

Australasian

SPARTACIST



NUMBER 132

JUNE/JULY 1989

40 cents

**For the Unity of China
Under the Leadership of the Workers!**

Deng Regime Provokes Political Revolution



AP
Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 4: slaughter of student rebels by pro-government troops.



Independent (London)

The article below from *Workers Vanguard* (no 479, 9 June 1989, slightly abridged) was written just after the Tiananmen Square massacre. Since then the decrepit Deng has reappeared and the regime has moved to assert control. They have warned that anyone found contravening martial law conditions will be shot and the military and secret police have begun a mass round-up of the protest leaders, complete with beatings, public "confessions" and

Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets Must Rule!

death sentences. While the revolutionary upsurge has for the moment abated, nothing has been resolved, and the article retains its full force.

JUNE 6 — Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students

and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war. The bloodletting, with victims numbering perhaps in the thousands, did not succeed in intimidating the populace. Defiant and heroic, the rebels marched out of Beijing's Tiananmen Square singing the socialist workers anthem, the *Internationale*. They fought tanks with rocks, iron pipes and firebombs. "This tremendous mass movement shows that the Chinese people still have the same old revolutionary spirit," an old Chinese Communist told American television with evident pride.

All over Beijing, roads are littered with burned-out buses and military vehicles. While the regime proclaimed the students "counterrevolutionaries," there are numerous reports of soldiers

Enraged by the killing, the defiant populace torched armored military vehicles.

brought in to repress them breaking into tears when confronted with the masses' anger. Many of the troops abandoned their trucks and armored personnel carriers, some even burned them. There have already been clashes between army units which support the youthful protesters and those which support the decrepit Deng regime. A stream of Red Flag limousines removed leading party figures from Zhongnanhai compound, Beijing's Kremlin. Crowds applauded sympathetic troops as they moved into the city to liberate the seat of the Chinese state from the butchers of Tiananmen Square.

The earlier three-week stand-off between student protesters and the regime had something of the character of political theater (including a statue of "the goddess of democracy") and pressure politics. But illusions in peaceful reform, in replacing hard-liners

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International Communist League Launched



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Avenge David Gundy!

Jail the Killer Cops!

Before dawn on Friday, 28 April, hit squads from the "elite" Special Weapons and Operations Squad (SWOS) staged terror raids on six houses across Sydney. Sixty seconds after kicking in the door of a Marrickville house these killers in blue had shot to death a 32-year-old Aboriginal, David Gundy, in his bed. This was legal racist murder — a cold-blooded act of state terror and vengeance which took the life of a young working class man.

The cops had been out for blood to avenge the shooting of two of their own on the previous Monday, 24 April, allegedly by an "olive complexioned" gunman about to steal a car. David Gundy was killed by the state for one reason and one reason only — his skin colour. He was entirely innocent of any criminal connections or involvement in the cop shooting. He did not even know the suspect. A friend of Gundy who was staying in the house and was terrorised at gunpoint by the cops, along with David's eleven-year-old son, heard one of the cops say: "F... I'm sure it's him. He was around the same size" (Sydney Morning Herald, 20 April).

David Gundy is but the latest young Aboriginal male victim of a machinery of racist state terror operating across the country. This atrocity stands out as a virtually chemically pure case. Six years of Hawke's ALP in power, with its grinding anti-working class austerity and hysterical anti-communism, have seen an unparalleled peacetime strengthening of the machinery of state. This, together with the institutionalised racism of the country, is a combination which is deadly for the Aboriginal people.

In the face of mounting internal and international outrage, eighteen months ago Hawke set up the Muirhead Royal Commission into "Aboriginal Deaths in Custody" to investigate at least 120 Aboriginal deaths at the hands of the cops or prison screws. It gives us no satisfaction to say this, but we warned from the beginning that the Royal Commission would be a whitewash, and so it's proved to be. Muirhead's interim report in January on four of the most publicised cases accepted the central racist lie that black deaths in custody were "suicides," albeit due to economic and social "deprivation." The Commission

exonerated the cops and screws and merely recommended procedural changes such as "suicide proof" cells. Suffice to say that the whole spectrum of the reformist left supported the establishment of Hawke's judicial cover-up. The killing of David Gundy, like that of John Pat in 1983 and a host before and since, is the true face of Australian Apartheid. We say: Jail the killer cops and throw away the keys!

The killing of David Gundy caused mass revulsion and anger, particularly amongst working people. Ever since the 24 April shooting the cops had been bailing up young black men with guns to the head — on the streets, in coffee shops, pizza parlours and pubs. Brisbane police launched a stun grenade assault on an Aboriginal family home with one grenade landing on a baby's cot. Luckily, though the cops didn't know it, the house was empty. The police force in two states was literally running amok, a threat to the entire population, after getting the go-ahead from their political masters that it was open season on blacks. NSW police minister Pickering expressed "full confidence" in his SWOS killers and added that the police were probably "uptight."

Dolly Eatts, Gundy's widow, explained through her grief:

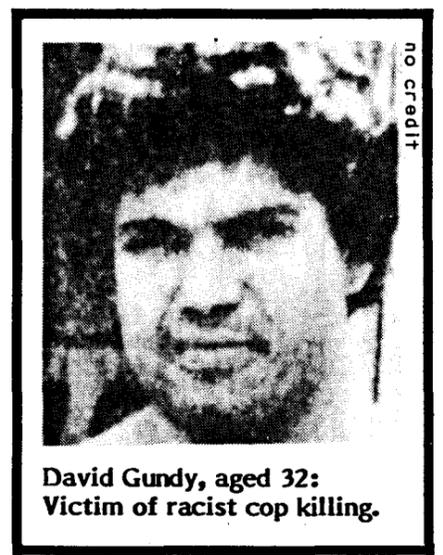
"Why is there blood all over our bed? The police said he got up and struggled. But all I know is that there is blood on the bed — not on the walls.... The officer who killed David must be punished.... I don't trust the police to investigate my husband's death properly. Neither does my family. As far as we are concerned, if this death is left to the police it will be a cover up" (Sydney Morning Herald, 29 April).

