



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

## Goondiwindi - Apartheid Face of Hawke's Australia

### Drop the Charges Against the Goondiwindi 17!

On a hot Friday night in the Queensland cotton town of Goondiwindi, 9 January, a 19-year-old Aboriginal man, Reggie Hinch, was locked in the toilet block of the local Victoria Hotel and viciously beaten by four white thugs for up to an

hour! He had attempted to attend the local disco. When a group of black women tried to rescue him, white punks wielding blocks of wood chased the women through the main street and out of town. Two Aboriginal tribal elders were also beaten up that night.

This savage racist atrocity was no isolated event peculiar to Bjelke-Petersen's "Deep North," as all over the country blacks are sub-

jected to white racist and cop terror and vicious Apartheid-like conditions, whether they live in the rural bantustan-like shanty towns or the rigidly segregated urban ghettos. And Hawke's regime of Cold War anti-Sovietism and a grinding domestic war against the unions has inevitably spawned a vicious white racist backlash targeting these original, surviving victims of White Australia. The

ALP's formal and minimal program on land rights has been thrown overboard by Hawke; welfare, education and health programs slashed, and the green light given to police and vigilante racist terror across the land.

Goondiwindi's mayor, one Bill Lee, described the torture of Reggie Hinch as "nothing more

Continued on page ten

### Aquino Regime Unravels

## Massacre in Manila



January 22: Peasants demanding land are massacred by Aquino's troops

FEBRUARY 1 — Thousands of desperate peasants march on the presidential palace demanding land. Hundreds of riot police and heavily armed troops block their way. As the marchers approach, troops and cops open fire point-blank on the defenseless crowd. Marchers flee in terror, bodies litter the bloody pavement, tear gas fills the air as soldiers pursue fleeing demonstrators through the streets. Pinochet's Chile? El Salvador under the junta?

It could have been the work of the murderous despots backed by Washington from Central America to South Korea. But this time it was the work of the regime headed by Corazon Aquino, president of the Philippines and "democratic" darling of US imperialism. Only three weeks previously *Time* (5 January) named Aquino "Woman of the Year," lauding her in nauseating terms as leader of a "fairy-tale revolution" standing on a "platform of faith, hope and charity," "the happiest symbol in a year of

symbols [and] the most human." Cory's massacre on January 22 tore off the mask.

Under the slogan of "people power," Aquino was installed a year ago when Washington told her predecessor, the butcher Ferdinand Marcos, he was finished and put him on a plane to Hawaii. Two of Marcos' chief lieutenants, armed forces chief Fidel Ramos and defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, jumped ship in what amounted to a military coup backed by the US embassy, Roman Catholic Cardinal Sin and hundreds of thousands of people in the streets. But the carnage in Manila on January 22 surpassed that of any similar outrage in the capital in Marcos' bloody 20-year reign. Behind the facade of "democratic" talk and "progressive" ministers, this is a regime that does not shrink from *cold-blooded mass murder*, butchering workers and peasants in defense of the ill-gotten gains of the greedy landlords, capitalists and rapacious Western banks. Above all,

they are seeking to protect the Philippines as a strategic anti-Soviet "archipelagic aircraft carrier" for their masters in Washington.

### Massacre Planned in Advance

Eighteen people died and almost a hundred were wounded that Thursday in a fusillade of automatic weapon and pistol fire that lasted more than a minute. The march of 10,000, chiefly peasants from north of Manila, was organized by the Communist-led Philippines Peasant Movement. The march organizers had announced in advance that they intended to go all the way to the Malacanang Presidential Palace. Police didn't bother to put up the usual barbed-wire barricades. Videotapes showed that as the marchers approached Mendiola bridge, marines cocked and aimed their M-16s. The supposedly unarmed

police produced guns from behind riot shields stenciled with the words "Maximum Tolerance." Most of the dead — landless tenant farmers and migrant agricultural workers — were shot in the head or the back.

Cory's imperialist patrons obscenely *blamed the victims* for provoking the massacre. "On the left, zealots thirst for martyrs and shootings, the stuff of revolution," ran the editorial apology for Aquino in the 28 January *New York Times*. Aquino professed "shock" and appointed the usual commission to "investigate" — i.e., to whitewash the government and perhaps come up with a scapegoat. (Such a commission on the military death-squad murder of leftist KMU union leader Rolando Olalia last November took months to come up with a single low-ranking fall guy.) Ramos and the current defense minister, Rafael Iletto,

Continued on page five



## BERTRAM WAINER

1928-1987

Dr Bertram Wainer, fighter for women's right to abortion in Australia, died on January 16, aged

58. Wainer, who was part Jewish, and grew up in the working-class slum district of Gorbals, in Glasgow, Scotland, was a kind of Sir William Wallace (heroic leader of the Scots in the 13th century, who drove the invading armies of the English king from Scotland) in the struggle for women's rights. The availability of relatively cheap, safe abortions in most major Australian cities today, despite the continuing existence of legislation which makes abortion a crime, is in large part a tribute to his militant struggles.

In an interview with *Australasian Spartacist* (no 112, August/September 1985), Dr Wainer told us he hadn't gone looking for the issue of abortion specifically, but that when it came up he saw that "there's something special about women being oppressed by laws which were designed to keep the poor down and to advantage the rich . . . . So the best that can be said of me is, yes, I cared about people and here was an issue where I could finally do something. I had always, wherever I could have, done things, because I am related to poor people."

Wainer, who served in the Aus-

tralian military from 1960 to 1965 (when he resigned his commission in opposition to Australia's military intervention in Vietnam), told us a story about how he got rid of some Australian anti-woman fanatics who had invaded his clinic:

" . . . we had crying women everywhere, the 'Right to Life' were chained to my operating theatre tables and refused to move. . . . I said, listen, you've got fucking three minutes to get out of this place or you'll be gassed, and I turned on the anaesthetic gas. And the copper said, you can't do that. And I said, look, we know just where you stand, you said you've no authority in here, now get gassed or get out. So he got out. And the 'Right to Life' at this stage started undoing their chains . . . . Then I turned the fire extinguishers on them and then I threw them down the back stairs and turned the hoses on them. I was beside myself with rage. I mean a real Glaswegian Gorbals rage, you see. And the TV arrived and filmed all this. There had been buckets of water flowing on them and they said, why are you doing that, doctor, and I said, I always wash the filth off my steps at this time of day."

Wainer was a member of the British section of the Fourth International for a short period in the 1940s. He was responsible for the Beach and Kaye Inquiries into police corruption. His involvement in tackling police corruption, which he first encountered in relation to backyard abortion practices, made him subject to death threats and massive cop harassment. Wainer maintained that it was the police corruption battles, and not his fight for abortion rights, that had ruined his health.

A memoir in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (20 January) noted that at a funeral service for Wainer in Melbourne "an opera singer will sing *A Scottish Soldier*, and the bagpipes, no doubt playing *The Flowers of the Forest*, will skirl a brave and great man to his resting place in Eltham cemetery." Comrades of the SL/ANZ attended the service, and also sent his family the following note: "Our deepest condolences to the family and friends of Bertram Wainer. The death of such a courageous fighter for women's rights and civil liberties is a tragic loss and we mourn with you."

# Rehire Fired Strike Leaders at Magnum!

Back in 1984 we called on our readers to support the strike by Magnum garment workers in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The predominantly female workers, who slave for a pittance in the textile factories of JR Jayewardene's Lanka, won their strike after a long struggle. The militant strike advanced the consciousness of these workers, most of whom are in their early 20s and came straight from small Sinhalese villages. Through our fundraising we were able to express our commitment to solidarity with our working class brothers and sisters in Asia against capitalist exploitation.

On 12 December 1986, a stop-work was called in response to an attempt by the Magnum bosses to take back bonuses, one of the gains of the 1984 strike. The bosses retaliated by sacking four founding members of the union who had led the stop-work, Leela Samarasinghe, Indrani Dayananda, Latha Gomes and Renuka. In the management's notice of dismissal they charge:

"We have now come to know that you and three others not only led the workers to the office, but also caused the workforce to congregate at the entrance so as to prevent the Production Manager and his staff from leaving the Office. We have also been informed that you and the three others

with you, had come into the Office as spokesmen for the others, which in the circumstances can only be viewed as intimidatory."

In a letter to S Siriwardene, General Secretary of their union, the All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, the women detailed some of the events which led to their firing:

"We need to remind you that when the Magnum authority grabbed our rights one by one we protected those rights from them through our class struggle. We wish to remind you that in all struggles we participated, we did our best to win them. On the struggle made when comrade Ghana was suspended from work, one of our sisters named Renuka had to be in the police custody. In January '85 when the management of Magnum tried to suspend six of our employees in the Jacket section, we could defeat their effort having stopped the work due to our instant intervention against the management's decision . . . . In such occasions our responsibility is to measure our strength under the circumstances and act accordingly. That is the real meaning of leadership."

The union leadership, supporters of the reformist Lanka Samasamaja Party, is criminally allowing the sacking to go unfought. The four women charged:

"Your inaction up to now for the request of 48 members of our union regarding reinstatement of the members who were dismissed and the letter that was sent by the Magnum management in which was stated that 'we are satisfied that the stoppage of work on the 26th November '86 was not the result of Union action,' can be construed as the work of some unseen hands. If the office bearers are treated in this manner, how will the general membership be treated by you."

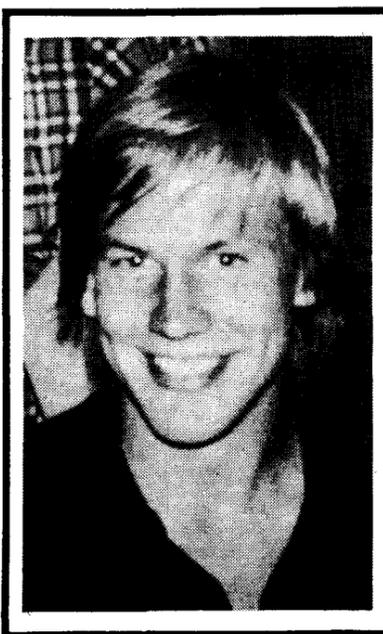
These four militants face a long and difficult fight to win back their jobs. Their courageous struggle is taking place in a Lanka torn by communalist strife and reeling under deepening economic crisis and massive repression by the JR government. The murderous terror suffered by the Tamil minority for years at the hands of the vicious regime is increasingly

accompanied by repression against anyone who engages in struggle, from the suppression of the nurses' strike to the detention of Sinhalese leftists. The perspective of internationalist class struggle in defence of the Tamils and all the exploited and oppressed shows the way forward. Women workers, from the downtrodden Tamil women of the tea plantations (the so-called Indian Tamils, descendants of tea-pickers imported by the British) to the mainly-Sinhalese women in the factories like Magnum, will be at the forefront of victorious proletarian struggle. In their statement, the Magnum Four laid out

their class-struggle perspective:

"We have always tried to appoint the correct leadership to all trade unions. Because of this view we are against the formation of other union in the same place. We are no political pimps. We are fully conscious of a socialist system for the liberation of the masses. We strongly believe that the only way towards that goal is through class struggle."

We call on our readers to again dig deep for funds to aid our sisters in Lanka in their battle to win back their jobs. Send cheques earmarked "Defend the Magnum Four" to: Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW 2001. ■



## Alden Burr Cavanagh

1957 - 1987

Tragically dead at 29 years of age by his own hand. A member of our organization for more than eight years.

The shock of his death is com-

pounded by the evident fact that none of his friends, roommates, comrades, lovers or others who were close to him at the time had any inkling of such an impending act. Thus he was deprived of any support in what must have been his agony.

To the extent that others knew him, and especially his comrades, they felt affection and personal respect for him, which feelings only grew with time, thus making his death all the more bitter.

In a note which he intended as his will, written a few months before and found by his side at the time of his death, he wrote among other things of his regard for the Spartacist League as mankind's last best hope. But he noted that, like his grandfather, he was taking the reasons for this will to the grave with him.

Alden is free now from his torments and our world is a poorer place for it.

— Bay Area District of the SL/US  
— Central Committee of the SL/US  
25 January 1987

The SL/ANZ extends its deepest condolences to family and friends of comrade Alden.

