the labour bureaucracy. Genuine communists seek to fight, not flatter, the backwardness of the workers. We stand in the Leninist tradition of building a communist party which fights to be the "tribune of the people". This is all the more crucial in a period of social reaction such as we face now, for combating all forms of social oppression and the racial and sexual divisions they foster is the precondition for revolutionary class consciousness, for forging a socialist proletariat which can rise to the task of taking state power. And it is especially crucial in this imperialist outpost in Asia, where the deep-going chauvinism intensifies backwardness of all kinds.

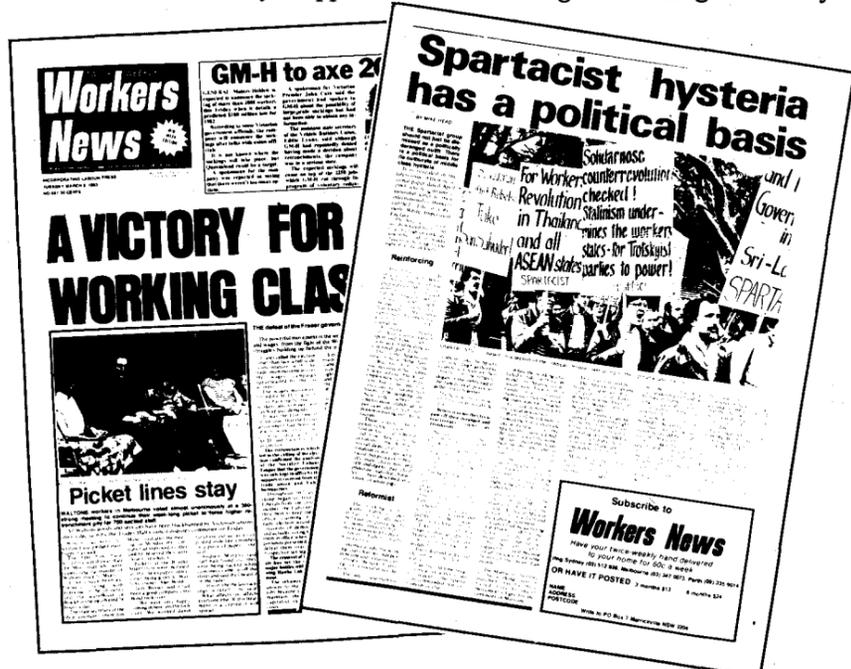
## Cold War Healyites

What *Workers News* did take offence at was as instructive as what it ignored: our call for "No Vote to Labor" in the last election, and our opposition to the clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarnosc which earned us the title "most slavish defenders of the Stalinist bureaucracy". They know

alescing out of the anti-Vietnam war New Leftism of the early 1970s during the "detente" period following the US/Australian defeat in Vietnam. Their "Trotskyism" (which the SWP has now formally abandoned) was a bid for anti-Stalinist respectability in Labor Party circles. It also differentiated them from the Maoists with their absurd "two-stage" scheme of a struggle for bourgeois "Australian independence" from "US domination". Like the Maoists, the SWP/SLL's "anti-imperialism" was never more than anti-American nationalism aimed at keeping "little Australia" out of the US's wars. The difference was that the fake Trotskyists considered Australian capitalism already fully independent which under a Labor government could be its own master in the world. Now with the US-led anti-Soviet war drive, the Russian Question dominates all political developments, leaving no room for such pretensions. Via the ANZUS alliance, particularly the CIA spy bases which abruptly ended Gough Whitlam's career as "world statesman", Australian imperialism is tied into its role as US junior partner more tightly than ever.

The Laborite "left" began shifting hard to the right over Afghanistan. The Spartacist tendency hailed the Red Army's progressive intervention in defence of the Soviet workers state and in opposition to feudal Islamic reaction. With most of the "left" the Healyites joined the shrill anti-Soviet hysteria coming out of Washington and Canberra. But the emergence of anti-communist Solidarnosc in Poland with a mass working-class base was the Cold Warriors' dreams come true. "Democratic" pro-Western counter-revolution was pitted against discredited "Stalinist totalitarianism", resulting in an international Cold War convergence of the social-democratic and centrist left with the most reac-

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Left, *Workers News* hails the advent of the messiah Hawke last March. Right, taking up the cudgels for White Australia Laborism.

murder of communists in Ba'athist Iraq in 1978 and still hail the Islamic fundamentalist fanatic Khomeini in Iran. In 1982 they hailed Arafat's treacherous evacuation of the PLO fighters from Beirut under supervision of imperialist troops, as a great "victory", while their hero Qaddafi called upon the PLO to commit "revolutionary suicide". Nevertheless their PR

of the ALP and transforming it under communist leadership into a class conscious of its revolutionary historic task, the ALP is the working class and forever shall remain so.

In *Australasian Spartacist* we sketched a class-struggle perspective: "The fight for industrial unionism, sit-in strikes to fight sackings, a political break with the Labor traitors,

## Greetings From Our Comrades

# Under the Terror in Sri Lanka

Spartacist League/Lanka  
Colombo  
8 August 1983

The Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) sends these warm greetings to the seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/US at a time when Sri Lanka is enveloped in the most severe political complexities ever recorded in its recent history.

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist JR Jayewardene's UNP government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have become aggravated from bad to worse. The "open economy" and the "free trade zone" theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest on them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a "Dharmista" [Buddhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dic-



Colombo: Tamil homes, shops and factories were systematically burned down by terror orchestrated by JR's United National Party.

tators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people — the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law

and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a "cold war" against the Soviet Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and other

counterrevolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradesly feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

- The main enemy is at home!
- Indian/Lankan workers key to socialist revolution in South Asia!
- For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

## For the Right of Tamil Eelam! US Out of the Indian Ocean!

The seventh national conference of the Spartacist League/US was held in August. International Spartacist tendency (iSt) fraternal delegates and observers were present from seven other countries. Unable to be with us were comrades of our section in Sri Lanka. That small Indian Ocean island nation was being torn apart by Sinhala chauvinist terror against the national/religious minority people, the Tamils, as pogroms instigated and organized by sections of the governing United National Party (UNP) of JR Jayewardene ripped the country apart along national lines. The army which has for years terrorized the overwhelmingly Tamil North simply ran wild, while in Colombo and throughout the South Sinhalese mobs carried out wholesale burning of Tamil-owned businesses and wholesale massacres. Tamil men, women and children were incinerated inside buses, thrown from moving trains, beaten and torn to shreds in the streets.

The anti-Tamil terror is severing the economic and geographical interpen-

etration of Lanka's peoples. The systematic destruction of Tamil-owned factories and stores (incidentally destroying 150,000 jobs) has wiped out formerly important Tamil commercial layers of Colombo and the South (and the government has now seized all damaged property). The orgy of bloodletting is compacting the Tamils into the North as 100,000 or more have fled in terror for their lives. Among the tens of thousands of homeless refugees still starving in government camps are many "stateless" plantation workers from the uplands. This super-exploited plantation labor force (legally disenfranchised in 1948) has been central to the island's economy since British colonial days.

JR responded to the pogroms by refusing to even hypocritically criticize the anti-Tamil terror for weeks, illegalizing advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam), cracking down on three Sinhalese leftist parties (but not the hopelessly discredited reformist shell of the LSSP), and quietly sounding out the possibility of US imperialist or other foreign help against his

mutinous army, spinning for such a purpose fantastical tales about "Marxist officers" and a Soviet-planned or JVP-inspired "left-wing" military coup. (Swift protest from India against the prospect of Sri Lanka bringing foreign powers into the region brought denials from Jayewardene and the expulsion of the UPI correspondent who broke the story).

island is poised for the next outbreak of catastrophic anti-Tamil terror.

Until shortly before the American national conference occurred, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on the safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island,



Berlin, 7 August. 150 militants rally to the call of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, part of an international campaign.

It has since become a commonplace that the mutinous ringleaders of the anti-Tamil pogroms were rightists, virulently chauvinist forces high up in the UNP and the military. Figures like hard-line chauvinist UNP demagogue Cyril Mathew and the increasingly prominent Douglas Liyanage have emerged as factional powers within the UNP. Meanwhile, with India acting as mediator in negotiations between Jayewardene and the bourgeois-nationalist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF, which formally advocates Eelam), the occupying army continues to rule the North under the murderous "emergency" regulations, round-ups of leftists and others reportedly are continuing, government workers are being forced to undergo loyalty oaths (eschewing advocacy of Eelam), and the whole

including by seeking to link up the leftist student movement at Colombo University with the militant Tamil nationalist activism on the Jaffna campus. Over the past several years international protests against the anti-Tamil terror in Lanka, including united fronts between exile Tamil groups and iSt sections, have also received significant publicity on the island.

