

Australasian

SPARTACIST



Number 110

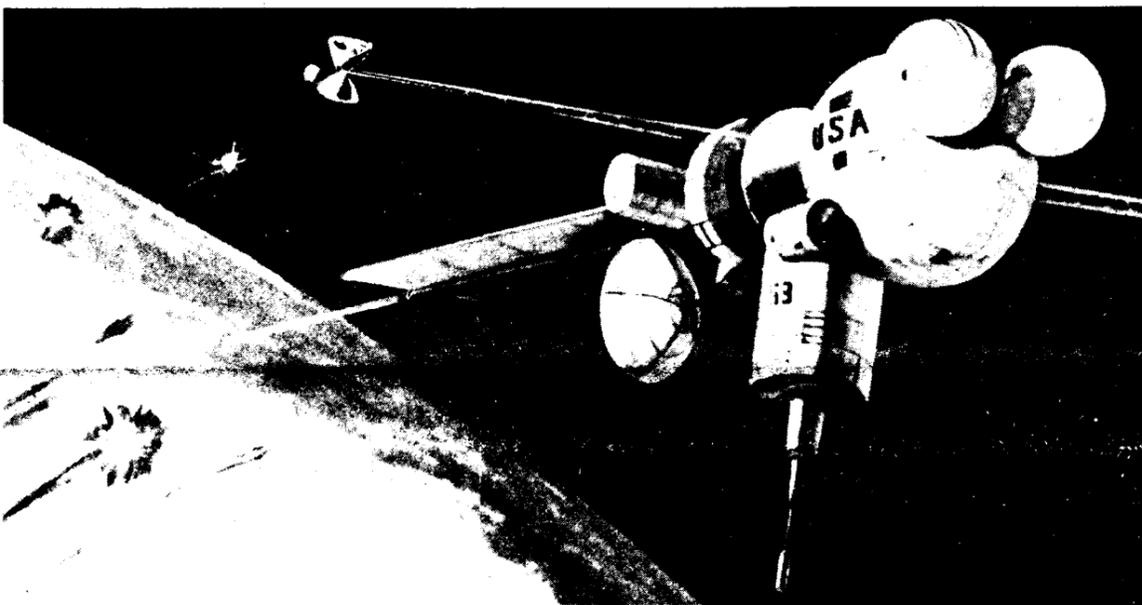
March/April 1985

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Smash ANZUS! Defend Vietnam, USSR!

Bases Key to US First Strike War Plans

AAP



Reagan's "Star Wars" weapons mean first strike against Soviet Union (left). Two Great Prevaricators (above).

10 MARCH — The crisis over ANZUS has brought a blast of Cold War reality "down under". Both sides of the Tasman are getting a whiff of the "nuclear winter" that has terrorised millions around the world from West Germany to Japan, where even the third generation after the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki know that Hollywood fiction like "The Day After" comes nowhere near the horror of the real thing. Having fought in two world wars without suffering the

agony of occupation, protected from bigger enemies by bigger friends, Australia and New Zealand have long lived as if they existed outside the real world. Remember Ava Gardner in "On the Beach" where a remote and idyllic Australia ends up the last stop in a nuclear war? Here in the real world in 1985 things don't look that way. Sweeping US retaliation against NZ's refusal to dock US nuclear ships, and Hawke's attempts to toe the US line after having to back down from his

secret agreement to aid US MX missile testing, have polarised both countries — shaking up all manner of isolationist complacency and puncturing the illusion that Australia and NZ can opt out of a northern hemisphere nuclear Armageddon.

Reagan's drive to war against the Soviet Union and its allies threatens to plunge the whole world into nuclear barbarism. Billions are being spent on the first strike "Star Wars" program to militarise outer space. All of

Western Europe bristles with nuclear missiles targetting every major Soviet city and military installation. In the Pacific the US fleet is being equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles, 350 of them nuclear-armed, aimed at Russia and Vietnam while the US plans to store nuclear depth charges at its bases in the Philippines and at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. For years under "Piggy Muldoon" New Zealanders mobilised in mass anti-nuke demos and protests against South African rugby teams. Lange apparently figured no one would notice if he played by the same rules in power. But the Reaganites fear the spread of "nuclear allergies" both to Australia and elsewhere internationally, particularly Japan and Europe. Now they are actively promoting the destabilisation of the Lange Labour government, and using Hawke as their local enforcer — a policy which already has the ALP's leftwing up in arms.

The NZ Labour government insists it still wants to be a good American ally. "We went to Vietnam" was Lange's response to charges he was defaulting on ANZUS, adding he had no intention of pulling New Zealand's contingent out of the Sinai, nor stopping the various spy operations New Zealand carries out for the CIA in Southeast Asia. In this sense he's right: the Australian and New Zealand imperialists have loyally volunteered

Declaration on New Caledonia by LTF and SL/ANZ

Reprinted below is a joint declaration by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, sections of the international Spartacist tendency, first issued here on 5 January 1985.

New Caledonia will be independent. French imperialism's attempts to hold on to the "confetti of its empire" are doomed by history. Sooner or later its colonies will liberate themselves. We Trotskyists demand nothing less than the immediate and unconditional independence of New Caledonia.

Like every place occupied by French imperialism, its "civilising mission" here turned out to be

nothing other than a bloody story of oppression and exploitation — in this case a real decimation of the Kanak people. With their desperate revolts drowned in blood, this people has been condemned to live in reservations under an apartheid regime, has been maintained in a state of backwardness and has had their lands stolen.

It is an irony of history that the descendants of the Communards and the Kabyle rebels that were deported to New Caledonia became a caste of colonial settlers [colons]. Leaving aside the state functionaries, the military and the metropolitan capitalists, there is only a thin layer of several tens of thousands of colons who have so much weight because of the

genocide perpetrated against the Kanak people.

Thus, the preconditions exist for an inter-racial blood bath and the cold blooded massacre of nine Kanak *Independantistes* at Hlenghene is only a foretaste of what it will be like. But there is no way to count on "French order", which is what created the situation — the gendarmes, the CRS and the soldiers of French colonialism must leave immediately. It is also absurd to think that the reactionary colonial administration can "train" the Kanaks for their independence; this is nothing other than the new social-democratic version of the "white man's burden". Further-

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Letters

SWP Conference: "Would Have Excluded Lenin!"

Dear comrades,

I attended the recent SWP conference. I already knew something of the SWP's politics and was attracted to the program and principles of the Spartacist League. I realise the need for a revolutionary party, and the conference confirmed what I thought, that the SWP is *not* a revolutionary party! Well promoted at this conference were pacifism, nationalism, and a broad 'left' unity accommodating anti-Sovietism, while the need to build an international proletarian vanguard party was swept under the carpet.

In line with the strong nationalist sentiments expressed, there appeared to be no USec [United Secretariat of the "Fourth International", to which the SWP is affiliated] representatives present. The US SWP representative Mel Mason claimed to be excluded from the conference, attending only the public meetings, while the SWP banned its members from even attending his public talk held at the Trade Union Club.

But instead, the SWP's big international star was John Trinkl, from the US "radical" paper, the *Guardian*, who promoted Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" popular front and the capitalist Democratic Party in the US. Regarding the *Guardian's* original position on the KAL-007 provocation, where it joined in Reagan's anti-Soviet chorus, he claimed that it had been "misled" by the capitalist propaganda. The SWP loves the "progressive" style of Trinkl's politics: a "peace"-ful popular front to pressure the capitalist government.

The SWP's "socialist unity" means a broad "national defence" popular front, uniting both anti-Sovietism and groups with "Stalinist origins", under the umbrella of the NDP [Nuclear Disarmament Party]. SWP speaker on "Is Marxism Relevant?", Jim Percy, sees the NDP, like the German Greens, as a "new flowering of socialism", while the SWP no longer has all the answers. He said that people used to join the SWP because it once had an answer on everything, but that in time "people saw that our answers were wrong". This sounds like their hero, rock star Peter Garrett, the NDP leader who sings "there must be some solution but I just don't know".