Public outrage spilled over a week after the atrocity. A rally was called by the Committee to Defend Black Rights (CDBR) outside the Sydney SWOS headquarters on 5 May. The CDBR is a liberal pressure group devoted to diverting outrage over the killing of blacks into "official" channels. Their main demand on 5 May was for the Gundy case to be investigated by the Royal Commission. But the character of the demon-

stration of over 500 was largely transformed by the presence of a large contingent of workers from city building sites. The workers, including a BLF contingent and wearing hardhats, formed an effective defence perimeter around the demo facing the assembled cops and chanted: "Jail the Killer Cops!" This demonstration was an affirmation of our communist program for labour/black mobilisations to defend racial minorities against fascist, racist and state terror.

After this the state government moved to put the lid on. The cops had already cleared themselves and now the coroner, Keith Waller, warned against "demonstrations," instructed the media to "cool it" (which they duly did) and deferred the inquest for two months to allow "emotions to die down." Liberal yuppie premier Greiner decried "unbalanced" media coverage, said the death of Gundy was not "racial" and "forgot" to send a message of condolence to the Gundy family. The increasingly despised Hawke was quite unable to manufacture "tears" for David Gundy. After the shootings the press and government started talking gun control again — but it was the cops who killed an unarmed, innocent man. We say that the citizenry must have the right to armed self defence, and this is especially true of the horribly oppressed Aboriginal people.

The state buried the cop who eventually died after the initial shooting with a state funeral with full pomp and circumstance. The innocent David Gundy was buried in a quiet and dignified ceremony by his family and friends with a racially mixed attendance of some 400. Even before Gundy was buried the state was orchestrating a sinister campaign demanding the Eveleigh Street ghetto in Redfern not be allowed to become a "no-go" area for the cops. With black outrage so strong the cops were nervous about carrying out their usual intimidation and terror tactics. What this involves was



David Gundy, aged 32:
Victim of racist cop killing.

typified on 27 August last year when 50 baton-wielding cops including the Tactical Response Group rampaged through the street beating residents indiscriminately. Alone on the left the Spartacist League denounced this Apartheid-style cop assault, holding a protest rally at Sydney University on 14 September. If there had been mass working class-centred protests against this rampage then the government and police may have thought twice about going on the rampage against Aboriginal people this April.

The killing of David Gundy demands vengeance. The significant labour participation on 5 May shows that the working class can be mobilised to defend the oppressed. As long as this decaying system exists the Aboriginal people will be forcibly marginalised in conditions of grinding poverty and oppression. The capitalists have no use for Aboriginals even as super-exploited wage slaves. The same is true for ever growing numbers of the rest of the population trapped in hopeless poverty as welfare is slashed. The working class must be broken from Laborite chauvinism and a Bolshevik-type party built to lead the proletariat as a tribune of all the oppressed. Only red working class revolution can lead to the socialist society in which material want is eliminated, there are no ghettos, an armed, conscious working people ensure against lumpen crime, and in which there is no special armed force of racist thugs licensed to kill at will. ■

Spartacist League

GPO Box 3473, GPO Box 2339,
Sydney, 2001 Melbourne, 3001
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Mail/make cheques payable:
 Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
 GPO Box 3473,
 Sydney, NSW, 2001

Australasian

SPARTACIST



Marxist two-monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Editorial Board: Greg Blythe (editor), Linda Brooke, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis, Sandra Morris, Phillipa Newman

Circulation: Glenn Blackall

Production: Phillipa Newman

Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication — Category B. Subscription \$3 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co, 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, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville.

Afghanistan

Jalalabad Defenders Break Siege

After two months of tenacious fighting, Afghan forces have managed to break the murderous siege of Jalalabad by CIA-backed rebels. The London Independent reported on 12 May that "Government troops have broken out of the besieged city of Jalalabad and are recapturing key positions taken by the mujahedin, whose strategy is in disarray. An Afghan armored column moving east, clearing the road to Torkhum on the Pakistan border, was able to recapture outposts taken by the guerrillas a few miles from the city." The dispatch from Pakistan added that "the Kabul regime has notched up big success by also reopening the road between Kabul and Jalalabad," enabling fresh supplies of ammunition to reach the city.

The American press, in particular, has been mum on this stunning loss for the US/Pakistani-backed mujahedin; the New York Times even tried to deny it. But confirmation keeps coming in from European sources. Thus the Munich Sueddeutsche Zeitung (17 May) headlined their article "Rebels Confess Defeat," writing:

"Rebel sources in Pakistan confirmed and announced that the Afghan regime's troops have broken through the sieging of the mujahedin around Jalalabad and that the fighting around the east Afghan city has abated."

After abandoning their drive to capture Jalalabad, the reactionary guerrillas turned their fire on the town of Khost, further south, which is only six miles from the Pakistan border. According to a 16 May AP dispatch, Afghan government artillery, rockets and aircraft have killed almost 1,200 rebels since the assault on Khost was launched a week ago.

The favorable turn of events became evident on May 11 when Western papers printed reports direct from Jalalabad. For the first time since the beginning of the assault, the government flew in a dozen reporters to the besieged city. The Los Angeles Times (11 May) summed up the visit to the beleaguered city: "The mujahedeen rebels' much-ballyhooed offensive against Jalalabad has virtually ended in failure, leaving an urban nightmare of twisted metal, shattered glass, ruined streets and tens of thousands of abandoned homes." Even the New York Times had to report the "barrage of hostility toward the United States" from residents whose relatives were killed or maimed by US-supplied rockets, while claiming that it was "difficult to determine" whether this "apparent fury" was "typical."

European journalists were more forthright. Tony Allen-Mills wrote in the London Independent (11 May):

"Time and again we were accosted by outraged Jalalabad citizens protesting at foreign intervention in the war. As we toured a ward in the provincial hospital, a mother began to scream that 'America' had hurt her son. She flailed at some nearby reporters, and was swiftly hustled away."

The same reporter wrote of the dramatic helicopter trip to Jalalabad in an admiring article titled, "Defying death and mujahedin with the hero pilots of Kabul." Contrary to the expectations of the mujahedin's US and Pakistani "advisers," government soldiers didn't just cut and run as soon as Soviet troops left. Their victory at Jalalabad was made possible by the stream of Soviet arms supplies which continue to reach Kabul, and by sheer guts and courage. "Country or coffin" is the slogan of the Jalalabad defenders.

