



Hawke's Cold War "Consensus" Fuels Racist Backlash

Over the last few months, the vicious white racism fundamental to Australian capitalism has burst out into the centre of political life. Tory politicians, big capitalists and their hired academic pimps have invoked the British queen and even god in their hysterical defence of white supremacy in this 96 per cent white country. The ruling class "debate" on Asian immigration, accompanied by a hate campaign against Aboriginal land rights, is part of a racist backlash targeting Asians and blacks. More and more,

the liberal myths about this supposedly progressive, "multicultural" Australian "democracy" are being rolled back and the underlying brutal reality of imperialist White Australia reemerges through the cosmetic veneer. The Cold War Hawke government's "national consensus" is fuelling this reactionary backlash. Through Arbitration and the ALP-ACTU Accord, it has clamped a tight straitjacket on the class struggle, imposing a sharp fall in real wages and cutting strikes to the lowest levels in over a decade. The Austral-

ian ruling class is aggressively re-asserting Australian nationalism and the unashamed anti-Asian racial exclusionism in which it is rooted, in order to bind the working class closer to "their" exploiters and gird this country up to fight for their profits and their place in the world.

The "respectable historian" professor Geoffrey Blainey, Melbourne Establishment *par excellence*, is the racist ideologue of this backlash. Denouncing the government's immigration policy as supposedly one of "Asianisation" and "surrender

Australia", this racist pig provocatively appeals to "poorer people in the cities" as "the real sufferers" from "increasing Asian immigration" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March) with well-worn racist demagoguery about government "favoritism" to Asians who "live at the taxpayers expense" and by blaming Asian immigration for unemployment. He warns of racial violence, which like all racists he blames on its victims, but it is this "liberal"

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Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!

China Spearheads US Aggression Against Vietnam

Thirty years after the historic victory over French colonialism at Dien Bien Phu, almost a decade after the CIA and US ambassador ignominiously fled Saigon, the heroic Vietnamese people are still resisting imperialist-directed aggression. China's recent stepped-up artillery shelling and troop incursions along the northern border of Vietnam, timed to coincide with Reagan's visit to Peking in April, trace in blood the unholy alliance between US imperialism and the Chinese Stalinists against the Soviet Union and its allies. "It's a way of celebrating Reagan's trip. They used to celebrate with firework displays", commented General Dam Quang Trung, Vietnamese army commander of Military Zone 1 where the Chinese attacks took place.

The Vietnamese report that Chinese artillery shelling has resulted in heavy civilian casualties and destruction of schools, factories and villages. Spreading the conflict along Vietnam's entire defensive perimeter, in May the Chinese extended mortar and artillery fire across their border with Laos. Thai army troops simultaneously crossed the northwestern Laotian/Thai border, raising the Thai flag over three villages and forcing the Laotian population to register with Thai authorities, a conscious provocation opening yet another front in this reactionary offensive. Most ominously, this co-

incided with large-scale joint US-Thai military exercises in the region (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 June).

The battle-hardened Vietnamese remain confident of their capacity to repel the new Chinese attacks. As of mid-June they had retaken three of the six positions within Vietnam occupied recently by up to 20,000 Chinese troops. But the fighting continues and the threat of a full-scale Chinese invasion still looms. China's UN representative recently asserted its "right to teach Vietnam a second lesson", evoking Chinese rhetoric before the 1979 invasion. Should China invade in the service of US imperialism's global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies, all people everywhere must rally to Vietnam's defense.

The latest attacks by China and Thailand, while ostensibly aimed at getting Vietnam to abandon Kampuchea (Cambodia), are part of Reagan's provocative war drive against the USSR, Vietnam's main ally. The military and economic pressure on Vietnam is designed in part to drive a wedge between Hanoi and Moscow. But this stratagem has not succeeded. Soviet aid to Vietnam, while inadequate, has been of vital importance, as we noted last issue: "It is indeed fortunate that Vietnam's powerful Soviet ally has considerable sea and air power standing ready at the huge



Heroic Vietnamese fighters: beat French, American and Australian imperialism.

US-built port at Cam Ranh Bay. In the midst of the Chinese shelling Hanoi underlined this point by publicly announcing Soviet commando manoeuvres and training on Viet-

nam's eastern seaboard" (*Australasian Spartacist*, May/June 1984). These manoeuvres were reportedly designed to forestall a possible

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Chinese amphibious invasion launched from the island of Hai Nan opposite Vietnam.

Reagan's April trip to Peking was closely tied not only to the attacks on Vietnam but to strengthening overall US/China military collaboration. The US already has a super-secret electronic spy post in western China near the Soviet border, replacing listening posts lost in Iran after the fall of the shah. Pentagon chief Weinberger's visit to China last fall was followed by sales to China of anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles, early warning radar and other weapons systems. Just before Reagan's visit, *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported that Washington and Peking have been exchanging satellite reconnaissance information about the Soviet Union and Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea. It also projected that "after the election" Reagan will probably give China AWACS spy planes and the US' top-of-the-line fighter plane, the F-16A.

The alliance between Reagan's America and the Peking Stalinists is a terrible danger not only to the Soviet Union and Vietnam but also to the Chinese people themselves, to the social conquests of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. Defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution is inseparable from the military defense of the Soviet Union which stands as the principal obstacle to imperialism's global ambitions.

Hail the Rebirth of Kampuchea!

According to the Vietnamese, China's latest attacks are the heaviest since its invasion five years ago. Shortly after Peking strongman Deng Xiaoping made his triumphalist tour of the United States, he vowed to teach Vietnam "a bloody lesson" for ousting the genocidal Pol Pot gang in neighboring Kampuchea, who killed an estimated two and a half million of their own people. Six hundred thousand Chinese troops (more than the US or French had in Indochina at the height of their imperialist wars) crossed the northern border of Vietnam in 1979. After a month of fierce fighting the Vietnamese drove them back across the border with 20,000 casualties.

Ever since, China along with Thailand, likewise incited and armed by US imperialism, has maintained constant military pressure and carried out frequent attacks on Vietnam. The diplomatic pretext for the Washington-orchestrated aggression is "self-determination" for "poor little Kampuchea". But Vietnam saved the

Spartacist League

Melbourne: GPO Box 2339 Melbourne, 3001 (03)854-4315	Sydney: GPO Box 3473 Sydney, 2001 (02)264-8195
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CIRCULATION: Vicki Pearson

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State Out of the Bedroom!

On 10 May at the Melbourne Magistrates' Court, the outrageous "conspiracy to corrupt public morals" charges against nine members of the Paedophile Support Group (PSG) were dropped at committal hearings. This is a partial victory in the face of a continuing state witchhunt against this small and vulnerable group of gays, and indicates how transparently false the charges brought by the police Delta Task Force were. However two men still face charges relating to sexual acts they claim never even occurred, and one of "publishing an obscene article". Melbourne teacher and prominent gay activist Alison Thorne, force-transferred to non-teaching duties when she publicly spoke up in defence of the PSG, has not been reinstated. Emu Nugent, his house in Sydney raided in the witchhunt, is suing the NSW police for malicious arrest — he should get every cent he demands. Reinstatement Alison Thorne! Drop all remaining charges immediately! Defend the PSG!

The howling mob after the PSG's blood included not only the Cain government, the cops and the media but also most of the left and the "moral majority" feminists. We

Khmer people from the hell that was Pol Pot's gruesome "Democratic Kampuchea". The Cambodian people have clearly welcomed the Vietnamese presence which has brought them food, schools, hospitals, libraries: physical survival and the beginnings of economic and social reconstruction. Even a former US ambassador to Cambodia, Emory Swank, recognized that "the Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March 1983).

It should also be recognized that the Vietnamese people are making great sacrifices to aid Kampuchea. Vietnam is a nation that has been at war for 40 years — against the Japanese, the French and then the Americans. Nor did the war end for the Vietnamese people with the fall of Saigon in 1975. There followed a bloody border war with the Pol Pot anti-Vietnamese chauvinists, the 1979 Chinese invasion and repeated attacks by China and Thailand since. Vietnam today is one of the poorest nations on earth, still ravaged by decades of imperialist mass destruction. To defend Indochina, half a million young Vietnamese must be kept under arms, consuming rather than producing. Given the devastation of continual war, it is a remarkable feat that last year Vietnam managed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production for the first time since the fall of Saigon.

Defend Vietnam Through Proletarian Internationalism!

Defense of the Vietnamese Revolution against US/Chinese aggression requires not only military capacity and resoluteness, of which the Vietnamese are past masters, but a political counter attack as well. A revolutionary internationalist government in Hanoi would appeal to Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, and to the ranks and cadre of the Chinese Communist Party, to rebel against their rulers' obscene alliance with Reagan and the Pentagon. The danger of China's counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet aggression will not end until revolutionary Chinese workers have driven the

defend the PSG because as Marxists we defend the democratic rights of all the oppressed. We are proud to stand in the tradition of the then-revolutionary German Social Democracy which in 1896, at the height of anti-homosexual hysteria throughout Europe, defended Oscar Wilde in their journal, *Die Neue Zeit*.

Recently the anti-working class, gay-bashing, Labor premier of NSW, Neville Wran, got his "homosexual law reform" bill passed by a fretful parliament. Labor-loyal reformists like the Socialist Workers Party and gay community ALP careerists like Craig Johnston hailed the Wran bill as "a step forward". In contrast, much of the Sydney gay milieu were either skeptical of or against it. We would support legislation which was a statement of legal equality for gays, while pointing out it would not much change the oppressive reality of this brutally sexist capitalist country. But this is not the case with the Wran bill, which essentially streamlines anti-gay legislation, laying the basis for more effective persecution and for a massive police crackdown on gay youth under 18. Thus while legalising homosexual acts for men over 18 in private, it actually increases pen-

late the agony of American families for his anti-communist crusade. Similarly, the US imperialists howl about alleged mistreatment of their former Saigon puppet officials in the re-education camps, but have refused repeated offers by Hanoi to ship them all to the US.

Key to turning the Chinese masses against the Peking accomplices of US imperialism must be exemplary defense of the rights of the large ethnic Chinese (Hoa) community within Vietnam itself. This Chinese community has a relatively high cultural level and is potentially a valuable human resource for economic reconstruction. They could also become a key transmission belt of internationalist values into China itself. Yet in recent years more than a quarter million Hoa — both the petty capitalist merchants of Cholon and the skilled artisans of the North — fled from Vietnam to China. The London *Sunday Times* (10 June) reports that during the recent fighting some of these ethnic Chinese refugees "were accused in Vietnam of being fifth-columnists".

Viewing the world through nationalist blinders, the Hanoi regime often focuses on China, more than US imperialism, as its main enemy. In a rare interview, Premier Pham Van Dong in a muted way appeals to Washington to abandon its ties to Peking: "We must remember that the United States and China are not completely alike — they may sleep in the same bed but they have different dreams. One day the United States will realize that" (*Newsweek*, 14 May). Yes: the US ruling class dreams of reconquering for capitalist exploitation Vietnam and China and the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the US ruling class is determined to avenge itself on Vietnam for the most humiliating defeat of its entire history. To incite the American people, the Reagan gang keeps harping about fictitious soldiers missing in action supposedly still held in Vietnam and Laos. Both countries have repeatedly invited veterans and the families of MIAs to see for themselves and have explained they have located all the bodies they can in the dense jungles and mountains. Yet Reagan cynically continues to manipu-

alties for those involving males under 18 to up to ten years jail! Moreover a plethora of legislation like the Offences in Public Places (the baths and bars) Act still exists for the persecution of all homosexuals. Down with age-of-consent laws! State out of the bedrooms, baths and bars!