But the SWP's attempts at "unity" were not terribly successful. Peter Symon (SPA) said that political differences prevented formal unity with the SWP, and the Maoists were invited but sent their apologies. The

only migrant groups to attend seemed to be some Turkish leftists — and the reactionary Croatian nationalists. One Turkish speaker said, "Those who claim to be part of the Fourth International cannot assist this unity" (he was unconvinced by the SWP's claims to have renounced Trotskyism). He also attacked their support for "Reagan's mistress" Walesa and Polish Solidarity. He added that a group that says it had all the wrong answers in the past cannot be Marxist.

The session on the NDP was ROTTEN! If Lenin had been there to distribute his pamphlet *The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution* the SWP would have had to exclude him from the conference — like it excluded the SL from the public meetings — or run the risk of having its NDP friends run away in horror and fright! In response to a faithful NDP member's concern, that in the future, a revolutionary party might split the NDP, an SWP leader reassured her that the SWP would not, but would try "to take everybody with us if possible". Bernie Hockings, NDP candidate and SWP supporter, had already indicated who "everybody" was when he commented that the NDP membership included those who held anti-Soviet and national defence views; his conclusion was that "these views will cause problems in the future"!

The graphic on the SWP conference brochure depicted a hand holding a broken sword and a flower. Any builders labourer, striking British miner, or worker on a picket line in Manila, could tell the SWP that the bourgeoisie never holds a broken sword. At a time when it is desperately necessary to fight, the SWP urges workers to fall behind bourgeois pacifist slogans!

On the question of nationalism in

Australia, the SWP thinks there are two different kinds: a "crude" form "pushed by the establishment media" and a progressive form which belongs to the "Australian people". Real differences came up in this session — some wanted the SWP to be even more nationalist, others, particularly the migrants, reacted against this. One member complained "You don't give enough recognition of this love for the Australian country", and explained that "Australians like the bush, the cities, our humour..." The speaker, Steve Robson's, sickening response was: "When people look at this country they have a lot of pride and love ... I don't think we should have to see that this pride is reactionary ... Australians want to hold onto their heritage ... the things that other countries don't have". Dave Holmes later followed: "I don't think that there's an argument. It's just a matter of the tone and argument of the party's line" and said it would "be different" in a public talk, implying the SWP would promote nationalism a lot more strongly!

Holmes said that Eureka is one tradition we should embrace, adding that while fascists use the Eureka flag, this "doesn't cut much ice" because the flag "is seen to be associated with the labour movement". Contradicting this was the experience related by a member of migrant background, who used to be pro-Eureka flag until he carried one to a rock concert: a Chinese came up and asked if he was from a racist group, a racist came up and said that it was good to see a white Australian, then an ALP member said he would "thump" him for being a racist.

It was left to a Turkish speaker to oppose bourgeois nationalism, pointing to the vicious racist attacks on immigrant workers in Europe. He asked what "precautions" the SWP was taking against racist attacks here. The SWP response was a mere undertaking that it would explain to people that there will be "future" attacks against migrants. Nothing about how

to defend Asians, blacks, gays and workers from vicious attacks *already* being perpetrated by reactionaries and fascists!

The NDP's statement of principles, printed by the SWP paper without comment, called for the withdrawal of Soviet naval forces and aircraft from Cam Ranh Bay and Da Nang in Vietnam, ie, disarm Vietnam and the Soviet Union so that the imperialists can finish off the war they always wanted to. At the same time the SWP heavily promoted the Vietnamese Communist Party as "revolutionaries" at the conference. What this really means is renouncing the Permanent Revolution and Trotskyism, as Allen Myers made clear in his talk "Vietnam Liberated". He defended the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, because of their "ultra-left" opposition to a popular front with the bourgeoisie and their leadership of the 1945 working-class insurrection. He said he didn't know if it was necessary to execute them, but that the VCP were "justified in preventing provocations". While "soft-talking" petty-bourgeois pacifists and "his own" bourgeoisie, Myers would obviously prefer to deal with his revolutionary opponents in the workers movement by lining them up against the wall!

To conclude: As the SL says, it is desperately necessary to fight! While the SWP and other political parties will attempt to pull workers behind the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie by promoting bourgeois ideologies such as nationalism and pacifism, I consider the Spartacist League to be the only party with a revolutionary internationalist perspective and program capable of breaking workers free from the grip of the bourgeoisie. Workers in Australia must be urged forward, as part of the international working class, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of communism throughout the entire world. This is why I have joined the Spartacist League.

In solidarity,
Bev S.

17 February 1985

East Timor/West Papua: The National Question

Dear comrades,

The Article "Australia's Indonesia Jitters" (*Australasian Spartacist* 109 Summer 1984/85) presented the framework and politics of recent Australia/Indonesia tensions well. However, the section on "Independence for West Papua and East Timor" which called for the right of self-determination and for independence for East Timor and West Papua was quite truncated. Given the programmatic importance of the national question to the Indonesian

revolution and given the attitude of the reformist left here to the independence struggles in these countries, there are additional aspects of the question that should be addressed.

Firstly, the right of, indeed the possibility of, the East Timorese and West Papuans to political independence, to develop and consolidate themselves into nations, requires the removal of foreign domination. Concretely this means a struggle by the Indonesian and Australian proletariat for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and West Papua, for support to the military struggles of Fretilin and OPM, and for an immediate end to the "Indonesianisation" of these small, weak peoples through "transmigration". For a century, these peoples have been divided by arbitrary boundaries drawn by five imperialist powers and thus their national emancipation requires a regional solution. This struggle is inseparable from the fight for the permanent revolution in Indonesia and for a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia, from the perspective of breaking the grip of imperialism through region-wide socialist revolution.

The left-Laborite scenario that these small and primitive peoples, "liberated" from the Indonesian yoke and "protected" by "democratic" Australian imperialism, will achieve national emancipation through a prolonged period of peaceful (*capitalist*) development, serves only to cover and alibi the Australian

imperialists' plans of regional domination and to deceive the working class. East Timor and West Papua are pre-national societies, indeed largely tribal, in which even the peasantry characteristic of feudal relationships in underdeveloped countries does not yet exist. The development of classes in the towns is correspondingly marginal. Both are cases of combined and uneven development, tribal subsistence agriculture existing side-by-side with the major mining, petrochemical, timber and large-scale plantation operations now run by the imperialist multinationals and their Indonesian compradors. But the leap from primitive tribal existence to the most advanced capitalist technique

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Australasian

SPARTACIST

Marxist two-monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Darlene Carlson, Paul Connor, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis, Steve Hooper (editor)

CIRCULATION: Vicki Pearson

PRODUCTION: Jenny Brown

Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication — Category B. Subscription \$2 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist Publications, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed by Spot Press Pty. Ltd., 21 Ross Street, Forest Lodge.

Australasian Spartacist



Imperialist War and Disarmament

"The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt — up to now only on paper — to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments...."



The question of disarmament is one of the levers on the arena of imperialism in which the new wars are being prepared. It is pure charlatanism to attempt to distinguish between defensive and offensive machine guns, tanks, airplanes. American policy is dictated in this also by the particular interests of American militarism, the most terrible of all.... Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the 'first step' towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases....

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

— *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932)* ■

15 FEBRUARY — Marking the sixth anniversary of the liberation of Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) from the genocidal death grip of Pol Pot, Vietnamese and Kampuchean troops have won a series of stunning victories in their most concerted offensive against the counterrevolutionary bases on the Thai-Kampuchean border. The CIA-backed, Chinese-armed troops of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and Son Sann's Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF) have scurried like roaches into Thailand as Vietnam's Soviet-built T-54 tanks flattened their camps. In an ominous move, China has stepped up its attacks along Vietnam's northern border in an effort to divert military forces needed in Kampuchea.

The current offensive was launched in late November when Vietnamese and Kampuchean government forces took the Nong Chan camp, where a thousand KPNLF troops were holed up. On December 25 some 1,500 troops backed by tanks and heavy artillery moved against the largest base camp of the KPNLF, at Nong Samet, scattering the 4,000 anti-communist rebels based there; the 62,000 civilians had already fled into nearby Thailand before the fighting started. A decisive blow fell on January 7 when the Vietnamese force of some 3,000 overran the KPNLF headquarters at Ampil. The Thai army, discarding all pretence of "neutrality", tried to provide artillery cover for the Ampil rebels, but the combat-steeped Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies took the camp in one day, using "an intense artillery barrage followed quickly by a lightning tank-led breach of the camp's defensive perimeter and the explosion of Ampil's main munitions depot" (*Washington Post*, 9 January). "I think it was a debacle", one Western official lamented to the *Post*.