These combat victories have vastly strengthened the position of Najibullah's left-nationalist People's Democratic Party (PDPA) government in Kabul. Rolling back the punishing siege of Jalalabad will build morale throughout the country. And by holding on to this key provincial capital on the road from the Khyber Pass to Kabul, government forces have effectively blocked rebel plans to attack the capital. The mujahedin can haul bazookas, Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and ammo across the mountains on their Tennessee mules (supplied by the US Army), but they won't be able to bring up the heavy armor that is indispensable for taking Kabul. Despite the PDPA's backpedaling on reforms in their attempt to conciliate Islamic fundamentalists, the valor of the fighting men and women of the army and militia forces provides hope for social progress in Afghanistan.

THE TIMES CHANGES ITS TUNE

The danger is far from over. While the rebels' morale is flagging, their paymasters in Washington want more blood. President Bush is continuing to send vast quantities of military supplies via Pakistan because, as one US "adviser" told Time (15 May), "we still think our guys can win." However, this opinion is not shared by other sectors of the American ruling class. Most dramatic was the front-page lead in the 23 April New York Times which exploded the myth of the valiant Afghan "freedom fighters" supposedly struggling for "independence" from a totalitarian regime installed by Moscow:

"The frontal assault by the Afghan guerrilla forces on the key eastern town of Jalalabad was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of the top civilian and military leadership of Pakistan, in the presence of the American Ambassador....

"No Afghan was present at the meeting on March 5."

Suddenly a portion of the truth was "fit to print" in the Times. The "expose" went on to document what had been known for years, that the Pakistani military's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate "has shaped the Afghan rebel leadership," and "the Central Intelligence Agency has been the Pakistani directorate's main partner." This Company-inspired piece, which reads like some old CIA cable from Saigon,

Now the Times reports (3 May) that a White House official admits that the Jalalabad assault was a "disaster, a terrible mistake," and says the time may come soon for a "reappraisal" and a deal with the Soviets. This semi-official mouthpiece of imperialist opinion is reflecting a faction in Washington that wants to stave off looming disaster. As the Times editorialized on 3 April, "now that the Soviet forces have been withdrawn" — ie, since they can't kill Russians anymore — "it's hard to see what American interests

Prashant Panjlar



Afghan government troops defend strategic Salang highway linking Kabul to Soviet Union.

warned that the siege of Jalalabad had "bogged down" and "brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory, or any victory, over the Soviet-backed Government." It's amazing what a whiff of grape-shot and a barrage of Soviet Scud-B missiles can do to clear the minds of these cheerleaders for the mujahedin.

Day after day, the Times breathes defeatism over Afghanistan: "With Soviet Weapons to Lean On, Kabul Is No Pushover" (19 March). "The guerrillas, as well as many Western military authorities... underestimated the determination of Afghan Government soldiers to fight" (22 March). White House, State Department, CIA and military intelligence officials who "were informally predicting Kabul's collapse within several weeks of the Soviet troop withdrawal on Feb. 15 now say it could take four to six months, or even longer" (24 March). The Times still has Donatella Lorch sneaking into Kabul to report on the guerrillas underground. But even this rabid mujahedin supporter almost got nabbed by the Khad secret police. (While she may get a thrill hiding for a couple of days under the folds of a burqa, the head-to-toe Afghan veil, how would Ms Lorch like living in the forced seclusion of purdah for the rest of her life?)

would be served by a fundamentalist triumph in Afghanistan." They want to bank instead on Soviet leader Gorbachev's policy of retreat and treacherous concessions to Washington, by accepting his offer of a "mutual arms cutoff" in Afghanistan.

But meanwhile death and destruction are still raining down on Afghan cities. All the reporters who visited Jalalabad attested to the horrible slaughter and devastation wrought by the rebels, who have fired more than 130,000 rockets on the city. Even the New York Times noted, "Large sections have been bombed and abandoned, while others, especially the mud-walled sections of the old town, have been shattered by the unrelenting rocket and artillery attacks of rebels who have received much of their weaponry from the United States." The Los Angeles Times quoted an Afghan official who "said 2,000 Jalalabad civilians were killed or injured in the last two months, 60% of them children."

The graphic evidence of the criminality of the CIA-backed rebels is a powerful reason to support the Partisan Defence Committee's campaign to aid the victims of Jalalabad. (See "Jalalabad Victims Aid Fund, A Great Success!" page 9).

— Reprinted from Workers Vanguard, no 478, 26 May, 1989.

China...