Reactionary filth like Fred Nile's Festival of Light opposed the Wran bill as they soap-boxed daily for god's retribution against homosexuals. But the Laborites share their concern for the sanctity of the repressive nuclear family, which the ruling class needs to instil obedience and submission to authority in order to prop up this capitalist system of racism, sexual oppression, depression and war. With Labor in power mobilising public opinion behind Reagan/Hawke's anti-Soviet Cold War, reactionaries like Nile are marched to centre stage. Attacks on homosexuals are part of a broader assault on democratic rights. To defeat them, there must be a break with illusions that the ALP are "enlightened reformers" and a perspective of winning the organised labour movement to take up the defence of gays and all the oppressed.

Donations for the PSG's defence should be sent to: 5th November Defence Committee, PO Box K485, Haymarket, NSW, 2000. ■

late the agony of American families for his anti-communist crusade. Similarly, the US imperialists howl about alleged mistreatment of their former Saigon puppet officials in the re-education camps, but have refused repeated offers by Hanoi to ship them all to the US.

Vietnam's leaders have unfortunately sought to politically counter the Washington/Peking offensive by agitating for an anti-Chinese bloc among the various reactionary despots of Southeast Asia and with Australia, playing the role of imperialist broker. In particular, the Hanoi regime has been wooing the bloody generals of Indonesia, who in 1965 annihilated the pro-Peking PKI (then the largest Communist Party in the world not holding state power) and also massacred much of the ethnic Chinese community. When earlier this year General Benny Murdani, commander of Indonesia's armed forces, paid a friendly visit to Hanoi, Pham Van Dong expressed his hopes of "continuous growth for the Indonesian armed forces" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1 March).

Certainly the Vietnamese government has every right and reason to try to break out of diplomatic isolation and establish economic relations with even reactionary capitalist states. But Hanoi's search for "peaceful co-existence" and anti-Chinese "unity" with the likes of Suharto's Indonesia is diametrically counterposed to the vitally needed extension of revolutionary struggle throughout Southeast Asia. Proletarian political revolution to shatter the Stalinist bureaucracies is necessary to put these victories fully at the service of the world revolution.

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution was the crucial defeat which ended the "American century". It is above all, fear of "another Vietnam" which today holds back US imperialism from invading Central America to drown the revolutionary masses in blood. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world owe a special debt to the heroism of the Vietnamese people. The defense of the revolutionary victories in Indochina against vindictive US imperialism and its accomplices remains an urgent task.

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 358, 6 July 1984

Australasian Spartacist

Try the Traitors Sakharov!

JUNE 4 — The reported hunger strike of Russian "dissident" Andrei Sakharov, said to have begun on May 2, has become the latest anti-Soviet cause celebre in the US. A *New York Times* (25 May) editorial, "The Cold Winter in Gorky", denounced the "ugly", "dangerous" and "vindicative" behavior of the Soviet "torturers" who have, they say, "cruelly denied medical treatment abroad" to Sakharov's wife Yelena Bonner, and who are allegedly forcing an "aging scientist" on protracted hunger strike to the "ultimate calamity". Ronald Reagan has taken up the case, as has every anti-Communist leader from France's Mitterrand to West Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Australia's Bill Hayden (the foreign minister, not Karla's mole).

Now the HBO cable network is rushing to broadcast its new TV film *Sakharov*, starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. A network executive crowed, "We do not think that this subject will disappear in a day, no matter what happens to Sakharov". The bourgeois press has begun printing rumors that he has died, and indeed, Sakharov could be worth even more to the West dead, as a supposed martyr of "Soviet totalitarianism". This "free world" hullabaloo over the Sakharovs is a patent attempt not only to defame the Soviet Union but to blackmail Moscow into handing over to the West the father of the Soviet H-bomb, who may well have knowledge of vital military secrets.

The imperialists are not screaming for the freedom of Nelson Mandela, the black South African liberation fighter locked up for more than a quarter of a century in the Robben Island prison fortress, whose wife Winnie Mandela is banished to an impoverished rural "bantustan" and forbidden to speak publicly. No, these "democrats" brandish economic threats in the case of a Sakharov, who is a traitor to his country and the October Revolution. He performed great services to the Soviet Union, developing its capacity to defend itself against the imperialists' nuclear domination, for which he was duly rewarded. But today he actively campaigns for the US to develop nuclear first-strike weapons and to blackmail the Soviet people with grain boycotts. We say: Try the traitors Sakharov!

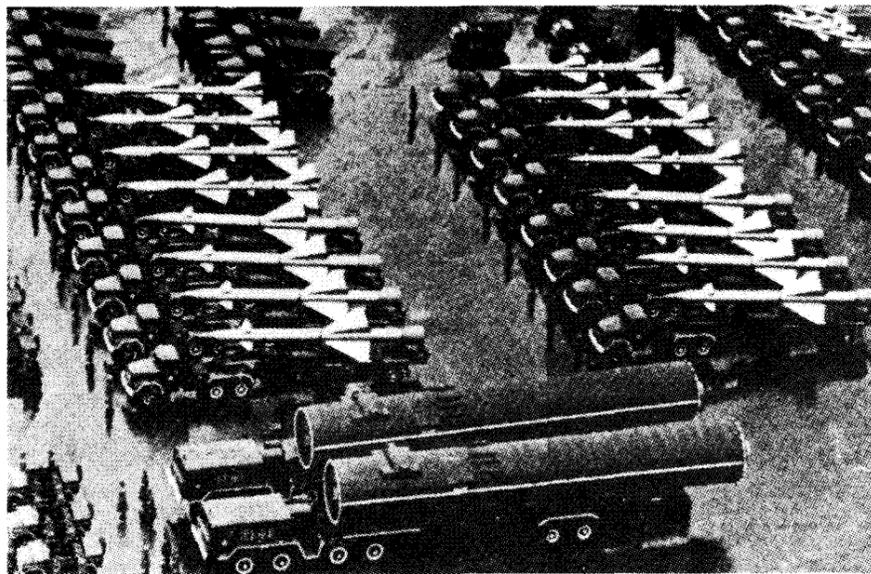
The Sakharov Plot

While the US claims that Sakharov is starving himself to death to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife, the statements have not specified exactly what is wrong with Ms Bonner, alluding only vaguely to a heart condition, nor where if is she wants to go. (The Soviets insist that Ms Bonner has no need to seek medical treatment in the West as she has access to the best clinics of Gorky and to the central clinical hospital of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.) And a May 30 TASS statement denied Sakharov was on a hunger strike, claiming he "takes regular meals and leads an active way of life". Ms Bonner, they added, is not hospitalized and "does housework and types a lot on her typewriter", adding sardonically that her writings go straight to the US embassy in Moscow.

The Soviet statement reiterated earlier charges that the whole business had nothing to do with her health, but was part of a plot cooked up in the American embassy where Bonner would take "asylum" while Sakharov began his hunger strike. US officials at first screamed the Sakharov plot story was a total fabrication. But on May 18 Washington admitted that copies of letters to the US ambassador from Yelena Bonner detailing plans for the hunger strike and Bonner's temporary asylum had been left in an embassy car. It was also confirmed that American embassy officials had regularly kept in touch with Bonner, and that on April 12 when the letters were found, American diplomats had driven her to a railroad station in Moscow where she caught a train for Gorky.

Behind the smokescreen about Ms Bonner's health, for the past year the Sakharovs have been trying to defect to the West. A *New York Times* article of 12 May 1983 reported that Yelena Bonner had told Western reporters that the couple was prepared to emigrate to end the "nightmarish existence" they had been living since Sakharov was banished to Gorky in 1980. But TASS said at the time:

"It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad. This ban stems from Soviet legislation and is the sovereign right of any state."



Soviet military power stays the hand of US imperialism. Sakharov, father of Soviet H-bomb, would gladly spill military secrets to Pentagon and CIA.

Just imagine what would happen, by way of comparison, if an eminent Israeli physicist working on their nuclear weapons tried to obtain asylum in Syria! And when American atomic scientists Alfred Savant and Joel Barr left the US at the height of the Rosenberg witchhunt hysteria, they were labeled spies by the US on the basis of no evidence at all. In addition to Sakharov's specific knowledge of military secrets, his intimate familiarity with Soviet defenses, based on 20 years' work at the highest levels of Soviet military industry, would be of incalculable aid to imperialism. Even the *New York Times* admitted that Sakharov has knowledge that

Yelena Bonner and Andrei Sakharov.



"would probably still be of major value to foreign governments".

Nuclear Blackmail

The anti-Soviet propaganda mills like to present Sakharov's appeals to the liberal intelligentsia of the West. In 1975 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This, of course, has nothing whatsoever to do with peace, but was in fact an award for contributions to the anti-Soviet war drive, as shown by its award two years earlier to imperialist mass murderer Henry Kissinger. The bourgeois media preferred Sakharov, having had certain difficulty selling an open worshipper of the tsar like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a man who thinks houses should be no more than two stories high, who praises the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds and denounces the "decadent West". In fact, however, in recent years Sakharov has become so reactionary that his views are as anti-Soviet as those who want to return to the days of the obscurantism of the Russian Orthodox Church when the knout of the tsarist autocracy reigned supreme.

Andrei Sakharov has long been the US imperialists' favored anti-Soviet "dissident". Just weeks after Jimmy Carter took office in 1976, Sakharov became the linchpin of the Democrats' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade.

But it was Sakharov's open letter in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine which really showed this counterrevolutionary's traitorous perfidy. Here Sakharov came out for Reagan's plans to build the MX missile, the first-strike weapon against the USSR, as well as for US deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe! This places him to the right of the capitalist Democratic Party mainstream. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation, then perhaps this is what the West must do", he wrote, arguing the imperialists should continue the arms race for "ten or fifteen years". *This is concrete aid to the enemy.* Reagan used the Sakharov article to whip up support in Congress for the MX, whose purpose is to give the Americans the capability to engage in nuclear blackmail, annihilate Soviet cities, and pose the destruction of the Soviet state itself. The Sakharovs should be tried as traitors!

The mass bloodletting of the Stalin regime is a thing of the past; today's political opponents are now frequently confined in the straitjacket and tranquilizer nightmare world of the mental hospital. Some, such as pre-eminent Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, are kept in isolation from the outside world, with a 24-hour guard posted outside their door. As Trotskyists, whose forebears were the prime target of Stalin's campaign of slander, suppression and murder, we know full well that the Kremlin bureaucracy knows only the methods of frame-ups, mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and similar sledgehammer techniques. But our communist opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union is based on unflinching defense of the gains of the October Revolution. We insist that the USSR has the right to take measures to defend itself. At bottom it is the bureaucracy itself — with its conciliation of imperialism and commitment to "peaceful coexistence" — which has historically posed the greatest danger to the defense of the Russian Revolution.

The Stalinists frequently portray all dissenters as agents of imperialism. Indeed, with rare exceptions, the current generation of dissidents have become increasingly and blatantly pro-imperialist, that is to say, counter-revolutionary. They even go so far as to pass on state secrets, as was the case with Anatoly Shcharansky, the Zionist computer programmer found guilty of treason in July 1978. While the liberals shrieked in outrage at our headline, "Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!" (*Workers Vanguard* no 212, 28 July 1978), we insisted that was literally the case, even attested to by bourgeois journalists who reported Shcharansky had passed on plans of secret defense plants. But for the rest of such Soviet dissidents, no matter how reactionary and anti-socialist their political views, as long as they are not

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Racist Backlash...

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professor who is provoking and inciting racist reaction which breeds racist violence. The depths of his gut-level racism was his early remark about giving Asian refugees \$1000 to go "further away". For Blainey, evidence of "community feeling" is the filthy race-hate graffiti campaigns of the tiny fascist group, National Action. No wonder he's the hero of these Nazi creeps and skinheads.

Ever since Blainey first opened his mouth in March, he has been paraded in the columns of the bourgeois press and on television. Their line has been to vigorously and indignantly defend this "eminent" academic's reputation — Blainey a racist? God forbid! — while ever-so-reasonably disagreeing with him. The bourgeoisie wanted to do away with liberal taboos that prevented them "discussing" this question, ie, to bring back overt racism into mainstream bourgeois politics.