The main document adopted by the conference, written before the massive government-inspired pogroms in Lanka, noted "the increasingly ominous backdrop of anti-Tamil terror and state semi-bonapartism." The document further noted:

"Ours are Sinhalese comrades whose main work, in accordance with their Marxist-Leninist propaganda, is necessarily linked to the defense of the

Continued on page eleven

### Indian Seamen "Strongly Support Your Clarion Call"

We are pleased to reprint below a telegram received from the Forward Seamen's Union of India based in Calcutta. It is in response to our call to Australian waterside workers and Indian seamen working the Indian ship Vishva Kaumudi to black all Sri Lankan cargo in protest at the horrific anti-Tamil massacres carried out by the Jayewardene government during July/August. Internationalist sentiments such as these must be translated into action by workers around the world.

"Our All India working committee strongly support your clarion call for boycott all cargo to Sri Lanka from Australia and New Zealand ports. We appreciate your write-ups and publications. For international working class solidarity and for advancing proletarian internationalist action. Our members on board Vishva Kaumudi shall be in action with you shoulder to shoulder. Warm Greetings.

Abanerjee, General Secretary,  
6 Sept 1983 FSUI (CITU)"

## Spartacist Demos Demand:

# "Genocidal Pol Pot Out of UN!"

On September 27, simultaneous protests were held in six countries, organized by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) to oppose continued recognition of the genocidal Pol Pot/Ieng Sary forces as United Nations representatives of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Protesters denounced the obscene spectacle of the United States, authors of the My Lai massacre and the secret bombing of Cambodia, prating about human rights while backing the phony "government of Democratic Kampuchea" — now existing only in CIA safe houses in Thailand — which murdered more than two million of its own people. Demonstrations took place in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza outside the UN in New York, at the State Department in Washington, at UN Plaza in San Francisco and in Paris, London, Bonn, Toronto and Sydney and Melbourne.

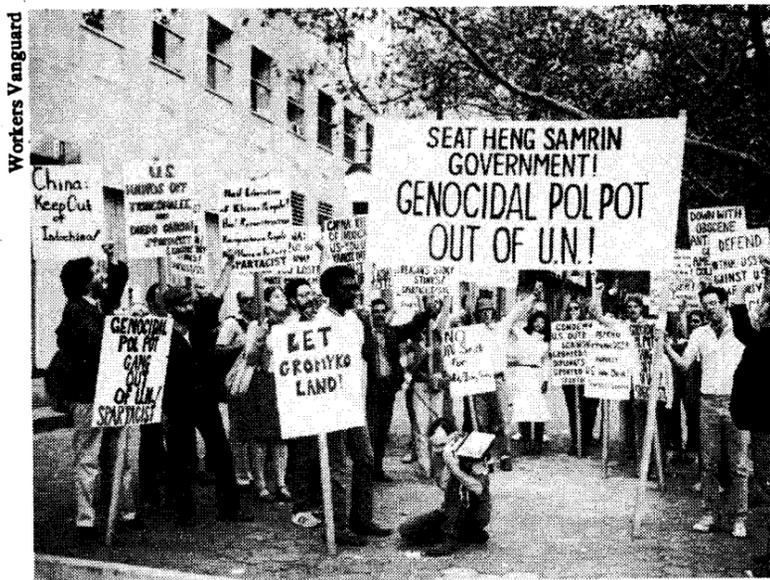
Close to fifty people took part in spirited demonstrations outside the Commonwealth Government Centres in Sydney and Melbourne. The banner at both demonstrations read, "Defend Vietnam/USSR Against Reagan/Hawke War Drive! Seat Heng Samrin Government! Genocidal Pol Pot Gang Out of the UN!" and many of the chants and placards in particular highlighted the role of the Hawke Labor government in Reagan's war plans against Vietnam and its Soviet ally. Demonstrators placards read, "Down with Hawke, Reagan's man in Southeast Asia! Defence of Vietnam/USSR Begins in Pine Gap, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!" while the chants included "Hawke, Pol Pot and Son Sann, Reagan's lackeys against Vietnam! Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for US and Australian imperialism!" and "Smash the imperialist blockade, Vietnam should get its aid!"

The obscenity of seating Pol Pot/Ieng Sary is part of US imperialism's unrelenting drive to punish the victorious Vietnamese Revolution and its war plans against Vietnam's main ally, the Soviet Union. What Johnson and Nixon failed to do with B-52s and napalm — crush the Vietnamese Revolution — Reagan is now trying to accomplish with rear-guard actions like an economic blockade and arming Cambodian counter-revolutionary mercenaries. Protesters in New York drove the point home with the chant: "US bombed Cambodia — US backs Pol Pot! US get out of Southeast Asia — US, you lost!"

In London and Toronto the demonstrations were joined by Tamil militants who had also participated in emergency protests called by the iSt in late July and August against the bloody anti-Tamil massacre unleashed by Ronald Reagan's Sri Lankan satrap, President J R Jayewardene. The protests denounced US designs on military facilities at Trincomalee, to become part of a string of bases ringing the USSR from the Indian Ocean to the North Pacific. Below is reprinted the leaflet building the demonstrations.

\* \* \* \*

We protest the obscenity of the genocidal, ousted Pol Pot forces holding the United Nations seat for Kampuchea (Cambodia)! Even in the UN, whose predecessor Lenin aptly called "a den of thieves", even among



New York (left), Sydney (right): Protests demand Pol Pot out of UN, seating of real Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea.

bloody US-backed Central American dictators, Pakistan's General Zia, or even compared to Idi Amin, the murderous Pol Pot and his number two mass killer Ieng Sary are an obscenity. Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the Pol Pot regime, which killed two million of its own people, the US in alliance with China has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for attacks against Kampuchea. On September 21, 1979 and each year since the UN has voted to seat the universally despised Pol Pot forces instead of the Heng Samrin government as part of US imperialism's unrelenting drive to punish the victorious Vietnamese Revolution and undo its own humiliating defeat. *No UN Seat for Pol Pot/Ieng Sary — Bloody Imperialist/Chinese Toys! Seat Heng Samrin Government, Real Government of Kampuchea!*

The US attempt to strangle the heroic Vietnamese, whose strategic Cam Ranh Bay naval port is a roadblock to American ambitions, is part of the US all-out war drive against the Soviet Union. And Hawke's imperialist Labor government is aggressively fronting for Reagan in Southeast Asia, working closely with the anti-communist ASEAN bloc. From Pol Pot to the deadly Flight 007 Cold War provocation, from Pine Gap to Diego Garcia to Sri Lanka's Trincomalee, these efforts to whip up war hysteria and encircle the USSR with a ring of nuclear launching pads have left a bloody trail of terror and death across the globe. For its part Australia intends installing an F/A-18 fighter-bomber squadron at its Butterworth base in Malaya, only 600 miles from Ho Chi Minh City. Criminally, the Peking government has eagerly backed this deadly imperialist policy, repeatedly launching military attacks against northern Vietnam in line with US policy. *China: Keep Out of Indochina! US, Australia — You Lost! Smash ANZUS, ASEAN — US and Australian Imperialism Out of Southeast Asia! US Bases Out of Australia and the Indian Ocean! Defence of Vietnam/USSR Begins in Pine Gap, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!*

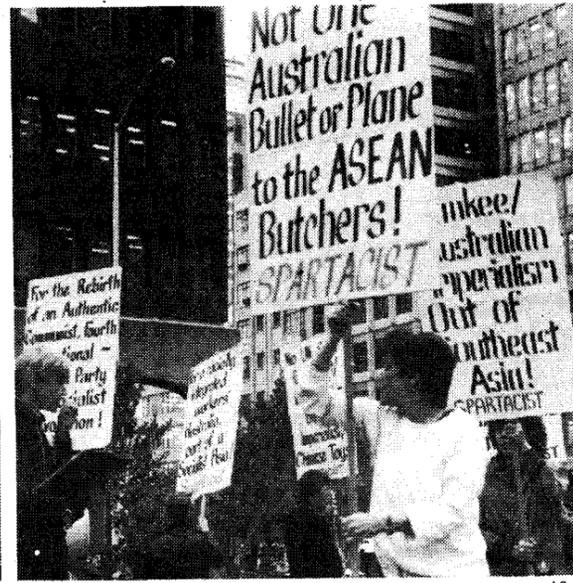
When the US and its corrupt henchmen like Lon Nol fled Indochina after the triumph of the Vietnamese Revolution, the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh. Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge were led by a bunch of college boys

who sat out the war against French Colonialism in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. The first to be wiped out by Pol Pot's forces were the Cambodian Communist cadres associated with the Vietnamese. *Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide!*