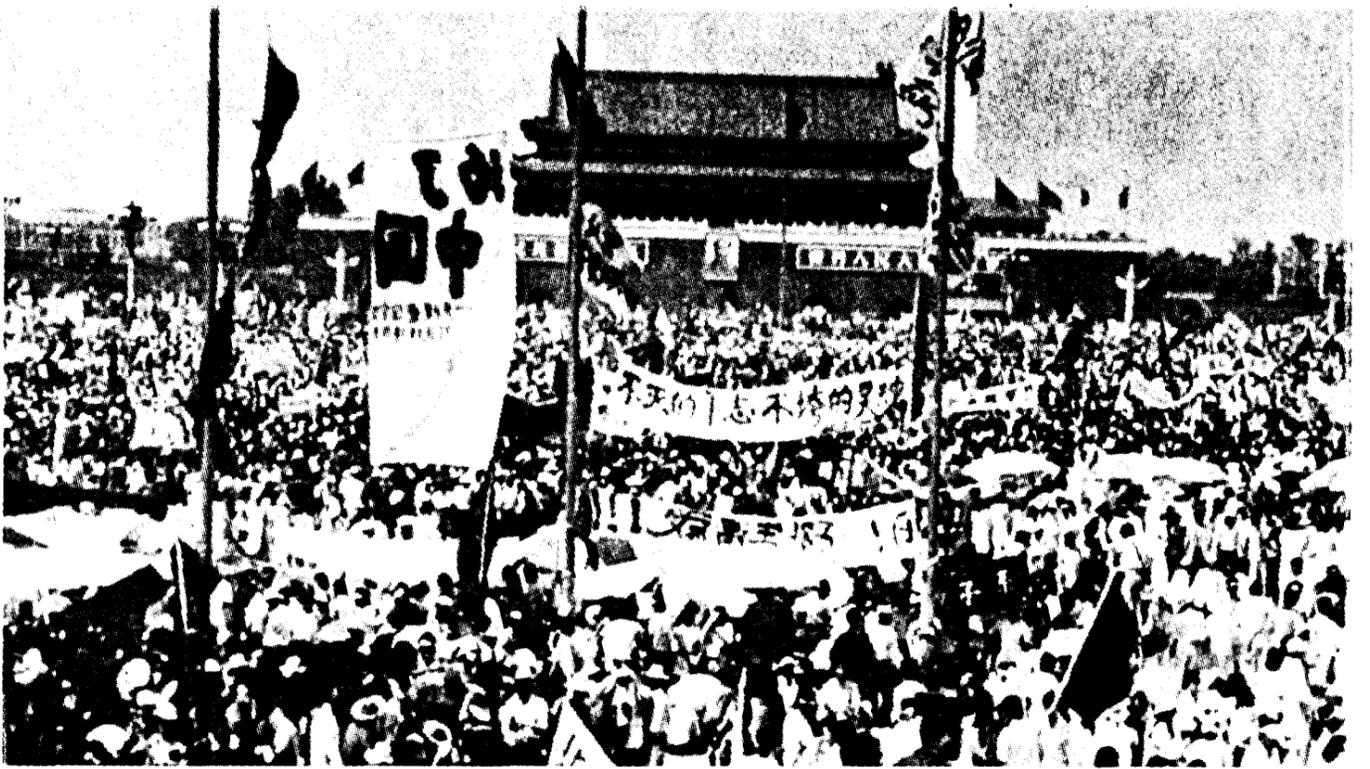
Continued from page one

with soft-liners, were buried under the corpses in Tiananmen Square. "Our Government is already done with," declared a young worker as he stood, rock in hand, facing the soldiers that fateful bloody Sunday. But what government will replace the corrupt and murderous Stalinist clique? Only a government based on workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' soviets — as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution — can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counterrevolution. For the unity of China under the workers' leadership!

While pro-regime military forces still occupy the center of Beijing, the rest of the city is in the hands of insurgent workers and students: "everywhere in Beijing people reacted to the killings by torching vehicles and creating blockades. The troops only controlled a few major thoroughfares, and elsewhere citizens continued to control the streets" (New York Times, 5 June). In the great industrial metropolis of Shanghai, student activists and militant workers have set up barricades using buses, trucks and cars. And a de facto general strike has brought economic activity to a standstill. In the central industrial city of Wuhan workers and students occupy a strategic bridge over the Yangtze River, a crucial transport link between northern and southern China.

The crowds kept chanting, "The People's Liberation Army must not fire on the people," and many of the soldiers believe it. The PLA is now politically split. The massacre was carried out by one particular military unit, the 27th Army, which was recently transferred from Inner Mongolia to the capital. The 27th has long historic ties to the Deng clique. Its commander is a relative of Chinese president Yang Shangkun, Deng's deputy and a prime mover in the suppression of the students' protests. Significantly, after the bloodbath the 27th Army has acted not as a conquering army but a besieged force. CBS News (5 June) reported:

"The tanks are ranged in a particular formation pointing in all directions. Down below them on the highway, below the overpass, are many trucks full of troops. Now, this is clearly a defensive formation that is set up not expecting



Thousands of students massed in Tiananmen Square, singing the Internationale, demanding democratic rights and an end to bureaucratic corruption.

attack from unarmed civilians, but from other military units."

The main unit moving up against them is the 38th Army. This is the regular Beijing garrison force and has many ties to the civilian population, especially the students. Beijing University students in the army reserve reportedly spend their summers training with the 38th. It was the 38th Army which for two and a half weeks refused to enforce the martial law ordered by Deng and his hardline premier Li Peng. And now many soldiers of the 38th quite likely have relatives killed in the butchery of June 4.

As China moves rapidly toward civil war, the government has gone into hiding. None of the top leaders have been seen in the past few days. Rumors abound that Deng is dead or dying of cancer, that Li Peng was shot and wounded by a soldier whose relatives were killed in the massacre. The 5 June edition of the Communist Party newspaper People's Daily is nowhere to be found and may not have come out at all. An Asian diplomat in Beijing summed it up: "Nobody's in charge, as far as we can tell."

FOR PROLETARIAN POLITICAL REVOLUTION

Conditions are exceptionally favorable for the working class to take charge in China. Industrial workers have enormous social weight in the main arenas of struggle, Beijing and Shanghai, as well as Wuhan and Canton. It was the hundreds of thousands of

working people pouring into the streets who stymied the regime's attempt to impose martial law. Motorcycle squads of workers reported on troop placements around Beijing. And the mass of soldiers identify with the working people. They, too, are hard-hit by the raging inflation resulting from Deng's market-oriented policies. As a result of government cost-cutting measures, military units have even gone into business for themselves:

"As a consequence, some units have used their trucks to start transportation companies, their repair depots to serve as commercial garages and their hospitals to admit private-paying patients.

"Sometimes, ill soldiers have even been turned away to cater to patients who can pay.... This has created wide demoralization."

— New York Times, 6 June

In the countryside the poorer peasants resent their wealthy neighbors, the new class of Chinese kulaks spawned by Deng's "free market" economic reforms. And now, to cut down on inflation, the government is paying peasants for grain, pigs and other produce with worthless scrip rather than cash. While the students display more than a little petty-bourgeois elitism, the formation of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' soviets would polarize the student movement, attracting those activists motivated by genuine social idealism.

There are, however, powerful

forces in China which could lead to military bonapartism, warlordism and the disintegration of a unified state. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, rival militarists divided China into their own fiefdoms. In a certain sense the Mao-Stalinist regime perpetuated this pattern with different units in the PLA linked to rival factions and cliques. Furthermore, Deng's market-oriented economic policies have produced enormous regional as well as social inequalities. The provinces on the eastern seaboard have benefited from the concentration of industrial investment and foreign capital, while the peasant hinterland has fallen further and further behind.

Only the working class, under the leadership of a genuine communist vanguard party, can unify China through developing a just, egalitarian and prosperous society. The restoration of centralized economic planning, under a workers and peasants government, is necessary to begin to even out the now enormous regional differences. At the same time, a Chinese soviet government would scrupulously respect the national rights of the non-Han minorities, granting autonomy for Inner Mongolia, Tibet and the Turkic-speaking peoples of Sinkiang.