However, the bourgeoisie knows racism could blow Hawke's consensus sky high and that's one thing they are definitely not about to let happen. Hence the editorial wrath heaped upon the rump Liberal/National opposition when it threatened to electorally exploit the issue by attacking the level of Asian immigration. For once a few true words punctured the somnolence of Her Majesty's Parliament the day Yugoslav-born left-wing ALP backbencher Lewis Kent leapt the ministerial front bench yelling "you racist bastards" at the cowering Tories. The government quickly caved in, symbolically reducing the intake of Asian immigrants in the next year's quotas. Immigration Minister West replied to Blainey and the Tories that Asians constituted only two per cent of the population and were no threat, which was echoed by liberal and leftist "anti-racists". West said: "Perhaps the greatest exception I take involves the allegation that the government is discriminating *positively in favour of Asians*" (our emphasis, *Age*, 22 March). Whatever their relatively narrow differences, all sides of this "debate" are committed to maintaining the near 100 per cent racial homogeneity of this white imperialist enclave and to continuing an immigration policy which, Blainey to the contrary, is as racist as ever against Asians. We are totally opposed to all the bourgeoisie's racist immigration laws. We oppose all discrimination against immigrant workers and demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families, "legal" or otherwise.

Blainey's campaign was the cue for big capitalists like mining industry magnates Hugh Morgan and Sir Roderick Carnegie to go after Aboriginal land rights. Morgan, chief of Western

Mining, railed that land rights were "a step back to the world of paganism" and a "heretical and anti-Christian" threat to the mining industry! Carnegie tied it in to anti-Sovietism, asserting "the right to inhabit depends on the ability to defend". In rural Victoria, the ultra-reactionary, anti-Semitic League of Rights is campaigning hysterically among farmers against land rights, alongside Liberal and National Party MPs. Their pitch is that blacks are a fifth column for "communist countries such as Vietnam, the Soviet Union" who support the land rights movement. "In the Soviet Union they've even named a group of islands after the land rights movement in Australia", scream these backwoods bigots (*Bulletin*, 22 May).

Maralinga — White Australia Barbarism

During the British A-bomb tests at Maralinga in South Australia in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Pitjantjatjara Aboriginals got the treatment intended for the Soviet and Vietnamese people. Recent revelations by ex-servicemen that the British and Australian military went ahead with atomic bomb tests in full knowledge that nomadic Aboriginals were in the area, with little or no attempt to warn them, speak volumes for the genocidal barbarity of White Australia racism and how well it serves imperialist anti-communism. After one explosion several bodies were found in a crater and many more blacks died from lethal doses of radiation, while Parliament broke into cheers on hearing news of the test. Now deadly plutonium contaminates the lands of the blacks who were forcibly resettled to make way for these tests.

The internal face of the White Australia policy is the historic policy of genocide toward the Aboriginals. Almost wiped out by British colonisation, the blacks have been uprooted and systematically excluded from all facets of social life — work, education, housing, proper health care. Until the mid-1960s blacks were treated as though they didn't exist — denied citizenship and voting rights and not even counted in the census. The racist offensive against land rights threatens to destroy whatever concessions and reforms that have been won since then. It must be stopped in its tracks. But land rights alone cannot solve the wretched poverty and disease or halt racist cop terror against the black communities. Our perspective to fight racial oppression is revolutionary integration, full social equality for blacks.

Anti-Sovietism Abroad Means Racism at Home

The ALP has always been the best defenders of White Australia, the ones the bourgeoisie call on in a crisis. Today Australian imperialism under

Labor can only survive as regional lackey of the US locked into the US imperialists' plans for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Hawke's internal "consensus" which fuels racism is the domestic reflection of Australia's participation in the US-led anti-Soviet alliance, which includes rabid dogs of war like Zionist Israel and apartheid South Africa.

Hawke's stridently pro-US nationalism necessarily targets blacks, Asians and non-British Europeans — all those outside the "Australian nation". Its purpose is to buttress Labor's suppression of class struggle, hoping to unify the nation for war abroad and deepening austerity at home. The linchpin in this plan is the trade-union bureaucracy. They police the Accord for Hawke with their "buy Australian" and "Australian jobs for Australian workers" campaign, targeting foreign workers in order to amnesty Australian capitalists. The "left-wing" metalworkers (AMFSU) tops' "answer" to factory closures is increased protection for Australian manufacturing, for the bosses who have allowed local manufacturing to decay behind high tariff walls. Or there is the Vehicle Builders Union leadership whose answer to its own bankruptcy in face of mass layoffs is a "survey" of union members on whether to cut immigration. It seems the only action these labour traitors want to organise these days is chauvinist demonstrations to blame Asian workers for the unemployment they refuse to fight, or anti-Soviet bans like those the ACTU ordered over Reagan's Korean plane provocation.

This country badly needs some hard class struggle. Like a burst of fresh air it will blow away the fetid racist pollution being spread, crack apart and expose the real character of Hawke's "national consensus". The fight against economic depression, racism and imperialist war demands the building of an internationalist multi-racial Trotskyist party, forged in opposition to Laborite chauvinism; it means a struggle against the treacherous union bureaucracy to build a revolutionary leadership in the labour movement based on a program for power. Such a program must centrally include: For a fighting labour movement — break the Accord! For mass strikes and occupations against sackings and capitalist austerity! Jobs for all — 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Down with protectionism! Defend the USSR/Vietnam, support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Expropriate industry under a workers government and rebuild it under a socialist planned economy!

SL Protests Blainey

The deadly consequences of this racist offensive for targeted minorities was sharply illuminated by the cop murder of young Aboriginal John Pat in West Australia (see article back page). The WA Supreme Court acquittal of its killer cops was a statement of deadly intent, a green light for cop terror against blacks. The Spartacist League's call for action from labour, blacks, minorities and all decent people resulted in a 60-strong demonstration in Sydney on 1 June. Our call for "Vengeance for John Pat! Jail the Killer Cops!" struck a chord amongst militant blacks and our strategy of labour/black/minority mass action to fight racist terror stood out in sharp contrast to the reformist left's impotent lobbying for a government enquiry.

Similarly the Spartacist League built an independent class-struggle presence for the 18 June demonstration against Blainey at Melbourne University, organised by the International Socialists (IS)-backed Stop the

Racists Committee (SRC). As an SL spokesman said addressing the rally, "Today, right now, the racist pig Blainey deserves the contempt and anger of workers, students and minorities to protest this self-proclaimed prophet who defends White Australia". Against the anti-Sovietism the IS tried to infuse into the protest Spartacist slogans read, "Reagan/Hawke Anti-Soviet War Drive Breeds Racist Reaction! Down with White Australia Racism!" and "Hail Vietnam Revolution, Kampuchean Reconstruction! 2, 3, Many Defeats for Racist US/Australian Imperialism!" One placard hit at the anti-Asian backlash being fuelled on the campuses reading, "Smash All Racist Quotas! For Labour/Student/Minority Action to Crush NA'zi Punks!". Whereas the IS/SRC consciously omitted any defence of black rights in their slogans and propaganda the SL contingent chanted, "Avenge the murder of John Pat! Jail the Killer cops!" The *Sydney Morning Herald* (19 June) picked this last chant up, (twisting it to read "Avenge John Pat's death"), along with our response of "Cops off campus" when the police arrived to defend the racist professor.

The cops later arrested three protesters. We demand the charges against them, used by the media to "violence"-bait the protest, be dropped. The IS often puts on a "militant" tactical front like their "Shut this racist up" campaign against Blainey but their strategy is liberal/reformist, reducing racism to just bad ideas and tied to pressuring the Labor government. And "fighting" racism with anti-Sovietism and reliance on the ALP is like fighting a fire with petrol. Racist ideologues like Blainey must be exposed and their influence combatted politically in order to mobilise the working class in struggle against the racism and racial oppression produced by this decaying capitalist system.

The IS, like all the reformist left, have leapt to the defence of the Hawke government in the face of this racist backlash, whitewashing Australian imperialism in the process. The Communist Party (CPA) in a *Tribune* editorial (20 June) explained that "Australia has been relatively free of racism for decades"! The Socialist Workers Party even outdid the CPA in amnestying the Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy with its claim that "no union or working-class party is promoting this campaign [of racism]" (*Direct Action*, 16 May). But the IS goes even further, promoting the government's broader anti-Soviet aims as well. Answering Blainey's fears of Asians threatening Australian "democracy", the SRC leaflet for 18 June asks: "Why should people who've fled from authoritarian regimes undermine democratic rights?" They continue: "Are we going to model our immigration policies on such well-known tyrants as Ferdinand Marcos, Lee Kuan Yew and General Suharto now? Or the Stalinist regimes of Indo-China? We won't punish them — we'll only punish the people who want to get away from them." A Spartacist leaflet widely distributed on campus replied:

"The SRC makes an obscene amalgam of Marcos, Lee and Suharto, whose regimes today form the core of the reactionary anti-Vietnamese ASEAN alliance, and the Vietnamese workers state. It was the victory of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants that blew a charge through the wall of White Australia. Smug White Australia imperialism was threatened by the spectre of communist revolution throughout the region. The SRC's explicit call to 'punish' Vietnam dovetails with the anti-Soviet desire of Reagan/Hawke/CIA who presently maintain an economic blockade of Vietnam and back the Thai/Chinese-

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Victory to Heroic Women Strikers in Sri Lanka!

In Sri Lanka 1300 members of the Industrial Transport & General Workers Union are entering their fifth month on strike against Polytex. Polytex is the largest garment factory operating in the area of Colombo's Free Trade Zone (FTZ) with a workforce that is 95% Sinhalese women. The union has issued an urgent international appeal for financial aid and support to this important struggle.

Workers at Polytex first went on strike in December 1982, and after a month-long struggle won increased wages and the union membership grew rapidly after the strike. On 17 February this year the company, which had been breaking down the terms of this agreement, provocatively sacked seven militants, including members of the union committee, and the women walked off the job again. They demanded reinstatement of the seven, and advanced a full log of claims covering payment of six months production bonuses owed them, increased pay, more annual leave, provision by the company of one meal a day, provision of transport and medical help in cases of illness on the job (a frequent occurrence)

and the release of one worker for full-time union business!

Young Sinhala women make up the bulk of the workforce in the FTZ set up in 1978 by the JR Jayewardene regime to entice foreign investment to the island in hopes of an "economic miracle" to transform Lanka into another Singapore. Strict government control of access to the area has served to keep the workers unorganised and fearful, unable to resist speed-up, long hours and enforced overtime, poor working conditions, lack of medical or transport facilities and wages far below levels achieved in the rest of industry.

Support for the Polytex strike is of vital importance in preventing the struggling unions of the FTZ from being destroyed. It is necessary to defend and extend unionisation in the FTZ where concentration camp conditions now exist. It is especially important in light of the recent outburst of bloody Sinhala chauvinism against the Tamil minority, and points the way toward united class struggle of Tamil and Sinhala workers.

The JR government carries out terror against Tamils and has stepped



95 per cent of Free Trade Zone workers are women without protection of unions or other rights.

up repression of Sinhala workers and leftists. Last month JR's police and army went on a bloody rampage — invading the campuses and attacking demonstrators — which resulted in the closure of six universities in the south and at least two students reported killed. Prior to this ruthless crackdown the Lankan Spartacists and other leftists at Colombo University built support for the Polytex workers amongst the students.

The international Spartacist tendency calls for international working-class solidarity with these brave women wage-slaves against the imperialist exploiters and racist-capitalist UNP government of "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene. Australian workers, particularly maritime, should support this strike with industrial muscle as well as words and money. Defence of striking workers, of Tamils, of leftists facing murderous state terror — all are critical to fighting JR's aim of making Sri Lanka safe for international capitalist investment and as an anti-Soviet base for US imperialism.