The loss of their headquarters was a staggering blow to the KPNLF, which has now lost seven of its eight "refugee" camps. Their leader Son Sann cried, "We are not so strong", and called for a retreat into dispersed guerrilla tactics. Son Sann, the CIA's most loyal client in the region, was once the prime minister of Cambodia under the monarchy of Prince Sihanouk. KPNLF vice president, General Dien Del, served the US puppet regime of Lon Nol, who came to power in a right-wing coup in 1970 which unseated Sihanouk. The Lon Nol regime joined the US imperialist war against social revolution in Indochina, and approved the massive carpet-bombing by US B-52s which devastated the Cambodian countryside.

Before the Vietnamese offensive, Son Sann's forces controlled eight of the 20 border camps. They were the imperialists' preferred anti-communist opponents of Hanoi and Phnom Penh; only the Chinese have the stomach to embrace the Pol Pot butchers wholeheartedly. The third force of their fictitious "government in exile", led by the ousted Prince Sihanouk, is too negligible and eccentric for Western imperialist purposes.

After the fall of Ampil, the Vietnamese attacked Khmer Rouge headquarters in the mountainous Phnom Malai region in what appears to be the most serious effort so far to finally crush the counterrevolution. As we go to press, between 15,000 and 18,000 troops are locked in a fierce and crucial battle. The Vietnamese goal, according to a major statement by Politbureau member General Le Duc Anh, is "total victory" on the battlefield. And they are well on their way: the *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 February) reports the rout of the Khmer Rouge from key bases and their flight across the Thai border, to the chagrin of the imperialists

Vietnam Creams CIA's Khmer Contras



Vietnamese-backed Kampuchean troops atop Soviet-built T-54 tanks roll over counterrevolutionaries.

and the Chinese, who escalated their border attacks on Vietnam in response.

But, as *Newsweek* (21 January) observed, in 1979 "Hanoi's troops fought the Chinese to a draw, and revealed Peking's military doctrines and technology to be antiquated. . . . A new conflict between China and Vietnam would probably go badly for China . . . the Vietnamese appear to have substantially improved their firepower, the caliber of their troops and their defensive positions." Or, as one Vietnamese diplomat put it, "We are a very patient people. We have been waiting for them a long time."

US Global Anti-Soviet Design

As soon as the recent Vietnamese victory became apparent, the US State Department started making hypocritical complaints about "violations of the accepted norms of decent international behavior" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 January) — this from the government that dropped thousands of tons of bombs and napalm on Indochina, that now is backing the genocidal Pol Pot! They certainly have gall: if it weren't for US machinations, there would be no wretched border camps to begin with. At the behest of the US, the United Nations continues to seat the Pol Pot gang as the Kampuchean representative. None of the so-called "international aid" goes to Phnom Penh, but to the border camps, where it sustains the counterrevolutionaries or is sold by the black marketeers. China supplies the weaponry to keep it all going, under the protection of Thailand's anti-communist, pro-US regime.

From the beginning the simmering border war has been sponsored by the US as part of its global anti-Soviet war drive, a component of which is to bleed Vietnam. Since Nixon's rapprochement with Maoist China, the Chinese Stalinist rulers have joined US imperialism in its anti-Soviet campaign, and China supplies the Khmer reactionaries with grenade and rocket launchers, mortars, rifles, machine

guns. As a reward, the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, just visited China to swig corn liquor with Chinese leaders and offer them US military hardware — including "modern anti-submarine warfare equipment" to be used against the Soviets. China already provides the CIA/NSA with an electronic spy post near the Soviet border. Down with China's collusion in the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive!

The threat to Vietnam comes not only from China and the Pol Pot clique. Embittered Vietnamese contras, many based in the US and Australia, have repeatedly tried to infiltrate Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. *Far Eastern Economic Review* (17 January) reports that Hanoi carried out a cross-border raid into Thailand in early December against a group of Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries led by Hoang Co Minh, formerly an admiral of the Saigon puppet regime. It's no wonder the Vietnamese have balked at the recent US "humanitarian" campaign demanding the release of the remaining inmates of Vietnamese re-education camps — imperialism's last loyal butchers. Russian emigres, Cuban *gusanos*, Vietnamese boat people: the refuse of successful social revolution become the shock troops of counterrevolution.

The Vietnamese, driven by self-preservation, were compelled to liberate the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's terror and save them from genocide. But, imperialist "domino" theories notwithstanding, the Vietnamese are not pursuing a program of revolutionary internationalism. On the contrary — with the nationalist blinders of Stalinism they seek to preserve the status quo through "peaceful coexistence" with US imperialism and the bourgeois Southeast Asian states of ASEAN. Thus a recent communique of the foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries called for negotiations over Kampuchea, including ASEAN and the US, to arrange withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and exclusion of

the Pol Pot clique, the holding of "free general elections with the presence of foreign observers", and guarantees that no state will allow its territory to be used against other countries.

In this schema Australian imperialism is assigned a certain importance in recognition of its role as US imperialism's foremost junior partner in the region. Bill Hayden may be absurdly regarded by Reagan and Shultz as some kind of reincarnation of Karla's mole in the John Le Carre novel, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; but the ever-so-moralistic foreign minister is more than anxious to fill in for Uncle Sam, even dreaming of netting the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to "free" Vietnam from its Soviet ally. The central target of Australia's diplomatic jockeying over Kampuchea is the great Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay, which stands guard in defence of the Indochinese and Russian revolutions.

In pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" and an anti-China bloc, the Hanoi regime continues to play the "Indonesia Card". The Indonesian generals came to power through perpetrating one of the most massive and savage counterrevolutionary bloodbaths in modern history, completely annihilating the pro-Peking PKI (then the largest Communist Party in the world not holding state power) and massacring much of the ethnic Chinese community. Yet as recently as January 19 of this year Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach stated:

"Over the past forty years, it has been the position of Indonesia to struggle for independence, peace and solidarity among the Afro-Asian nations against imperialism and colonialism."

Anti-Chinese racialism is rife throughout Southeast Asia, spawned by the ruling colonial puppets and military despots, and is the mortal enemy of a revolutionary internationalist perspective.

Ten years after the liberation of Saigon, after 40 years of almost continuous war against colonialism and imperialist aggression, the Indochinese nations find themselves besieged on all sides by the allies of Washington. Rather than hoping for the Thai colonels and the Pentagon to join with Vietnam against the "Chinese hegemonists", the only way to ensure a peaceful future for the long-suffering peoples of the region is through revolutionary struggle for a genuine soviet federation of Indochina. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution.

Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! Defending the gains of the Russian October, defending the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, requires proletarian revolution in the capitalist strongholds — the program of Lenin and Trotsky.

— Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 371, 25 January 1985

They talk about "dialogue" and commit cold-blooded murder. The assassination of Eloi Machoro unmasks the true nature of Mitterrand/Pisani's "independence-association" — a manoeuvre to keep New Caledonia under the heel of French imperialism. Only the flag would change!

In France, to counter the increasingly sharp — and hypocritical — attacks by the bourgeois opposition, the social-democratic dwarves have borrowed the robes of the giant, De Gaulle, to give them a lesson in the ABCs of neo-colonialism. Like De Gaulle, Mitterrand must strike a balance between the specific interests of the colons on the spot and the long-term interests of French imperialism. But it remains to be seen whether Mitterrand will succeed in forcing his scheme down the throats of the *caldoches* (the French colons in New Caledonia).

The crisis in New Caledonia evokes certain aspects of the Algerian war, but as a farce. This crisis is one more in a long list which have rocked the French government; the defence of the French colonial caste on these strategic islands serves not only a bourgeois opposition, which, like the Bourbons, has forgotten nothing and learned nothing from the decline of the French colonial empire, but also the feverish agitation of the fascists. Fortunately for Mitterrand's shaky government, the risks of a military coup d'etat in New Caledonia are minimal!