To secure the internal unity and prosperity of China requires a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Deng is now hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese



Left, Deng with his top generals. Right, PLA troops surrounded by protesters near Tiananmen Square late on Saturday, 3 June, just hours before the massacre. Troops originally called out to enforce martial law balked at suppressing mass protests.



people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with US imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood. It was right after Deng's triumphant tour of the US in 1978 that he launched the Chinese army against heroic Vietnam. Beijing has for the past decade been a major arms supplier to the genocidal madman Pol Pot in Kampuchea and the CIA's mujahedin cutthroats in Afghanistan. Yet the "pro-democracy" movement has not denounced these crimes.

A truly communist China would help forge the unity of the world working class and oppressed toilers against imperialism. A first and elementary step is to generously aid the reconstruction of impoverished Vietnam, whose decades-long struggle inflicted the greatest-ever defeat on US imperialism. And Chinese workers must link up with the powerful Soviet working class, whose resistance to Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika can open the road to proletarian political revolution in the USSR. A revolutionary internationalist government in Beijing would also be a tremendous impetus for socialist revolution in Japan, the industrial



Cultural Revolution 1967: Mao used student Red Guards in bureaucratic power fight.

powerhouse of Asia. To construct a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party in China it is necessary to break workers and radical students from liberal illusions and Stalinist-nationalist prejudices.

NEITHER "PURE DEMOCRACY" NOR MAOISM — FOR LENIN'S COMMUNISM

A few days before the massacre Deng's henchman Yang Shangkun declared: "If we fall from power, the Chinese People's Republic will collapse. Then there will be a restoration of capitalism" (London Guardian, 29 May). What hypocrisy! These are the men whose proclaimed policy is "building socialism with capitalist methods." These are the men who dismantled centralized planning and eliminated collectivized agriculture, smashing "the iron rice bowl" (guaranteed employment) for workers and promoting a new class of rich peasants. These are the men who have set up "special economic zones" for Western and Japanese investors to exploit Chinese workers, who lack even minimal trade-union protection. These are the men who have



Armed workers seized Shanghai, 1927. Stalin told revolutionary workers to give up their guns to Chiang Kai-shek, leading to bloody massacre.

brought prostitution and child labor back to China.

For years Western capitalists have held up Deng's China as a model of economic reform for a Communist country. Even after the massacre the London Financial Times (5 June) praised Deng's record "of economic reform and the open policy towards foreign capital." Likewise, the Wall Street Journal (5 June) wrote that Deng "moved the nation away from the Maoist era of bitter class struggle.... In its stead, China began trying Western-style economic incentives and the rule of law."

At the same time, the Western bourgeois media has lionized the student "pro-democracy" movement, trying to portray it as opposition to Communist rule. Certainly, the students have strong illusions in some kind of pure, classless democracy which many of them seem to identify with America. Thus they erected a large statue of the "goddess of democracy," modeled on the American Statue of Liberty, and provocatively placed it opposite the huge portrait of Mao Tse-tung hanging in Tiananmen Square. Some student activists appealed to the Bush White House to pressure the Deng regime to "democratize" China.

Since the massacre, many supporters of the "pro-democracy" movement abroad have campaigned for the US and other imperialist powers to launch a diplomatic and economic war against China. A group of Chinese exchange students in the US wrote an open letter to Bush saying that the Chinese Communist Party had turned into an "evil fascist dictatorship" (New York Times, 5 June). One member of this group even stated that "Chiang Kai-shek wasn't so bad." Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was a bloody military dictatorship which cruelly oppressed China's workers and peasants in the service of Wall Street. Thus the cult of "pure democracy" could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist subjugation.

However, in the minds of Chinese students and even more so the workers, a desire for democracy coexists with intense patriotism toward the People's Republic of China. The naive belief that the People's Liberation Army would never fire on the people was itself testimony to the depth of support to the 1949 Revolution. For the first time in the 4,000-year history of the

Chinese state, the working people of China did not view the army as an instrument of brutal oppression and exploitation.

Western journalists have found no protesters who denounced the 1949 Revolution, vilified Mao and praised Chiang Kai-shek. When some hooligans splattered paint on Mao's portrait in Tiananmen Square, there was universal outrage and everyone was convinced it was the work of provocateurs hired by Li Peng. Immediately a banner was placed next to the defaced picture, saying "This was not done by the students or the people."

More surprisingly and significantly, in protest marches a number of workers carried portraits of Mao, who was no sympathizer of democracy and freedom. But the founder of "People's China" was held up as a symbol of Spartan virtue and Communist ideals against the corrupt and cynical Deng clique. The London Independent (24 May) observed that "while few would relish any return to dogmatic Maoism, the past does offer an appealing if highly romanticised vision for many Chinese: prices were stable, crime was low and unemployment was unheard of."

While idealization of the Mao era by some young workers is certainly understandable, it indicates woeful ignorance of their own history. Mao's Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s was an insane economic adventure — backyard steel furnaces — and ended in total collapse and widespread starvation. The destructive frenzy of the Cultural Revolution — a decade-long, convulsive factional struggle within the bureaucracy —

took many times more lives than the massacre in Tiananmen Square. When Deng ousted the Maoist "Gang of Four" in 1976, Chinese society, especially the intellectuals, welcomed him. Students affectionately greeted him, "Hello, Xiaoping," using his given name.

In both China and the West, Mao and Deng are viewed as polar political opposites. But they represent only different wings of Chinese Stalinism, two sides of the same coin, as it were. The crimes of both Mao and Deng have the same root cause: the bureaucratically deformed nature of the social revolution which triumphed in China in 1949. But those whose vision is limited to the blinkered outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy look at the present convulsion in China and see only a "counterrevolution."

FOR A TROTSKYIST PARTY IN CHINA!

The imperialist bourgeoisies are salivating over recent developments in the Soviet bloc. Some, like the West Germans, are seeking to undermine the deformed and degenerated workers states economically. Others, like the Cold Warriors in Washington, seem to think East Europe is going to fall into their laps. President Bush declares in a press conference, "Communist bureaucrats beware in Poland." (About China, the Pentagon/CIA/White House bunch are more circumspect, fearing they could lose the "invaluable" listening posts on the Soviet border provided to them by Beijing.) The more rabid in this crew, like former Nixon staffer William Safire, proclaim that "Counterrevolution — civil war — is under way," from China to the Soviet Union and beyond (New York Times, 5 June).