We urge our readers to support the crucial Polytex strike in any way they can, including generous

financial contributions. Union Secretary Marcus requests that letters and cables be sent in support of the strike, making special mention to demand that the strike not be referred to compulsory arbitration. He asks that these be addressed to:

1. The President of the Socialist Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka, Janadhipathi Mandeeraya, Colombo 01.
2. The Minister of Labour, Labour Secretariat, Colombo 05.
3. Mr Sohly Captain, Managing Director, Polytex Garments Ltd. Hemas Building, 3rd Floor, Colombo 01.
4. The Director General, Greater Colombo Economic Commission 14 Sir Baron Jayatilke Mawatha, Colombo 01.

Urgently needed financial assistance should be sent to: "Industrial Transport & General Workers Union", A/c no 894 T, Bank of Ceylon, (Lake House Branch).

All correspondence should also be sent to the Industrial Transport & General Workers Union, 53 Rajamalwatte Road, Colombo 15, Sri Lanka.

supported Pol Pot/Son Sann anti-communist guerillas."

The IS/SRC line parallels that of CIA mouthpieces like Melbourne University witchhunter Frank Knopfmacher, who paints Australia as a "British" beacon of "democracy" in Asia, an anti-communist refuge for the Indochinese reactionaries. This is the real content of the IS's slogan "Asians are welcome here". It's no accident the IS can parade around dubious "former" NA leader David Greason as a "born again" anti-racist.

Imperialist Hypocrisy and the Indochinese Refugees

The Indochinese refugees are a big component of the Asian minority now in Australia, admitted by Fraser under US pressure as a political act of anti-communist solidarity against the Vietnamese Revolution. We opposed the chauvinist campaign against them then as we do now but we are decidedly unenthusiastic about the arrival of this predominantly reactionary layer. Of course the government's cynical welcome to the Indochinese refugees does not apply to leftists and other victims of reactionary terror in the neo-colonies of Southeast Asia. The door was tightly closed against Indonesians fleeing the horrendous bloodbath following Suharto's 1965 military coup and little has changed since then. Today we demand full right of asylum to Tamils hoping to escape the government-inspired Sinhala-chauvinist massacres in Sri Lanka, who are denied even refugee status here in order to accommodate the Jayawardene government, another close ally of Reagan. What Asian

leftists or minorities that do get into this country are, like the sizable Asian student population, subject to relentless surveillance and intimidation by ASIO as well as their home country's secret police agencies.

The cosmetic clean-up of Australia's immigration laws began in the late 1950s and 60s, culminated in the Whitlam years and was taken over by Fraser and now Hawke. All this "liberalisation" did was purge the

Poles and the like, it's still practically impossible for Asians who aren't either Indochinese anti-communists or Hong Kong millionaires to migrate to Australia.

The "Blainey debate" aside, the Australian ruling class does not want a return to openly discriminatory immigration policies. It knows its future lies in Asia, as a regional proxy and jackal of the US empire. Hawke is an aggressive proponent of

values". Blainey fears Asians as some kind of fifth column who threaten "our democratic traditions" which, as Morgan points out, "derive from our origins in Georgian Britain". For spokesmen like Morgan this is not some sentimental attachment to the long-lost British empire but an aggressive reassertion of arrogant imperialist values and ambitions for Australian imperialism, for a world where yellow and brown-skinned peoples know their place.

As proletarian internationalists we too are emphatic that Australia's only future is with Asia, which puts us in hard opposition to nationalists of all stripes. The defeat of White Australia racism will come only with the defeat of Australian capitalism. Our Trotskyist perspective is to build a fighting socialist labour movement that will sweep away this whole racist system, expropriate industry and the banks and establish a planned economy throughout this region, a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia. Our road is one of revolutionary class struggle at home and abroad to overthrow Australian imperialism and break the yoke of imperialist domination over Southeast Asia. As a Spartacist speaker told the 18 June Melbourne rally:

"There is a struggle that desperately needs to be had. A struggle that begins above all with opposition to Hawke's populist CIA nationalism and its pro-Reagan anti-Sovietism — a struggle that must be thoroughly internationalist, a struggle to build a revolutionary party linked up with the Asian masses for socialist Asia, for internationalist workers revolution." ■

First Black Troops in Australia

The first American Negro troops to be sent abroad in this war have wound up in Australia. Australia is an all-out Jim Crow country, where Negroes are not permitted to come in time of peace. The country's war minister, Francis M. Forde, gallantly greeted them as follows: "We look upon the Negro troops as part of the United States Army and we would not be so presumptuous as to place any bar against any form of assistance to the defense of this country." Oliver Harrington cleverly summed up the situation in a People's Voice cartoon showing a Negro soldier being greeted by an Australian official standing in front of a sign which reads, "Colored persons not allowed in Australia." The official is saying to the Negro soldier: "Jolly glad to see you, old boy. Just ignore these bloody signs around here — for the duration." The final payoff is that the Negro troops are not to be used for combat but only as work gangs to do the dirty work.

— From *Militant*, 11 April 1942, paper of the then-revolutionary American Socialist Workers Party of James P Cannon. Reprinted in *Fighting Racism in World War II*, Monad Press, 1980.

White Australia Policy of its name and overtly racist procedures. The clean-up was intended to facilitate Australian imperialism's role in Southeast Asia under the US umbrella alongside the US-backed Asian neo-colonial regimes. While the government of this underpopulated country goes half-way around the world for reactionary

this policy with his plans to "enmesh" Australia with Asia. As journalist Paul Kelly pointed out Hawke chose this word carefully, its dictionary meaning being "to catch as in a net or entangle" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 March). In their own ways both Blainey and Morgan speak to this with their obsession with "British

The Philippines is a powder-keg for imperialism in the Asian/Pacific region. The massive political/economic crisis of the US-dominated neo-colonial butcher regime of Ferdinand Marcos could ignite a revolutionary explosion in this strategic cornerstone of the anti-Soviet nuclear war plans of Reagan and his Australian lackey Hawke. The broad daylight execution of Marcos' long-time rival Benigno Aquino as he stepped off a plane at Manila airport last August sparked the eruption of all the Philippine masses' pent-up hatred of this tyrant accumulated since he swept away the facade of "democracy" and declared martial law in 1972. Day after day for months hundreds of thousands, even millions, of workers, students, peasants, unemployed and urban poor and even the commercial middle classes poured into the streets.

With Marcos rumored to be dying, a factional struggle for succession wracked his regime. The US, the powerful Catholic Church and most of the bourgeoisie distanced themselves from it. The army was busy fighting two separate guerrilla wars: against the Islamic secessionists of the Moro National Liberation Front on the southern island of Mindanao; and the rapidly growing New Peoples Army (NPA), military wing of the outlawed Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The economy, already the sick man of ASEAN, went into a spin as nervous US and Japanese bankers cut off its short-term credit lifeline. Unable to meet repayments on the country's huge \$A27.6 billion foreign debt, Prime Minister Virata went begging to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a "rescheduling"/bailout deal. The peso was devalued and austerity measures fuelled inflation while lack of vital imports forced factories to begin closing down. Bankrupt, beset from all sides and utterly discredited, the fall of this corrupt and blood-stained dictatorship seemed imminent.

The Philippines hosts US military bases crucial to the US-led anti-Soviet war drive so Reagan, when he took office in 1981 scrapped Carter's "human rights" hypocrisy and embraced the Marcos regime. "We love your adherence to democratic principles", Vice-President Bush told him in 1981. In June 1983 the bases treaty was renewed at a "rental" of \$US900 million in aid. Then the US started to go cold on Marcos' regime. George Shultz said it "is entering its twilight and we don't want to find ourselves in the same position as we did in Iran when the shah was overthrown" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 21 July 1983). In response to US approaches to opposition leaders, Marcos tried his old standby — hollow threats that if the US didn't play ball he would throw them out, this time even blustering he would give the bases to the Russians. Thinking Aquino's return meant a CIA-organised coup against him, Marcos or his allies in the army had him blatantly blown away in front of TV cameras and in the custody of hundreds of troops and police as a message to the US — it's me or the communists.

Last Chance for CIA-IMF "Democracy"

Aquino came back to head off a revolution. Fearing Marcos was slipping, he was offering a deal to restore "democracy". "I am very worried by the seeming growth of the CPP/NPA ... if current trends are not reversed, by 1985 the CPP/NPA will be a real threat", he wrote. "If we are to prevent a communist takeover, we

For Workers Revolution to Smash Blood

Philippines: Weak Link in the Cold War Chain

must help Marcos — in spite of himself — find a peaceful solution to our crisis" (*Pacific Defence Reporter*, November 1983). Eight years in prison made Aquino the symbol of popular hatred of the regime, but like the venal oligarchy whose martyred hero he became, he was as reactionary and pro-US as Marcos. *Sydney Morning Herald* foreign editor Peter Hastings wrote that after World War II, Aquino, a millionaire, "joined the CIA after graduating from their special school in Quantico, Virginia. He undertook some special missions in the Caribbean ... and returned to the Philippines to become 'The Control' or 'The Purse' for CIA operations in North Sulawesi aimed at promoting

endangered by CPP/NPA exploitation of the deepening crisis. The IMF and World Bank were stalling on the bailout deal until Marcos could convince them he could meet their stringent conditions. Reagan's blunt message was, according to a US official, "that continued movement toward fully functioning democratic institutions appropriate to the Philippines is the key to the rebuilding of both economic and political confidence" (*Time*, 14 May). Thus warned, Marcos held "elections" in mid May to the powerless National Assembly to satisfy the IMF, the 400 creditor banks, and the CIA.

Everybody won except the communists, remarked the British *Econo-*

have been taken too literally", said Marcos as the results came in. But in the countryside it was "elections" as usual Marcos-style — massive fraud, vote-buying and terror, with at least 384 killed up to and on polling day. Marcos borrowed millions of dollars from the Central Bank to buy votes, the army terrorised the peasants to the polls and his men "counted" and "recounted" the votes until they came out right. Ignoring the local media, Marcos appeared live on US television to tout his "free democracy".

Drive Out US Bases! Smash ASEAN!

For the time being Marcos stays on as strongman, the US bases are



The face of "democracy" in the Philippines. Opposition leader Aquino assassinated (above right); trade unionists jailed under the Marcos regime (above left).

the 1958 secession movement in Indonesia", the ill-fated "Outer Islands" revolt against Sukarno (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1983). Aquino was also special assistant to President Ramon Magsaysay who with the CIA's Colonel Edward Lansdale in 1954 crushed the Huk rebellion led by the old Philippine Communist Party (PKP) and he personally negotiated the surrender of Huk leader Luis Taruc. And as governor of Tarlac province in the 1960s, he was known for his ruthless repression. The sudden termination of their best and safest alternative leader undoubtedly upset the CIA, but we certainly shed no tears for this CIA swine.

Reagan stands by his butchers, but the US feared its vital bases would be

safe, the credit will be flowing again soon and the "opposition" is quiet. But for the Philippine masses things can only get worse as the underlying crisis of the decaying regime advances. GNP is expected to fall about 7 per cent this year, inflation will average 35 per cent and around 300,000 workers will be sacked. The masses, aroused and smelling Marcos' blood, are in no mood for much more of this. And the proletariat of Manila, the Export Processing Zones and the plantations, is increasingly combative in defiance of bloody military repression. Marcos' diseased kidney must not be allowed to cheat the masses of their long-awaited vengeance!

The huge Subic Bay naval complex

Bloody Marcos Dictatorship



Reagan stands by his butchers.

and Clark air base are among the largest military bases outside the US itself. Their size, strategic location and range of facilities make them "the most important basing complex in the world", said a study by a US think-tank, the Heritage Foundation. They are, it continues, "critical to the effective performance of US force projection in the Indian and Pacific Ocean region. As such they are crucial to US strategy in all of north and Southeast Asia." Key to the huge armada of the Seventh Fleet (70 per cent of which is nuclear-armed), they facilitate rapid deployment of US forces in places as far apart as Korea and East Africa, Hawaii and the Straits of Hormuz. A few of their more important functions are as follows. Clark is headquarters of the 13th air force, US air communications and transport hub for the Western Pacific and Indian Oceans. Subic is operational base for an aircraft-carrier task force, contains a huge naval supply depot and magazine and does two-thirds of ship repair work for the Seventh Fleet. Then there's the Cubi Point naval air station and the San Miguel communications centre (which along with Clark houses CIA spy-satellite stations linked to Pine Gap). These bases are staffed by over 15,000 US personnel and are the main storage point for tactical nuclear weapons in the Pacific. For the US military chiefs they are irreplaceable — if they go, the US goes from South-east Asia.