The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labor camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture — a pre-feudal program based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms — utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime, thus any restraints on the ruling clique. Just after the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975, we denounced Pol Pot's brutal depopulation of the capital, noting that "for Marxists, it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure". The mountain of skulls found in mass graves at Cheoung Ek, the torture chambers in Phnom Penh, the stories from every survivor of people beaten to death with poles, starvation and brutal slave labor — this was Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Even former US diplomat Emory Swank, who was US ambassador to the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh, admitted in an interview (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March) that "The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganized, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery". When the Vietnamese army intervened in 1979, we declared our opposition to a long-term occupation army, which could raise to the fore the national question for the Khmer people, but did not demand immediate withdrawal. We asked: Given a choice, would the Khmer people prefer to retain the irrational peasant xenophobia of the murderous Pol Pot or to have schools, marriage of their choice, food, children, medicine and wages? The verdict is clearly now in. *Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction — Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!*

Though Pol Pot's murderous horror helped bring the Khmer people to the



edge of extinction, the mass murder was started long before — by the US. In 1969 under Nixon and Kissinger the US began four years of devastating secret carpet-bombing of Cambodia, with at least the passive acquiescence of then-ruler Prince Sihanouk. From 1970 to 1973, the US rained down more than 100 tons of bombs for every person in Cambodia, shattering the fragile economy. Probably more than a million died during the civil war against US puppet Lon Nol, and famine was raging when the US brutally imposed a blockade in 1975. Today US imperialism tries to starve Vietnam and Kampuchea via a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. Thus immediately following its election, the Hawke government reneged on its (miserable) aid commitment to Vietnam, of course continuing to aid the counterrevolutionary forces in the region. Most criminally, some two and a half million Vietnamese have been withdrawn from the desperately necessary work of economic construction in order to defend northern Vietnam against Chinese military pressure, backed by the US.

Today the US and their puppets back a witches brew of capitalist cliques with the bloody remnants of the Pol Pot forces clinging to the Thai border for survival. They have tried to force together an unholy alliance of the CIA-favoured semi-fascist monarchist "businessman" Son Sann, the shameless playboy pimp Prince Sihanouk (much of whose family was slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge) with the Pol Pot/Ieng Sary/Khieu Samphan forces. This wretched gang, committed to capitalist restoration in Kampuchea could only come to power on the back of an outright imperialist military onslaught. *Prince Sihanouk — Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration Never! Smash Imperialist Blockade of Vietnam!*

The Trotskyist Spartacist League/US, as American revolutionists in the "belly of the beast" during the Vietnam War, raised the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and called for labour strikes against the war. In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency hailed the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution and the driving out of capitalism from Indo-

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## Kurds...

Continued from page three

of opportunism is measured in blood. Beware of opportunism!

In the reactionary war between Iran and Iraq the ostensible left took the side of Iran. But we point out that the working people of Iran, the working people of Iraq, have no interest in the victory of either side in this squalid war. We of the Spartacist League said: turn this reactionary nationalist war into a civil war against the mullahs and colonels. To the Kurdish people we pointed out that they are savagely attacked by both the Ba'athists and Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards, and that the Iran-Iraq war offers them the greatest opportunity to carve out a nation-state since the short-lived "Kurdish Republic" of Mahabad in 1946.

In Iran the national minorities, like the peasantry, can be an enormous reserve for social revolution — but only if the working class champions their rights. For it is the proletariat that has the social force and the power to end national exploitation and degradation forever. In Iraq the oil workers in the fields of Kirkuk are part of a strategic core of proletarian power. They are Kurdish and they are key to a socialist perspective. A socialist perspective demands that the working class struggle independently. Any rejection of the working class' independence in favour of political alliances with the class enemy, whether it be the reactionary mullahs of Iran, the nationalist butchers of Iraq or Syria or the bourgeois populists of Ecevit in Turkey, is a recipe for bloody defeats.

Under the mantle of two-stage revolutions and popular fronts the Kurdish people have already been victims of such treachery. In Iraq following the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958, the Iraqi Communist Party was on the verge of power. It was only to be betrayed, along with its mass working class base and huge Kurdish component. They were then to face massacre at the hands of Kassem and later the Ba'athists. Again in 1978 the Iraqi CP (the Communist Party) entered the Ba'athist government in return for support. This support included support for anti-Kurd terror. Again they were brutally suppressed.

The binding of the proletariat's hands and feet to the bourgeoisie by such alliances figures strongly in the talk of the so-called "Arab Revolution". But the so-called anti-imperialists of the "Arab Revolution" like Hussein and Assad are at home brutal oppressors of their own national minorities. Similarly in every instance attempts by the Kurdish Democratic Party to shape some sort of deal with the nationalist butchers has led invariably to defeat. The solution to the Kurdish question can only be a regional-wide one that involves the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The politics of nationalism are indeed the politics of bourgeois rule in the Middle East and will always lead to that. An independent Kurdistan could only be a Soviet independent Kurdistan that extended the property forms of the socialised economy. That the Kurds of the Soviet Union live qualitatively better than elsewhere speaks volumes of the gains represented in the 1917 October Revolution. Today that is threatened by a war drive by US imperialism, a war drive that in this region of the world is represented in many forms, not least amongst them the Turkish junta which is a key component of the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union.

The fate of the Soviet workers state cannot be separated from the fate of the working class and oppressed throughout the world. We have been hard, we have been firm, in our struggle to defend the Soviet Union. And that task is crucial because today the US imperialists are mounting a war drive that finds expression in the pro-imperialist, Pope-supporting politics of Polish Solidarnosc and the reactionary rebels in Afghanistan. For these rebels the seeds for their discontent lie in a battle to maintain religious backwardness and oppression, a backwardness and oppression that exists throughout the region, the enemy of the struggle of the working class and oppressed, a backwardness that finds as its central theme the woman question. In the East there is no other democratic question that is more decisive. It was in defence of the veil perhaps more than anything else that Khomeini rose up against any reform. In Afghanistan we said "Hail Red Army!" against Islamic reactionaries. The dictatorship of the proletariat which is the precondition to break the chains of enslavement in the East is the question of a revolutionary party. The full achievement of the democratic tasks posed by the Kurdish national struggle can only take place in a framework that is profoundly internationalist. For this reason it is Trotskyist parties, revolutionary proletarian parties, that are desperately needed for a socialist federation of the Near and Middle East.

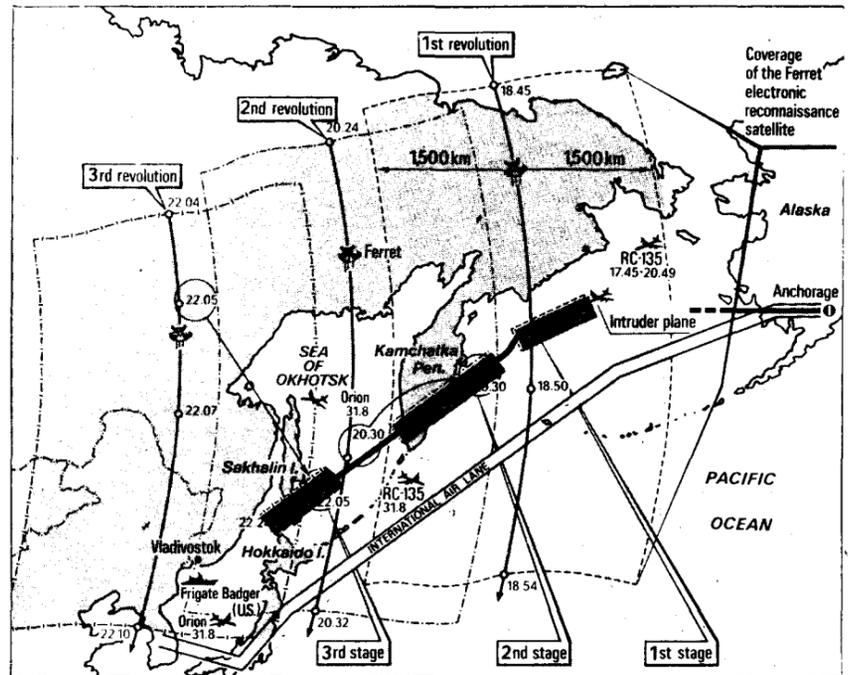
In this country under the ANZUS alliance and amidst the US bases that play their role in the imperialist war drive, we make our call loud and clear that the victories of the working masses as expressed in the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states must be defended. To entrust the pro-US imperialist government of Hawke with calls for help is to only sow illusions in the enemy. We say for a workers Australia, part of Socialist Asia. For the Kurdish people as indeed for the working masses of the world the Russian Revolution of 1917 was the greatest event in history. It ended once and for all national-chauvinist pogroms against the populations there. It is an inspiration that we want to defend and will seek to defend in all instances. It is the perspective of the Spartacist League internationally. Thank you. ■

## Healyites...

Continued from page five

tionary imperialist spokesmen and their fascistic fringe.