Civil war is breaking out, but it's by no means all going toward counterrevolution. Washington got a big black eye when it tried to take Jalalabad after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan. Then Bush declared war on the world's tiniest tinpot dictator, Panama's Noriega, and got nowhere. He's consistently been losing the "peace" war with Gorbachev, barely making it through the NATO summit without a split with the Germans, who would prefer the nuclear holocaust elsewhere. Bush's only known allies are Maggie Thatcher and the Mexican president. [And also the junior

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During mass protests in Beijing, workers' motorcycle contingents such as these reported on troop placements.

The Fight for Communist Leadership

International Communist League Launched

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand announces with pride tempered with a sober assessment of our responsibilities our adherence to the newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), previously the international Spartacist tendency. The SL/ANZ is thus the disciplined Australian section of the ICL. Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky, Lenin's companion in arms and founder of the Red Army, proclaimed the creation of a new International to carry forward the authentic Leninist program abandoned and besmirched by the Communist International under the sway of J V Stalin and his anti-revolutionary bureaucratic clique. The ICL today fights to reforge the Fourth International.

In the shadow of the approaching second imperialist world war, Trotsky observed with increasing urgency that the objective preconditions for world proletarian revolution were overripe, but what was lacking to uproot decadent capitalism on the world scale and establish a socialist world order was an authentic revolutionary leadership at the head of the proletariat. The spread of the barbarism of fascism and the oncoming world war were not the only deadly dangers confronting the workers of the world at that crucial moment; posed also was the question of the very survival of the Soviet Union and the remaining gains of October.

Today once again, those who struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation in what is unquestionably a period preparatory to war still confront that same excruciating crisis of leadership, but in a different situation. The contradictions of Soviet society and the problems of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, both brilliantly analysed by Trotsky, have exploded with pent-up force. In the capitalist countries, the working class certainly lacks the level of socialist

consciousness and organisation it possessed in the 1920s and 1930s. The legacy of Stalin's reign of terror inside the Soviet Union, and of the repetitive betrayals of crucial revolutionary opportunities, has been the massacre of pro-Communist militants from China to Spain to Greece to Chile to Iran. Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level of identification of human progress with the idea of communism stands at a relative

is being paid for in blood in Afghanistan (although the mujahedin siege of Jalalabad has evidently been thrown back, much to the dismay of American policy makers and the Pakistani annexationists), and which has devastating implications as well for the working people from Nicaragua to Southern Africa to Indochina. Now within the USSR, national antagonisms — spurred by the recent "reforms" termed "market socialism" which encourage the richer

tutes a more immediate and direct threat to the conquests of October than ever before: what is posed is nothing less than civil war. Only through the return to the working people of their state, through the rule of soviets (councils of workers and soldiers), can the egalitarian consciousness (the idea that nobody should live off the exploitation of the labour of others) which remains deeply ingrained in sections of the Soviet working masses be mobilised in decisive struggle to uphold the gains of October.

The effects of what is termed "market socialism" are clearly shown in Eastern Europe. In Poland, the Stalinist bureaucracy's gross economic mismanagement and heavy-handed repressiveness opened the road for workers' grievances to be channelled into a reactionary-clericalist company union on behalf of the "free trade union" CIA along with the Western bankers and the Vatican. Every leader of Solidarnosc is and has been since 1981 a traitor to the working class on behalf of NATO imperialism. Today the Polish regime and Solidarnosc are selling the country to the IMF and are prepared to allow the historic centres of the proletariat — the Lenin Shipyard workers, the miners of Upper Silesia — to be dismembered. The Stalinist schema of "national autarchy" has come home to roost — Down with the Stalinist nationalists in Moscow and East Berlin who allow the imperialist world market to regulate the terms of trade between "fraternal socialist" trading partners; reforge the historic link between the German and Polish proletariats through proletarian political revolution!

In China the Stalinist regime provoked a fully fledged political revolution. What began as a student upheaval around vague demands for greater democracy was embraced by the working people of Beijing who came out into the streets seeking by their massive numbers to block the unleashing of troops against the demonstrators. Some units fraternised with the crowds; other units were brought in to shoot down the people. Tremendous resentment has been building among the salaried people against the beneficiaries of "building socialism with capitalist methods" — a full-fledged NEP. The only progressive solution lies in the unity of China under workers' leadership. And this immediately poses point blank the need for a revolutionary, a Leninist-Trotskyist, party.

Stalin and Mao and all the pygmy Stalins and Maos have done everything they could to make "communism" a code word for



Banner of newly founded International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) raised at annual Lutte Ouvriere fete, Paris, May 1989.

low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact.

THE HOMELAND OF OCTOBER IS IN GRAVE DANGER — ALL POWER TO WORKERS SOVIETS!

Under Gorbachev we have witnessed an attempt to "restructure" the Soviet economy in the direction of encouraging powerful forces toward capitalist restoration, combined with a "diplomacy" of apparently limitless appeasement of imperialism which

republics to seek greater autonomy from their poorer neighbours, but also nourished by decades of the bureaucracy's Great Russian chauvinism — threaten to dismember the homeland of the October Revolution. The slogan of "free elections" and the agitation for "national independence," particularly in the Baltic states, in this context can be nothing but a transparent cover for the program of capitalist restoration. Should nationalist unrest spread to the Ukraine, this would be extremely ominous. The anti-Semites of the Russian nativist "Pamyat" fascists have grown dangerously, protected by elements of the bureaucracy. Today, the continued existence of the bureaucratic caste, the heirs of Stalin, consti-

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(БОЛЬШЕВИКОВ-ЛЕНИНЦЕВ)
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The struggle for the continuity of Lenin and Trotsky's communism: **The Bulletin of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist); founding issues of American Trotskyists' Militant (1928) and Spartacist (1964).**

Special Monthly Organ of the Opposition Group in the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The MILITANT

For the Russian Opposition!

Against Oppression and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America!