These bases are vital for both US nuclear first-strike strategy and its "three-and-a-half wars" policy of confronting the USSR and its allies in "hotspots" across the globe. One of those hotspots is Vietnam, where the Soviets have access to naval and air bases at Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay which enable them to contest US supremacy over the region and the sea lanes connecting the two oceans. The Philippines was a key supply/staging area for US/Australian imperialism's bloody mass slaughter in Vietnam. Since the victorious Vietnamese revolution drove the US off the Southeast Asian mainland in 1975, Subic/Clark have become the frontline in the imperialists' drive for revenge via the US-orchestrated encirclement and military attacks on Indochina by its Chinese Stalinist ally and its neo-colonial ASEAN creature.

Defence of the Soviet workers state and its allies like Vietnam against imperialist attack is the key question

of proletarian class strategy internationally and in the Philippines is inseparable from the perspective of permanent revolution to smash capitalist class rule. Without the USSR, military/industrial powerhouse of the non-capitalist world, the imperialists would be free to drown the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions and the revolutionary struggles of the masses everywhere in blood. Reagan and his allies in Tokyo and Canberra, as well as the Peking Stalinists, will do almost anything to save these bases and their host client regime. The Philippines is a weak link in the Cold War chain and the working class and oppressed masses have a historic opportunity. Not only would workers revolution liberate the masses from the exploitation of the local oligarchy and their IMF/World Bank/Asian Development Bank overlords, it would wreck ASEAN, break the stranglehold on heroic Indochina and put the toppling of the neo-colonial Asian dominos on the agenda. And it would deal a shattering setback to US global war plans which imperil the entire earth.

Hawke's Aid Props Up Marcos

The revolutionary destruction of the Philippine cornerstone of the US empire would also open the road to smashing the ANZUS alliance and driving the US bases out of Australia through class struggle, and the forging of internationalist solidarity between the Philippine masses and the Australian proletariat. Subic/Clark are perhaps seen as even more important to the ruling class of imperialist White Australia than to its US big brother. Without them, US military capacity to honor its pledge to protect its faithful lackey would be doubtful, and ANZUS would be little more than a scrap of paper. Like the British fortress at Singapore before World War II, the US bases in the Philippines guarantee imperialist domination of Southeast Asia as a secure buffer zone for this privileged white imperialist outpost.

The Australian ruling class and its Labor government are propping up Marcos with \$100 million in emergency trade credits, as well as Nomad aircraft, patrol boats and advisors for his army. Former Defence Minister Sinclair boasted that Australia trained as many of Marcos' military butchers as the US. Australian "economic" aid includes two projects worth \$77 million building roads for the

army's campaigns against the NPA. Compare this to the paltry aid that Labor promised, but never delivered, to Vietnam. We say: black ban the Cold War Hawke government's military aid to Marcos and all the ASEAN butchers!

Crony Capitalism

The Philippines is a classic neo-colony of the US, with stiff competition from Japan, and Australia picking up the crumbs. Its largely agricultural economy is geared toward cash crops (copra, sugar and fruit), timber and minerals for export to the imperialist metropolises. Some local manufacturing industry developed behind tariff barriers after World War II but Marcos shifted to "export-oriented" industrial development with US and Japanese multinationals producing, eg, textiles and electronic components, in free-trade "Export Processing Zones" based on low wages and a ban on strikes. A thin though fabulously rich local elite takes its cut but most profits are simply repatriated overseas. The result is an external debt of Latin American proportions, whose burden is borne by the ever more impoverished masses.

Corruption is massive and systematic. The martial law regime has concentrated unprecedented economic power and wealth in the hands of the Marcos family and his circle of cronies. For example one crony, Eduardo Cojuangco, took control of the coconut industry, the largest in the country. He did this by setting up a bank with Defence Minister Enrile in 1974, whereupon Marcos decreed that all coconut farmers, mostly smallholders, had to deposit a compulsory production levy in it, interest free. With this handy un-audited fund of nearly a billion dollars, Cojuangco took over the coconut trade and built a vast empire. The glittering opulence of Manila high society is in glaring contrast to the grinding poverty and disease which is the lot of the masses. The extravagance of the president's wife Imelda Marcos is legendary. For example for a conference of the IMF bloodsuckers in 1976, she had 60,000 people forcibly relocated as an "eyesore" and built 25 luxury hotels at a cost of \$200 million, while squatters live in miserable hovels without water or sewerage in the Manila slums. Then there's her palatial \$50 million heart sanatorium, largely unused while

the masses are dying of TB and pneumonia. Meanwhile the regime, surrounded by sycophants and occupied with intrigue, bears much resemblance to the Imperial Court of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia.

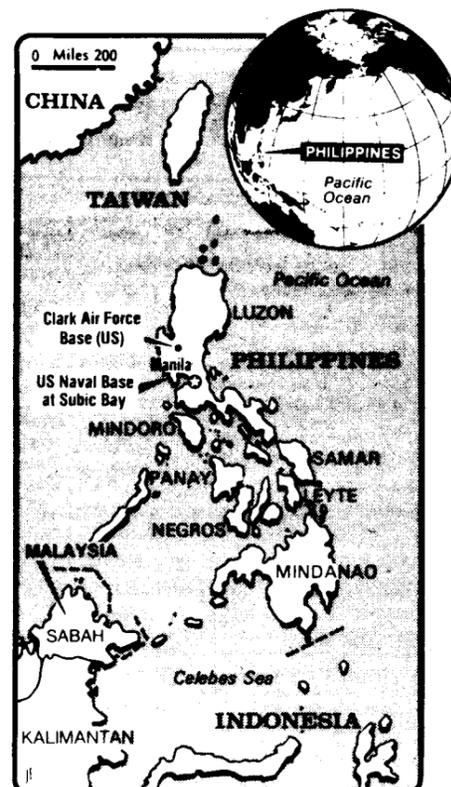
A key unresolved democratic question is the need for an agrarian revolution giving land to the tiller. About 50 per cent of the peasants are tenants paying, typically, one half or even three quarters of their crop to rapacious landlords. Millions of landless labourers slave on the big sugar and fruit plantations owned by US agribusiness. Many more are driven off the land by mechanisation or forcibly by the army to make way for conversion to cash crops, logging, mining and dams, joining the unemployed in the shanty towns. Then there's the Church, one of the biggest landlords and investors in its own right and a powerful bulwark of reaction in this 80 per cent Catholic country. Its head, Cardinal Sin, is critical of Marcos but admits to being frequently contacted by Reagan and praises the US bases as "the only way democracy will remain in Asia". As a bastion of the family and reactionary morality, the Church is the sworn enemy not only of the landless peasant fighting for land and the Muslim Moros and non-Christian tribal minorities, but in particular of the liberation of women from age-old traditional servitude.

The acute social tensions generated by this rotting dictatorship are only prevented from exploding by brutal military repression. The Philippines was the laboratory where the CIA's Lansdale and Co developed the bloody techniques of "counterinsurgency" later applied in Vietnam. Now in the Philippines Vietnam-style "free-fire zones", "strategic hamlets", bombing and massacres of entire villages are combined with arbitrary murder by the army and more recently death squads, El Salvador-style. Torture is widespread and at least 72,000 political opponents of the regime have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, often in solitary confinement for years as in the case of CPP Chairman Jose Maria Sison. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim refugees have fled to Malaysia. Down with the bloody Marcos dictatorship, its butcher military and death squads! Free Sison and all class-war prisoners of Marcos' terror!

For Permanent Revolution!

Today the most basic democratic tasks facing the Philippine masses cannot be completed short of the uprooting of capitalist social relations through workers revolution. Trotsky said in regard to the 1925-27 Chinese revolution that the further east one goes, the lower and viler the bourgeoisie becomes. In the epoch of imperialism, the pathetic national bourgeoisies of the semi-colonies are utterly dependent on the imperialists and their instrumentalities like the IMF/World Bank. The revolution will be made against them or not at all. The masses of oppressed peasants and poor people can be a powerful revolutionary force, on the condition that they follow the political leadership of the proletariat which fights for power under its own socialist banner. The Manila oligarchy betrayed the 1896-98 Philippine uprising against Spanish colonialism to the new US masters, deciding they were incapable of ruling an independent nation. "Independence" in 1946 only

Continued on page eight



Philippines...

Continued from page seven

changed the form of their colonial subservience and under US tutelage they crushed the peasant-based Huk rebellion of the fifties.

Now they completely agree with Marcos that the US bases must stay, the CPP/NPA must be exterminated, and the workers and peasants stay slaves of the IMF. They hate Marcos only because he has frozen them out of the foreign loans and stripped them of control of all the most profitable sectors of the economy. But the pre-martial law politicians lack mobilising power: UNIDO is "only 30 per cent of the opposition", wailed Laurel, "70 per cent is in the hills" (*Intercontinental Press*, 19 September 1983). The day Aquino was greeted by a bullet, UNIDO could only mobilise a few thousand and Laurel told them to go home and pray. In order to threaten Marcos they needed the mobilising power of the CPP/NDF underground to get the masses in the streets. The key link between the bourgeoisie and the CPP/NDF was provided by certain left-talking bourgeois figures like ex-Senators Jose Diokno and Lorenzo Tanada who demand the removal of US bases. However the US knows that Diokno will "tone down" his anti-bases rhetoric if offered power.

This pusillanimous bourgeoisie quickly drew back in fright at the forces they had let loose. They face a powerful and combative working class, a substantial 35 per cent of the working population. Despite the banning of strikes and independent unions it has a history of militant struggle which has been on the rise since martial law was formally ended in 1981. Since 1980 an illegal union linked to the CPP/NDF, the May First Movement — KMU, has emerged, claiming half a million members and challenging the pro-government "yellow" unions. It has defied the jailing of its leaders and bloody military attacks on its picket lines to lead important struggles like the 1982 and 1983 general strikes, both of over 20,000 workers in the Bataan Export Processing Zone. This year it held a May Day march of 60,000 in Manila. Last October, 22,000 workers on the US bases struck for pay rises.

The task and duty of the international workers movement is to use its class power to strengthen the fighting capacity of these workers, defending their struggles and forcing recognition of their unions by the multinationals and government alike through international labour action. The Laborite trade-union bureaucracy in Australia betrays this task with its poisonous campaigns for more protection against "cheap Asian goods", a nationalist cover for its refusal to wage class struggle at home. Where there is talk of "solidarity" with Philippine and other Asian workers, eg, the metalworkers union (AMFSU), it is little more than empty rhetoric designed to give a "left" cover to this chauvinist and class-collaborationist campaign. The strategic Philippine proletariat is the natural leader of the peasants and the urban and rural poor against the landlords and the capitalists. Armed with the program of permanent revolution, ie, Trotskyism, it has the power to bring down the hated Marcos regime and establish a workers and peasants government.