But fear of losing even these far-away "confetti of an empire", has been capable of poisoning French political life, stirring up imperial chauvinism and a delirium of racism against the "cannibals". (How many know that the head of a Kanak leader of the revolt of 1878, preserved in formaldehyde, was on view at the French colonial exhibition of 1931?) Evoking Gaullist grandeur in the Pacific goes hand in hand with the strengthening of the bonapartism of the Mitterrand government. The GIGN (Intervention Group of the National Gendarmerie), the murderers of Machoro, is Mitterrand's praetorian guard, and, like the CRS (riot police) is a bonapartist force "above the law" which poses a constant threat to democratic liberties and must be dissolved. It is necessary for the working class to fight for the immediate withdrawal of all of French colonialism's cops and troops and for the immediate and unconditional independence of New Caledonia! Down with colonialist repression: the murderers of Eloi Machoro must be tried, the imprisoned independence fighters of the FLNKS immediately released.

The Pisani Plan

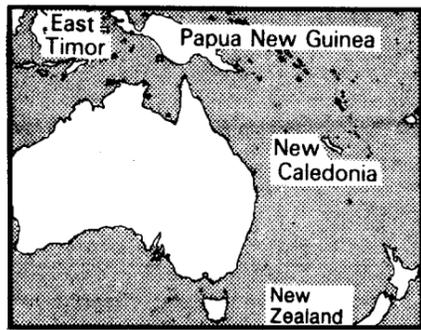
Handling the carrot and the stick is one of Mitterrand's specialities — he has the blood of FLN Algerian militants on his hands. And he has based himself on the 1956 "lois-cadres" (framework-law) which permitted a French stranglehold on French-speaking West Africa by the breaking

French Cops, Troops Out! Australian Imperialism Keep Out!

Independence for New Caledonia Now!



FLNKS militants after taking over a police station.



up and balkanisation of the region. So Mitterrand and Pisani propose a "sovereignty" for the Kanaks in which French military forces would remain, the trusts would continue to exploit the nickel, and the colons, given a "privileged status", would continue to occupy the nerve centres of the economy, in particular the port of Noumea.

It's not by accident that this scheme has an uncanny resemblance to the Australian "decolonisation" of Papua New Guinea. In 1975 the Australians installed a phony Westminster-style "democracy" which boiled down to having black foremen on a white plantation. Papua New Guinea is ruthlessly exploited by the mining companies which herd black workers into barracks under a regime of racial segregation which brooks comparison

with apartheid. Thus Machoro (who had disarmed the colons at Thio and humiliated Mitterrand's gendarmes, all without firing a shot) joins the Moroccan Ben Barka and Ruben Um Nyobe (leader of the Union of Camerounian Peoples) on the already too-long list of nationalist leaders liquidated because they interfered, in one way or another, with French imperialism's plans.

As for the anti-colonialist fighters of yesteryear, the LCR (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, French section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat), they greeted the Pisani plan with a communique in which we read: "The Kanak people, represented by the FLNKS has won an initial victory" (*Rouge*, 11-17 January). Still tailing Mitterrand, the LCR has scarcely budged from its scandalous declaration of 1981, "... if the totality of the measures which this government could be led to undertake in order to satisfy the need of the workers in the 'colonies' are not accompanied by a profound modification of the status of the colonies (sic), they will hardly be effective" (*Rouge*, 22-28 May 1981).

For French capitalism New Caledonia represents an intersection of economic interests (nickel), military preoccupations and the upholding of its imperial prestige. A report by the general staff of the army goes so far as to declare, "On the eve of the twenty-first century, France is playing out its future as a middle-range power in the Pacific hemisphere" (*Le Monde*, 29 November 1984). This is not just hyperbole. French Army Chief of Staff General Lacaze has insisted that the nuclear testing centre at Mururoa in Polynesia and the Kourou space centre in Guyana, vital to maintaining France's nuclear *force de frappe*, are located in colonial possessions of

French imperialism which could suffer repercussions from events in New Caledonia. Furthermore, Mitterrand's announcement of a plan to build a military base in New Caledonia underlines the fact that even in the era of nuclear-powered submarines, an "aircraft carrier anchored in the heart of the Pacific" remains a trump card for France. "If a major conflict breaks out in the Pacific zone, the existence of support bases on land would be a major advantage for the adversaries in such a conflict, where they would be able to assure nearby logistical support to their forces" (*Le Monde*, 22 January).

The imperialist powers are even worried about whether tiny Vanuatu will refuse to welcome American ships and accept Soviet ones. All of this has unleashed a wave of hysteria around the FLNKS' ties to Libya etc. Since the United States maintains the bulk of its fleet in the northern half of the Pacific, in the framework of a division of labour in the anti-Soviet Cold War, one of the second-rate imperialist powers can play a role as its partner in the southern Pacific. But which one?

New Caledonia is also a bridgehead into the Pacific, a region coveted by several powers. Japanese prime minister Nakasone recently visited Australia, New Zealand and the Fijian islands to promote a "community of the Pacific basin" with Washington's backing where he declared, "The centre of world commerce is moving towards the Pacific". Some countries, he added, could view this initiative as "an attempt to dominate the region".

Australian Designs

And it's Australia which plans on competing with the Japanese — at the expense of French imperialism.

Over \$600 Raised for Magnum Strike

In response to the appeal of the All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (see *Australasian Spartacist* no 109, Summer 1984/85) SL branches have forwarded to date \$668.50 to the union's strike fund to aid the women workers who struck against Magnum Garments Ltd in Sri Lanka.

The inhuman conditions of labour exploitation prevailing in Sri Lanka, exacerbated by the Jayewardene

government's chauvinist terror against the Tamil minority, have been challenged by the courageous action of these mainly Sinhala women workers.

Supporters of the SL contributed generously, and importantly a modest amount was collected at a Tamil cultural evening in Sydney. We thank our readers and supporters for their enthusiastic response. ■

Canberra's urgent appeals for a "nuclear free Pacific" don't aim at impeding American imperialism, but rather French imperialism — a rival more its size. The same goes for Hayden's repeated condemnations of "French colonialism", hypocritical condemnations coming from the masters of Papua New Guinea. Above all the "nuclear free Pacific" call envisages a Pacific "free" of the USSR, ie, secured by American imperialism in the interests of its first strike war plans. Despite inter-imperialist rivalries the US wants the "stability" of the continued presence in New Caledonia of its anti-Soviet French ally, and so too, for the moment at least, does the Hawke government.

The Australian military sees the archipelagos flanking northeastern Australia as nothing less than a front line of defence. This is why an Australian warship was sent to New Caledonia in 1940 in order to throw out an administration loyal to the pro-German Vichy regime in France. Today White Australia worries about the "Soviet presence" at Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay and about the possibility of a "mini-Cuba" in New Caledonia. The denunciations of French colonialism have undoubtedly stimulated the FLNKS, which clearly has the perspective of persuading the Hawke government to pressure Mitterrand, probably by means of the UN. Thus, without a revolutionary program of opposition to its "own" bourgeoisie, acts of solidarity like the Australian Teacher's Federation's donation of \$10,000 to the FLNKS to set up a pro-independence newspaper can be integrated into the social-chauvinist campaign aimed at throwing out French imperialism so that Australia can take its place.

The Relationship of Forces

Where the comparison between New Caledonia and Algeria breaks down is that the FLNKS is a lightweight compared to the Algerian FLN! Confronted by 6,000 paratroops, gendarmes and CRS, a Kanak insurrection would end up repeating the revolts of 1878 and 1917, which were drowned in blood. But, unlike Algeria, the colons, armed to the teeth and determined to defend their caste privileges at the price of a bloodbath, are confronted by lightly-armed Kanak clans, and unlike the Algerian *pe-d-noirs*, could consolidate a white-supremacist state with their own forces.

Declaration...

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more, this independence cannot be made conditional on any referendum, no matter what the method of voting. The Caldoches has its choice: either remain in an independent New Caledonia, or leave.