A STATEMENT BY AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BY JAMES T. CANAVY, MARTIN ABERN AND MAX SHACTHMAN

Left Wing Views Kennedy Assassination ... page 8
Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International ... page 11

SPARTACIST

WITCH HUNT IN THE SWP

Trotsky Series

Control Commission

murdering your own people and trying to get little concessions from imperialism by being its cat's paw, as the Chinese have been America's agent militarily against Vietnam. In part, illusions in "Western democracy" among the Chinese students stem from the misidentification of militant communism with Maoism — ie economic primitivism and "barracks socialism," the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, the student protesters are singing the Internationale.

DECADENT IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN GIVEN A BREATHING SPACE

Today the capitalist world remains marked by the decomposition of the short-lived "American Century": having emerged as the dominant capitalist power after the devastation of Europe and Japan in World War II, Washington's "new world order" quickly unraveled, beginning with the Chinese Revolution and America's consequent embrace of its former enemy, Japan, as a bulwark against the spread of revolution in Asia, continuing with the Cuban Revolution and underlined by the dirty, losing war against the peasants and workers of Vietnam. Now beset by sharp

Front page of **Spartacist**, 1966: From its inception our tendency has fought for authentic communism against the betrayals of Stalin and Mao and all the little Stalins and Maos.



government has via the Accord enlisted the trade-union bureaucracy to enforce its Thatcherite attack on workers' jobs, living standards, working conditions and democratic rights. Today the communists, whose aim is the proletarian conquest of state power and the reconstruction of society on a new basis, are at the same time the most consistent defenders of the ideals of the Enlightenment and the gains of bourgeois revolution: the right to bear arms; the separation of church and state — against the imposition of religious fundamentalism as a political program; against censorship, whether by "creationists" seeking to ban the

sociation of workers republics in the British Isles! In Japan, where the bourgeois revolution came late and from the top down, we demand the abolition of the emperor system — For a Japanese workers republic! In Australia, opposition to the colonial legacy of the monarchy is expressed in our slogan: For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

WAR AND REVOLUTION

The Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia in 1917 remains the touchstone for revolutionaries today. Whilst the Second International leadership in Europe betrayed the working class in supporting their "own" bourgeoisies in the inter-imperialist war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought to turn imperialist war into civil war. Their historic conquest of state power led straight to the establishment of the revolutionary Third International. The revolutionary wave through Europe which followed failed to win proletarian power, resulting in the isolation of the October Revolution in impoverished, war-torn Russia. Under these conditions a parasitic caste grew atop the Soviet workers state, wrenching political power from the working class. By 1924, this bureaucratic caste acquired self-consciousness and a program: "Socialism in One Country."

This program, based on the illusion that it was possible for an isolated Soviet workers state to survive and coexist with capitalist imperialism over an extended period, meant the destruction of the Communist International as an instrument of revolution. The heirs of Stalin in the Kremlin today have been increasingly forced to acknowledge Stalin's crimes — the brutality of forced collectivisation, the deportations and executions of oppositionists, the purge of the Red Army on the

eve of WWII. This "open" debate, glasnost, is mainly a response to the intractable problems of the Soviet economy. It's an adjunct to perestroika, "restructuring" the economy in line with market forces, and much of the debate is directed to refurbishing Bukharin and the program of the Right Opposition.

The question of Trotsky is potentially explosive, for — unlike Bukharin, Stalin's bloc partner until 1929 — Trotsky led a fight against Stalin and the epigones, aimed at restoring the domestic and international policies of Soviet Russia to a Leninist course. Beginning in 1923, Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought for policies aimed at reconstituting an industrial proletariat and overcoming the divisions between city and countryside through a perspective of industrial growth. The analysis of the Soviet Union in Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* (1936) and its perspective for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy and return power to the workers soviets remains the touchstone for understanding Russia today.

Rejecting the suicidal dogma of "Socialism in One Country," the Left Oppositionists in the 1920s struggled to reassert the perspective of international extension of the revolution as the only effective answer to the isolation and capitalist encirclement of the first workers state. In China, for example, they opposed the subordination of Communists to Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, which led to the beheading of the powerful revolutionary struggle of 1925-27. The International Left Opposition was formed in 1930, after Trotsky had been exiled from the USSR, considering itself a forcibly externalised faction of the Third International. In 1933, the Stalinists refused to fight against the coming to power of the Nazis in Germany, a betrayal that did not provoke any fundamental struggle in the Third International. The Trotskyists declared that the Third International could not be reformed. Especially with the promulgation in 1935 of the "People's Front" policy — the systematic perspective of an alliance with the parties of so-called "democratic imperialism" — the conclusion was inescapable: there was no place for revolutionists in the Stalinist CPs.

In 1933, the Trotskyists constituted themselves as the Inter-

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Sydney 1983. SL protests Chinese border attacks on Vietnam. Nationalist Stalinists made China US agent against Vietnam.

trade rivalry with Japan and the demands of resurgent German imperialism to assume its "rightful" place as the leader of capitalist Europe, American capitalism has become the world's biggest debtor nation. For Australia, the developing trade war between the US and EC, and the US and Japan, spells economic disaster and pits its major trading partner, Japan, against its "great and powerful ally." Increasingly scared, and therefore more vicious, Australian lackey imperialism can only cling closer to the wounded capitalist colossus, hoping the US will remember its services. The Australian bourgeoisie's fear of revolution in Asia underlies its jackal role in US imperialism's anti-Soviet war machine — most notably the spy bases, linked to a nuclear arsenal which could destroy the world a hundred times over.

The resurgent bourgeois anti-Sovietism of the 1980s, inaugurated by Jimmy Carter's hypocritical "human rights" crusade and escalated under the unashamed Cold Warriors of Reagan/Bush/Thatcher, highlighted the timidity and demoralisation of the "left." In Australia, the social-democratic ALP

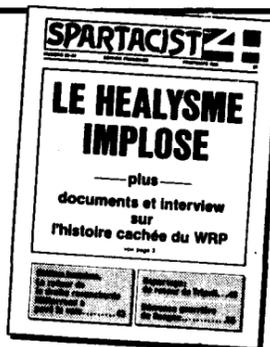
teaching of evolution or "anti-pornography" feminists or the burning of Salman Rushdie's "blasphemous" novel; against the racist death penalty; for the liberation of women. In Britain, where the bourgeois revolution was early and uncompleted, we say: Down with the monarchy, the aristocracy, the established churches — For a voluntary as-

SPARTACIST
An Organ of
Revolutionary Marxism

Spartacist is the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Published under the direction of the International Executive Committee in English, French, German and Spanish, Spartacist embodies the ICL's commitment to Leninist internationalism.