Popular Front — Road to Disaster

The Stalinist CPP leadership has kept this combative workers movement subordinated to the pro-US bourgeois opposition. The CPP/NDF kept a political "low profile" during

the massive demonstrations last year. The KMU supplied 50,000 members to keep order at the two-million strong demonstration for Aquino's funeral but was otherwise politically invisible. An NDF statement had actually offered the CIA agent sanctuary in an NPA area and the CPP praised "Aquino's immense contributions to the struggle against the regime". The CPP/NDF saw the post-Aquino upsurge as their big chance to seal a popular-front alliance with the opposition bourgeoisie. This in practice is what point one of the NDF program means: "Unite all anti-imperialist forces to overthrow



Banner of Philippine bourgeois opposition shows loyalty to US imperialism and its anti-Soviet war drive.

the US-Marcos dictatorship and work for the establishment of a coalition government based on a truly democratic system of representation." This flows from the Stalinist dogma of a "two-stage revolution", wherein the proletariat is supposed to "unite" with, ie, subordinate itself to, the national bourgeoisie in the stage of "national-democratic" revolution, then far off in the future the proletariat will supposedly be able to make a socialist revolution. Time and again, this treacherous line has led to disaster when the bourgeoisie, more afraid of the masses than anything else, unites with the landlords and imperialist reaction to smash the working class and peasantry. China in 1927, Indonesia in 1965 — Philippine revolutionaries must burn the lessons of these bloody defeats into their consciousness.

The NDF achieved a de facto popular front in the streets late last year. The CPP did not want the working class to appear independently fighting for its own class interests, because it would have shattered its hopes for a "democratic coalition government" by frightening the bourgeoisie into the arms of Marcos. But the bourgeoisie eagerly accepted CIA blandishments to join its "last chance" elections, torpedoing the CPP/NDF's attempted boycott. The CPP popular front line of coalition with the bourgeoisie has already helped stabilise somewhat the Marcos regime and the US bases.

After the defeat of the Huk rebellion the CPP reformed along Maoist lines in 1968, founded the NPA and renewed the "armed struggle". The NPA has grown rapidly in recent years, claiming 20,000 full and part-time fighters, 45 guerrilla "fronts" operating in 56 provinces. It adheres to Maoist doctrines of "peoples war" and an overall strategy of "the countryside surrounding the city". However Peking has given the NPA no support and as journalist Ajit Roy puts it, the CPP/NPA are "aware of the contradiction" between Chinese support to US bases in the Philippines "and the interest of the Philippine liberation struggle" (from *New Peoples Army of the Philippines*, Philippines Research Centre, 1981). The Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979 reportedly caused controversy

and a small pro-Hanoi split, though the Vietnamese Stalinists denounce the NPA as "Maoist bandits", comparing them to the genocidal Khmer Rouge, and instead give support to the wretched remnant of the semi-legal pro-Moscow PKP, which shamefully capitulated to martial law in 1974. Thus the NPA lacks a friendly country on the border, has no source of foreign arms (it has only 10,000 rifles) and considers it will have to remain in what it terms a "strategic defensive" phase regarding the army for seven years before passing over to a "strategic stalemate".

Meanwhile the regime is in crisis

now. The objective of the NPA's armed struggle is not outright military victory, but to pressure the bourgeoisie for a popular front. A professor in the NDF, thinking the CPP's ostensible line of fighting both the bourgeoisie and US imperialism "stupid", told Australian academic Alfred McCoy: "Until the NPA forms an alliance with the Manila bourgeoisie, like the Sandinistas did in Nicaragua, they will have to spend another ten years in the jungle" (*Australian Left Review*, no 86, Summer 1983). But the Sandinistas' conciliatory course of refusing to expropriate the bourgeois fifth column and establish a workers state in Nicaragua only endangers their revolution, facing US-backed contras and the threat of all-out US invasion. With its Philippine bases at stake, the US would not wait five years before invading!

The NDF is the CPP's vehicle for a popular front in the cities. Its program is typical of two-stage Stalinist-led guerrilla movements. Thus its journal *Liberation* (January 1984) says that a "peoples democratic coalition government" consisting of "all allied classes, parties, mass organizations, groups and forces that have caused the downfall of the US-Marcos dictatorship "will protect and promote private ownership" of the means of production and consumption and "the Filipino private sector shall be encouraged to invest wherever its capital is most suited". It promises to "distribute land to the landless tillers equitably and at no cost to them. Landlords who have supported the revolution shall receive proper compensation". But what can peasants expect from a "revolution" that landlords can support? As well the CPP/NPA are attempting to win over a section of the Church to their popular front coalition, pandering to the "liberation theology" current among sections of the Catholic clergy.

For a Trotskyist Party in the Philippines!

A party built in struggle for an independent proletarian perspective is urgently necessary in the Philippines. It must be based on the lessons of the international experience of the proletariat, today expressed in the program

of Trotskyism. The great Russian October Revolution showed how the proletariat of a backward capitalist country could lead the peasants, national minorities and all oppressed layers to victory and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution is counterposed to the dead-end strategy of guerrillaism and popular frontism. For Marxists the town leads the country in modern society and the weight of the proletariat in a country where 30 per cent of the population is concentrated in one urban complex, Metro-Manila, is far greater than its numbers.

Behind the CPP/NPA's bid for popular-front "unity" with the bourgeois opposition lies a narrow nationalist perspective which hopes to pressure the US imperialists to dump Marcos and strike a deal over the bases. This is a suicidal illusion. The Philippines revolution must be profoundly internationalist, starting from defence of the Soviet Union/Vietnam through struggle to drive out the US war bases. Key to victory is the perspective of extending the Philippine revolution to Indonesia and the rest of ASEAN and most importantly to the imperialist centres of Japan, Australia and the US itself. This is the perspective of genuine communist internationalists, an integral part of our struggle for a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

British Miners...

Continued from page twelve

1000 injured and nearly 4000 arrested, and after sixteen weeks of bitter struggle and hard sacrifice, the miners are fighting alone against Thatcher/MacGregor. And the fault for that lies squarely at the feet of the trade-union bureaucrats, who are stabbing the miners in the back and sabotaging class solidarity.

Millions of workers and minorities chafing under this viciously strike-breaking, racist, anti-Soviet war-mongering government are looking to the miners for a lead. "If the miners can WE CAN" reads a sign in a small factory occupation in Dundee. When the miners marched through London on the 27 June day of action, they were greeted, cheered and applauded by old-age pensioners, young women wheeling prams, printers in their thousands lining Fleet Street, thousands more office workers in Holborn, pinstripe-suited clerks in the City. There were contingents of primarily Asian workers from the giant Ford Dagenham complex; black workers from transport, hospitals and elsewhere; banners from virtually every trade union in the London area; and, everywhere, the banners of the coalfield women's support groups. "Pavements filled with office and print workers", reported the *Times* (28 June) "helped to ensure there was no trouble". In so many words does this Tory mouthpiece reveal that it is not the workers but the professional strikebreakers paid to maim and kill them who "ensure trouble".

Everybody now knows: the cops and the scabs have been given a licence to kill strikers. When young David Jones was murdered one week into the strike, it was treated with hushed embarrassment, not least by the fake lefts. Things like that aren't supposed to happen in "little England". Now 55-year-old Kellingley miner Joe Green has been crushed under the wheels of a scab lorry. Many miners on the march wore black armbands and, when they crossed over the Thames, threw wreaths and red carnations into

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the river in remembrance. But the image etched on every face recalled the words of Joe Hill, another miner martyred in the class war against the bosses: don't mourn, organise!

As the flowery speeches of solidarity droned through the PA system at Jubilee Gardens, one Welsh striker remarked bitterly, "Why don't they stop talking about it and do something?" Speeches, marches and more speeches — while trains and lorries continue to run coal, and blast furnaces and power stations continue to burn it. "If the miners lose, we're all in the shit" commented one printer on Fleet Street. Yet the reformist leaders who stand at the head of the labour movement would rather see seventy years of hard-won union rights destroyed and the best fighters murdered than unleash the social power of the working class against the capitalist state. We say: Dump the class traitors! The miners must not stand alone — Spread the strike to rail, steel, power, transport and the docks! Break the strikebreakers before they break us!

Stop Scab Coal — Shut Down Steel!

Through sheer tenacity and hard struggle, the miners have stood their ground against the overwhelming might of the capitalist state arrayed against them. But Thatcher/MacGregor continue to bay for miners' blood. Over fifty miners, including strikers at Betteshanger and Tilmanstone, have already been sacked for occupying their pits to prevent blacklegging.

Meanwhile the NCB and courts are openly promoting a Spencerite company union splitoff in Notts. The cop that knocked Arthur Scargill to the ground at Orgreave expressed the bourgeoisie's intent to bloody and break the whole union. That's why — despite Peter Heathfield's talk of redefining "uneconomic" pits and the evident willingness of several other NUM leaders to seek a sellout compromise — the sham negotiations with the NCB broke down.

MacGregor and Thatcher can be brought to their knees, but this requires bringing the decisive weight of the trade union movement behind the miners. The Wirral railworkers who briefly shut down commuter traffic in early April in a successful action to defend a comrade victimised for blacking coal, the Yorks signalmen who crippled rail transport on the regional day of action in May, the Welsh railmen who are today solidly blacking coal and iron ore into Llanwern — all point to the possibility for genuine solidarity on the strike lines. But two months after the leaders of the Cripple Alliance pledged to black all movement of coal, it continues to be transported by rail and lorry. With fully half the workforce at Shirebrook rail depot in Notts facing management discipline for refusing to handle scab coal, the NUR/ASLEF leaders refuse to mobilise their unions against the victimisations. Following the Wirral walkout, ASLEF head office issued a directive against any further strike action. The hundreds of suspensions are hushed up by paying victimised members out of union funds, while a substantial section of NUR/ASLEF scabs on the strike. This farce must be terminated: miners and railmen must link up, set up solid picket lines and shut down Shirebrook and all coal traffic in Notts.

A crucial battle is again shaping up over steel. The ISTC leadership under right-wing anti-communist Bill Sirs remains disgustingly defiant in its scabherding, hiding behind the argument that it's the way to save jobs. BSC's closure of Hadfields and Sheerness after their notorious

scabbing in the 1980 steel strike proved otherwise. Contrary to the bosses' lies, the steelmen are not one solid anti-strike mass. When Yorkshire NUM official Dave Barker called for solidarity at last month's ISTC conference in Scarborough, he received a standing ovation from the delegates. Sirs followed Barker — with a tirade against "foreign competition" and pleas for import controls — and was hardly applauded. Protectionism is counterposed to class struggle, and fits right in with the bosses' "divide and rule" ploys.

What has allowed steel production to continue this long into the strike is the series of shabby deals negotiated by NUM area leaders like Emlyn Williams in Wales, Jack Taylor in Yorks and McGahey in Scotland. And while Scargill occupies himself in worthless negotiations with Sirs and the rotten TUC (which has not surprisingly given its seal of approval to the scabbing in steel), there are no NUM mass pickets outside the major steel plants. This is an open invitation to scab. Already unionised lorry drivers are carrying coal and iron ore into Llanwern in an effort by BSC to make the rail blacking a dead letter. ASLEF militants in Wales who have put themselves on the line complain that the NUM is not attempting to blockade the blackleg lorry convoys. In Scotland the TGWU has applied for dispensation for its drivers to scab. And all the



Spartacist League/Britain has been fighting for a strategy to win.

NUM leaders talk about is taking action to black scab haulage firms after the strike. The time to fight is now! No more scab deals! Every lorry driver and railman that handles coal is scabbing — and something ought to happen to scabs! Union militants in the NUR, ASLEF, and TGWU must ensure there is concerted collective action to back the miners and the motto of striking Harlan County miners in the US ought to become the rule here: scabbing is dangerous to your health!

In his speech at the London day of action, Scargill called for the election of a Labour government which would ban overtime! But it's Kinnock and the Labour Party tops who are trying to kill this strike. A class-wide fight for jobs must be waged now! The miners' fight against redundancies must be extended to a joint class-wide fight for jobs through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, thereby enabling the miners to make a clear class appeal to railmen, steelworkers and dockers threatened with their own redundancies. Such a fight requires breaking with the reformist trade unionism of even militants like Scargill who don't want to unleash an all-out fight that challenges the whole capitalist order.