The Healyites and the anti-Soviet "left" didn't care what Solidarnosc stood for as long as it was "anti-Stalinist". The SLL amnesties Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary program and leadership in the same way it does the ALP — by declaring it *synonymous* with the working class. As was true internationally "solidarity with Solidarity" drove not only the corrupt Qaddafi-loving SLL but most of the radical "left" into the arms of the most sinister and reactionary forces in labour movement. In August 1982 the Clerks Union (FCU) and Shop Assistants (SDA) organised a tour by two Solidarnosc "activists", Jerzy Milewski and Magda Wojcek (now employed by the CIA's Radio Liberty). The SWP, SLL, CPA etc all hailed this tour, while avoiding the rabid anti-communist meetings that stomped and cheered for "freedom" in Poland. The FCU and SDA are notorious bosses' "free trade unions" that have been run for decades by CIA-loyal anti-communists like John Maynes of the FCU and Jim Maher of the SDA, until



Flight 007 was delayed 40 minutes to synchronise its flight with the trajectory of the spy satellite Ferret-D (illustrated in map above, reproduced from the Soviet New Times, October 1983). Also monitoring the flight were two RC-135 and two Orion reconnaissance planes, an AWACS plane, several US naval vessels including the frigate Badger and ground tracking stations on the Aleutian and Hawaiian Islands, in Japan and South Korea. Quite probably the CIA's super-secret Pine Gap base received and relayed information about flight 007. Drive the US bases out! Don't mess with the Russians!

## Russia...

Continued from page two

Speaking before the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), held in March 1918, Lenin emphatically declared:

"International imperialism, with the entire might of its capital, with its highly organised war machine... could not, under any circumstances, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic... This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem — the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world

revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution."

Today, the Soviets are threatened not just with sabre-rattling but actual war plans. A class-conscious proletariat, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, must unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc against imperialist attack, must oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who seek an impossible "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, must take power from the capitalists before it is too late. And time is getting short.

— abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 339, 7 October 1983

recently members of the sinister Catholic NCC. While they are never short of anti-CIA rhetoric when it comes to "little Australia" nationalism, the left Laborites' open embrace of the CIA's men in the Australian trade unions and their Polish counterparts shows that, face to face with the Russian Question, they line up in the camp of CIA "democracy".

## Trade Unionism and White Australia "Socialism"

The perspective of the Laborite "left" is captured by the SWP and SLL's perennial appeals for a "Labor government pledged to socialist policies". Stripped of embellishments, what this means is that simple extension of trade-union militancy will force the ALP "lefts" to take over from the right wing, form a "socialist" government and nationalise everything, thereby peacefully carrying out the socialist revolution. Such a completely nationally self-contained, parliamentary-centred schema, best characterised as "White Australia socialism", is quite at home with the mainstream Laborite dream of a "fair share" in the prosperity of a "democratic" workers paradise for the white man. Australian prosperity was founded on racial exclusion of "cheap Asian labour", industrialisation behind high tariff walls and a share in colonialist super-exploitation of South-east Asia, both as a sheet anchor of imperialist domination and directly as a minor Pacific imperialist power. The Australian proletariat has historically been bought off by its relative privilege which both lives off and is insulated from the desperate misery and

oppression of the hundreds of millions of Asians to the north. To defend this enclave of white privilege in Asia, the weak Australian bourgeoisie has sheltered behind the military protection of a great imperialist power, necessarily at the price of unquestioning subservience, a servility that is tempered only by the fear of being abandoned.

This basic reality, which no tendency on the reformist Australian "left" has even attempted to address for fear of challenging the basis of Laborism, chief prop of the Australian status quo, has stamped the consciousness of the labour movement with an intense xenophobic fear and hatred of all oppressed and non-European peoples. The racism fundamental to Australian nationalism resembles that of South Africa, except here racial exclusionism means the "threat" is external, or Israel, except this island continent has the luxury of hundreds of miles of ocean separating it from the nearest "Arabs". The ALP, as the most nationally-minded party, has always been one of the most right-wing social-democratic parties in the world. The number one plank of white racial homogeneity in its founding platform kept it out of even the renegade Second International until 1965 when it was dropped as a cosmetic clean-up in order to pursue a more aggressive regional role.

The Healyites and SWP want above all a place in the labour bureaucracy. That is why their boring and parochial "mass" papers forever extol the empty mouthings of the "militant" bureaucrat or "left" parliamentarian of the moment. And that is why they glorify the great "militant" tradition

of the "party of the working class" which they seek to rescue from opportunist betrayers and return to its pristine "class struggle" origins. Thus the formation of the ALP in the aftermath of the mass strikes of the 1890s is conventionally presented by Laborite nationalists simply as the great step forward onto the road of independent working class action — when in fact the turn to the parliamentary ("political") sphere was also a defeatist rejection of class struggle. Likewise the 1916 split over conscription for World War I is mythologised as the true Labor "anti-militarist" tradition versus "Hughes the rat" (Billy Hughes, Labor PM who defected to the Tories) — when in fact opposition to conscription for a European war by "socialists" like John Curtin was motivated by fear of a British sellout of White Australia to its Japanese ally and entirely consistent with Curtin's later calls for Australia to be the imperialist policeman of Asia. None of this is new, being addressed notably by Humphrey McQueen in his book "A New Britannia" nearly fifteen years ago, but all of it is anathema to the fake-Trotskyists who if they mention Laborite racism and imperialist militarism at all only do so to excuse it as unfortunate but secondary blemishes. Politics for these people is pressuring the ALP and via it the bourgeois state.

For genuine communists a Marxist understanding of this reality is the precondition for a program than can break the working class from treacherous pro-imperialist Laborism and mobilise it in revolutionary struggle under Trotskyist leadership: for a revolutionary party that is a "tribune of the people", for the workers to use their social power to fight all forms of oppression, particularly racial and sexual discrimination; for militant class-struggle tactics (occupations, mass picketing) to fight the capitalist economic crisis — against the class collaborationism and chauvinist poison of protectionism; for fighting class independence and organisational unity (industrial unionism) against craftism and Arbitration; no reliance on parliament and pressuring the capitalist state; for labour solidarity action with revolutionary struggles internationally. And as we noted in the original *Women & Revolution* article,

"As Australian communists we have a particular responsibility to combat our own ruling class, American imperialism's proxy in Southeast Asia, and to defend the USSR and the Vietnamese revolution, which despite bureaucratic deformations represents a tremendous historic victory for the working class throughout the world."

### Laborite "Militancy" and Arbitration

Laborite trade union "militancy" has always been subordinated to the "national interest" of White Australia. This means that in this period of Cold War and economic crisis the workers are supposed to sacrifice for the good of the country and so all the former "militant" pretensions of the bureaucracy have evaporated. Historic economic militancy in Australia, expressed in the high strike figures of, for example, the years from 1969 (the mass strikes over the penal powers and the O'Shea jailing) to 1981, never translated into a mass political break with Laborism. Most of this "militancy" has been safely contained within the limits of pressuring, but loyally submitting to the Arbitration system, this permanent machinery of institutionalised class collaboration, which regulates trade unionism and enmeshes it with the capitalist state. Arbitration was a key plank in the early ALP platform and by coupling

the relatively high wage levels directly to high tariffs, reinforced the Laborite illusion of workers and bosses in partnership sharing the fruits of this whites-only "lucky country".