The fact that the independence front, the FLNKS, which is led by the "traditional" chiefs and men educated by the Church and the colonial state, calls for "socialism" in no way guarantees the abolition of neo-colonialist exploitation after independence — so many examples have proved the contrary! In addition, from the get-go these "socialists" exclude from "Kanak" the 12 percent of the population that is composed of Wallisians, Futunians and Tahitians who were imported as a labour pool by French imperialism and the Indonesians and Chinese who make up another 8 percent of the population.

Through a neo-colonial solution,

That's why FLNKS leader Tjibaou explained to *Le Monde* that he was more afraid of the colons than of the French state, and that's why the leaders of the FLNKS expect Pisani to genuinely play the role of "arbitrator". It is also why, despite the murder of Machoro, and despite the fact that dozens of its militants are in prison, the FLNKS supported the prolongation of the state of emergency. And it is why the "hardening-up" within the FLNKS provoked by the assassination of Machoro did not last long. Tjibaou rushed to Paris to announce that "in each element of the (Pisani) plan there is some positive and some negative" and that "we don't want the French to leave". He even left the door open for a French military presence, in the framework of "temporary agreements".

The FLNKS is thus stuck in a strait-jacket of the French Constitution of the Fifth Republic and has promised to accept the decision of a referendum which offers little hope of giving a majority vote for independence. Marxists, however, as supporters of immediate, unconditional independence, can't allow independence to be determined by such a referendum. Under capitalism — and this is codi-

Mitterrand intends to keep control not only of the nickel but also the use of what has been called "an aircraft carrier anchored in the heart of the Pacific". The hysteria engendered over the Libyan money or the Soviet ships which cruise in these waters shows that the Cold War has spread over the entire world, including to the tiny islands in the Pacific. A French base would serve as a counterpart to the American listening post in Alice Springs in Australia, to the American bases in Micronesia and to the overall war efforts of US imperialism which extend from Alaska to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

Already Australian imperialism, which is much closer and whose economic links with New Caledonia are solid, is dreaming of taking the place of French imperialism in the post-independence period. Today the Australian Labor government denounces French colonialism in order to pursue its own imperialistic designs. One need only look at New Guinea, its own neo-colony, which has suffered more or less the same history of

massacres and looting, or to the continued inhuman conditions of life of the Australian Aborigines to expose the pretensions of the Australian imperialists. The Australian workers movement rendered an important service to the Indonesian independence movement after the Second World War by boycotting Dutch ships (Indian, Chinese and even some Kanak sailors took part in this movement). The Australian proletariat must again support the cause of independence, but with the goal of forging the international unity of the toiling masses and oppressed of Asia, not as part of the nationalists' attempts to maintain Australia as the advanced post of white privilege.

In the best of cases, "socialism in one island" is not a viable option for New Caledonia; it is necessary to look towards the framework of a much larger socialist federation. The comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand are fighting for an Australia where racial integration is a reality and which will be part of a Socialist Asia. ■

fied in the Pisani plan — the Kanaks can only be second-class "citizens".

French imperialism, responsible for the decimation of the Kanaks, cannot offer the slightest solution. It's the task of the French proletariat — and above all of the Australian — to take



FLNKS leader Machoro: murdered by Mitterrand's praetorian guard.

up their defence. Neither the Kanaks shoved into the reservations, nor the thin layer of workers — Kanak, Polynesian or French — created by the extraction of nickel, are capable of

breaking the power of the colons, giving the land to the Kanaks or expropriating the nickel trusts.

Marxists have the responsibility to say what is. We are not paternalists who idealise a primitive "communism" based on slash and burn cultivation of yams in the name of "self-determination". The Kanaks are victims of a veritable apartheid, excluded in the main from the production process organised by French colonialism, which created from scratch a hierarchy of chiefs and refused the right to vote to the Kanaks until 1952, primary school education until 1945 and high school education until 1957.

The goal of the FLNKS is to crystallise a petty-bourgeois layer to pick up the crumbs of neo-colonialist exploitation. Machoro, the "hard-liner" (in tactical, but not programmatic opposition to Tjibaou) could not demand the expropriation of the nickel mines, but rather the formation of a layer of Kanak foremen/managers. The material basis for the construction of socialism doesn't exist within the narrow framework of New Caledonia.

For economic and geographic reasons the future of New Caledonia will not be played out so much in Paris, and certainly not in Noumea, but rather in Sydney and Melbourne. Evoking the boycott of iron bound for Japan by Australian dockers, in reply to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1938, the Spartacist League wrote, "The Port Kembla boycott itself was testimony to the concrete reality of the international class struggle and to the revolutionary potential of the Australian proletariat, reaffirmed since in the ban on Dutch shipping during the Indonesian independence struggle in 1946 and the seamen's action which stopped an American vessel on its way to Vietnam in 1971" (*Australasian Spartacist*, September 1978).

It is on the basis of such internationalist struggles that the Australian working class, having broken with the racism and social-chauvinism of "little Australia" represented by the Labor Party, and under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, could give precious aid to the Kanak people. If the French also have the duty to redress the bloody historic injustices of French imperialism, it's the proletarian revolution in Australia which will be the basis for a socialist federation of the region.

— Adapted from *Le Bolchevik* (newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France), no 52, February 1985

Spartacists vs SWP on New Caledonia

While the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire looks to French imperialism to "liberate" the Kanaks, their sister section in Australia, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) sees this as the task of Australian imperialism. They have joined the chauvinist chorus which calls on the Hawke government to stand up to the French in the Pacific. This is the position of a full-page advertisement by the "Australian Support Committees for Kanak Independence" in the *National Times* (18-24 January), signed by various left social democrats inside and outside the ALP, including Jim Percy, Doug Lorimer and Dave Holmes of the SWP. It reads:

"Where does Australia really stand on New Caledonia?"

"Can our government continue to tolerate this situation — in the name of all Australians?"

"We call upon our government to support the calling of an emergency meeting of the South Pacific Forum — there to join with other

Pacific nations to act for Kanak independence."

It praises the government's "strong public position for a nuclear-free, de-colonised Pacific" — a government up to its neck in Reagan's first-strike war plans!

The Australian Trotskyists sharply oppose this program for making Australian imperialism more aggressive, more interventionist. At an 18 January Melbourne meeting addressed by Louis Uregei, general secretary of the Kanak trade union USTKE, comrades of the Spartacist League spoke in English and French to "sound a stern warning against calls for Australian intervention":

"If indeed the Australian working class is to play a key role in international unity, in fact the key role in ending oppression in the region, there is one crucial prerequisite, and that is opposition to its own imperialist power run today by Mr Hawke.

"... Australia as a loyal lackey to US imperialism seeks desperately to be the imperialist watchdog

over the region to replace France. " ... Its credentials are measured in its own brutal oppression of New Guinea and Aborigines in this country and ... it hosts US bases which make it central to imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive."

The noisy hostility of SWPers at the meeting was cut short by Uregei, who through his interpreter replied:

"Thank you for what you have just said. You have spoken the truth. What you have said for [those] who are involved in the liberation movement is very important. It is important because the risk is high for us. And because of what could happen after is also important. We could be faced with regimes or systems which could try to impose their rule on us."

Yet it is precisely the perspective of neo-colonialist subordination to one or another imperialism that the FLNKS is locked into. Against the social chauvinists, Australian and French alike, the Trotskyists alone have a program to fight imperialism and colonialism to the end. ■

First Strike...

Continued from page one

their troops for big and small imperialist and colonial wars for 100 years, from the Sudan to Gallipoli to the Second World War to Korea and, of course, Vietnam where Australia and NZ sent troops to fight beside the US in that long, dirty, losing war. All their fighting has been in someone else's country, as virtual mercenaries first for the British and then the Americans. This is the price the ruling classes pay for protection of these small and remote white imperialist enclaves in Asia — Australia most of all.

ANZUS has always been based on "yellow-peril" racism overlain with anti-communism. After World War II the Australian and NZ bourgeoisies clamoured for a security pact with the US, primarily as a guarantee against Japanese rearmament. Established in 1951, ANZUS immediately became a Cold War instrument. Today its central target remains Soviet-allied Vietnam, still under attack over a decade after the victorious Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated the US giant and its lackeys. The unravelling of this imperialist war treaty poses a real opportunity to the Australian and NZ working classes who have every interest in its destruction.