Miners: Build solid mass pickets outside the steelworks that nothing and nobody crosses! Commit the NUM

to joint strike action with steelworkers, railworkers, powerworkers and dockers for decent pay and jobs for all! Steelmen: Come out with the miners! Dump the traitor Sirs! Railmen, lorry drivers, dockers: Put a stop to all coal and iron ore shipments through solid national strike action! Dump the sellout wage agreement with BR! Elected strike committees must be constituted in all areas and delegates selected for a national strike council! Delegates from women's support groups, minority communities, the unemployed and unions taking industrial action alongside the miners (like the Welsh railmen blacking coal) should be drawn in thereby laying the basis for joint strike committees that can lead a powerful class-wide fight! Disciplined trade union defence guards must be organised to smash cop/scab terror!

The single greatest obstacle to victory in this strike is not the cops, not the recalcitrant scabs in Nottinghamshire, not the Fleet Street union-haters, but the workers' own misleaders. Neil Kinnock and Len Murray are rightly despised by most miners today. There isn't a militant anywhere who would call on them to organise a football match, much less a general strike. Murray, Sirs and their "new realist" lot are doing their best to make the trade unions pliable tools for Reagan/Thatcher's imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

and their union, the best militants are learning that they can't rely on the Labour/TUC misleaders, "left" or right. It is out of these militants that the core of a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement must be forged now. In the midst of the 1926 General Strike, Leon Trotsky explained:

"An English proverb says that one must not swap horses while crossing a stream. This practical wisdom is only true within certain limits. It has never yet been possible to cross the stream of Revolution on the horses of reformism, and the class which has gone into battle under opportunist leaders is compelled to change them under enemy fire. This determines in advance what the really revolutionary elements of the British proletariat must do — above all, what the Communists must do. They must support in every way the unity of mass action, but they cannot permit even the appearance of unity with the opportunist leaders of the Labour Party and the trade union." (Preface to *Where is Britain Going?*, 6 May 1926)

Miners who have been reading our paper will know that it is the only one that does not whitewash and excuse the betrayals of the Labour and trade union misleaders or coddle cops and scabs. This is a sharp contrast to the message of the fake left. The supposedly Trotskyist *Socialist Action* (30 June) rushed Benn's speech onto their front page just in time for him to renege on it. *Socialist Worker* urges "Turn sympathy into solidarity" but refuses to fight for solidarity that counts — spreading the strike. Militant wants cops unionised and scabs given "dispensation". And the *Morning Star* is busy peddling lies that Kinnock is backing the miners. And where Spartacist League supporters in the NUR in London and the T&G in British Leyland fight to mobilise the unions in industrial action alongside the miners, the fake left policy of tailing after the trade union tops means in practice opposing the fight for solidarity strikes with the NUM.

The miners have shown great courage and endurance. But time is running out. Waiting for the strike to "bite" next December is no perspective for victory. A real breakthrough is necessary now. The future of the unions is at stake. Militants must act decisively to turn this into a class-wide fight against Thatcher/MacGregor, to smash the Tory assault and lay the basis for the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that can lead the working class to overturn this decadent capitalist system.

— reprinted from Spartacist Britain no 59, July 1984

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Tharunka Censorship Serves "White Australia"

The following leaflet, distributed by student supporters of the Spartacist League at the University of New South Wales on 14 June, responded to the attack by UNSW's *Tharunka* editors on our democratic right to present our views in the campus newspaper. The editors censored our leaflet entitled "Vengeance for John Pat! Drop the Charges against Roebourne Blacks! Jail the Killer Cops!" which was distributed in thousands of copies on campus, to unions, and on Sydney-area workplaces including the wharves to build the 1 June protest against the acquittal of John Pat's murderers. The leaflet is referred to and quoted in the accompanying article on the John Pat case.

★ ★ ★

In the last *Tharunka* (vol 30 no 7, 5 June), the editors high-handedly and dishonestly censored the attached leaflet, submitted for publication by student supporters of the Spartacist League. As readers can see, the leaflet is about a demonstration called to protest the outrageous acquittal of the five cops who murdered a young West Australian Aboriginal, John Pat, in Roebourne last year. But what finally appeared in *Tharunka* on page five had been politically censored beyond recognition, about a half chopped out including the entire last three paragraphs, and turned into the sort of vacuous "reportage" these liberals feel to be the only political fare suitable for dishing up to their long-suffering student readership. Not only was most of the politics deleted, the headline changed and no source acknowledged, but even our basic call: "This outrage must be protested by the labour movement, blacks, students, all minorities and any decent person" was dropped. In fact *Tharunka* readers would never have known that any protest at all occurred against the acquittal of the racist murderers, though we had offered the editors a report and photos of the demonstration for publication. They didn't want to see this protest happen, or anyone to know that it happened.

But happen it did, and very successfully. A spirited demonstration of more than fifty people, initiated by Wollongong blacks and jointly organised with the Spartacist League around the demands heading the attached leaflet, picketed the West Australian Government Travel Centre in Pitt Street on Friday 1 June. It included blacks from Wollongong, Nowra, Redfern, Camp-

belltown, Mount Drunit and Tranby College in Glebe, along with Spartacist League supporters, trade unionists and students from UNSW. This was a much-needed show of organised anger against this racist outrage, which gave the cops a green light for racist terror against black people and minorities. To our knowledge this has been the only protest action in Australia and we are proud to have been a part of it, but *Tharunka* along with the bourgeois media and the papers of the reformist "left" blacked it out. The liberals and reformists are opposed to blacks and communists uniting in militant struggle against murder by the racist capitalist state — their political strategy is always to run pleading cap in hand to this same state. That is the reason for their political censorship.

Tharunka editor Wendy Carlisle spelled out their political reasons, telling us the leaflet was too "extreme". What she objected to as supposedly "extreme" were statements like:

"We do not expect any 'justice' from Hawke or Burke's Labor governments. We stand with John Pat's father and blacks in Roebourne and around the country who want vengeance for this racist murder! Jail these racist killers and throw away the key! Stop the police vendetta against Roebourne blacks — drop the charges!"

In short they censored every statement taking a side, every demand for action and simple justice in the face of racist murder.

Tharunka did leave in our criticism of the call by some Aboriginal groups for a Royal Commission into police/Aboriginal relations. Like all Royal Commissions it would only serve the government's interests by white-washing the cops and blaming their black victims. *Tharunka* thus doesn't want a Royal Commission but censors our political alternative, leaving it with a position pretty close to the WA state government — that nothing can or should be done about this racist murder.

Editor Carlisle attempted to defend their censorship to us with the outrageous slander that we "advocate

violence" and "picking up the gun". Her "example" was our call in an earlier leaflet distributed on campus "For mass labour/minority mobilisations. Stop National Action!" Students who read Spartacist literature know these are wild lies. But they are also dangerous lies! Real violence and terrorism in this society comes from the capitalist state and the fascist gangs — the cops who kick a black youth to death then walk away free, the NA punks who terrorise Asians. When Carlisle labels the communists of the Spartacist League as "violent" because we protest police killings of blacks and advocate working class-based self defence against fascist violence, she is abetting those who would set us up and those blacks who marched beside us for attack from the government and its agencies.

Tharunka also censored our statement that, "Justice, progress and social integration for the embattled and marginalised Aboriginal population can only come in alliance with a fighting labour movement." Carlisle claimed blacks may not want integration. But the desperate oppression, the poverty, the misery and the constant racist terror that is the lot of the black population is caused by vicious and institutionalised racist exclusion, keeping them almost completely out of social and economic life. The racists' message to both blacks and Asians is the same — there is no place for you in White Australia. Thus the racist attacks on Asian immigration are closely linked to the white backlash against Aboriginal land rights. We are militantly opposed to this racist offensive and defend any actual extension of land rights to Aborigines, so long denied anything they could call their own. But land rights in itself will not stop racist terror like the murder of John Pat — that will require unleashing the potential power of the organised labour movement on the side of the blacks.

The *Tharunka* crowd, Carlisle told us, disappeared all reference to the need for labour action because the working class is racist. The fact that racism is so widespread in the working class is because it has been

poisoned against the blacks and the workers of Asia by its pro-capitalist leadership, the ALP, the party that ran two imperialist wars, the party of racist protectionism and the White Australia Policy. Today Hawke's Cold War Labor government is whipping up national chauvinism, but *Tharunka* cut all this out too. They support Hawke's ALP, faithful servant of the racist Australian capitalist system, while writing off the working class, which can and must be broken from racist Laborism to fight for a workers government and a racially integrated socialist society.

These self-appointed censors also had to put their blue pencil through any mention of the war preparations of the nuclear madman Reagan and his lackey Hawke against the Soviet Union. Cold War II is a major factor behind the intensification of racism all over the world. A black woman at the demonstration told us that the last time she could remember racism as bad as at present was in the fifties, ie at the height of the first Cold War. Thus where the leaflet says that reforms won by blacks are now "being rolled back in this climate of anti-Sovietism and economic austerity", they even expunged "anti-Sovietism" for the meaningless "anti-humanity", so concerned were they that "their" paper be free of any trace of support to the Soviet Union, the main barrier to the imperialists' ambitions to smash the working class and grind down all the oppressed peoples of the world.

The arrogant and pretentious little clique of student bureaucrats controlling *Tharunka* think that the student paper is their personal property. They admit in the halls of the Squarehouse what they don't yet feel the gumption to put into print — black and red in militant protest against racist murder will never find its way into the pages of *Tharunka*. For even the most elementary justice, democratic rights and human dignity for Aboriginal people requires a revolutionary proletarian perspective. It means destroying the racist, capitalist state (whose interests our "enlightened" *Tharunka* editors in oh-so-liberal fashion apologise for) root and branch. ■

Sakharov...

Continued from page three

actively engaged in attempting to overthrow the gains of the revolution, we would as a norm uphold their freedom of expression. These Trojan horses for Reaganite imperialism inside the Soviet bloc should be fought politically.

The Sakharovs have been treated with kid gloves. Far from being confined in the cellars of Lubyanka or the frozen gulag, their movements have been limited to the city of Gorky which is, while off limits to foreigners, no Siberian tundra but a thriving metropolis of one million, 250 miles east of Moscow. Here they have a four-room apartment, and with Sakharov's membership in the Soviet Academy of

Sciences, access to all the special stores. Despite Sakharov's penchant for hunger strikes for personal ends, Moscow has, if anything, been rather flexible in this case. In 1981 the Kremlin even relented to their demands to allow Yelena Bonner's daughter to emigrate and join her husband-by-proxy in the US, where he was a graduate student at Brandeis. And this while Sakharov has been beating the drums for Reagan's war drive, and Bonner hobnobbing endlessly with Western "correspondents", who almost to a man are connected with the CIA, MIS, or what have you.

All this hue and cry is part of an imperialist propaganda barrage against what Reagan calls the Soviet "evil empire". Headlines proclaim "Sakharov's Kin Urge West to Act for His Freedom". Extortion, not freedom, is their aim. Compare this to the reception accorded the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky when he was booted out of the Soviet Union by Stalin. He was confined to a Turkish island, his requests for asylum, a historic democratic tradition, turned down by virtually every

Western "democracy". Even requests to visit Germany for medical treatment were turned down. "I could appreciate the full advantages of democracy only as a corpse", wrote Trotsky in the last chapter ("The Planet Without a Visa") of his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*. In contrast, he noted, the toppled shah of Persia and the king of Afghanistan had no difficulties obtaining asylum from the crowned heads of Europe. Nor would the "dissident" Sakharov.

It is perfectly clear that Dr Sakharov would blab everything he knows to the West. Even today he has valuable secrets which haven't necessarily decayed with time. And we have a modest proposal. Since the Reaganites claim their only concern is "humanitarian" and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of "aging" scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the "Star Wars" program to annihilate the Soviets from space.

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John Pat...

Continued from page twelve

John Pat's father, Mick Lee, died — of grief and despair according to friends in Roebourne. But we stand with his call before he died, and the call of blacks around the country, who want *vengeance* for this racist murder! Jail these racist killers and throw away the key! Stop the police vendetta against Roebourne blacks — drop the charges!

No Faith in the Labor Governments!