The artificially high (still about 50 per cent) level of unionisation in Australia is a product not of struggle but of Arbitration-protected and state-supported "compulsory unionism". The most deadly threat the government can hang over a trade union's head is "deregistration" — withdrawal of recognition by the bosses' state! And the myriad craft union divisions obstructing genuine industrial unionism were created and sustained by Arbitration. Strikes *as a rule* are not fought with mass picket lines or plant occupations but as short, on-and-off, stay-at-home affairs which more often than not only end up back in court. They often lead to much exasperating disruption but no decisive result, e.g. the series of rail strikes in NSW this year, breeding anti-unionism in the petty bourgeoisie, isolation and defeatist passivity in the working class. Such major class confrontations as have so far taken place in Australia have been in spite of and against Laborism. For example the Stalinist-led 1949 Coal Miners' strike, smashed by the troops of an ALP government. Such class battles have been generally associated with forces like the Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Party, representing in however deformed, partial and capitulatory ways an attempt to challenge the dead hand of the ALP on the working class. It was these forces too that imported the "foreign" ideology of proletarian internationalism.

A revolutionary perspective in this region for Australian communists must begin with the Marxist, materialist understanding that this White Australia outpost of imperialism against Asia is historically doomed, as surely as Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa, and that attempts to maintain it are just as reactionary. While Australian imperialism sees its future as expanding its exploitation of this region under the US umbrella, we insist that Australia's future is inextricably connected to the revolutionary struggle of the Asian masses. There can be no talk of an Australian revolution separated from the task of ripping the yoke of American and Australian imperialism from the neocolonies of Southeast Asia.

The awakening of revolutionary possibilities in the Australian proletariat will be the product of great historic events, for example the military defeat and humiliation of the Australian ruling class in a counterrevolutionary war in Asia or economic catastrophe, shattering the insular chauvinist complacency of this remote island continent. The defeat of US and Australian imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese gave but a glimpse of that potential. Our task is to politically prepare for such opportunities by forging an internationalist, Trotskyist cadre in struggle against Laborism and all its defenders. For a Workers Australia, part of Socialist Asia! Reforge the Fourth International! ■

### Pol Pot...

Continued from page seven

china as a historic victory for the world's working people.

In Australia both during and after the war militant solidarity with the workers and peasants of Indochina found a base in the organised labour movement. Seamen blacked Australian supply ships in 1968. Wharfies

struck against the war. Maritime unions blacked US shipping in protest against Nixon's 1972 Christmas bombing of North Vietnam. In 1979 Sydney and Port Hedland waterside workers blacked Chinese ships protesting China's invasion of Vietnam. Organised labour must continue to stand ready to defend Vietnam. Today, as we call for military victory to the heroic leftist rebels in El Salvador and Central America, we raise the slogan against the bourgeois defeatists: *Vietnam was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for US and Australian Imperialism!*

The legitimate national rights of the Khmer people can only be fulfilled in a genuine Soviet federation of Indochina (in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role) based on revolutionary internationalism. The Stalinist bureaucracies from Peking to Moscow have for decades sold out other people's revolutions for their own narrow nationalistic interests and utopian reactionary dreams of "co-existence" with capitalism, with bitter effects from Central America to Sri Lanka to Indochina. Despite the heroism of the Indochinese workers and peasants in defeating US imperialism, that war-torn and imperialist-blockaded but Soviet-aided area faces great difficulties in holding out against the US war drive and unrelenting pressure. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the enormous economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution. *For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina! Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! For the Rebirth of an Authentic Communist, Fourth International — World Party of Socialist Revolution!* ■

### Labor Lackeys...

Continued from page one

In September Hawke joined Reagan in whipping up anti-Soviet war fever over the Soviet shooting down of the South Korean airliner. KAL Flight 007 was sent by the US on what was clearly a deadly Cold War provocation staged with live bait over sensitive Soviet military installations. We refer readers to the Spartacist pamphlet, "KAL 007: US War Provocation", advertised in this issue, for a detailed refutation of the anti-Soviet lies and for a Marxist analysis. The Australian government echoed almost word for word Reagan's anti-Soviet slanders and war threats. Hawke dismissed "the preposterous claim that the Korean airliner was on an intelligence mission", denounced the Russians' "barbaric act" and stressed that his line was "closely consistent with that of the US", as if no one could tell. Their UN representative echoed Reagan's "massacre in the sky" lie while foreign minister Hayden praised his "sober and disciplined" avoidance of trade sanctions. But Reagan was not after unworkable, pin-prick sanctions but the ideological banner for the big bang — World War III.

US imperialism targets the Soviet Union because it embodies the historic gains of the world's first workers revolution which ripped one sixth of the globe from capitalist exploitation, and because it is the military/industrial power capable of thwarting their appetites from Southeast Asia to Central America. The duty of commu-

nists everywhere is unconditional military defence of the USSR and its allies like Cuba and Vietnam against the imperialist war drive, despite the bureaucratic usurpation of political power from the revolutionary Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky by Stalin, that great advocate of "peaceful coexistence". The Soviet generals today know well that in 1941 Stalin's criminal faith in his pact with Nazi Germany brought the USSR to the brink of defeat due to unpreparedness and failure to react to provocations like flight 007. Reagan & Co obviously think that the Russians' commitment to detente means abject capitulation. Given what is known of the KAL 007 mission provocation, we can only be thankful that, to quote Soviet chief of staff Marshal Ogarkov, "The Soviet military forces protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet Union honorably fulfilled their duties".

In 1965 Australia under Menzies fought to be allowed to send troops to Vietnam, hoping thereby to lock the US into the defence of White Australia against the "yellow/red peril", the threat of revolution in Asia. Today the greatest service Australia renders under ANZUS is hosting the US military and secret spy bases which are a strategic global link in US war plans. "Unconfirmed" reports in the *Melbourne Herald* (2 September) said the US spy base at Pine Gap was the ground station for spy satellites monitoring the flight of KAL 007 on the night of September 1. Quite probably. With its unabashed parroting of Reagan's war hysteria over KAL 007 the Labor government declared that it will not flinch when the Cold War turns hot against the Soviet Union (and Vietnam once again). Defence of the USSR/Vietnam begins with struggle against this warmongering imperialist Labor government and the ANZUS alliance and spy bases it defends.

Hawke took office on a program of continuing a bipartisan pro-US foreign policy and "national reconciliation" based on the ALP-ACTU wages-prices accord, enlisting the union bureaucracy to police the working class in the face of over 10 percent unemployment, wage cutting and government austerity. But his nine months in power have been dominated by an almost continuous campaign of anti-Sovietism and nationalism designed to get the country in shape for war. Hawke continually speaks of the "splendid example" of wartime ALP leader John Curtin who forged "a national consensus for the prosecution of the war effort" (*Australian*, 29 September).

### Down with Anti-Soviet Bans!

The anti-Soviet furore over Flight 007 capped it off. Hawke's "national consensus" extended from the anti-communist demonstrations in Sydney and Canberra, attended by Korean and Vietnamese rightists, Moonies, Polish Solidarnosc and "Captive Nations" types, across the parliamentary spectrum to, most significantly, the entire trade-union bureaucracy. The September ACTU congress was turned into a Cold War congress which backed Hawke's pro-Reagan stand and imposed 60-day bans against the Soviet airline Aeroflot and Soviet airline travellers. The postal workers union (APTU) also banned mail to and from the USSR for 60 days. In a circular to union members at the Melbourne International Mail Centre the APTU bureaucrats spelled out the meaning of Hawke's patriotic anti-Sovietism, denouncing "unauthorised industrial

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## Labor Lackeys. . .

Continued from page nine

action" against the bosses because the "only authorised ban in force ... is the ban on Russian mail".

Leading the charge at the Congress were some of the most prominent CIA-lovers in the unions — John Maynes of the Clerks, leader of the anti-communist Catholic right, and NSW right-wing Labor kingpin Barrie Unsworth, both well known for their connections to the CIA's international trade-union fronts. The emergence of this axis between the hard-line pro-US ALP forces and the Catholic anti-communists in the drivers seat in the ACTU represents a real shift to the right at the top. It continues the process of healing the 1955 ALP split when the reactionary Catholic witchhunters were driven out, and also the reformation of the anti-communist Cold War I "Industrial Group" alliance — under the Cold War II banner of Hawke's Labor Party.