Australasian

## SPARTACIST

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

EDITORIAL BOARD: Greg Blythe, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis (editor), G McIntyre, Sandra Morris

CIRCULATION: Jenny Klein

PRODUCTION: Linda Brooke

Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication

— Category B. Subscription \$2 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address

all correspondence to: Spartacist Publications, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001.

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

Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 21 Ross St, Glebe.

# Afghanistan:



Sobolev/TASS



Novosti

Soviet troops defend basic social gains in Afghanistan. Young girls on their way to school (left), freed from slavery under the veil.

## Extend Gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples!

When Soviet troops went into Afghanistan seven years ago to defend the beleaguered nationalist-reformist regime in Kabul against CIA-backed Islamic guerrillas, Jimmy Carter launched Cold War II. America's rulers pumped in massive military support to the reactionary "holy warriors." Iran/Conragate revelations show the Afghan *mujahedin* at the top of the list of recipients (\$400-500 million a year) from a "Reagan Doctrine Superfund" set up to finance "covert" anti-Soviet wars around the globe. Up to one billion dollars a year in arms and other aid is being funneled by the US and its allies to these barbaric champions of feudalism, mass illiteracy and the enslavement of women. But contrary to the pronouncements from their patrons in Washington, arming these 7th century cutthroats with 20th century weapons has failed to turn the tide in the civil war.



Der Spiegel

Afghan feudal cutthroats gloat over body of downed Soviet pilot.

Far from being bogged down in the Hindu Kush mountains, the Soviet-backed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) are winning hands down. The *mujahedin*, lacking support in the cities, are increasingly relying on long-range firepower supplied by the US, launching indiscriminate rocket attacks on Kabul. They scored three direct hits... on the US embassy. Even the Americans' shoulder-fired "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles have proved ineffective against Soviet armoured helicopter gunships. But the mullah-led "freedom fighters" did score one "victory": last month they

shot down a civilian plane with 30 people on board. Likewise, in a hideous May 1984 bombing at Kabul airport, a "moderate" guerrilla group murdered a dozen children on their way to school in the USSR. The policy of Reagan's Afghan terrorists toward the urban population seems to be: "kill 'em all and let Allah sort 'em out."

Following the December 1979 Soviet intervention, gutless "leftists" throughout the West joined the imperialist hue and cry over "fiercely independent Afghanistan." Social democrats, liberals, conservatives and fascists united in Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, forthrightly proclaimed: "Hail Red Army!" Sixty years earlier the Red Army of Lenin and Trotsky liberated the peoples of Soviet Central Asia from the chains of feudal and pre-feudal barbarism and fundamentalist Islamic reaction. The Soviet Army intervention in Afghanistan, undertaken for defensive reasons, raised the possibility of revolutionary social transformation in this hideously backward and enslaved country. We called at the time, and repeat that call today, to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples."

Recently there have been reports of a possible Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. Returning from Kabul, where a high-level Kremlin delegation met with Afghan leaders, Moscow foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze called for a "political settlement" and declared that "the time for a withdrawal of Soviet troops is not far off." (Already last fall, six Soviet regiments — roughly 8,000 soldiers — left amid great fanfare.) And speaking to a meeting of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDPA) last month, Afghan leader Najib (who just returned from a visit to Moscow) ordered a cease-fire, beginning January 15, calling for "national reconciliation." Najib added: "We don't want to exclude different political groups, moderates, monarchists and heads of armed anti-Government bands active abroad, from national reconciliation" (*New York Times*, 2 January).

This "peace initiative" from Moscow and Kabul is misguided and dangerous. The modest social gains achieved by the Soviet-backed regime are directly threatened by any kind of deal with the CIA-backed rebels. And a coalition government ranging from

Islamic guerrillas to Communists is simply impossible. In the Pakistani refugee center in Peshawar, a rally was called by the guerrilla leaders to reject the cease-fire. While tens of thousands chanted "Death to Russians! Death to Communists!" one *mujahedin* chief demanded the overthrow of the Kabul government, establishment of an Islamic state, and the surrender of Soviet Central Asia (*New York Times*, 18 January). There is a civil war in Afghanistan, and one side or the other must win. Offers of "compromise" will only embolden the imperialists. The sooner the feudalists are smashed, the sooner the bloodshed will end and the road to social progress will be secured.

### Imperialist Godfathers of Islamic Jihad

The imperialists profess a touching concern for the "national sovereignty" of Afghanistan against "Russian expansionism." But the Afghan guerrillas aren't on the receiving end of the biggest "covert" aid operation since the Vietnam War just so they can preserve such quaint national traditions as skinning "infidels" alive or trading women like sheep. The imperialists have their sights trained on a much bigger target: the Soviet workers state. Everyone in Washington knows the *mujahedin* can't win. But unlike the contra losers in Nicaragua, there's no danger of them precipitating direct

US intervention and the American bourgeoisie's dreaded spectre of "another Vietnam." So for Democrats and Republicans alike, Afghanistan is the "good war." As one Reagan aide put it, the US' immediate aim is "to keep the Russian blood and money flowing until they find settlement a better alternative."

Nowhere has the bipartisan anti-Soviet consensus been clearer than over Afghanistan. Indeed, the Democratic Party has been way out in front of the Reaganites in pushing aid for the Afghan "rebels." Two years ago the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives tripled Reagan's request for aid to the Afghan contras. "There were 58,000 [American] dead in Vietnam," said Texas Democratic Congressman Charles Wilson, "and we owe the Russians one" (*Washington Post*, 13 January 1985). But for all the claptrap over Afghanistan being "Russia's Vietnam," the *New York Times* (19 June 1986) reported that "a Government study in April 1985 found that the Soviet forces were gradually wearing down the rebels." That led Reagan to issue National Security Decision Directive 166, calling for driving Soviet forces from Afghanistan "by all means available." But the Red Army is still mopping up the Afghan contras.

During the 1986 DRA forces all but wiped out rebel forces in Herat and Kandahar, and mounted a spring offensive that smashed an important guerrilla stronghold at Zhawar, a mile from the Pakistani border. According

Continued on page four



Lochon/Gamma

Soviet forces land at Kabul airport, December 1979. Spartacists in 11 January 1980 WV hailed Soviet intervention against the theocratic counterrevolutionaries.

### WORKERS VANGUARD

While Carter Stews, Soviet Army Rolls Back Afghan Mullahs

## Hail Red Army!

The official program of the Workers Vanguard Party is to support the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in their struggle against the American imperialists and their lackeys in the Afghan mullahs. The Workers Vanguard Party is the only party in the United States that has consistently supported the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan since the beginning of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979. The Workers Vanguard Party is the only party in the United States that has consistently supported the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan since the beginning of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979.

# Afghanistan ...

Continued from page three

to *Jane's Defence Weekly* (2 August 1986):

"The forces were comprised primarily of DRA armed forces and militia, many of the latter former resistance men ... Resistance sources admit that the Afghan troops fight effectively, and there are no reports of desertion or collapse of units." [emphasis added]

Like any military clash between two social systems, the civil war in Afghanistan is a political struggle. The Soviet Army intervention has brought doctors and hospitals, schools and literacy to Afghanistan. Formerly veiled and invisible, Afghan women have been brought into public life. Over 300,000 peasant families have received land. This social progress is helping win the war against Islamic counterrevolution. James Steele, writing in the *London Guardian* (25 February 1986), quoted a Kabul River valley peasant who joined his village militia after being freed from debt and receiving his own plot of land: "We will not allow anyone to be against the revolution in this country."

The Cold War liberals, of course, have joined Reagan in praising the Afghan "democratic resistance." Writing in the *New York Review of Books* (18 December 1986) Jeri Laber of the Helsinki Watch Committee rails against "Soviet expansionism" and in defense of feudal reaction: "The Soviets are pursuing expansionist policies in Afghanistan, under the guise of bringing progress. But the progress they offer the Afghans — literacy, industrial development, a centralized economy, and equality of the sexes — is not what most Afghans want[!] ... Most Afghans are set in their tribal ways, and want only to be left alone." Laber depicts the Islamic guerrillas as intrepid defenders of small children against the evils of Soviet education ("long-term indoctrination"), and speaks glowingly of Afghan contra kidnappings and "rehabilitation" of children to be spies and assassins for the *mujahedin*.

For seven years the liberals and the media have portrayed the Afghan contras as nature's noblemen being trampled on by Soviet totalitarianism. But even the imperialist media have had difficulty disappearing the Afghan drug connection. Last summer the *New York Times* (18 June 1986) quoted a *mujahedin* leader explaining, "We must grow and sell opium to fight our holy war against the Russian non-believers." When the Pakistan army tried to pull a crackdown against Afghan drug traffickers in Karachi, a rather clear picture emerged of these "freedom fighters." To defend their lucrative trade, gangs of Afghan and Pakistani Pathans went on a terrorist rampage against neighborhoods inhabited by Muhajirs, Muslim refugees from India. Armed with automatic rifles supplied by the *mujahedin* rebel leaders, axes and daggers, they dragged Muhajir women and children into the streets where they were beaten and hacked to death. After five days of this communalist pogrom over 160 people were reported dead and hundreds wounded.

## From the "April Revolution" to "National Reconciliation"

The Islamic *mujahedin* are fighting the "godless Communist infidel" in order to preserve a society based on the cruelest, bloodsucking social parasitism, criminality and slavery. Pre-1979 Afghanistan was a squalid hellhole where emigration was virtually a national aspiration. Per capita income was \$200 a year. Women were kept smothered under yards of heavy



New Afghan leader Najib (centre) calls for "reconciliation" with murderous mullah reactionaries.

cloth covering them from head to toe. Illiterate and ignorant, they were sold like chattels under the bride-price system. The landlords and tribal khans literally held power of life and death over the mass of peasants, controlling 42 percent of the cultivable land and the irrigation systems. Half the children died by age five and life expectancy was 40.

The 1978 "April Revolution" was essentially a left-wing military coup which brought the People's Democratic Party to power. A petty-bourgeois nationalist front, of schoolteachers, university students, government officials and army officers, the PDPA had no base among the peasant masses nor the tiny urban working class. Coming to power in one of the most primitive and tradition-bound countries on the face of the earth, they had little support for even the limited democratic reforms they introduced — ie, land redistribution, compulsory education for both sexes, separation of church and state. In particular it was the regime's steps toward the equality of women which fueled reactionary resistance.

Faced with the certain defeat of its Kabul allies by an Islamic *jihad*, the USSR intervened in late December 1979. The protective wall of Soviet tanks and helicopters made possible a real social transformation in Afghanistan. Some of the changes reflect most of all the abject backwardness of the country. For example, since 1979 the number of doctors has been raised by some 50 percent — to around 1,500 — while hospital beds have doubled, to 4,800! At the same time more than 1.5 million people have passed the state-run literacy course in a country where previously 90 percent of the population was illiterate. The Soviet Union has poured millions of rubles in consumer goods and industrial projects into Afghanistan, developing mines, petroleum wells and hydroelectric plants.

The most striking changes have occurred in the position of women in Afghan society. Liberated from the *chador*, 5,000 Afghan women have taken up arms as members of the Soviet-backed DRA militia. Formerly enslaved and secluded, now many women work in Afghan industry. Women workers at the Guzargah textile factory in Kabul, for example, are unionized and have access to free child care and health care at the plant. Previously it was forbidden for a doctor to touch a woman, and when West German feminists tried to start a health clinic in an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan they were all but lynched by the mullahs and tribal chieftains (see "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!", *Women and Revolution* No 31, Spring 1986). The *mujahedin* have shot more than 2,000 teachers for teaching young girls and women to read and write.

Ominously, however, these steps toward a social transformation in Afghanistan are now being held back by the DRA government in the interests of conciliating the forces of Islamic reaction. Education for girls is no longer compulsory but "voluntary" — which for the masses will mean its

elimination — and the land reform has been cut back. Over the last couple of years the *ulema* (Islamic clergy) has been increasingly coddled by the government. Their lands and tithes are exempt from taxation or redistribution, and many of the mullahs and khans are on state salary. The new constitution pledges to "respect, observe and protect holy Islam." Last year Najib was brought to power, replacing Babrak Karmal (who was installed at the time of the 1979 Soviet intervention) as the leader of the PDPA, in order to "broaden the base" of the regime. Najib makes a point of being seen praying in mosques around Kabul.