Even before the furore within the Australian Labor Party forced Hawke to back down over the MX missile tests, heightened disaffection and division in the ALP was reflected in the large informal protest vote in last December's election, and the big showing (nearly 7 per cent nationally) for the fledgling Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). Many Australians deeply distrust the fact that Hawke acts and talks like Reagan's personal envoy, and hundreds of thousands of marchers are expected to turn out for the upcoming 31 March Palm Sunday peace marches. But these protests can go nowhere if tied by the ALP and NDP organisers into a perspective of pressuring this Cold War Labor government. What's needed is independent *working class* action: if waterfront unions had shut down the Sydney waterfront with the arrival of the *USS Buchanan* in early March after its rejection from NZ ports things would look a lot different.

Hawke calls the shots with the ALP and ACTU tops, but not so with the ranks of labour as shown when Sydney wharfies refused to go along with the ACTU's anti-Soviet bans over KAL

007. The CIA's role in bringing down the 1975 Whitlam government, its backing of clericalist NCC anti-union sabotage in the 1950s, and not least the Vietnam war, have left a legacy of hatred for the bourgeoisie's partnership with US imperialism in broad sections of the Australian proletariat. Now Hawke says he wouldn't want to be prime minister without the American alliance and the US bases which are at its core. Fine! We say the bases must go and so should Reagan's man Hawke! Mass working-class action challenging the bases and the US-Australia alliance would be profoundly destabilising, creating the conditions for the rapid crystallisation of a revolutionary party through splitting away militant sections of Labor's mass working class base.

Australian unions, especially maritime, have a history of internationalist class action: in solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution; with the Indonesian independence struggle against the Dutch in the 1940s; with the black masses fighting apartheid slavery in South Africa. These traditions and practices must be revived and put into practice around an internationalist class-struggle program. This will take a fight not only against Hawke and the bourgeoisie, but also their agents in the trade-union bureaucracy. US bases out of Australia and the Indian and Pacific Oceans! Australian/NZ troops out of the Sinai and Southeast Asia! Smash ANZUS and all the imperialist war alliances! Down with Reagan's man Hawke! Defend Vietnam and the USSR!

US Bases and "Star Wars"

The Hawke government's "disarmament" posturing is in a shambles after the exposures on the MX, which is a first strike weapon par excellence. Their lobbying for a comprehensive test ban treaty and UN vote for a "nuclear freeze" have been exposed as a lying, hypocritical smokescreen. Foreign minister Hayden's cynical imperialist "pacifism" echoed the Orwellian "war is peace" doublespeak of the Reaganites as he brazened out the MX testing as contributing to "strategic deterrence". The exposure continued when the Hawke-Shultz communique in Washington came out backing Reagan's Strategic Modernisation Program (SMP — the range of new US first strike weapons including the MX and the Tomahawks), an admission that was hardly salvaged by Hayden's hurried "clarification"

reasserting ostensible Labor Party policy opposing the SMP and "Star Wars". The Labor "left" and the NDP like to present Hawke's backdown on the MX as a vindication for their strategy of loyal pressure on the government. But the truth revealed by recent events is that this Labor government is deeply complicit in Reagan's first strike war plans against the Soviet Union.

At the centre of US war plans in this region are the secret spy and communication bases at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape, part of the chain of bases running from Diego Garcia to the Philippines to Japan. When Hawke was in Washington, US Defence Secretary Weinberger swore that the "joint facilities" in Australia had nothing to do with "Star Wars". But even the pro-Reagan *Australian* admitted Hawke and Weinberger are lying:

"The assistant director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, John Pike, has argued that under the SDI [Strategic Defence Initiative] program Nurrungar would be involved in not just early warnings but also in tracking missiles as part of the US attempt to attack and destroy these missiles. It would be an integral part of the Star Wars strategy."

— "Star Wars: best to be frank on bases", 15 February

North West Cape has long been known as a key communications station for the US nuclear-armed submarine fleet in the Indian Ocean. Pine Gap is the most important US spy satellite station monitoring the Soviet Union outside North America and was an operating ground station in the US's deadly KAL-007 war provocation in September 1983. And while space shuttle *Discovery* on its last voyage in January was parking \$300 million of new-generation super-spy satellite in orbit over the USSR, the US was flying in planeloads of sophisticated new equipment to upgrade the Pine Gap base.

Through these bases Australia is already an integral part of US plans for nuclear first strike capacity. The nationalist pacifism of the NDP and the social-democratic left can only play the role of obscuring this reality. Whether hypocritical or sincere, pacifism weakens the resolve of the oppressed through the petty-bourgeois illusion that moral indignation can influence the imperialist warmakers. Instead "the task consists of confronting the knife of the bourgeoisie with the knife of the proletariat" as the founder of the Soviet Red Army Leon Trotsky put it. The NDP's

commitment to "national defence" will be an open bridge back to imperialist militarism at the first outbreak of war. The NDP leaders in advance pledge their Cold War allegiances to Australian imperialism by demanding the Soviets get out of everywhere from Cam Ranh Bay to Afghanistan. They show their patriotism by focusing on traditional White Australia fears of an expansionist Indonesia and a rearmed Japan. As for ANZUS the NDP's leading spokesman, rock star Peter Garrett had this to say when interviewed by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 March): "We believe that Anzus came before nuclear weapons and we can't see any reason why Anzus will be here after nuclear weapons. However this obviously is up to the senior partner in the alliance to determine."

Against the so-called "neutralism" of the nationalists and social democrats Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and its Vietnamese and Cuban allies against imperialist attack, for these collectivised economies are historic gains for the workers of the world. The Soviet Union, precisely because of these conquests, is the greatest obstacle to the capitalists' drive for world domination, but these gains are gravely threatened by the Stalinist bureaucracy's pipedreams of "détente" with imperialism. It will take proletarian political revolution to clean the bureaucratic usurpers out of the Kremlin and return the USSR to the road of Lenin and Trotsky — the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. Meanwhile the workers and oppressed peoples of the world can only be thankful for the Soviets' nuclear missile capacity — the threat of nuclear retaliation is all that restrains the Reagan gang. The imperialist rulers will never disarm. It will not be annual pacifist parades to pressure Hawke that can bring peace to this planet but victorious working-class struggle around the world.

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Events on both sides of the Tasman sharply evoke memories of ten years ago and the CIA-inspired sacking of Gough Whitlam's Labor government. Washington deeply resented Whitlam's anti-US moralising over Vietnam but when his "independent" nationalist posturing threatened their Pine Gap base, a mere threat by the CIA

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East Timor...

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will not be made by these peoples under capitalism. On the contrary, their development economically and nationally is arrested, their social surplus drained off, class differentiation blocked. The condition of the mountain people around Ok Tedi in Papua New Guinea described in the *Australasian Spartacist* article shows the fate of these peoples under neo-colonial domination.

As things stand now, without international proletarian action, the East Timorese and West Papuans face a highly unequal struggle, the likely outcome of which is their physical annihilation. The pattern of Indonesian oppression of these two peoples is similar in its stark brutality. The Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) has been forced on them, their land has been forcibly appropriated, all forms of political democracy and national expression outlawed and any resistance met with overwhelming military force. In response to the

Fretilin guerilla resistance, an "encirclement and annihilation" campaign was carried out in 1979 which bombed, shelled and burned hundreds of thousands out of the mountains and into Indonesian "population control" areas, CIA-style "strategic hamlets". By 1979 roughly 200,000 out of the East Timorese population of 600,000 had been killed through military action, starvation and disease.

The Suharto regime "develops" oil and mineral-rich West Papua on behalf of the Indonesian state oil monopoly Pertamina and such multinationals as Petromer Trend (Oppenheimer), Texaco, Conoco, Freeport Mining etc. The Papuans are pushed out of the work force, as for example in the oil industry where they declined from 80 per cent of the labour force to zero in the 1970s as Pertamina policy. And the junta's "transmigration" scheme (which also operates in East Timor) is intense. In a country with an indigenous population of under 1 million, then Indonesian vice-president Adam Malik announced in 1982 a projected Indonesian migration of 9 million. This

systematic liquidation of the Papuan people through "transmigration" must halt! To date estimates are that 100,000 to 200,000 Papuans have died as a result of the Indonesian occupation. The rest face a future like the Australian Aborigines.