The division at the congress was only over how hard and how openly to identify with Reagan/Hawke war fever. So it was the Unsworth/Maynes/Dolan forces, supported by Maoist Builders Labourers leader Norm Gallagher, which defeated 582 votes to 479 a "left"-backed amendment by Laurie Carmichael of the Communist Party (CPA) which denounced the Soviet Union just as strongly but deleted the bans, also raising a few mealy-mouthed "questions" of Reagan's story which even the Cold War right felt able to co-opt. Only Pat Clancy, BWIU head and leader of the trade union breakaways from the pro-Moscow Socialist Party, rightly called Flight 007 a "spy plane" and a "crude provocation" against the USSR. But Clancy & Co don't intend to let "friendship" with the Soviet Union get in the way of "unity" at home and after putting no counter-motion went on to support Carmichael's anti-Soviet amendment.

Hawke and the ACTU want these bans to ensure organised labour's complicity in anti-Soviet action, action which leads to war. But they hit organised opposition on the Sydney waterfront where many among the ranks of the Waterside Workers

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## Sydney Waterfront Rebuffs Hawke/ACTU Anti-Sovietism

The motion reprinted below was passed by the midnight shift of waterside workers (WWF) working a Soviet ship in Sydney's Darling Harbour in early September, and a copy presented to the ship's first mate. This, and similar meetings across the Sydney waterfront, were an important rebuff to Hawke and the ACTU tops' attempts to line up Australian unions for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. But as the KAL 007 incident itself showed, hopes of disarmament and detente with the imperialists are utopian folly. The only strategy that will disarm the imperialists is one which mobilises class-wide action to bring down the Hawke-Reagan warmongers.

"This meeting of workers employed on the USSR ship notes the reported explanation given by USSR Foreign Minister A Gromyko concerning the recent events relating to the loss of a Korean airliner.

We regret the loss of life associated with this tragic incident and express our sympathy to the relatives of the families involved.

Having in mind the totally unexplained presence of the airliner so far off course and flying in Soviet air space over sensitive Soviet military installations; the presence in the nearby area of a US military plane during the time of the airliner's flight; the reported long-time surveillance of Soviet activities in that area by US military authorities and the well known spying purposes and activities of the American CIA, we believe the Korean plane was being used for ulterior purposes.

Stevedoring and shipping industry unions have a long association and contact with the Sea and River Workers Union of the USSR and we know that that Union and its millions of members share our aims for disarmament and a world at peace.

We reject the accusations made against the USSR of deliberately shooting down a plane knowing it to be a passenger plane. We regret and condemn the hysterical and war-mongering abuse of the US spokesmen and others supporting them.

We express our solidarity with the trade union forces of the USSR, with the genuine peace loving forces in the USA and assure them of our continued support for detente, disarmament and peace."

Federation (WWF) continue to identify with the Soviet Union, a legacy of long-time Stalinist influence in the union. We reprint on this page one of a number of motions passed across the Sydney waterfront in opposition to this Cold War provocation. This is the sort of example that needs to be followed and developed. Down with anti-Soviet bans! For political strikes to defend the Soviet Union against Reagan/Hawke's war drive!

Hand in hand with building a Cold War consensus in the unions goes the attempt to enforce anti-Soviet ideological homogeneity across society by strengthening the state's secret police agencies. Hawke wants to outlaw opposition to the war drive through building a witchhunt mentality in which any pro-Soviet sympathies, travel to Russia, or association with Russians amounts to "treason". This is what's behind the McCarthyite witchhunt of former ALP national secretary and lobbyist David Combe for his association with Soviet diplomat Valeriy Ivanov, expelled in April as part of a worldwide US-orchestrated campaign. Through the Hope Royal Commission, Hawke and ASIO are seeking to destroy Combe and frame him as a Soviet spy or "agent of influence". This witchhunt is widely unpopular in the workers movement, but the Labor lefts "defending" Combe are mainly worried about their own necks being chopped in Hawke's Cold War clean-up of the ALP, and above all anxious to assert their anti-Soviet loyalty. So the Socialist Left-dominated Victorian ALP conference in October voted both to "deplore" the Soviet shooting down of the Korean jet while it backed Combe against Hawke/ASIO. These cowardly "little Australia" nationalists will find out soon enough that you can't play both sides of the Cold War fence. KAL 007 was a US war provocation — defend the Soviet Union! Smash Hawke/ASIO's anti-Soviet witchhunt — defend David Combe! Smash ASIO and all imperialist spy agencies!

### Smash ANZUS! Drive Out US Bases!

The lingering resistance of the anti-Soviet "left" to being chained by Hawke to Reagan's war drive reflects

only the illusion of the "anti-American" nationalist wing of social democracy and its associated "peace" movement that Australia can opt out of WW III. Sorry, the price for US protection of this white imperialist enclave is slavish subservience to US war plans. The Laborite "left" nationalists are trapped by the hard realities of "little Australia" into the pathetic and impotent strategy of pressuring Reagan's ALP lackeys ... to pressure Reagan, while increasingly accepting the basic framework of the imperialist war drive: ANZUS and the US bases.

Furthest down this road is the demoralised anti-Soviet CPA desperate now that Cold War II is here to abandon their much-heralded "independent road" and find comfort in the bosom of Hawke's ALP. Today the CPA denounces as "ultraleft" the slogan "US bases out!" which would make the "peace" movement look "anti-American", while in the unions its members are the most vigilant defenders of Hawke's "accord" and "centralised wage fixing" (ie, Arbitration-run wage-cutting). Thus Carmichael's other hatchet job at the ACTU Congress was against the small Victorian Food Preservers Union who had broken ranks and won wage claims outside the guidelines of the "accord".

Behind them there's the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who lectured the CPA not to "throw itself behind the concerted anti-Soviet campaign" over the Korean airliner (*Direct Action*, 13 September). Their "anti-Reagan" line expressed mainly concern at the effect of the KAL 007 hysteria on the "peace" movement. The SWP may oppose the anti-Soviet "two super-powers" line, but their form of anti-Sovietism is to deny that the imperialist war drive is centrally aimed at the USSR to avoid posing defence of the Soviet workers state. As for their latest international factional allies, the European followers of Ernest Mandel, they outdid the CPA in their frenzy over the anti-Soviet nationalist "peace" movement in Germany, accusing the Soviets of "a stab in the back of all those fighting the imperialists super arms build-up" (*International Viewpoint*, 19 September). So "Marxism" has "stabbed the German nation in the back"? This

was Hitler's war cry against the German Social Democrats.

This "lucky country", which hosts vital links for US imperialism's lunatic preparations for a nuclear first strike, has never known the devastation of even a conventional war. But the targetted Soviet Union has, losing over 20 million defeating German imperialism in WW II, and it is determined that it will never happen again. Only Soviet capacity to mount a devastating retaliatory strike has so far stayed the hand of the US madmen who incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Australia may not be "battlefield Germany" but the US bases will necessarily make it a nuclear target. The over-200 innocent passengers sacrificed for the KAL 007 provocation will be peanuts compared to the global holocaust that will follow if Reagan attempts to nuke the Soviets. We say: don't mess with the Russians! Smash ANZUS, drive out the US bases!

This will never be done through parliamentary resolutions or hand-holding protests like the "Women's Peace Camp" picnic at Pine Gap. The imperialist warmongers cannot be pressured to disarm, they must be driven from power through socialist revolution. What is needed is a revolutionary movement based on class struggle, for political strikes against concrete manifestations of the war drive, both US and Australian. Moreover the US is quite worried about its Subic Bay and Clark Field bases in the Philippines, in the front line against Vietnam and the Soviet base at Cam Ranh Bay, because of the crisis threatening to topple the Marcos dictatorship. Australia also trains its share of officers in the Philippine army, supplies considerable military and civilian aid, and has substantial investments. Should a revolutionary crisis develop which threatens the foundations of capitalist rule, the shock waves would reach all the way to White Australia. There are two, three, many potential Vietnam defeats waiting for Australian imperialism, any one of which would open the road to the socialist solidarity of the awakened Australian working class and the insurgent Asian masses. The Spartacist League says: Defend USSR/Vietnam! Smash ANZUS and all anti-Soviet alliances! For workers action to drive out US military and spy bases! Down with Hawke/Hayden, Reagan's flunkies in Southeast Asia! For a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia! ■

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## Sri Lanka...

Continued from page six

Tamil people, which makes them a unique Bolshevik formation on that island. The fight against Lanka's incorporation by US imperialism is intimately linked to opposition to the anti-Tamil terror. The JR Jayewardene government, which has been moving large numbers of Sinhalese into the traditionally Tamil Eastern province where Trincomalee is located, sees the prospect of Trinco as a military base for US imperialism as the trade-off to secure access to the US market for the cheap manufactured products produced by the super-exploited, mainly female workforce in the Free Trade Zone".