Now, ominously, Najib is calling for "reconciliation" with the chiefs of the CIA's murderous bands. According to the Afghan news agency Bakhtar, at a special plenum of the PDPA on December 30, he called for "making compromise with the political forces who are in opposition" and for "active contacts ... with the leading personalities of the past regime as well as the Islamic parties." Najib added that "creation of a coalition government with the participation of the above mentioned groups is possible." The PDPA leadership is not proposing to commit suicide: Najib points to the [DRA] ... army, more than 170,000 party members and the "strong, loyal and trusted friends, that is, the Soviet Union." But the social reforms are up for negotiation: he doesn't mention the "April Revolution."

## Mop Up the Afghan Counterrevolutionaries!

The Afghan news agency report made it clear that the "national reconciliation" came from Moscow. Following a reciprocal visit to Kabul, Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze talked of a "sovereign independent" Afghanistan "pursuing a policy of neutrality and non-alignment." He added, however, that a Soviet withdrawal "would require an end to the support of the rebel forces by the freedom-loving cowboys of the US." What is the Kremlin proposing here? As one American professor put it, the Soviets "might in fact be acceding to what they describe in private as a 'Finlandization' of Afghanistan — the emergence of a largely non-Communist coalition government that would nevertheless not be hostile to Soviet security interests" (*New York Times*, 6 May 1986).

Try as they will, Mikhail Gorbachev et al aren't going to get Finland on the Soviet Union's crucial southern flank. Backward Afghanistan could never sustain anything remotely resembling a stable bourgeois democracy: even the most minimal bourgeois-democratic reforms provoked a violent feudal reaction. It took the intervention of the Red Army to carry them out. The Kremlin Stalinists keep dreaming of "detente," of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. But the US imperialists are committed to keeping Afghanistan unstable through funneling millions in

arms and aid to the Islamic reactionaries. As CIA director William Casey put it (*Der Spiegel*, 7 April 1986), the US' goal is to "bleed the Russians" as part of their war drive to "prevail" over the Soviet Union.

The only "political solution" is to complete and extend the social transformation begun with the Red Army intervention in 1979, through finishing the job of mopping up the reactionary cabal of landlords, tribal chieftains and mullahs. This would have a revolutionary impact throughout the region. General Zia's Pakistan is highly unstable: Baluchi and Pashtoon peoples separated by an imperialist border from their tribal brothers to the north already are attracted by overtures from Kabul, and there are reportedly thousands of Pakistani oppositionists in exile in the Afghan capital. And smashing the Afghan Islamic fanatics could revive revolutionary agitation among the working class in neighboring Iran, now suffering under the theocratic, clerical-feudalist regime of Khomeini's ayatollahs no less than it did under the hated Shah.

Writing in 1919, as the revolutionary wave was receding in Central Europe, Trotsky noted that the Red Army could pave the way for extending the October Revolution to the East, beyond the border of the former tsarist empire:

"We have up to now devoted too little attention to agitation in Asia. However, the international situation is evidently shaping up in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal ... Naturally, we had had in mind even earlier on the need to assist the revolution in Asia and had never abandoned the idea of revolutionary offensive wars."

— *The Trotsky Papers*, Vol. 1 (1917-1919)



Afghan peasants. Limited land reform is threatened by attempts to conciliate Islamic reaction.

Within the framework of Afghanistan alone there is no solution to national and social oppression. These questions are linked, historically as well as socially, to the fate of the Russian Revolution. One need only look next door to Soviet Central Asia to see the gains won by the proletarian liberation of these pre-capitalist areas by courageous Bolshevik agitators and the Red Army. Compared to Afghanistan today, the social progress in these areas can be measured not in decades but in centuries, despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state.

Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking at the CPSU congress last February, called the Afghan war a "bleeding wound." The *Far Eastern Economic Review* (14 August 1986) noted:

"Gorbachov denounced the theory of 'revolutionary war' before the 27th party congress as a Trotskyite heresy, 'completely at variance with Marxism.' 'Today, too, we are more firmly

Continued on page ten

Australasian Spartacist

# Down with Cain's Thought-Cop Terror!

For nearly three years Melbourne teacher and leading member of the tiny Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Alison Thorne has been denied her technical school teaching position, victimised for her defence of the Paedophile Support Group (PSG) and for offending Labor Premier Cain's puritanical morality by suggesting that youth have the right to a sex life. She has been the target of an intense campaign run by a cabal of anti-sex, reactionary bigots from the yellow press through to Cain's office. Late last year Thorne succeeded in having an Equal Opportunity Board (EOB) ruling restore her to her teaching position. This set off an hysterical outcry that began with notorious witch-hunting "radio personality" Derryn Hinch vowing to track her down wherever she went. Television stations responded with phone polls and newspapers invited readers to vent their spleen.

The charges of "conspiracy to corrupt public morality" against the PSG were thrown out of the courts over two years ago. The vendetta directed against the PSG and Thorne has been pure hysterical bigotry with hardly even the figleaf of bourgeois legality. In true Orwellian style Thorne was gone after not for what she did but for

what she thought. One PSG defendant under the pressure of Cain's "child molestation" mania committed suicide — Cain killed him! In response to the EOB decision Cain threatened to pass draconian new laws banning all those with "deviant" ideas from teaching or working in the public service — vicious Cold War thought-police laws that threaten everyone who doesn't measure up to Cain's reactionary moral standards.

From the very start we of the Spartacist League have been conspicuous on the left for our defence of Thorne and the PSG, and our opposition to reactionary age-of-consent laws. When Cain announced his new legislation we sent a telegram of protest demanding the immediate reinstatement of Thorne to her classroom position, and opposing the witchhunting of Thorne and any further thought-police terror. Our stance has been sharply counterposed to the whole Laborite union bureaucracy and its fake-left tail. Thorne's union, the Technical Teachers Union of Victoria, dumped her from the start. The anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party supported reactionary age-of-consent laws and the misogynist, anti-gay Socialist Labour League actively campaigned on Cain's behalf to deny Thorne

her teaching position.

The Thorne case has become something of an index of the reactionary social climate engendered by the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet war plans. Cain was at the forefront of the union-busting assault on the BLF. Then in December of last year he deprived the state of medical services for 10 weeks in order to break the Victorian nurses strike, using his union lieutenants in the ACTU to finally strangle the strike in Arbitration.

Cain is a self-appointed Big Brother. His motto is "we know what is good for you" — no sex, no booze, no smoking, not even Tropicana Cooler. It hits particularly hard at youth who face meagre wages or the hopeless despair of unemployment. Now Cain and his brigade of Mrs Grundys want to deprive youth of their few remaining pleasures.

Thorne's determination to win back her teaching position collapsed in December last year when she accepted a "deal" offered her by Cain — withdrawal of his new legislation if she accepted a tertiary position. Cain got what he wanted and his new legislation lies ready for any future instance. It was a bitter defeat directly for any teacher not measuring up to Cain's "standards" and indirectly for

youth who face the inside of a "training centre" for having a consensual sexual relationship.

Thorne and the FSP's proclamations of "victory" ring hollow indeed, revealing their prostration to the capitalist state. Thorne herself excused Cain saying that he was poorly informed and advised, adding "I am extremely disappointed that a Labor Government would go to such lengths" (*Sun*, 29 November 1986). The FSP is notorious for favouring, in principle, feminists drafting legislation for the government to ban pornography. Internationally they rank as contra-socialists for their support to Brooklyn Rivera, a Miskito Indian contra who sold his services to Reagan's Cold War against the Nicaraguan revolution.

The reactionary bigots from Cain down who dictate their corrupt "morals" are an excrescence of capitalism in its death agony. Equal opportunity for working people, youth and all the oppressed will come through the building of a Bolshevik party acting as the tribune of the oppressed, to overthrow capitalist class rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Youth who want a future should join the Spartacist League in this fight. ■

## Philippines . . .

Continued from page one

cynically said the troops "over reacted." But the depth of popular outrage is such that Aquino ordered troops to stay out of the way on January 26 when a march of 15,000 protesting the massacre went to the palace, and she even sent cabinet ministers out to greet it.

Reacting against Aquino's "soft" line, the same day a small group of officers loyal to Marcos and Enrile moved, unsuccessfully attacking two air bases and occupying a government-run TV station in Manila. When Aquino ordered the military to take the station by force, Ramos ignored her and negotiated a peaceful exit. In Hawaii, Marcos was prevented from flying back to the Philippines by Aquino's main patron, the US government. His wife Imelda had gone shopping for the occasion, buying \$2,000 worth of camouflage pants, jackets and combat boots. The store manager remarked laconically that the gear was apparently not for her, since the boots were not her size.

Especially after the January 22 massacre, Aquino's "people power" regime is foundering as Philippine society is increasingly polarized. Aquino is pinning her hopes to restore stability on a new constitution, written by her hand-picked commission, to be voted on in a plebiscite February 2. The idea that a new constitution will restabilize bourgeois rule is, of course, absurd. But Aquino needs to win big to undercut ambitious rightists like Enrile, reassure her imperialist backers in Washington and gain a cloak of "democratic legitimacy" in dealing with the left.



Cold-blooded mass murder by Aquino's cops and marines exceeded even Marcos' butchery

A 60-day cease-fire with the New People's Army, guerrilla arm of the Communist Party, ends on February 7. "Peace talks" in the interim have gone nowhere and were suspended indefinitely the day of the massacre. Meanwhile, it has been revealed how Aquino intervened during her American tour last fall to ensure that the US' giant Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base will remain open as staging points for nuclear war. A "mandate" for the new constitution is part of the preparation for renewed bloody suppression of the guerrilla insurgency and for further neo-colonial subjugation by the Yankee imperialists.

### Stalinists Still Tail Aquino

At first the Philippine left — dominated by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) — denounced Aquino for the January 22 massacre, reflecting the felt outrage of their ranks. The leftist umbrella group Bayan declared: "In less than one year, the Aquino regime has outdone its fascist predecessor in the scale of

violence against the people.... The Aquino government cannot wash its hands of its responsibility for this bloody incident" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 23 January). But the Stalinist-nationalist CPP and its allies, in their commitment to "popular-front" class collaboration, soon started apologizing for Aquino. Two days later Bayan leader Leandro Alejandro said the group was withdrawing its criticism of the president because "we do not believe she was directly responsible" for the killings (*New York Times*, 26 January). The January 26 protest march to Malacanang demanded the resignations of Ramos and Ito but not Aquino.

In fact, Aquino and Ramos differ, if at all, only in *how best to crush the working people*. Since squelching the coup plots of Enrile last November, Ramos has increasingly been calling the shots anyway. Aquino accuses both Enrile and the left of trying to "destabilize" her regime. It couldn't get much more unstable than it is, and it sits atop a mass of social TNT. In the countryside nothing has changed since Marcos, unless for the worse. Rapacious landlords starve peasants and kill their organizers. On the sugar island of Negros plantation workers get 40 cents a day for backbreaking labor when it is available. When there is no work, in the "dead season," the peasants eat roots, or nothing at all.

The CPP is committed to a class-collaborationist alliance with the "national" bourgeoisie, a "national-

democratic coalition government," which means *betrayal* of the masses for the sake of a "share of the power" within a capitalist framework. The Stalinist-led peasant movement's demand for "genuine land reform" is a will o' the wisp. The bloodsucking landlords, with their private armies, will not be reformed away. Aquino's own family estate, Hacienda Luisita, is one of the country's largest sugar plantations. One of the demands of the marchers on January 22 was that Aquino show her "commitment" to land reform by starting with Hacienda Luisita. The answer was bullets.

The only way to deal with such exploiters is an *agrarian revolution*, in which the poor peasants and agricultural workers seize the land. This can be carried out only by a revolution in which the urban proletariat places itself at the head of the insurgent peasant masses to smash the whole framework of capitalist/landlord rule.

Following Aquino's victory last February, in the wave of enthusiasm for



Cory Aquino, a Reagan lackey in the Philippines.

the new regime, the reformist left was scrambling to climb aboard the Cory bandwagon. The CPP, which wields mass influence in the Philippines, called its electoral boycott "a major political blunder" and advocated "critically participating in the snap election." In the US, inveterate

Continued on page ten

### Spartacist Public Meeting

#### Aquino Regime Unravels

### Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!