This outrageous verdict is much more than an isolated racist atrocity. The acquittal came down from the highest court in WA in the middle of a race-hate campaign against Aboriginal land rights launched by the likes of the giant Western Mining's Hugh Morgan and backed up by that friend of South Africa, Queensland Premier Bjelke-Petersen, who baits the Hawke government "to make up its mind if this country is for the white man or the black man". As welcome partners in Hawke's "consensus" these racist reactionaries set the tone for the current backlash.

However it is to the Labor governments of Hawke and WA's Brian Burke that most Aboriginal organisations have turned in their hopes for justice, but the belief that this will come through some government enquiry or Royal Commission can only be a cruel illusion. The federal Labor government doesn't want to know about it. And Burke's government, forced by events to prosecute the case against its own cops, *accepted* the verdict from the outset and immediately began its own whitewash, with Burke warning against "violence" (from angry blacks!) and calling for "long-term solutions" while his cops plan their revenge.

The sort of action needed across the country was pointed to by a 60-strong demonstration in Sydney on 1 June outside the West Australian Government Travel Centre. Initiated by militant blacks in Wollongong and organised jointly with the Spartacist League, the demonstration was built around the demands "Vengeance for John Pat!", "Jail the Killer Cops!" and "Drop the Charges Against Roebourne Blacks!" Thousands of Spartacist leaflets were distributed in Sydney — on the UNSW campus, at black community centres and gathering places in Redfern, to the wharves and other union sites. The leaflet warned against expecting any "justice" from Hawke or Burke's Labor governments and put forward a class-struggle strategy to fight racist terror.

"We say that the main enemy is at home, and we struggle to organise a

fighting labour movement, one that will fight every instance of racial and social oppression. These police thugs will think long and hard about terrorizing decent people, whatever their race or colour, if they know that the organised labour movement is breathing down their neck, if they fear their mines, ports and factories being shut down. Maybe then we'll see a little respect."

Black communities from Wollongong and Nowra on the NSW South Coast, Campbelltown, Mount Druitt, Redfern and the Tranby Aboriginal College in Glebe were represented at this heavily black rally along with Spartacist supporters, trade unionists and students from the University of NSW. Demonstrators chanted "Avenge the murder of John Pat! Jail the killer cops!" and carried placards reading "Roebourne cops genocidal killers licenced by the state", "Western Australia — graveyard for Aboriginals" while a Spartacist League banner flanking the picket read "Avenge the murder of John Pat! Jail the Killer Cops! For Labour/Black/Minority Action to Stop Racist Terror!"

John Pat could've been any young black man in this country. Eighteen months ago in the northern NSW town of Moree Ronald McIntosh was shot dead by white racists after a fight erupted at the local hotel. The killers got manslaughter and will be out in a few years while ten or so of their intended victims have gone to trial in Moree for "unlawful assembly". Or there's Eddie Murray, a young black man found hung in his police cell in Wee Waa three years ago, the list could go on. The ruling class in this country may have cleaned up their act for international consumption with a few cosmetic reforms in the 60s and 70s but their historical policy of genocide against the Aboriginal population has never stopped. Now even these minor reforms and the limited government funding that went with them are being rolled back in this climate of anti-Sovietism and economic austerity.

At the 1 June demonstration different strategies on the way to fight back were presented. Wollongong blacks read out a statement of protest against the acquittal, and called on the government to set up a Royal Commission. This statement, along with a petition signed by many at the rally, was taken in and handed over for delivery to the Burke government. Speaking against any strategy of relying on the Labor governments a spokesman for the Spartacist League pointed out that the ruling class they represent and defend was fuelling this climate of race hate to cover for its bankrupt economy and anti-Soviet war plans. If the government is forced to set up a Royal Commission he noted, "they will want to whitewash the police and target angry blacks". Arguing for a strategy of labour/black/minority mass action to fight racist terror he stressed the need to "build a movement that can fight back, based in the labour movement" and a party that can lead it "to sweep away this whole racist system and establish a planned economy throughout this whole region where blacks, Asians and white people can live together in security and dignity".

Reformist Left Disappears Red-Black Protest

Not surprisingly the bourgeois media chose to ignore this protest, the only organised show of anger nationwide to hit the streets against this racist atrocity as far as we know. In large part the reformist left followed suit, and for those like the International Socialists (IS) it was a

stance that reflected their boycott of the protest itself. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose couple of supporters stood sullenly apart from the picket, finally acknowledged the demonstration some two weeks later in *Direct Action* and then couldn't even get the date right, reporting it as 1 May. Naturally enough these consummate opportunists and liars censored out the militant demands of the demonstration and disappeared the prominent Spartacist presence, reporting it as just another loyal lobby on the government for a Royal Commission.

What lies behind the reformist left's indifference, lies and falsification concerning this action is not just organisational sectarianism but the political hostility and wilful blindness of a counterposed program. Organisations like the SWP want to channel the outrage generated by this atrocity into loyal pressure on *their* Labor government. Viewing all political and social struggle through the blinkers of parliamentary reformists they see blacks as just one more constituency to organise under the ALP umbrella. Our class-struggle strategy directed at mobilising the working class and oppressed blacks *against* the Labor government, its courts and cops, they see only as a threat to their own designs.

Any study of the facts surrounding this case makes perfectly clear that reliance on the government can only paralyse and demoralise the struggle to defend and strengthen black rights. As well as whitewashing the Supreme Court verdict the Burke Labor government is furiously backpedalling before an aggressive counterattack by the WA Police Union. The cops' "union" spent \$160,000 defending their killers in court against the government prosecution and now they are demanding the government pay every cent back. The WA police want Burke to lick their boots and eat the words of his protest at their annual Police Conference that "Aboriginal policy is not run by the Police Union", made as the cops voted on motions demanding the government explain why "Aboriginal organisations lack accountability in the way they spend their funds". While the cops demagogically fuel the racist backlash ALS spokesman on the John Pat case Len Colbong can't get the time of day from Premier Burke, and ominously the cops say they will give "qualified support" to a Royal Commission if its terms of reference include the conduct of ALS officers (*West Australian*, 9 June).

For Revolutionary Integrationism

The pessimism and cynicism generated by the parliamentarist perspective of lobbying for a government enquiry were readily apparent at a 27 June Sydney public meeting on the Pat case organised by the SWP-supported Committee to Defend Black Rights. Spartacist supporters distributed a series of SL leaflets produced in our work around this case to those attending, no doubt a major factor in restraining the SWP from attempting their usual anti-communist exclusions and "disruption" slanders. The platform at the meeting saw a sharp contrast between the featured ALP and union speakers, state parliamentarian Andrew Refshauge and Barry Cotter for the Combined Unions Against Racism, with their tepid perfunctory speeches on the need to pressure the Labor Party, and the despairing anger of the spokesman for the Redfern Aboriginal community, Tiga Bayles. "How much more do we have to do to demand justice?" he asked. The only answer he got was

when a Spartacist spokesman addressed the meeting in the discussion period.

"When do you get justice? Well, you get justice when you got power. And the power in this country that can be mobilised, in defence of black rights and the rights of other minorities, is the working class, the organised labour movement... We noticed we've got union speakers here tonight, the Combined Unions Against Racism. Fine. Let's see a little less talk and see some action, let's see those unions come out in protest, on the streets... We think there's illusions in a Royal Commission, we would warn against them. It's like asking a pickpocket to take care of your wallet, having the bosses government, the racist imperialist government of this 'master race democracy', Australia, defending and looking into the rights of blacks."

Australian imperialism's historical policy of genocide against the Aboriginal people rests today on the *institutionalised segregation* and utter marginalisation of blacks from this society, leaving them almost totally dependent on the whim of government funding. With few exceptions the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy which dominates the labour movement has upheld this racist exclusion of blacks from the mainstream of social production. Today black unemployment in both the country areas and the cities is as high as 90 per cent. In response many blacks see land rights as the only solution, despairing of any allies and fighting perspective in their struggle for social equality.

We militantly defend any land rights the ruling class concedes to blacks but, unlike the liberals and social democrats we do not hide from the fact that this will hardly alleviate the hideous oppression facing the overwhelming majority of blacks in this country. Bjelke-Petersen's Community Services (Aboriginal) Bill enacted last month in Queensland abolishes local government voting rights for blacks living on reserves and makes starkly obvious that "land rights" in the eyes of the White Australian ruling class is a policy for South Africa-style bantustans, and sooner rather than later.

The liberals and social democrats do not dare put in print their baiting hostility to our fight for revolutionary integrationism as a central axis in the struggle for black rights (see "*Tharunka* Censorship Serves 'White Australia'" in this issue). Hiding behind the inverted racism of "you can't tell blacks what to do" this is nothing but self-serving apologetics for the present racist and segregationist status quo. The task of the revolutionary labour movement is to break down and destroy that segregation in all its forms, a task that demands the building of a multi-racial Leninist party with a program to explode this white imperialist enclave from within. As our spokesman concluded his remarks at the 27 June public meeting:

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

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For Labour/Black/Minority Mass Action to Stop Racist Terror!

Vengeance for John Pat!

- Jail the Killer Cops!
- Drop the Charges Against Roebourne Blacks!

On September 28 last year John Pat, a young Aboriginal man only 16 years old, was murdered by five off-duty police in the West Australian town of Roebourne, 1200 kilometres north of Perth. That day a bunch of drunken cops singled out young blacks for racist abuse and insult and provoked a fight outside the town's only hotel. When these young black men, including John Pat, stood their ground and fought back against this racist filth and deadly assault they were arrested, brutally attacked and taken back to the Roebourne police lockup where they were systematically beaten and kicked into unconsciousness. The morning after John Pat was "discovered" dead in his cell, due to massive brain damage caused by heavy blows to the back of the head.

The killer cops went to trial, charged only with manslaughter, in nearby Karratha before the WA Supreme Court. On 23 May an all-white jury handed down a *complete acquittal!* Here is the "justice" Aboriginal people receive in the courts of White Australia! Against a mass of prosecution evidence of premeditated and murderous assault, both at the hotel and later at the police lockup, the cops' defence denied everything, claiming it was an "accident" and they were just "doing their duty". Both the arrested Aboriginals as well as a white hospital cleaner and her son, who live behind the Roebourne lockup with a clear view into the police compound, had testified how the arrested blacks were one by one pulled out of the paddy wagon, viciously kicked, their heads held by the hair and repeatedly beaten into the concrete.

Immediately after their killers went free, the police announced they were proceeding with charges against the blacks who survived this racist assault



Sydney, 1 June: Blacks and Reds protest racist murder of John Pat.

to testify at the trial. Already one of those arrested has been given a three month sentence in this vindictive and potentially lethal cop vendetta. And at Roebourne the cops now taunt Aboriginal Legal Service (ALS) officers that they are practising their "Pat kick".

This racist outrage and ruling-class provocation demands a militant

and powerful organised response from labour, blacks, minorities and all decent people. For blacks, facing an orchestrated racist backlash and first on the list for austerity cuts in government funding, this verdict is a deadly warning. For the cops it is a licence to kill, a green light for racist terror. Not long after the acquittal

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Smash Thatcher's Rampage Against British Miners!

"Thirteen weeks into the present coal strike, a Mori poll found 35% of Britons supporting the claims of the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers — not many fewer than the 41% supporting the National Coal Board. To the sort of people who read or write *The Economist*, this extent of public support is astonishing."

— *Economist*, 30 June

What "astonishes" this ruling-class organ is that sixteen weeks of *hard class struggle* have won the miners widespread support and respect. Neither hunger, arrest nor murder has intimidated the miners through one after another pitched battle with the capitalist strikebreakers. On 18 June, in the most climactic of a series of fierce battles at Orgreave, ten thousand miners engaged thousands of cops and forced BSC to temporarily call a halt to coke deliveries there. But with two strikers dead, more than

Continued on page eight

Break the Strikebreakers! Spread the Strike!



Orgreave, South Yorkshire, 29 May — Mounted police charge repeatedly into picket lines as militant miners battle back.