Right before the conference, we received our first word from Sri Lanka, a press release which we published in *Workers Vanguard* no 336 (12 August). The SL/US national conference adopted a motion of communist solidarity with the Spartacist League/Lanka comrades. The greetings from the Lanka section published here were not received in time to be presented to the conference.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast. Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka!

Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 337, 9 September 1983

## Grenada...

Continued from page twelve

older Cuban volunteer militarily-trained construction workers would fight like hell. As Fidel Castro pointed out in a press conference in the early morning hours of October 26, "Proof of the fact that they are construction workers is the excellent airport they built in such a short time, where dozens of US planes landed, even though it is not finished yet". Told by their leaders to defend their camps with energy and courage if fired upon, they did so. A communique read over Radio Havana later that day reported: "The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland." Today the US announced that it had killed 50-60 Cubans and wounded another 40. But in the process the Americans lost six to eight helicopters (*Aviation Week*, 31 October). Now the reported 638 Cubans being held by the US forces are hostages, to be subjected to who-knows-what kind of "interrogation" by the CIA. We demand that all Cuban prisoners in Grenada be returned at once!

In response, the liberals, Stalinists and Third World nationalists turned to the hot air chamber of the United Nations. Cuba eloquently compared the Caribbean countries who joined Reagan's phony "multinational" invasion as thieving jackals leaping onto the prey of the tiger. Grenada's representative noted that his was among the smallest of countries while the US was one of the largest; but other countries should take heed that "though bigger than Grenada, [they] are much smaller than the United States". In the end, the UN Security Council "deplored" the American action by an 11-1 vote (vetoed by the US). To what effect? Even the "desertion" by Reagan's European allies will change little.

In his October 26 press conference, Castro described the US invasion of Grenada as "a Pyrrhic victory and a disastrous moral defeat". Certainly Reagan's pirate adventure has heightened worldwide fears of unrestrained American militarism. Third World

governments can easily see themselves suffering Grenada's fate. But this most powerful and deadly imperialist power in history will not be stopped or even restrained by moral protest and UN resolutions. As the great German chancellor Otto von Bismarck said a century ago, "The great questions of our time will not be settled by resolutions and majority votes... but by blood and iron". Reagan's invasion of Grenada only underscores the fundamental truth of that statement.

### Anti-Soviet War Drive Caught in Lebanon Quagmire

In chess there is a gambit known as the "poisoned pawn". Take it and you will land in trouble. For the US, Lebanon is a poisoned pawn. In the summer of 1982, while the Israeli blitzkrieg spread terror across the country, Zionist leaders claimed they were conquering Lebanon for the "free world". A senior Jerusalem official bragged, "We've given the West the gift of Lebanon on a silver platter. We've created a vacuum, and all we ask is for them to step into it" (*New York Times*, 16 June 1982). Sure enough, the Reaganites grasped the "historic opportunity", took the silver platter and stepped into the Lebanese vacuum. The Marines were sent into Beirut to be the visible sign of a new US-Israeli protectorate in Lebanon. The Israeli army and its local allies, the Phalange gangsters, were supposed to provide the killing power on the ground while the US forces played the "soft cops". Thus Washington hypocritically condemned the massacre of defenseless Palestinian families in the Sabra and Shatila camps after having set it up by disarming and deporting the PLO commandos.

Today the Americans' puppet president of Lebanon, Gemayel, is not even mayor of Beirut. The Israelis, caught in the crossfire between the fascistic Christian Maronite Phalangists and Druze communal militias, unilaterally withdrew from the Shuf Mountains outside Beirut in order to consolidate a buffer zone in southern Lebanon. This left the US alone to prop up the Gemayel "government", exposed to attack by any of the two dozen armies floating through Lebanon. Reagan is now acting as if the Marines in Beirut were innocent tourists wantonly attacked by terrorists. But just last month terrorist American warships bombarded the Shuf, wantonly killing Muslim villagers. The US Congress backed up the president by applying the War Powers Resolution, authorizing American troops to stay up to 18 months. They have Lebanese blood on their hands. And now they are paying the price.

As in Grenada and everywhere else, the Reagan administration sees Lebanon through the prism of its global war on Communism. But the American claim that Walid Jumblatt's Druze militia, or the Shi'ites, or the Sunnis, are Soviet "surrogates" is absurd. If they were anywhere near Afghanistan they would be making lampshades out of Soviet soldiers instead of shooting Yankees. Touted as a "leftist" (he is a vice president of the Second International), Jumblatt looks to French imperialism, Lebanon's former colonial master, as his would-be patron, and opposes withdrawal of the Foreign Legion.

So the Russians want to dump a lot of military hardware on the Syrians? Moscow can no more control the Near East through Syria than Washington can through Israel. Besides it's not "the Syrians", just 10 percent of them — the Alawites — or rather Ba'athist dictator Assad and his security chief brother, lording it over

the remaining 90 percent. Last year, in response to an uprising instigated by the Muslim Brotherhood, the Damascus regime leveled Syria's fourth largest city, Hama. Assad first intervened in Lebanon, during the 1975-76 civil war, on behalf of the Christian Maronite forces and with the encouragement of the US. Even now, Republican right-wingers like Utah senator Orrin Hatch have contested the view that Syria is an "intransigent Soviet puppet". They well remember how Sadat ditched Egypt's Soviet alliance a decade ago. And for all its verbal rejection of peace with Israel, Ba'athist Syria has been reluctant to attack the Zionists. With the Arafat leadership of the PLO pushed to the sidelines, Reagan could even play the Syria card.

At bottom the present fighting in Lebanon is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. A victory of the "other side" (whoever that is at any given moment) against the US and the Phalange would simply lead to new conflicts and deals among the myriad feudal warlords of Lebanon, restoring conditions more or less as they existed before the Israeli invasion of June 1982.

"Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive!" evokes the widespread anti-government outrage felt by the American masses at Reagan's squandering of life in the Lebanon "quagmire", reviving memories of Vietnam. We recognize a fundamental difference between American intervention in Lebanon and in Vietnam. In Vietnam, US imperialism intervened to suppress a social revolution. In that war, the defeat of the US expeditionary force and the Saigon puppet army was key to victory of the social revolution. The slogan of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" was deeply social-patriotic and anti-revolutionary. In the Vietnam War "our boys" were the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldiers. Not so in Lebanon. When the PLO fought the US-backed Israeli invasion in the summer of 1982, we gave the Palestinian commandos unconditional military support. But now no side is fighting imperialism. On the contrary, from the PLO and Jumblatt to Gemayel, all sides are jockeying for sponsorship from one imperialist power or another. However, if US military intervention escalates to a war with Syria drawing in the Soviet Union, then for all class-conscious proletarians, the duty of unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism would be posed.

### Smash Imperialist War Drive!

It has been clearly established that Reagan's rush to invade Grenada was designed to divert attention from his disaster in Lebanon. To a degree even protests centered on Grenada served this purpose. It is striking that the American "left" went along with this ploy, for various reasons. First, there is the fact that many of them, including the SWP and Workers World Party, supported the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon last fall in the guise of "peacekeepers". Secondly, the rad-libs and reformists want to harp on Reagan's violations of "international law" and democratic rights. But the new Cold Warriors in power in Washington make no bones about the fact that for them the class interests of American imperialism are paramount. Reagan glories in upholding "covert" action, such as the US' undeclared war on Sandinista Nicaragua, so long as it is successful.