1pm, THURSDAY FEBRUARY 26th  
Brennan Room, Holme Building,  
SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

# Lord of the Fleas

The following article is abridged from the original published last year in *Workers Vanguard* no 412 (26 September 1986), paper of the *Spartacist League/US*, American section of the international Spartacist tendency. In Australia, David North's rump "International Committee" is represented by the *Socialist Labour League (SLL)* led by Nick Beams, which, following the international Healyite implosion and the split of a pro-WRP minority in Australia to form the *Communist League last March*, stuck slavishly to North's "Healyism without Healy" and has parroted his anti-Spartacist slanders in this country.

Our party, the Spartacist League, is currently being subjected to the "polemical" attentions of one David North. In fact, a series on "The Politics of the Spartacist League" appearing in North's *Bulletin* is already in its 13th part and still going. But who or what is David North? He is the little lord of neo-Healyite, anti-Healyite, total Healyism—i.e., of nothing—who heads the American Workers League (WL), a very small and very discredited staphylococcal pimple on the rump of ostensible Trotskyism.

Why North chooses this moment to work us over at such length must have something to do with his having become, at the moment, the top dog in a fragment of what used to be called the "International Committee" (IC), an unpleasant formation once built by Gerry Healy in his own image. When Healy was ousted last year by backstabbing intrigues among his lieutenants, including North, the "IC" broke into at least four pieces, with splits within its sections in several countries.

Only someone who wanted to be "the leader," never mind of what, would rush to claim Healy's mantle. Healy's IC was an appendage of his British organization, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), which was distinguished by its physically brutal internal regime and by its capacity, unmatched by garden-variety opportunists, for wild swings of political line in pursuit of egregious and often mutually contradictory appetites. To the extent that the Healyites had a coherent political core, they were cringing legalists/Labourite economists, and virulently anti-Soviet in concrete program. Through it all, the hapless denizens of the IC were assured that, small and miserable though their



Workers Press

David North

own groups might be, the British WRP led by Healy (who eventually dubbed himself the IC's "founder-leader") was conquering the masses through its daily paper.

In fact, Healy's daily paper was also a fraud which, lacking a sufficient number of members to support it, came to depend on funding from the most unsavory forces. And the WRP's sole significant "contribution" in many years to the British class struggle came when it made itself the "vanguard" of a redbaiting, union-busting attack on the National Union of Mineworkers, on behalf of the right-wing leaders of the Trades Union Congress. Healy's "exposé" of miners' leader Arthur Scargill's minimal criticism of anti-socialist Polish Solidarność was timed for maximum exposure in Margaret Thatcher's Tory press, and became the opening shot of the campaign to isolate the militant miners union on the very eve of their heroic strike.

When Healy was pushed out of power in the IC last year, the lid came off a real stinking garbage can. We responded by publishing a special issue of our *Spartacist* (No. 36-37, Winter 1985-86) on "Healyism Implodes." There we reviewed Healy's history, which impinged on our own history until about 20 years ago; the next issue of *Spartacist* (No. 38-39, Summer 1986), devoted to the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party, also had some relevant things to say about Healy and his IC. And now we find ourselves being vilified at such great length in the *Bulletin*. We know from experience that this means we've touched the WL where it hurts, and that the Northites have decided it's time for them once again to administer some "education," Healy-style, to their supporters—a refresher course in cynicism and how not to think.

## Healyism Implodes

North himself became a "leader" in the IC when he was specially chosen by Healy to head the Workers League as his reward for eager services as a mouthpiece for Healy's infamous "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign against the historic American Trotskyist movement. In the early 1980s, though, North began testing the waters for a revolt against Healy, through timid criticisms—always withdrawn with craven apologies—mainly of Healy's idealist-gobbledygook perversion of dialectics. Now he claims he "fought" Healy. He has to make such a claim, ludicrous



WV Photo

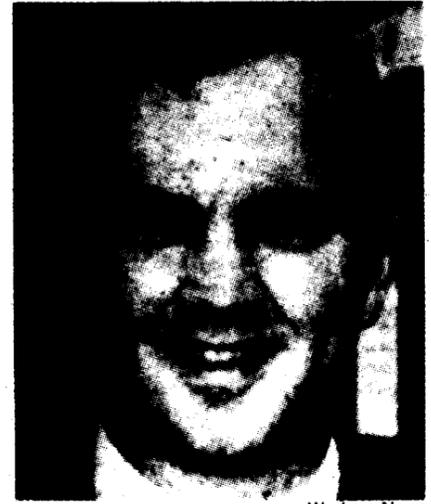
Alan Gelfand

though it is. Once Healy the supreme authority of the IC was exposed as the emperor who had no clothes, the members revolted. No longer could they be kept in line with doubletalk "dialectics," endless mindless activism and felt threats. All of Healy's loyal lieutenants scrambled to wash their hands of the IC's more spectacular crimes and organizational "excesses."

The departure of Healy and his well-heeled ally, actress Vanessa Redgrave, with a minority of the British WRP was only the beginning. North's demand that the WRP recognize the hegemony of the IC (i.e., him) took another minority out of the WRP, along with most of the WRP youth. Cliff Slaughter leads what's left now sans Banda, who split after writing his ignorant anti-Trotskyist diatribe, "Twenty-Seven Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built." North took the bigger piece of the split in Australia as well as the West German and Sri Lankan groupings.

So North's IC doesn't amount to much. Its record is of a bunch of political bandits who became corrupt press agents for despotic "Arab nationalist" capitalist regimes. Alleged to have received at least a million pounds from 1977 on from Libya, Kuwait, Qatar, Abu Dhabi and Iraq, among others, Healy's British group and its subservient IC worked to give "anti-imperialist" cover to anti-working-class crimes by their patrons. In 1979 the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 members of the Communist Party of Iraq by the Ba'ath regime. This is North's IC—loathsome, but at least it's all his. Provided that the American WL (which Slaughter in 1984 said had 74 members) can avoid its fair share of the implosion. North played the "who's dirtier?" game when required to oust Healy and secure the IC label. Once that was accomplished, he began to move to belittle the IC's crimes in the service of oil-rich Near Eastern dictators. Now he's embarked on a crusade to rally his ranks, not least through a hate campaign against the Spartacist League.

Why us? For one thing, we are the acknowledged Trotskyist organization in this country. Our forces are rather larger than North's. We exist today as an international tendency, the only one to have fought in a principled political fashion against both the degeneration of the ex-Trotskyist (now explicitly anti-Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party and, early on, against Healy's fundamental corruption of the IC. This



Workers News

Martin McLaughlin

history, covering two decades, is long documented, most lately in the last two issues of our *Spartacist*.

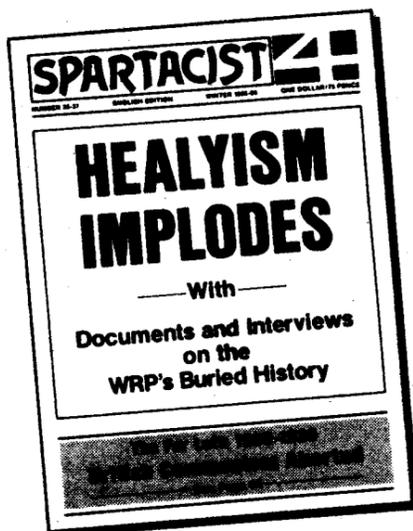
## Healyites: Counterfeit Trotskyists

The Workers League's own history begins with its former leader—Tim Wohlforth—acting as Healy's agent to split the left opposition (Revolutionary Tendency, RT) inside the SWP in 1962. The pretext was an ultimatum that all RT members must sign a document affirming they believed that the SWP, which was then centrist and moving rapidly to the right, remained a "revolutionary party." In the hope that the SWP would remain aligned with Healy as part of the International Committee, Healy identified the party leadership's deepening revisionism as solely the property of right-wing elements like Weiss and Swabeck, putting forward the perspective of the RT effecting "a united front where possible with the center elements"—i.e., the Dobbs leadership. Most of the RT, led by Jim Robertson and Geoff White, refused to sign the Wohlforth/Healy *diktat*. Wohlforth's only successful "united front" with the Dobbs regime was in setting the RT majority up for expulsion.

In the present *Bulletin* series, great exception is taken to our remark that Wohlforth in 1964 "engineered his own group's expulsion" from the SWP. Aha, says *Bulletin* editor McLaughlin, or whoever is actually writing the series, the Wohlforthites were expelled for an exemplary fight against the Ceylonese Trotskyists' class-collaborationist betrayal in 1964. No doubt for distant consumption, the *Bulletin* fulminates that Spartacists, "as 100% American radicals... could not understand why someone would risk being thrown out of the party because of a dispute over events taking place halfway around the world."

What happened in Ceylon didn't drop magically from the skies at the moment Wohlforth decided he wanted out of the SWP. "Trotskyism" in Ceylon was founded very late and by some people of extremely privileged social origins. The Ceylon Trotskyists, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), involved themselves in anti-imperialist activism and plebeian social struggles, achieving something of a mass electoral base. When after independence from Britain the main ruling-class political formation split to produce a populist, "national" party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the LSSP was pulled in its

Australasian Spartacist



The *Spartacist* that D. North can't answer.

wake, led by the LSSP's reformist wing, which had always ultimately called the shots for the party's vacillating "center."

By 1960 it was evident even to a distant American comrade like Jim Robertson that the situation had gone rotten. On 8 August 1960 comrade Robertson wrote a letter (reprinted below) to the SWP Political Committee (PC) urging the SWP to wage an open struggle against the LSSP's course. Robertson's letter was appended to the PC minutes, as were news articles from this period from the *Ceylon News* reporting the LSSP's electoral pact with the SLFP and its withdrawal of opposition to the SLFP's chauvinist "Sinhala Only" language program.

The SWP, which didn't have much going for it in Ceylon, was proposing to publish a *Militant* article criticizing the LSSP's policy as a classic "Popular Front." But a letter dated 14 August 1960 by Gerry Healy (also reprinted below) urged the SWP to hold up any comment. Healy's implication is clearly that he has people lined up who might be disturbed by criticism of their party. If only the SWP will avoid flying off the handle in such a delicate situation, Gerry will take care of it. What is striking in Healy's letter, as much as his claim that the situation could be saved by maneuvers, is his gratuitous mendacity in suggesting that the reports in the Ceylon bourgeois press were just a pack of lies.

It was a foregone conclusion that the LSSP would decisively capitulate when opportunity presented. In 1964 the SLFP offered the LSSP ministerial portfolios; the LSSP eagerly accepted. Embarrassed, the Pabloite USec hastily expelled the LSSP, as elements of the left wing shook themselves out of the LSSP, finally. Now Wohlforth also discovered betrayal in Ceylon.

Wohlforth's restlessness prior to the emergence of the Ceylon pretext is testified to by Albert Philips, bloc partner of Healy and Wohlforth in splitting the RT. "The Methodology of Frustration," a document by the Philips group dated 23 April 1964, complains that "several months after the 1963 SWP convention," the "frustration" at the SWP's degeneration that had "characterized the Robertsonites" showed up in Wohlforth. "There had been no real changes in the SWP," Philips observes, "yet comrade Wohlforth thought it was time for a reevaluation." At the November 1963 tendency meeting, says Philips, "it was stated that the party was an unfinished centrist organization, and that we had better put ourselves in the best factional position for the time when we would be expelled." After the Kennedy assassination, says Philips, "in terms that the Robertsonites never dared to use, comrade Wohlforth explicitly called for us to split." But under pressure from those like Philips who still wanted to cling to the SWP and its purported "proletarian core," Wohlforth "pulled back," Philips says, from an open split perspective. Instead, he demanded a discussion on Ceylon, violating internal discussion procedures, knowing this would get his group expelled from the no longer very democratic SWP.

Now, North recasts this deliberate organizational provocation as a supreme political act of internationalism. And no doubt inspired by that paragon of internationalism himself, Gerry Healy, who had intervened so strongly in 1960 to reassure worrywarts like Robertson that he had the Ceylon problem in hand.