The savage oppression of the East Timorese and West Papuans by the Java-centred Indonesian state is an index of the "development" of backward peoples by a comprador bourgeoisie simultaneously kept down and supported by imperialism. The national emancipation of the East Timorese and West Papuans has meaning only in the framework of permanent revolution in Indonesia and a regional socialist federation. The proletarian-led fight in defence of the rights of these small peoples can galvanise the resistance of Indonesia's many oppressed nationalities into an explosive force in the Indonesian social revolution.

The Suharto regime is vulnerable, economically shaky and sitting atop a volcano of social unrest. The economic and military costs of maintaining the annexation of East Timor and West

Papua as the 26th and 27th provinces at the farthest ends of the Indonesian republic has the junta overextended. In Indonesia militant working class opposition to the occupation of East Timor and West Papua is a necessary part of the fight against national oppression, for the expropriation of the landlords and for political democracy — tasks which can be achieved only by workers and peasants revolution to smash the generals' blood-soaked state. And the Australian working class, which fought for the independence of Indonesia after the Second World War, must reforge its internationalist links with the Indonesian workers and peasants by resolute class-struggle opposition to the neo-colonial intrigues of its own imperialism. The only guarantee against Australian intervention into the next Indonesian revolution is the expropriation of this small but rapacious jackal-imperialist bourgeoisie and the establishment here of a workers state.

Comradely.

Paul Connor

15 February 1985

Australasian Spartacist

British Miners...

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has taken aim at the entire trade union movement.

Remember the traitors! In the hands of the reformist misleaders of all stripes the unions were criminally misused to stab the NUM, to discipline the workers in the interests of the strikebreaking capitalist state. It is necessary to expose the basic cowardice and treachery of the left who kowtowed to their big brothers in the TUC at every decisive point. The Labour Party politically scabherded and now its head Kinnock says he's against amnesty for strikers. Above all the lesson must be driven home of the burning importance of constructing a genuinely revolutionary party to mobilise the working masses in struggle. Without that the struggles of the

workers, no matter how militant or courageous, are prey to the sabotage of the reformist traitors. As the great communist revolutionist Leon Trotsky reiterated after the 1926 General Strike "without a party the proletarian revolution cannot conquer".

The courageous miners' strike inspired unusual support internationally amongst all those fighting capitalist oppression. Food and financial support flooded in from all corners of the world, including black miners in South Africa fighting racist apartheid rule. Miners in France, dockers in Scandinavia fought to black ban scab coal. And in Australia the Seamen's and Miners' unions blacked all coal to Britain, and, according to Miners Federation General Secretary Barry Swan Australian unions have contributed over \$1 million to the striking British miners.

In the US the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) — a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/US — launched the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families among local unions which has collected over US\$20,000 for the coal strikers despite the treachery of the Coal Board/AFL-CIO tops. The PDC established a separate account ("Aid to Striking British Miners' Families") from which all funds collected have been rapidly and securely forwarded to the Miners' Solidarity Fund as donations clear the account. The Spartacist League here established a modest fund campaign — the Aid to Striking British Miners' Families Fund — to raise money for the miners, to be forwarded via the PDC's campaign. To date over \$1,300 has been collected. And in Melbourne at the 25 February

general meeting of the Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union (APTU), Victorian Branch, union supporters of the Spartacist League initiated a motion for the union to donate \$2,000 to the striking miners, which passed unanimously. Within days of this meeting the APTU executive raised the donation to \$3,000, reflecting the wide support for the striking British miners by APTU members. The bonds of international workers solidarity will triumph over the war drive of the bosses and their labour lieutenants. — Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 374, 8 March 1985

FUNDS STILL NEEDED! We are still accepting donations for the miners and their families. They need every cent they can get. Make cheques payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners Families Fund, GPO Box 3473, Sydney 2001.

First Strike...

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to cut off intelligence to Canberra set off his downfall. This time around it's all very public: NZ is being cut off from sensitive intelligence, ANZUS military exercises with NZ have been cancelled, a new US-Australia military alliance is being floated, and the Reaganites openly discuss plans to turn down the screws on the vulnerable NZ economy, cutting off preferential access for its dairy and meat exports to the US and other markets.

It sounds like a re-run of the CIA's destabilisation program against Allende's Chile, except this bizarre overkill is directed against tiny NZ's right-wing social-democratic government. But then the Reaganites are not exactly rational and it was Christopher Boyce, that admirable young American imprisoned for passing intelligence secrets to the Russians, who said that the CIA's campaign against Whitlam reminded him of Chile. Freedom for Christopher Boyce, as an aside, ought to be defence cause for all opponents of imperialist war, particularly in Australia where we owe this man a debt. He told us more about what was really happening to this country than any Labor politician.

As with Whitlam in 1975, Washington wants to polarise the country internally to bring down the Lange government. The US is applying pressure through its close connections in the NZ military and intelligence establishments but Lange has little room to manoeuvre, his deputy, Geoffrey Palmer, warning the NZ parliament of widespread civil disorder if any US warship breaks the ban and visits NZ. To successfully fight these imperialist intrigues requires learning the lessons of the Whitlam

experience. In 1975 the working class outrage that greeted Whitlam's sacking was still tied to Laborite and parliamentarist illusions and was easily channelled off into parliamentary impotence, with Hawke as ACTU president chiefly responsible. Like Whitlam before him, Lange is using his nationalist popularity to ram through anti-working class austerity and a political break with him and the "lefts" who support him is crucial to finding a class-struggle road to victory. The fight against CIA-type destabilisation and the NZ ruling class are one and the same: the main enemy is at home!

Hawke's Cold War and austerity "consensus" is under increasing pressure from all sides. Labor's second term is already characterised by savage attacks on the unions, from the Wran Labor government's threats to sack the whole 700 train drivers in the Hunter Valley coal district to the present Thatcher-like assault on union rights by Queensland premier Bjelke-Petersen in his war on the state's power workers. At the same time the much-vaunted "stability" of the South Pacific has become an arc of instability from the Philippines to Papua New Guinea to New Caledonia to New Zealand.

The Australian proletariat can play a vanguard role for socialist revolution throughout the Southeast Asian and South Pacific region, fighting with the methods of class struggle to thwart the aims of the imperialist bourgeoisies. This requires communist leadership and a break from the White Australia chauvinism that has historically tied the proletariat to its own ruling class. The workers need their own state power, based on their own organisations, and for that the proletariat must have its own party. This is what the Trotskyists are fighting for. ■

Workers Party...

Continued from page eight

instrument of social struggle against unemployment, an evil rooted in the very nature of the capitalist system? Its Adelaide affiliate is strictly a government/welfare operation. In Wollongong, the heart of coal and steel, and the nation's unemployment capital, the UWU is run by the "Euro"-Communist Party of Australia (CPA), an organisation dead opposed to mobilising union action in defence of jobs or anything else. The CPA not only supports Hawke's Accord, but invented it, and this along with its defining anti-Sovietism has everything to do with its drawn out, ignominious collapse into the ruling Labor Party.

The Melbourne UWU was for a time a playground for the "third camp" International Socialists. The anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) also works the edges, though these days the SWP is centrally occupied with the more important business of tailing the "no-nuke national-defence" NDP. Basically the Melbourne UWU falls into three sometimes overlapping components: Russia-hating Mao-oids who preach protectionist poison and spend the rest of their time peddling CIA lies about Vietnam using "yellow rain" in Kampuchea; self-proclaimed "anarcho-syndicalists" who glorify the lumpenproletariat and oppose trade unions as "petty-bourgeois" and man-hating feminists who opposed raising money for heroic British miners because, they said, the miners are "macho", ie "violent" — just like British super-bitch Maggie Thatcher says. Outside of this triad, there are some decent individuals who really don't belong there.