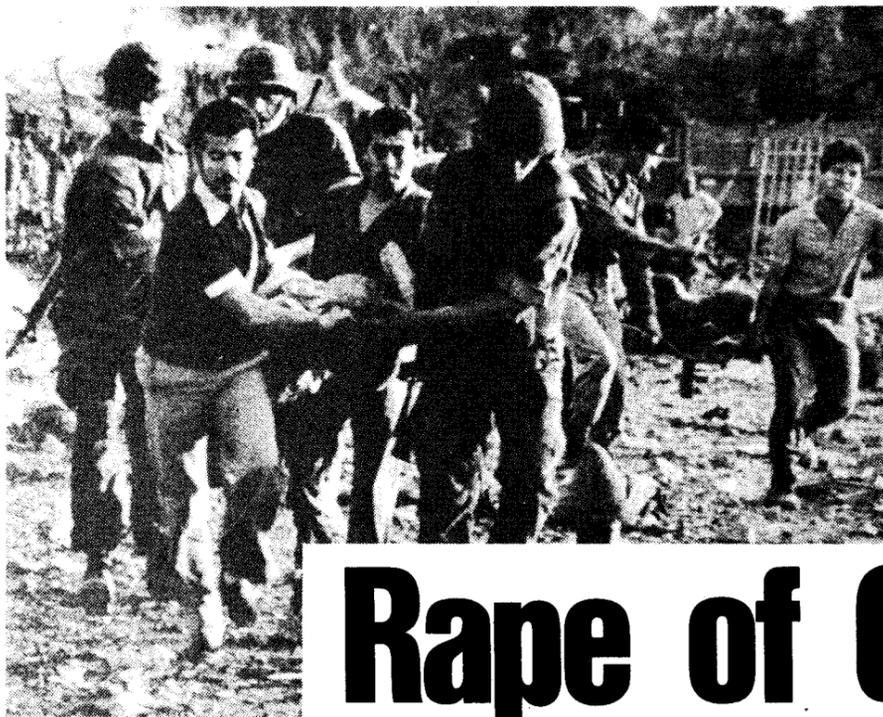
These anti-Communist ideologues understand well that the basis for bourgeois defeatism and mass pacifist sentiment in the US during recent years, the so-called "Vietnam syndrome", is the fact that the US lost. For them the key aspect of the Grenada invasion is that they can win somewhere, anywhere, to restore the US' role as global imperialist policeman.

True, the odds are rather uneven. If it has taken 6,000 American troops to "secure" this tiny island, what will it take to conquer a really big place like Nicaragua, the size of Michigan, which is 450 times larger than Grenada? In Fidel Castro's October 26 press conference, he claimed that, as in Grenada, Cuba lacked the naval and air means to send direct assistance to Nicaragua in the case of a full-scale US invasion. While he was right to emphasize the importance of an armed people which has already fought to achieve a revolution, he was wrong about Cuba's own duty. Today the Sandinista radical-nationalist regime desperately needs effective weapons, particularly anti-aircraft missiles, which can be supplied by the Soviet bloc. And to be successful, the answer to the CIA and the *contras* is to wage a revolutionary war — for workers revolution throughout Central America and extending north to Mexico with its several millions of proletarians. And meanwhile there must be sharp class struggle in the United States to bring Reagan down. This is the program of the Trotskyists, of permanent revolution requiring the construction of authentic Leninist-Bolshevik internationalist parties.

Following its humiliation in Vietnam, under Ford and Carter US imperialism was committed to a "1-1/2 wars" posture, maintaining sufficient military power to fight a major war in Europe and one "brush-fire" war somewhere in the Third World. Under Reagan, the US is currently engaged in at least four wars (El Salvador, Nicaragua, Lebanon and Grenada) and threatening a fifth at the Straits of Hormuz, and bogged down in all of them. The Pentagon is stretched so thin that they're trying to use the same forces in two places: the Marines who "took" Grenada are now supposed to be on their way to Lebanon. Now is the time for the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas to strike, for the Nicaraguans to land a powerful blow against the *contra* mercenaries. And we should rub Reagan's nose in the bloody Lebanon mess. While the liberals fear — rightly or wrongly — "another Vietnam" in the Near East and Central America, for revolutionaries, "Vietnam was a victory — Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism!"

In the Transitional Program written in 1938, the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote that, "it is necessary to differentiate strictly between the pacifism of the diplomat, professor, journalist, and the pacifism of the carpenter, agricultural worker, the charwoman. In one case, pacifism is a screen for imperialism; in the other, it is the confused expression of distrust in imperialism." Thus, he concluded, "the Fourth International supports every, even if insufficient demand, if it can draw the masses to a certain extent into active politics, awaken their criticism and strengthen their control over the machinations of the bourgeoisie". The American masses do not want to die in Beirut. We say: US Marines out of Lebanon, now, alive! US out of Grenada! Defend Cuba/USSR against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive! Otherwise Reagan is liable to blow us all up.

Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 341, 21 October 1983



## Rape of Grenada

# Bloody Mess in Lebanon

NOVEMBER 1: — Finally they thought they found a country small enough for Reagan's supercommandos to cream. Ronald Reagan had to divert attention quickly from the Beirut bombing that wiped out Marine headquarters in Lebanon, killing more than 230 US troops. "We need a win," kept insisting election-minded White House advisers. Invading tiny Grenada, only twice the area of Washington, DC with a population no larger than a couple of Harlem housing projects, appealed to the Pentagon because it was "do-able". But five days after the leathernecks stormed the white sand beaches of this Caribbean island, the "can do" generals and admirals still couldn't seem to do it. With 1,900 Marines, several units of Rangers, more than 5,000 paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne and a war fleet of 20 ships, they managed to seize two airports and the town of St George's. They said it could take weeks to clean out Cubans holed up in the hills. The Yankee shark will succeed in swallowing the Caribbean sardine, of course. But after all the flag waving has died down, not even the

**US Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!**

**US Out of Grenada, Dead Or Alive!**

**Australia Out of Sinai! Keep Out of Grenada!**

unprecedented press censorship can turn the Grenada invasion into a great US victory in its anti-Soviet war drive.

Reagan is in big trouble over Lebanon — big enough to be the undoing of his administration. Those body bags being flown into Dover Air Force Base should be stacked up in the White House. Things got so bad last week that they stopped announcing the number of dead and began announcing the survivors. It was the largest number of US troops killed on a single day since the height of the Tet offensive in Vietnam. And the immediate reaction of Marine families was to see their sons as victims rather than heroes: "It almost seems like Vietnam again . . . Those poor boys dying, and I'm sure they don't know

what they're dying for."

"Go in or get out" was a cry heard particularly from the military, which has been more than a little gun-shy over Central America — wary of another unwinnable war without public support. Even conservative hawks like Georgia senator Sam Nunn were for a phased withdrawal from "Mission Impossible". And Marines interviewed in Beirut wanted out, now, alive. We can support that.

In this particular deal America has been manipulated into becoming Israel's cat's paw. Pointing to Israel's withdrawal, Sam Nunn argued:

"Lebanon is surely no more vital to our interests than to those of Israel, yet Israel has recognized that its soldiers' lives should not be risked further in the cauldron of Lebanon's factional strife."

Given the comparative populations, if the 230-plus dead in the October 23 blast had been Israelis, it would be the equivalent of 23 thousand American soldiers killed. And with the Zionist "master race" psychology which equates one dead Israeli with 100 Arabs, the country would have exploded. So Israel's terrorist generals and terrorist cabinet ministers are openly laughing themselves silly. They did it smart: swearing they wouldn't leave Lebanon, dragging in the Americans to cover them when they got trapped in Beirut and then precipitously withdrawing, leaving the US holding the bag. (And at least the Israelis do know how to protect a mili-

tary compound . . . or how to blow one up — witness the Zionists' 1946 attack on British HQ in Jerusalem's King David Hotel.)

### Reagan's Grenada Diversion

Grenada turned out to be the all-time walkover that wasn't. Acutely embarrassed by their slow progress, the military blamed "faulty intelligence", even though US spy planes regularly overfly the island. Each day the operation dragged on they would discover more Cubans at one point claiming another 1,000 mythical guerrillas lurking in the Grenadian "jungle". But after Havana gave a detailed list of every Cuban man, woman and child in Grenada, totaling 784, the US backed down and "didn't challenge" the Cuban figures. Similarly on Reagan's accusation that Grenada was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy". The admirals could only come up with "secret arsenals" with enough weapons to arm "8,000 guerrillas", and by the time you got down to the corporal on the scene, this turned out to be a couple of quonset huts with an assortment of AK-47s, World War II British Bren guns and some 1870 US carbines, the latter "guns we used to fight Indians with, but they can still kill you", said the corporal.

All the talk of Cuban troops was also a lie: the US just couldn't accept that

Continued on page eleven

### "We Salute Heroic Cuban Fighters!"

We reprint below a communique by the Cuban government broadcast over Radio Havana at 4pm, Wednesday, October 26.

"The people were informed that at approximately 0700 hours communications between the Cuban embassy in Grenada and the Cuban defensive positions were cut off.

"It was not possible to receive any more information on the course of the latest fighting and the individual fate of each one of the comrades defending their positions.

"We can only tell you that at 0955

hours the Cuban embassy in Grenada reported that the latest enemy attack on our positions was carried out using all available means: fighter aircraft, helicopters, heavy and medium calibre artillery and mortars. But at the end, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting.

"At 1117 hours our ambassador communicated that there is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for the homeland."