### Healyism: A Machine for Destroying Cadres

We had refused to accept Healy's 1962 rupture as definitive, given that we and Wohlforth both still claimed to stand on the same anti-revisionist program. Unity negotiations were undertaken in 1965. But at the infamous 1966 IC Conference in London, Healy

February/March 1987



The way they were (from left): G. Healy, M. Banda, C. Slaughter, 1983.

expelled the Spartacist delegation, ostensibly on the grounds that Robertson had missed a session without "permission." In remarks to the conference, Robertson had sketched out the views of the Spartacist group. His subsequent absence was then used as the excuse for savage attacks by Healy & Co. on the Spartacists for petty-bourgeois arrogance and American chauvinism, and an "apology" (confession) was demanded. As the next two decades of Healy's history amply demonstrated, this method was absolutely characteristic: to try to extract cringing false confessions from comrades, rendering them thereafter subservient instruments, destroyed in their own eyes and before their comrades.

North's own account of how he "fought" Healy is revealing. In an October 1985 speech to the British WRP "Special Congress" North describes how he raised his differences over "dialectics" beginning in late 1982. "We decided," he says (using the royal "we"), "to come and take the first opportunity to raise it with Gerry Healy in an objective manner. Well, the reaction was an explosion. We were told immediately, within a half a minute... he said the alliance is finished." After the Political Committee unanimously supported Healy, North says, he was privately approached by Banda, who "said that in fact he had grave differences.... And I must say that while I was shocked by the depth of the political differences that existed between Comrade Banda and Gerry Healy, I wasn't in a sense surprised." After "lengthy discussions," it was "agreed that there would be a common fight in the International Committee to raise these issues."

North returned for the next IC meeting "fully expecting" to pick up his alliance with Banda. "But instead when I arrived I was immediately confronted [by Banda].... I was immediately told that the notes which I had written constituted a huge attack on Marxism. He said he had been wrong to come to an agreement with me." They then went into a WRP PC meeting "in which we [North] were told that if we pressed ahead with these differences it would mean a split with the Workers League. And I must say under those conditions..." (guess what!) "we thought that given the enormous authority and experience of the British section we should reconsider our position." North "bit our tongue, we said we did withdraw the document, it wasn't really a document it was notes...." And so it went, right up to the end.

But, says North today, Robertson still should have submitted himself to international authority. (Never mind why North thinks it's so natural, and so smart, to grovel and lie; it never occurs to North that in 1966 we thought: we'll say what we believe and see what happens.) But what makes Healy (and the rest of his crew, like Banda and Wohlforth, now shown to have been a bunch of semi-competents and semi-gangsters) synonymous with "international authority"? Gerry was hardly the only person around laying claim to the mantle of the Fourth International.

### Healy Flunks

We spent a long time looking at the fragments of the disintegrated Fourth International, i.e., as it emerged from

World War II and the Second World Congress in 1948. In 1953-54, "orthodox" Trotskyists put together the International Committee out of national factions which had come out against the revisionism which gained hegemony under Michel Pablo in the early 1950s.

Healy claimed to be the IC in the face of the SWP's political defection, and we were prepared to give him some conditional credit based on what looked like impressive work in England and some good documents. We were the majority of the small forces which had opposed the centrist degeneration of the SWP, once a revolutionary party and a close collaborator of Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International. We had no doubt of the necessity for disciplined subordination of our national group to a programmatically cohesive international movement committed to Trotsky's program. So Healy thought he had us on trial in his "IC" kangaroo court? We had Healy on trial too, and so long

New York, N.Y.  
August 8, 1960

To the Political Committee:

Dear Comrades,

I am addressing you on the matter of our party's public silence concerning the recent and continuing betrayal of the Ceylonese working class and of the world Trotskyist movement by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. I refer, of course, to that party's entry into a "Popular Front" electoral pact with the Stalinist party and with the left bourgeois nationalist party represented by the widow Bandaranaike.

In raising this matter privately with several members of your body I was told that letters have been sent the Ceylonese and that your view is that for the present a greater advantage is to be gained by revolutionary Marxists in the LSSP through our remaining publicly silent. I must disagree and urge you to reconsider.

When I read in the New York Times of the electoral pact and then of the election and finally of the continued support by the LSSP to the new capitalist government, my concern over this classically social-democratic capitulation was mitigated by two thoughts: (1) first that the construction of a genuine Trotskyist party for the island could perhaps

as there seemed to be a programmatic basis of agreement, we were very patient about it. In 1962 we evaluated our first close encounter: "if Healy intervenes roughly and using authority to try to shove a puppet regime down our throats, it opens up a lousy vista of the future of the IC" (Jim Robertson, letter to Geoff White, 27 September 1962).

From the time of our inception as an independent tendency in 1964, we sought to work with and examine those who stood to the left among ostensible Trotskyists—e.g., Healy, Lambert in France, Guillermo Lora in Bolivia, the group in Ceylon around Edmund Samarakkody. These tendencies (except for Healy, who was a political bandit) proved to be nationally defined and delimited, and/or used up.

Throughout, we were also aware of the United Secretariat (USec) led by the erudite Belgian Ernest Mandel. The USec was the Pabloists sans Pablo (who we also checked out) and somewhat allied with the SWP of Dobbs and Joseph Hansen. The USec had by far the most groups in the most countries, adhering to them in a semi-accidental way; then they got a big jolt from the international "generation of May '68." It was our observing that the anti-revisionists had not done a very good job of exposing the USec's (and others') claims to be the Fourth International that evidently got us tossed out of Healy's 1966 IC conference.

Healy, though, proved to be a very

Continued on page eight

emerge out of the shambles, and (2) that now the blocks would really be put to Pablo, not over an obscured vote by his English followers in a provincial British Labour Party meeting, but over a clear act of historic proportions by a major party, an act about which the central world organs of the FI would have to take a stand and on the grounds for or against elementary revolutionary principle.

But the silence in the Militant weakens both these hopes. Within Ceylon our silence while it may temporarily continue our "respectability" in the mouths of the leaders also places a terrible weapon in their hands against any militants they may have to contend with—"Even the Americans are only privately disturbed and are treating this as a matter between comrades." And as for Pablo's stature before the world movement, every day of delay allows him to say in effect: "You're another maneuverer subordinating principle to tactics."

Comrades, that you condemn the Ceylonese ex-Trotskyists, I have no doubt, but your failure to raise this publicly and with great seriousness does the movement internationally a disservice.

With comradely greetings,  
James Robertson

SOCIALIST LABOR LEAGUE  
186 Clapham High Street  
London S.W. 4, England

14th August, 1960

Joe Hansen

Dear Joe,

We discussed at some length on our Organizing Committee (the equivalent of your Political Committee) the proposition concerning the situation in Ceylon.

The opinion here is that the Ceylon News, being a Ceylon Embassy information hand-out, is not reliable and should not be used as the basis of the piece for the Militant. We think that it is necessary to write again asking for the fullest possible infor-

mation concerning the present situation in the party in Ceylon.

There is no doubt that they are in a severe crisis but if we take their situation and recent events in Europe it is not improbable that there will now be important developments inside the Pablo camp. This is all the more reason for us to proceed with caution—as you have in the past so rightly insisted.

We are going to cable them tomorrow for information and we suggest you do likewise and hold up for the time being publication of anything in the Militant.

Best wishes,  
Gerry

Copy to J.P.C.

# Workers League . . .

Continued from page seven

different sort of character—a political bandit capable of anything. What form the “anything” would take for him and those who through the self-selection process of groveling and lying became his creatures was not predetermined at the time Healy broke with us in 1966. But it quickly ceased to be our problem at all, because by 1967 Healy had broken far away from “orthodox” Trotskyism. His forces emerged as the most vulgar, super-Pabloist cheerleaders for Stalinism (Mao’s “Cultural Revolution”) and Third World nationalism. The “Arab Revolution” line the Healyites adopted as the excuse to hail the 1967 Arab-Israel conflict proved most fruitful. A transclass, transnational, totally disembodied “Arab Revolution” is elastic enough to embrace any act by any Arab regime, depending perhaps on which monarchy, theocracy or military dictatorship is dispensing patronage. Thus in 1979 Healy hailed the execution of militant Communist workers in Iraq, who were allegedly undermining the glorious “anti-imperialist” Iraqi army. But later, Healy supported Khomeini’s Iran in its war with that same Iraqi regime.

## The Big Lie as “Method”

The present *Bulletin* series strings together lies so outlandish and shameless that they are clearly designed to drive away anyone in or around the WL who has the ability to read and think. This use of the Big Lie was perfected by Stalin as a method of control; Healy/North elevated this method to a psychotic principle. It goes like this: here, comrade, are 50 articles in the Spartacist press calling for the smashing of apartheid, the forging of a genuine Bolshevik party to lead a proletarian revolution, for the establishment of a black-centered workers republic in South Africa. Memorize them and then go out and sell the *Bulletin* which says that Spartacist “Opposes Anti-Apartheid Struggle.” If you have a problem with this, you don’t understand “dialectics.” You are supposed to *know* you’re lying; then having lied, you are bound to your leaders until you finally slink away—ashamed, destroyed. Such intentional destruction of cadre is a Healyite hallmark, the ugly cult side of Healyism.

In the past, the WL has smeared us as “racists” and “fascists” (see our article, “Smash Fascist Smear of SL,” *WV* No. 379, 17 May 1985), and even as “the fingerman for the world capitalists” (*Bulletin*, 2 December 1969). In November 1978 a leaflet of the German Healyites, now with North, called Jim Robertson the “main spokesman for the national interests of the American bourgeoisie!” We note our demotion to the old “middle-class radical” category in the current series, which simultaneously portrays us as black nationalists

## News Line, 2 February 1979

It is true that 21 CP members were executed early last year for illegally forming cells in the armed forces. The purpose of these cells was to fight against the government. There are no prizes for the answer to what would happen to Ba’athists who set up cells in the Soviet army. They would be ruthlessly purged!

## News Line, 8 March 1979

From an historical point of view, the Arab Ba’ath Socialist Party of Iraq has played a hundredfold more progressive role in the Middle East than Stalinism.

## Banda News Line, 20 November 1985

fore the meeting to confirm the report, and he had. Then another comrade who was a photographer on News Line came to the microphone and told how she was sent by A Mitchell, a Political Committee and Editorial Board member, to photograph supporters of the Iraqi Communist Party demonstrating outside the Iraqi Embassy. (When she realized what



New York City: Spartacist protest exposes Healyites’ support for murder of Iraqi Communists. After 1985 Healyite implosion, Banda/Slaughter admitted Healy organization had fingered Iraqi CPers to bloody Ba’athist regime.

and white racists, Shachtmanites and Stalinophiles (i.e., anti- and pro-Russian).

## Did David North Go to Carleton College?

We think the *Bulletin* will be hard put indeed to consider the elementary labor principle that the bosses’ courts are not the vehicle for solving disputes in the labor movement. Healy made recourse to the state against opponents a hallmark of his “tactics” 20 years ago against the USec’s Ernie Tate. North & Co. have themselves dragged the capitalist courts in to police the left—most notoriously in the case of one Alan Gelfand. WL agent Gelfand was expelled from the SWP and sued that organization in federal court in 1979, citing Healy’s notorious slanders that the FBI (along with the Stalinist GPU) controlled the SWP. He demanded the court uphold these slanders and reinstate him as an SWP member. Gelfand was vigorously supported by North and financed by Healy. Since the WRP split, Slaughter and Banda have belatedly disavowed both the Gelfand provocation and the scandalous “Security and the Fourth International” campaign against the SWP. North—a major mouthpiece of “Security...”—is still proud of it.

North’s cohort was one Alex Mitchell, formerly the editor of Healy’s British paper and now described by his ex-comrades as “ace Healy snoop and his top hand-shaker: Master-minded disgraceful ‘Security & FI’ with North, justified killing of Iraqi CPers.... Mid-east link man, widely mis-trusted” (*Workers Press*, 7 June). The “Security...” slander campaign was aimed specifically at veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, accusing him of being an accomplice of the Stalinist assassination of Leon Trotsky. Mitchell is still with the Healy Healyites.

North was Healy’s accomplice in the loathsome assault on Hansen’s reputation, and, through that device, they attacked the reputation of the old SWP and Trotsky himself. After Trotsky’s murder by the degenerate Stalinist secret police in 1940, the Stalinists tried to put about the disgusting lie that Trotsky was murdered by “his own people.” This claim got no credence at the time, and the main effect of its resuscitation in new form by the IC was simply to discredit Healy/North.