To fight unemployment requires mobilising the proletariat where it has its power — at the point of production. Despite its defeat, the historic strike of British miners stands as a powerful demonstration of this simple point. The miners rallied to their cause not only the women of the coalfields, who played a critical role in the strike, but a broad cross section of the population including the embattled Asian and black communities which are hardest hit by the plague of unemployment. The trade unions have the capacity, the duty and the urgent need to organise and defend the unemployed in struggles for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for a massive program of public works, for unemployment benefits at least equal to the minimum wage and tied to the cost of living. But for this to be put into practice demands a political struggle to oust the job-trusting bureaucrats. And this runs flatly counter to the perspective of the UWU.

What the UWU does flows from what it is. Its much-touted activism amounts mainly to sub-reformist campaigning for better CES offices. There's also the occasional visit to a workers picket line by some of the younger militants, which is commendable, and a little bit of legwork for assorted trade-union bureaucrats, which is not commendable. Overall the group is pretty characteristic of the city's leftistish political undergrowth: "third campist", parochial and clique-ridden. There is a real alienation from the dominant Labor Party, but a lot more hostility to Marxism, as some UWU activists found out when their move to invite a Spartacist speaker to today's rally was voted down. For

serious militants seeking the road of working-class struggle the UWU is a dead end. Such militants face an important fact of life — there can be no revolutionary practice without a revolutionary party, based on the science of Marxism and the lessons of over a century of international working class struggle. It is this recognition that has brought a number of former UWU activists to the Spartacist League.

Down with Protectionism! The Main Enemy is at Home!

The ALP/ACTU tops share the dream of the Australian bourgeoisie of keeping this island a bastion of white privilege and reaction in Southeast Asia. Through protectionism they attempt to line up Australian workers against Asian workers, diverting the working class from the real fight against the bosses at home. Remember the struggle against retrenchments by GMH workers in Fisherman's Bend which the bureaucrats twisted into a campaign for more subsidies for GMH, to enable them to compete against the Japanese auto industry? This is just one example of many. The labour bureaucrats tell us that protectionism can save jobs and bring prosperity. The truth is that Australian prosperity was founded on racial exclusionism, industrialisation behind tariff walls and a share in the colonialist super-exploitation of Southeast Asia. Protectionism will not bring employment, it is the road to industrial rot. Australia's run-down, heavily subsidised manufacturing industry faces extinction. The modernisation and reconstruction of this country's industrial capacity requires socialist economic planning throughout the region. And for that we need a workers revolution.

The Australian working class is relatively privileged, technologically advanced and highly unionised. It can and must play a vanguard role in the struggle for socialism in Southeast Asia. But to do this the workers must be broken from "White Australia" nationalism and all the smug, backward social characteristics that it breeds, transforming it under communist leadership into a class conscious of its historic tasks.

The struggle to build a revolutionary workers party in Australia today is a key task. The Spartacist League wants to build a party like Lenin's Bolsheviks. We base our program on the lessons of history and the theory of Trotsky, Lenin, Marx and Engels. We are looking for some tough, serious and hard working young communists who want to fight for the future of humanity. ■

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Thatcher Vindictive in Victory, NUM Defiant in Defeat!

Bloody Thatcher Beats Back Heroic British Miners

The British miners strike has been defeated, but the union has not been broken. For one full year, twelve long and bitter months, the coal miners fought valiantly against the British bosses and the blood-thirsty Thatcher regime. It was the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labour since the turn of the century. The Thatcher regime and the rotten edifice of British capitalism was profoundly shaken by the Miners Union who fought for all labour and the oppressed. Isolated and betrayed by the scabherding tops of the trade unions and the Labour Party, the miners and their wives resisted heroically. Their pickets were arrested and even murdered, martial law was instituted in the coal fields, mining villages were devastated by Thatcher's occupation army of cops and thugs. Hardship conditions rivalling those of the period of the General Strike of 1926 were imposed on the miners' families. On March 3rd a delegates conference of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) voted narrowly to call off the strike. Hundreds of miners fervently lobbied to continue the strike. Even after the vote, Kent and Scottish areas of the NUM voted to hold out while negotiating for amnesty. There is widespread comradely



Heroic miners battle cops outside House of Commons. Defeated and bloodied, the miners' union is not broken.

solidarity for the 700 sacked miners, effectively blacklisted, unable to move or obtain retraining, some facing jail sentences. But defeated and bloodied, the miners' union is not broken.

Assured of her coal stockpiles with the collaboration of her swinish labour lieutenants of the Trade Union Congress (TUC) Thatcher

cruelly stretched out the strike. She yearned to smash the NUM and watch the workers crawl back in disarray. But in this she failed. In numerous places the entire community came out, men, women and children as they proudly marched back to the pits, the sacked miners with them, bagpipes playing and banners flying. Even then many

mines were picketed and workers stayed out. The rabid bosses' press from Murdoch's *Tory Times* to the liberal *Guardian* glorified committed anti-union scabs like Silver Birch. But especially at the end many strikers were driven back in desperation by Iron Lady Thatcher. Despite this defeat the miners must above all preserve their fighting capacity. They ought to go back cohesively, not split up. However understandable it is to want to continue the strike or to want to carry out individual reprisals, the immediate task must be to keep their army as intact as possible, to retreat in good order. The Iron Lady who vowed to be vindictive in victory is itching for new victimisations of militants but all reports indicate the miners are defiant in defeat. The existing sackings must be fought intelligently and collectively and new ones avoided as much as possible. The way must be prepared for a new workers offensive. Union martyrs like David Jones and Joe Green, cut down on the picket line, have not died in vain. Down with the despot Thatcher, unpopular even in her own circles for the coverup of the cowardly butchery of the Belgrano Argentine sailors in the squalid Falklands/Malvinas war. Thatcher

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Labor Screws Workers, Youth, Women, Minorities

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

We reprint below, in abridged form, a Spartacist leaflet distributed to a Melbourne unemployment rally on 6 March 1985.

There isn't a section of the proletariat that hasn't been under attack: miners, steelworkers, metal, maritime, rail, public service workers, nurses — you name it. Struggles by these workers have been sold down the river, in most cases even before getting off the ground. After 17 weeks on the picket line, the small Food Preservers Union, which dared stand up against Hawke's Accord, had their strike derailed into the bosses' Arbitration Commission. And in partnership with the vast bulk of the trade union bureaucracy, the Hawke, Wran and Cain Labor governments have been waging a vendetta against the Builders Labourers, with a barrage of Royal Commissions, cops against

pickets and the jailing of BLF leader Gallagher. It's time to bust the union busters, and the way to do that is through some hard class struggle. Defending unions is a matter of fighting — strikes with picket lines that keep scabs out, sit-down strikes which pose the question of who owns the factories — the workers who built them or the bosses who get rich on the profits — industrial unionism and internationalist labour solidarity linked to the need for a political break with the Labor traitors and the building of an internationalist class struggle workers party.

A Future for Youth

Official figures put unemployment near 10 per cent and youth unemployment above 20 per cent. The Labor government is talking about

youth being employed at less than award wages, undercutting hard won gains of the trade union movement. They are proposing means tests for parents with unemployed children. For youth this means increased reliance on parents, accompanied by lack of social and sexual independence, or the poverty of run-down houses and squats, or living in Brotherhood bins or at worst doing the best you can with what you've got on the streets of St Kilda. Life is lousy enough for youth as it is. In Cain's wowsler state, probationary drivers are not allowed a drop of alcohol without the threat of losing their licence. Unemployed youth are faced with endless meaningless days with no work, no money and no future — a condition which is guaranteed to destroy the spirit of what should be the next generation of proletarian fighters.

Some unemployed youth have looked to the Unemployed Workers Union (UWU) as a vehicle for political activism. Early last year Melbourne UWU members were beaten, arrested and brutally evicted from their premises by cops sent in by the ALP Socialist Left-run Northcote City Council. Very recently the UWU came under vicious attack from a different quarter when their offices were torched last weekend. The chief suspect in this act of arson is the National Action fascists, a punky white racist Nazi outfit which could — and should! — be easily crushed by organised labour. Workers organisations must defend the small, vulnerable UWU against such assaults.

The question for youth who look to the UWU is this: can it be an

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March/April 1985