Hansen had served as one of Trotsky’s secretaries in exile, one of the human links that welded the American party in its revolutionary days to Trotsky in his struggle to reforge an authentic Bolshevik international. Hansen was won in his youth to a revolution-

ary party; after that party degenerated, he spent long years as a centrist and then a reformist spokesman. In this he was no different from many others, in many countries, whose leftist impulses wore out before they themselves wore out. For Healy, though, such an explanation is not sufficient. No, Hansen has to have been a police agent—indeed, a simultaneous agent for the FBI and the Stalinist GPU. The implicit corollary is: if Hansen, why not SWP founder James Cannon? And why not Trotsky himself?

After Hansen died, the emphasis of Healy’s paranoid slander campaign shifted to the present SWP head, Jack Barnes. Hundreds of pages in the Healyite press sought to show that Barnes (who’s not one of our favorite people, by the way) was an FBI agent; in fact, they claim, so are all his cronies in the present leadership of the SWP. Why? Because a bunch of them all went to Carleton College, a small school in the American Midwest. For “proof” we are offered, among other things, a 1961 report on a visit to Carleton by... Jim Robertson!

Robertson, then a leader of the SWP’s Young Socialist Alliance, went on tour for the YSA in 1961. At Carleton, he met with a loose group of youth, some of whom were SWP supporters. When he arrived he found that these leftist students “had all the party [internal] bulletins on the Cuba discussion and in the presence of a whole group of 18 students, their leader innocently asked me to fill them in on

D. North’s “whiter than white” *Bulletin* ridicules Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (below).



Wohlforth’s side in the dispute” (this letter by Robertson is quoted in the WL’s 1981 pamphlet, “Security and the Fourth International: The Carleton Twelve”). Robertson, himself in opposition on Cuba, suggested the students should join the SWP if they wanted to be privy to its internal life. For Healy & Co., that these non-members had gotten some interesting documents (from SWP leader Carl Feingold) is “irrefutable” evidence of an FBI conspiracy, carried out by Hansen and Feingold, to groom Jack Barnes and his Carleton cronies to take over the government’s SWP operation from Hansen. Those familiar with Healyite doublethink will find nothing unusual about the idea that Robertson—elsewhere portrayed as the most pernicious agent of Hansen—here constitutes an unimpeachable witness to the Carleton College “conspiracy.”

But perhaps there’s more to it. Is North himself an agent of Robertson? Why else would he use Robertson as an authority, when we all know how Robertson covered up for Hansen the FBI agent? Did David North also go to Carleton College?

As we have noted before, “Security and the Fourth International” was always a supremely cynical device, used along with a deliberately mystified “dialectics” to keep the Healyite membership scared witless and hopelessly confused.

## Healyism and Racism

When Healy wrote of “D. North’s whiter than white socialism” he doubtless didn’t know how right he was. For North continues the long tradition of U.S. Healyite “colorblind” economism. Perhaps the most self-indicting piece in the *Bulletin*’s series is the one entitled, “An Obsession With Race.” It both proves that nothing in the real world stands in the way of what the *Bulletin* will print and that the WL’s profile in this deeply racist country is, on the black question, akin to the old AFL job-trusted white-racist unions. Of the latter, founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon said: “They also had nothing special to offer the Negroes; nothing at all, in fact” (“The Russian Revolution and The American Negro Movement”).

According to the *Bulletin*’s research:

“The *Workers Vanguard*’s 1985 subject index contains references to at least 60 articles on the ‘black struggle,’ civil rights, police terror, racial attacks, fascist groups, etc. These included a number of articles on the MOVE bombing which was certainly one of the most important political developments [!] of the year, but dozens of other incidents as well.

“In the same one-year period, according to the index, the Spartacist newspaper managed a single article on auto

**SPARTACIST**

**The SWP - A Strangled Party**

PAGE 6

“Don’t Strangle the Party”

Memories of a 1940s SWP Communist... 28

Memories of a 1970s SWP Communist... 30

James P. Cannon Memorial... 32

What Happened to Peter Fryer... 2

Founding British Communism - An Exchange... 3

George Bellamy Dies A Full Life... 4

Proceedings: Eighth Plenum of the... 41

Trotskyists in World War Two... 46

Excerpts from “War and the Fourth International”... 49

Healyite Debates... 56

**Pay to:**  
**Spartacist Publications**  
**GPO Box 3473**  
**Sydney, NSW 2001**

workers, two on steelworkers and one on (US) coal miners."  
—*Bulletin*, 3 June

Now what does the index controversy show? 1) That "only the Workers League" could refer to the hideous racist massacre of Philly MOVE by the state in such bloodless, colorblind terms. 2) That in Reagan's America, racist terror has been unleashed viciously and consciously and often as part of the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. 3) That the auto, steel and (U.S.) coal unions probably weren't writing a proud new chapter in the history of the American class struggle last year.

For the *Bulletin*, though, it demonstrates that the Spartacists "counterpose" the "struggle against racism from the struggle of the working class," "making the working class, rather than the capitalist system, responsible for racial discrimination and prejudice." Inexorably, what follows is an example of our work proving precisely the opposite: the successful SL-initiated, union-backed Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. Over 5,000 black workers and youth turned out and placed themselves under our leadership and the threatened KKK march was stopped in its tracks. It was a singular victory for labor, and particularly for doubly oppressed black labor, in Reagan's America.

At the time, the *Bulletin* smeared the anti-Klan mobilization as "an adventure which played right into the hands of the police," but this grotesque and cowardly lie is not now repeated. Now, North & Co. sneer that our "reaction" was "seemingly out of all proportion to the significance of the threat posed [by] a handful of KKK scum in a city which is 60% black." Fortunately, black Washington residents and unionists from the Tidewater area docks didn't see it that way.

Belittling the Klan danger, North & Co. pretend not to know that the November 27 display of labor/black power faced down the Reagan government's determination to shove the Klan provocation down the throat of that city. Our mobilization was a labor action not only in its program but in the simplest literal sense. Perhaps the most idiotic part of the *Bulletin*'s anti-racist tirade is the denunciation of our slogan "Finish the Civil War!" as "utterly reformist!"

### Northite "Internationalism": Little Lords of Nothing

By the mid-1970s, the IC had become unashamed apologists for Near Eastern bourgeois regimes. In 1985 Slaughter admitted:

"GH [Healy] sought and found relations with bourgeois leaders like Saddam Hussein, Gaddafi, and Nkomo. It is not only that Marxism was distorted in order to mislead on their class nature. This Party, through Healy, sought financial support from these bourgeois, not just for this or that political purpose, but as a system."  
—*News Line*, 20 November 1985

But now that these revelations have served their purpose in dumping Healy, North & Co. want to turn the IC's crimes into Healy's personal responsibility. Slaughter says that it was when he "raised the question of Comrade North tackling his own responsibility for the IC's past" that North "moved very quickly to propose suspension of the WRP from the IC." He also spills some beans about Nick Beams, North's bloc partner in Australia:

"Is it only the WRP which received financial assistance from one or other Middle Eastern bourgeois national governments?...  
"Is it not a fact that the Australian section did receive a sum of (tens of thousands of dollars) in 1983?...  
"Is it not a fact that the receipt of this money by the Australian section [was] reported to the Central Committee of the SLL (Australia) only in the month before the IC meeting of Dec 16 [1985]?"

"Is it not true that Cde Beams failed to report the matter to the IC or to the WRP delegates, but that he *did* report it to at least some of the delegates who supported the WRP suspension and certainly to Comrade North?"

—Slaughter, Letter to all members, 14 January 1986

According to the *Slaughter Workers Press* (28 June 1986) Beams "was formally censured...for failing to report to the December 17 [1985] meeting of IC leaders, held in London, on the SLL's role in carrying out Healy's betrayals especially in the Middle East.... At a further conference held on March 1 and 2 the [Northite Australian SLL] majority could not even agree on whether a betrayal had occurred when the SLL supported the execution of the 21 Iraqi communists." This article also notes that Beams and North had initially opposed Healy's expulsion.

What is North's IC? When you turn over the rock to see what makes them move, you find a dead-end pecking-order invidiousness appropriate to those who aspire to be little lords of nothing. Certainly there is no connection between these fracturing grouplets and the class struggle, the defense of the oppressed. The German Northites—the Bund Sozialistische Arbeiter (BSA)—have adopted a "new" line for electoral support to the German Social Democratic Party, according to the 25 July *Bulletin*. Only three days before, the *Bulletin* had published a BSA statement entitled "Social-Democracy and the 'Trail of Blood'." While the Peruvian regime was massacring hundreds of political prisoners, the SPD and its fellows were meeting at a congress of the Second International "only a few kilometers away." Former SPD chancellor Willy Brandt, we are told, made what amounted to "a complete apology for the blood bath." He is, according to the *Bulletin*, "on the side of imperialism in Latin America.... His political aim differs from Ronald Reagan's only in nuances." Yet it is to this very SPD that the German Northites now extend their electoral support.

Beams' Australian SLL admitted publicly that it had printed an exile organ of the fascistic Vietnamese émigrés, *The Bell of Saigon*. This link with the thugs who have been physically attacking leftist and labor meetings was "explained" by the SLL as part of a turn toward "commercial enterprise." Has the financially beleaguered WL found similar sources of income yet?

### David North: A Healyite's Healyite

North and his gang are worthless people for the international working-class movement. Separated from their own "continuity"—Healy—their trajectory might lead anywhere. With supreme cynicism, the *Bulletin* has begun a series penned by North on "The Heritage We Defend," which obscenely tries to claim connection with Trotsky and Cannon. The heritage North really defends is Healy's at its worst: "Security and the Fourth International"; eager ventures across the class line in pursuit of trivial opportunist advantage or financial support; shameless use of the bosses' courts within the workers movement.

Programmatically, the IC under Healy and now North is a virulently anti-Soviet sect. Beginning with embrace of the Maoist "Cultural Revolution" in 1966, they have moved on to support virtually every hostile force on the borders of the USSR, from Khomeini's Iran to the Afghan mullahs to Polish Solidarność. Their enthusiasm for Solidarność, the Pope's and Wall Street's best hope for plunging Poland into a bloody civil war for the restoration of capitalism, led them into the arms of Margaret Thatcher when they rebaited miners' leader Arthur Scargill on the eve of the heroic miners' strike. "Anti-Stalinism" was their cover for supporting the beheading of the Iraqi

proletariat when they applauded the execution of the CP members on the grounds that, after all, "they were only Stalinists."

In the 3 January *Bulletin*, North denounced Pabloism for overthrowing "Trotsky's characterization of Stalinism as 'counter-revolutionary through and through.'" This formulation owes nothing to Trotsky; in fact, it comes from Dave Weiss ("D. Stevens"), who put it forward during the 1953 Cochran-Clarke fight in the SWP.

Trotsky in all his writings insisted on the contradictory nature of Stalinism, a conservative bureaucratic caste which rests upon the socialized property forms in the deformed workers states; at the same time Stalinism, by seeking accommodation with imperialism, undermines the defense of the workers states, necessitating proletarian political revolution. (Denying the dual nature of Stalinism, how can the Healyites explain such occurrences as the overthrow of capitalism in Vietnam? They can't, which explains that characteristic Healyite schizophrenia: slavishly tailing the Vietnamese leadership, while at the same time denying that an anti-capitalist revolution took place in Cuba.)

The WL's "anti-Stalinism" leans heavily on the notion that Washington and the Kremlin are united for counter-revolution in a global conspiracy against, e.g., Solidarność and the national liberation of Third World peoples. A glance at the real world, though, shows that more than 60 years of sincere Stalinist commitment to "peaceful coexistence" hasn't reconciled (and can't) the capitalist rulers to the continued existence of the Soviet Union. Indeed, a frenzied imperialist regime identifies as "Soviet surrogates" every movement for social freedom, from Nicaragua to South Africa. And needless to say the WL, busy denouncing Russian capitulations, never mentions how the Chinese are serving as direct military agents of U.S. imperial-

ism from the Vietnamese border to Angola to Afghanistan.

Anti-Sovietism is a necessary credential for those who seek patronage from the maggoty labor bureaucrats, from those traitors to the working class who serve their "own" imperialism. And it's among those traitors that the Healyites seek to nest. Thus the WL in the New York transit union seeks to entice the union tops to form a "labor party" by mimicking their bureaucrats' hostile indifference to the defense of James Grimes, a black worker prosecuted for a courageous act of self-defense. The WL's racist economism is fundamental. But there is also a chameleon-like quality to the WL's politics. The *Bulletin* series paints us as "obsessed" with black people in America. But over South Africa, for example, they are simultaneously for imperialist "divestment" and for blood and vengeance, People's War, and charge us with being obsessed with...white people. That's because the Healyites/Northites are whores, and who they're seeking to please varies from one moment to the next.

The thoroughgoing defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration requires revolutionary leadership. It requires the forging of Trotskyist parties in each country welded together as disciplined sections of a reborn Fourth International. The international Spartacist tendency was forged to preserve and build upon the threads of continuity that link the authentic Fourth Internationalists of today to the movement of Trotsky's and Cannon's time. Those threads are slender. We are thinking not only of the murder of Trotsky and the decimation of the European Trotskyist groups by fascism and world war. We recall also the murdered Andrés Nin, the Hanoi Trotskyists who were extinguished, and others about whom we know even less. From our independent inception in 1964, we

Continued on page ten

## Unsworth, Vietnamese Fascists and the SLL



NSW Labor Premier Barrie Unsworth (centre) inspecting fascist Vietnamese mouthpiece *Bell of Saigon*, which openly calls for extermination of communists, with its founding editor, Hop Van Chu. Unsworth, Hawke and Labor tops gave Vietnamese fascist elements the green light to attack left and labour meetings in 1985 celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Vietnamese Revolution. A Spartacist forum in Melbourne defended itself against these scum, but at one left-sponsored Sydney meeting a retired wharfie was knifed and the Waterside Workers hall attacked.

In 1985, Chu was Hawke's regional director of Ethnic Affairs in NSW, a conduit between the gusanos and ALP tops. Now Unsworth, who parades in Vietnamese emigre circles and is feted

in their press, has appointed this gusano as his "special advisor on community affairs."

And the Socialist Labour League? Last year the SLL admitted its party printshop had printed the *Bell of Saigon*. And the fact that Unsworth was trained in CIA-run "trade union" courses at Harvard Business School did not deter the SLL from campaigning for a vote to him in last year's Rockdale by-election — to "expose" him they claimed. But Cold Warrior Unsworth as the picture shows isn't exactly shy about "exposing" his allegiances. Rather the SLL only exposes itself — sinister, corrupt political bandits, masquerading as Trotskyists. One question remains — did SLL leader Nick Beams go to Harvard Business School, perhaps on Unsworth's recommendation?

## Workers League . . .

Continued from page nine

sought to intersect and test out every kind of grouping that claimed to have something to offer in the way of international leadership. For our American-based grouping, tossed out of the SWP with small forces, the struggle for international collaborators was an uphill battle, and one that still continues.

Gerry Healy and his heirs are a world apart from this. They have a publishing machine, so we have to answer what they say. But what they say means nothing — their words are but applications for some sordid and episodic advantage, bearing no relationship to what they claim to believe. What is Healy, what is North? We have to concur with Trotsky's remark about Stalinism, but in microcosm of course: to the extent the Healyites/Northites are part of the working class, they are its syphilis. ■

## Philippines . . .

Continued from page five

tailists such as the SWP hailed the Aquino "revolution," while the dubious Workers League published an after-the-fact call for "a critical vote for Aquino." The January 22 massacre has starkly exposed the fraud of "people power," and urgently underlined the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, forged on the program of permanent revolution. As we warned a few months ago ("Philippine Workers Must Fight for Power!", WV No. 415, 7 November 1986):

"... the present prerevolutionary situation is fragile in the extreme, and will not last for long. Under orders from Washington, the Philippine military will move to restore capitalist order by seeking to crush both the militant workers movement and leftist insurgents. The only question is whether Aquino, like El Salvador's Duarte, will serve as a 'democratic' figurehead for the right-wing butchers, or be overthrown by the military. The situation cries out for a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolsheviks forged in Russia, to lead the Filipino proletariat, supported by the peasantry, to fight for its own class rule."

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 421, 6 February 1987

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

Drugs, Guns and the White House

**Contragate Murder Plots**



Labor Must Fight Racist Terror!

**Howard Beach: Black Victims On Trial**



Koch's Cops Kill! Vengeance for Eleanor Bumpurs!

**Subscribe!**

24 issues — \$20 (airmail)  
— \$5 (seamail)

Order from/pay to:  
Spartacist Publications,  
Box 1377 GPO,  
New York, NY 10116, USA

## Afghanistan . . .

Continued from page four

convinced that promoting revolutions from outside, and even more so by military means, is futile and inadmissible."

In a speech at the Soviet Far Eastern port of Vladivostok in September, he announced the withdrawal of Soviet regiments from Afghanistan, as part of a broader initiative aimed at improving relations with China. In addition, the Kremlin has "sought in recent months to give the impression of prodding Vietnam to be more forthcoming in seeking a negotiated settlement in Cambodia as well" (*Washington Post*, 7 January). Certainly an end to the hostile confrontation between the Soviet Union and China is to be desired. But *not* at the expense of Afghanistan and Indochina!

A few years ago we suggested a rather different response to the imperialists, for revolutionary proletarian internationalism rather than a bureaucratic nationalist accommodation:

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese . . . Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the US is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess' . . ."

"Next, clean up Afghanistan . . . instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller and cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*, a tremendous leap from feudal backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of detente and 'two-stage' revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union."

— "Reagan, Begin & Hitler,"  
WV No. 308, 25 June 1982

Afghanistan should become an independent workers republic with an open border with the USSR and a ruble-convertible currency. Look at Mongolia for a model. An Afghan workers' assembly might have an exchange of observers with the USSR soviet. But it will take proletarian political revolution in the USSR to restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their internationalist and revolutionary mission, through defending and extending the gains of the great October Revolution. Only the defeat of imperialism internationally, through workers revolutions under the leadership of a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, can lay the basis for the genuine social equality of all peoples. ■

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 420, 23 January 1987

## Goondiwindi . . .

Continued from page one

than a normal pub fight." Racists like Lee and his friends in and out of uniform believe that they can get away with anything. But this time at least the racist scum got a hell of a lot more than they had bargained for.

### Racist Punks Get Get Taught a Lesson

About fifty blacks, mainly from the Toomelah Mission, 20 km south of Goondiwindi on the NSW side of the border, hit town the next day looking for the racist thugs. As an Aboriginal

leader from Toomelah explained, "It's always the same four white men involved. That's who we were after. We decided to take matters into our own hands because that's the only way blacks can get justice around here," (*The Age*, 14 January 1987) while another added, "We were defending our pride, our dignity, when we went to Goondiwindi on Saturday" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 January 1987).

One white man who was in the Victoria Hotel at the time described what happened: "They were really only after a few. One of them came into the hotel and yelled at me to get behind the counter because I wasn't part of it. He pushed me down to protect me" (*ibid*). This witness refused to give his name to the bourgeois media "because it's more than my life is worth." When the blacks left Goondiwindi they were chanting, "We won! We won!" At least three of the thugs had got what they deserved.

The entire bourgeois media launched a Big Lie campaign in a conscious attempt to whip up a murderous white backlash, quoting local white racists about "black mobs," "a big dark cloud of blowflies," "snarling like dogs" ranging through the town terrorising peaceable white folks. The Queensland cops launched a dragnet "investigation." They boasted that they "knew nothing" about the bashing of Hinch and were not about to investigate it. The bosses state is after revenge. The Queensland cops have issued warrants for the arrest of seventeen blacks from Toomelah and the nearby hamlet of Boggabilla. They got eager help from NSW Labor Premier Unsworth's cops. Threatened with a massive cop raid of their community, the 17 blacks chose to front up to Moree court in NSW, along with friends and family, to be formally served with arrest warrants for "riotous behaviour" and extradition orders. They were forced to spend the day in jail while the "formalities" were completed and released on \$500 bail each. The bourgeois state is engaged in an ostentatious "legal" enforcement of the racist status quo. This judicial witchhunt and potential legal lynching is an outrage. The charges against the seventeen blacks must be immediately and unconditionally dropped! There must be no extraditions!

What really infuriated the bourgeois state, its media and its uniformed enforcers was that this time blacks had fought back in an organised way, enforcing some basic justice and avenging a racist atrocity. As revolutionaries we salute and defend the action of the Toomelah blacks as a minimal act of self-defence — discriminate and effective in execution.

The Aboriginal Legal Service is resisting the extraditions, arguing that there is no justice for blacks in Queensland. Absolutely! But neither is there justice for blacks anywhere in this deeply racist society. In the last five years at least thirteen young black men have been murdered while in police custody. The majority of these

have been in *Labor-ruled* NSW and Western Australia, not Queensland. And none of the killer cops have been found guilty of a thing in Labor's courts!

### For Union Action to Defend Blacks!

Now some of the chastened white punks are talking guns, tear-gas and vigilantism to the bourgeois media. Already they and their cop protectors are armed to the teeth. Against this murderous threat the *black communities must have the right to armed self-defence*. But left to themselves the tiny, marginalised Aboriginal population is vulnerable and relatively powerless — only the organised working class has the social power and interest to defend blacks and champion their rights. It is the duty of militants in the labour movement to mobilise labour/black/minority actions in the streets to crush racist terror wherever and whenever possible. It is especially urgent now for the workers movement to defend the Goondiwindi! 7!

Mobilising the power of labour against racist terror requires a hard political fight to the finish by revolutionaries against the White Australia trade union bureaucracy, the main prop of the Hawke/Keating regime of Cold War and economic austerity. The Australian Workers Union (AWU), the union covering rural labour and an historic pillar of the ALP, had a "whites only" clause until 1969. Today the union tops promote anti-Asian racism with their reactionary White Australia protectionist schemes. The leadership of the NSW Teachers Federation (NSWTF) piously wrung its hands over Goondiwindi, and called on Labor Premier Unsworth to build a separate black school for Toomelah's children on the NSW side of the border, to overcome discrimination at the Goondiwindi school. Instead of this capitulation to racism, the NSWTF should be leading the way in mobilising union-based defence guards of hefty unionists, not least from its own members, to ensure that black children can attend school on both sides of the border free of racist terror. The NSWTF's call is a variant of the Laborite program of *segregation* for blacks. In the mouths of the guilt-ridden Laborite "left," support to Aboriginal Land Rights means "out of sight, out of mind," a cover for continued racial exclusion, poverty and terror. We communists defend the rights of Aboriginals to ownership of their ancestral tribal lands as a minimal democratic right. But "land rights" under White Australia capitalism is no answer to black oppression.

As a Spartacist spokesman put it at a 27 June, 1984, Sydney public meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-supported Committee to Defend Black Rights:

"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

Australasian

# SPARTACIST



Australasian Spartacist — 6 issues (1 Year) for \$2 (includes Spartacist)  
Overseas rates:

airmail — \$7/6 issues  seamail — \$2/6 issues

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Postcode \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone No. \_\_\_\_\_

Order from/pay to: Spartacist Publications, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, 2001.

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."

— *Australasian Spartacist* no 107, July/August 1984

Numerous examples exist to prove that workers will fight on behalf of blacks. In 1946 black bans by the mainly white Seamen's Union in support of striking black pastoral workers in Western Australia's Pilbara region extracted almost immediate concessions from the bosses. The key is the forging of a genuinely communist, multi-racial vanguard party to lead all the oppressed in the struggle to smash White Australian imperialism.

### Australian Apartheid

Goondiwindi was accurately described by Ray Robinson, head of the Queensland Aboriginal Legal Service, as a "little South Africa." Marginalised into missions, shanty towns on the outer fringe of the rural towns — tiny versions of South Africa's black townships — until the late 60s in NSW, and even now in Queensland, the residents needed passes to enter or leave. When blacks go into town to shop or go to school they face massive and constant harassment.

For Aboriginals life in White Australia is a living hell and getting worse.



Aborigines live in Apartheid-like conditions — Infant mortality is more than five times that of whites.

opponent of Apartheid, is also an outspoken anti-communist. But he's black. Prominent white supremacist and Victorian Returned Services League head Bruce Ruxton labelled Tutu a "witchdoctor" and a "terrorist" and ranted against Asian and black African immigration. The media empire of the sinister Rupert Murdoch manipulated an outpouring of anti-Tutu sentiment from what it called "middle Australia," and in Sydney a group of National Action fascists and League of Rights anti-Semites picketed.

Meanwhile Hawke and his ministers rubbed shoulders with Tutu, supposedly "defending" him against the racists. Why? Because the Hawke

minister "Diamond Jim" McClelland was not joking when he remarked recently that ex-Tory prime minister Malcolm Fraser was to the "left" of Hawke on the "race question." Hawke is Reagan's man in Southeast Asia, determined that this white imperialist enclave in Asia should play its role alongside other key US allies like Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa in the war drive against the Soviet workers state and its allies, especially Vietnam. Preparations for war abroad mean reaction across the board at home as the bourgeoisie seeks to regiment the population behind a rampant "Aussie" chauvinism which targets externally the oppressed Asian masses (the "yellow hordes") and internally the miniscule Aboriginal population and all "foreigners."

### Vengeance for John Pat!

A watershed in Labor's racist roll-back was the cop murder of 16-year-old Aboriginal John Pat in Roebourne, Western Australia in September 1983. The killer cops were let off scot-free by the WA Supreme Court and the acquittals were openly endorsed by Labor premier Brian Burke. This was Labor's green light for racist terror. The Spartacist League was the only left group to actively respond to this ruling class provocation. Our call for labour/black/minority action resulted in a militant, 60-strong demonstration of reds and blacks in Sydney on 1 June 1984 which demanded "Vengeance for John Pat! Jail the Killer Cops!"

Both the SWP and the Healyites-without-Healy of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) echoed the bourgeois press in describing the Goondiwindi events as a "riot," ie, an outbreak of lawlessness. Both consider black self defence "unlawful," reflecting their role as loyal lapdogs of the racist imperialist Labor government. Thus a 1985 demonstration commemorating the anniversary of John Pat's death found SWPers unsuccessfully trying to have the Spartacist contingent take down its placards demanding "Vengeance for John Pat!" and "For the right of armed self defence!" The SWP is more interested in being in the government's pocket. Its front group, the Committee to Defend Black Rights, received some thousands of dollars from Hawke, purportedly to brief lawyers for some future Royal Commission which could only white-wash the killer cops.

As we have noted elsewhere in this issue, the political bandits of the SLL are colour-blind, essentially oblivious to racist terror. Thus their 20 January 1987 *Workers News* headlines its article "Aborigines slandered," as if all that needs to be fought is Murdoch's lies. It refers to "allegations of discrimination at Goondiwindi High School," as if there is doubt about it.



Sydney, 1 June, 1984. Spartacist League initiated protest of reds and blacks against cop murder of John Pat.

The grinding institutionalised poverty, unemployment, non-education and disease means that Aboriginal life expectancy is over twenty years less than for whites. Infant mortality is more than five times that of whites. Just one percent of the population, blacks make up a staggering ten percent of the prison population.

### Tutu's Visit — Racist Polarisation

South Africa, which is the embodiment of hideous capitalist oppression, touches a raw racial nerve within its sister nation across the Indian Ocean. So when Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu visited Australia in early January it touched off a racist furore which dovetailed with the backlash over Goondiwindi. Tutu, a self-avowed

regime wants the same thing as Tutu — to head off black working class revolution in South Africa and create a revamped South African capitalism which will mean the continued subjugation of the black masses. Hawke/Hayden are enemies of the black masses, and White Australia is proof. Immigration minister Hurford protested that Australia's immigration policy is "non-racial." Liar! The number of black Africans or Asian workers or peasants who can get into Australia can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Those who can get in are white Europeans, Hong Kong millionaires and Vietnamese contras. It's for this reason that Australia is the favoured destination for white South African emigres. As for Tutu, he paid his way with his outrageous whitewashing of Hawke's record on Aboriginals, stating that "significant progress" had been made.

Founded on the "principle" of White Australia, Hawke's ALP remains its best defender now under the banner of "national consensus" and Cold War II. Former Whitlam

#### Spartacist League:

GPO Box 3473,  
Sydney, NSW, 2001  
Phone: (02) 281-2181

GPO Box 2339,  
Melbourne, Vic, 3001  
Phone (03) 654-4315

They are also organic Laborites. Noting the "racist nature of the Queensland government," which is obvious even to the blind, they proceed to call on their friend, CIA-lover Unsworth, to set things aright — uncritically reporting the NSWTF's segregationist call for a black NSW school.

The American Trotskyist James P Cannon once described Australia as "an all-out Jim Crow country, where Negroes are not permitted to come in times of peace" (*Militant*, 11 April 1942). Forty-five years later his words are still true. We in the Spartacist League are committed to the revolutionary destruction, root and branch, of White Australia imperialism, and the establishment of a racially-integrated workers republic which will link up with socialist revolutions throughout the Asian region. ■

## Indonesian Communists . . .

Continued from page twelve

Communism with chauvinist hysteria against the country's significant Chinese minority. Three times in this century the combative Indonesian worker and peasant masses have risen in struggle, at times to the point of posing the question of power. And now, two decades after 1965, a new generation has come on the scene, thirsting for vengeance. Moreover, executing Communists also serves to placate rising Islamic fundamentalist opposition.

This demonstration was especially significant for revolutionaries in racist White Australia, where the ALP has historically poisoned the working class with anti-Asian chauvinism, and the nationalist "left" seems to itch for "democratic" Australian imperialism to rescue East Timor and West Papua from their Indonesian invaders. The ruling class is stirring the pot of anti-Indonesian chauvinism because they fear that the crisis in the Philippines has destabilised the region and the regime that follows Suharto in Indonesia may not be so reliable an anti-Communist buffer. One SL placard, "Waterfront Unions: Remember the Black Armada! For Labour Action to Stop the Executions!" recalled the better traditions of the Australian working class — the large-scale black bans of Dutch shipping by dockers and seamen in solidarity with the Indonesian independence struggle from 1945 to 1949. The road to revolution in this white imperialist outpost lies in struggle against racist Laborism, for revolutionary class solidarity with the workers and peasants of Asia, a perspective expressed by the Spartacist slogan, "For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia!"

The 1965 bloodbath can only be avenged by forging a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership that has drawn the lessons of that defeat and the bankruptcy of the PKI's strategy, which the Chinese Maoists backed to the hilt. As Giannakis explained:

"It was the PKI's alliance with the nationalist bourgeois Sukarno that disarmed the proletariat before the butcher generals and the reactionary Muslim marauders. The Stalinist strategy of class collaborationism/popular front has its history drenched in workers' blood from China and Spain to Indonesia and Chile. Only the proletariat can lead the oppressed masses of the imperialist-dominated countries to working-class revolution. The historic example of the 1917 Russian Revolution remains to this day the inspiration to the oppressed and exploited of the world. The Indonesian masses today need their Bolshevik party." ■



# Stop Execution of Indonesian Communists!

The following article was first printed in *Workers Vanguard* no 419, 9 January 1987, the paper of the Spartacist League/US. Since then, there has been no word on the fate of the seven communist prisoners scheduled for execution. Usually the Indonesian regime makes no public announcement until after the executions (especially inhumanely, giving even their families 2-3 days warning at most), therefore we can only assume they are still alive, but in imminent peril. The demonstration's message of international labour action to save their lives remains more urgent than ever.

SYDNEY, Australia, December 17 — Today some 25 people took part in a militant picket at Garuda Indonesian Airways, the Indonesian national airline, to protest against the threatened execution of leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) planned by the blood-drenched Suharto dictatorship. The protest was called at short notice by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency, in response to reports that seven political prisoners held in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, were to be executed by the end of the month and possibly before Christmas.

Chanting "Stop the executions of Indonesian Communists!" and "Free Indonesian Communists! Free all class-war prisoners!" the spirited



Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath in Indonesia.

picket attracted much attention from passers-by, including several Indonesians. Calling for urgent action by the Australian and international labour movement to save PKI prisoners from the military firing squads, demonstrators chanted, "Union action must be the weapon, against Suharto's bloody repression!" A protest telegram from the Partisan Defense Committee of the US was read out.



Emergency picket called by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.

The seven in imminent danger are among between 16 and 33 political prisoners remaining under death sentences imposed in the wake of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath in which Suharto came to power in 1965, and who have spent most of two decades in prison. They include four PKI leaders:

- Ruslan Wijayasastra, 69, former deputy chairman of SOBSI, the All-Indonesia Federation of Trade Unions, which numbered 3 million members in 1965.

- Sukatno, 56, secretary-general of the PKI youth organisation Pemuda Rakyat (People's Youth).

- Asep Suryaman, 61, and Iskander Subekti, 64, PKI Central Committee members. The other three are non-Communist military personnel charged with involvement in the abortive "September 30 Movement" coup of middle-ranking officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, the pretext for Suharto's takeover. In addition, over 200 political prisoners from 1965, including many women, remain in prison.

A key demand of the Spartacist demonstration was "Avenge the 1965 massacre — for workers revolution!" In the orgy of mass slaughter unleashed by the military in the last months of 1965, at least half a million and probably many more members and supporters of the PKI and its unions, peasant, women's, youth, student and cultural organisations, as well as the Chinese minority, died. The annihilation of the largest Communist party outside the USSR and China, in this strategically central country of Southeast Asia, was an historic defeat for the international proletariat and stabilised imperialist domination of the region. Spartacist spokesman Andrew Giannakis told the picket:

"The bourgeoisie of this country along with its servants in the ALP bureaucracy breathed a sigh of relief. For years previously they had offered their services to a US imperialist drive to quell the combative Indonesian proletariat via CIA/ASIS [Australian Security Intelligence Service] provocations. The aftermath of the 1965 massacre enabled them to disengage from the Vietnam debacle and embark on a streamlined imperialist push into Asia. Indonesia today is a key anti-Communist bulwark for imperialist anti-Soviet war preparations in this region. It forms a central part of the reactionary ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] alliance directly targeting the Vietnamese workers state as part of the war drive worldwide against the gains of the Russian Revolution. Suharto wants to place the threatened Indonesian Communists on the altar of imperi-

alism's anti-Soviet war frenzy. It is a war drive that the Australian bourgeoisie is four-square behind. They are the self-styled imperialist cops for the US in this region."

Placards at the demonstration read, "Smash ASEAN, US-Australian Alliance! Defend USSR/Vietnam!", "Down with Hawke, Suharto's anti-Communist Ally, Reagan's Lackey!" and "Stop Australian Military Aid to Indonesia!"

According to Amnesty International, there have been as many official executions in Indonesia in the last three years as in the entire preceding 38! After a long lapse of 13 years, the junta resumed executions of Communists sentenced to death in 1985 with those of SOBSI general secretary Mohammed Munir and three others, followed by a further nine executions in September/October 1986. They are linked to a new campaign of anti-Communist hysteria, including mass sackings of former PKI members, supporters and even their relatives and children. For example, 1,638 oil workers were sacked and blacklisted by companies including the US giant Caltex for membership in a pre-1965 PKI-led union. Another 900 "ex-PKI" railwaymen are to be dismissed, according to *TAPOL Bulletin* (July 1986).

Why has the butcher Suharto now opted to resume killing members of a party drowned in blood 20 years ago? Part of the reason must be to terrorise anew the Indonesian masses. With the economy in crisis and oil prices falling, revolutionary turmoil next door in the Philippines where another 20-year anti-Communist tyrant has just fallen, and the aging Suharto preparing his succession, the Jakarta generals sit nervously atop a social volcano. And they invariably combine anti-

Continued on page eleven

## Telegrams

On December 13 1986, the US Partisan Defense Committee (a class struggle, anti-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/US) issued an urgent appeal, sent to more than 600 individuals, newspapers, civil rights and civil liberties organisations, calling for international protests against the executions of Indonesian Communists. The PDC sent the following telegram to the Indonesian Embassy in the US: **Hands of Indonesian government dripping with workers' blood for more than 20 years. Stop executions of PKI leaders Wijayasastra, Sukatno, Suryaman and Subekti. Demand immediate release of all workers and PKI members imprisoned after government slaughter of one-half million in 1965.**

The Spartacist League/ANZ sent protest telegrams to Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Indonesian Foreign Minister; General Murdani, Indonesian Defence Minister; and to the Indonesian Embassy, and called on unions to do the same.

The Victorian branch of the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association sent the following protest on 19 December 1986 to the Indonesian Embassy in Australia: **The FEDFA protests the projected Execution of members of the Indonesian PKI currently incarcerated by Government, and calls on you to stop this crime.**