English edition No. 41-42 (64 pages) \$1.50



Edition française n° 23-24 (56 pages) 8F



Deutsche Ausgabe Nr. 13 (48 Seiten) DM 2,—



Edición en español No. 22 (16 páginas) \$0,25

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ICL Launched...

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national Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninist) in recognition of the imperative need for an authentically communist new International. In 1938, under the shadow of approaching war, the Fourth International was founded on the basis of the document "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" and the perspective put forward in "War and the Fourth International" (1934) of uncompromising revolutionary defeatism toward all imperialist combatants, including those aligned with the USSR, combined with revolutionary defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Against those, like Isaac Deutscher, who argued that the launching of the FI was premature, Trotsky insisted that the second imperialist war, like the first, would provoke revolutionary struggles. And he predicted that the brittle rule of Stalinism would crack under the impact of a new world war. This was confirmed in the initial collapse of the Red Army in the face of Hitler's invasion, and by the turbulent social conditions in West Europe at war's end. Naked treachery by the Stalinists was needed to militarily and politically disarm leftist Resistance forces in Italy and Greece and hand power back to the bourgeoisie. In France, the Stalinists endorsed "national reconstruction" to reestablish a bourgeois regime. Trotsky's insistence on the need for a revolutionary leadership was tragically confirmed by the results of its absence. The Stalinists were successful in deflecting revolutionary struggle.

Central to that outcome was Stalin's success in putting over the lie that World War II in the Allied imperialist nations was a struggle of liberation — that it was a great battle against fascism and for a better world. In the context of the mass popular revulsion against fascism, Stalin's policy of the Popular Front prevented the growth of mass antiwar sentiment paralleling the massive radical-



isation of World War I. The lie was successful; a war fought so that US imperialism could emerge as the predominant imperialist power, the capitalist "world policeman" which rained death down on Vietnam for two decades after Dien Bien Phu, was popularly accepted as a war of the people against fascism. Nonetheless, the victory of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc was conditional. The Red Army smashed Hitler's Wehrmacht; the victorious imperialists had to divide Europe with Stalin.

Large numbers of the Trotskyist cadre in Europe and Asia were wiped out in war and repression. This decimation was a factor in the emergence of a revisionist current led by Michel Pablo in the 1950s. So was the passivity of the Socialist Workers Party in the US, a relatively strong party, which failed to intervene politically in the European sections, instead hiding behind the untested US Voorhis Act which inhibited international political affiliation. The Pabloites were disoriented both by Stalin's defensive collectivisation of Eastern European countries and by the establishment of bureaucratically deformed workers states following Tito's leading to power a cohesive peasant-based indigenous revolution in Yugoslavia and the 1949 revolution in China. Worshipping accomplished fact, the Fourth International revisionists decided a "new world reality" would force the Stalinists to play a revolutionary role. From denying the necessity of a revolutionary party, the Pabloites swung from tailing Stalinism to cheerleading guerrillaist/pro-Stalinist forces (hailing the massacre of Vietnamese Trotskyists) to hailing Pilsudskites in Poland and are in a position to do some harm as vociferous apologists for those demanding "national liberation" for the Baltic republics. Today's representatives of the revisionist current have turned "Trotskyism" into a latter-day left social democracy.

The bourgeoisie is celebrating in anticipation of the "end of Communism." The Stalinist bureaucracies have indeed reached the point of terminal crisis. But their crisis is because they are opposed to everything communism stands for. The national antagonisms in the Soviet Union, the revolt in China, arise in response to "market socialist" policies that are counterposed to centralised socialist planning. The bureau-

cratic stranglehold over political and cultural life, the appeasement that has emboldened imperialism — these are not communism, but its antithesis.

AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM MANDATES INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historical tasks. Opportunists find international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities ... on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national tastes.... International unity is not a decorative facade for us, but the very axis of our theoretical views and our policy" (Leon Trotsky, "Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition," 7 September 1929).

The parochialism and extreme chauvinism of White Australia, refracted through the institutionalised class collaborationism of social democracy, generates deforming ideological pressures. Belonging to a democratic-centralist International has been essential to resisting these pressures. Formed in New Zealand in 1972, the SL/ANZ lacked direct organisational continuity with Trotsky's Fourth International, unlike the US section which originated in a struggle against the degeneration of the SWP. Thus, upon moving to Australia in 1973, it relied heavily on US cadre for transmission of the traditions and practices of the communist movement. In June 1974, the SL/ANZ voted for the "Declaration for the Organising of an International Trotskyist Tendency," announcing the constitution of a nucleus for the early crystallisation of the international Spartacist tendency. Our first delegated international conference in 1979 cemented a real political integration of the SL/ANZ into the iSt.

In 1981, the profoundly social democratic and "little Australia" nationalist view that the "Russian Question" is not fundamental to Australia, denying the strategic necessity for Australian communists to struggle against our "own" bourgeoisie in fighting to defend the workers states, sparked a sharp factional struggle within the SL/ANZ. International intervention in this fight was critical



Leon Trotsky (above), co-leader of October Revolution, founder of the Red Army, fighter against Stalinist usurpation of the revolution.

in the defeat of the neo-Shachtmanite opposition and in the reaffirmation of the necessity of genuine internationalism.

This fight reasserted the duty of proletarian internationalists to combat deeply-rooted white Australian racism as a precondition to forging international unity with the workers and oppressed masses of Asia. Thus the Australian section of the ICL must build on our exemplary defence of Aborigines and immigrants against racist and state terror; our consistent opposition to the White Australia nationalism of the labour bureaucracy; and our opposition to Australian imperialism in the South Pacific, expressed for example in the 1986 joint declaration of the SL/ANZ with the Ligue Trotskyiste de France demanding independence for New Caledonia. Our protest against the executions of Indonesian Communist Party leaders in December 1987 was a demonstration of our commitment to internationalist solidarity with the working masses of Asia. Our decades-long struggle for Trotskyism in Lanka and the agreement for fusion with the Japanese Group in winter 1988 represent important steps towards forging Trotskyist parties in the East.

On 13 May 1989, the International Executive Committee of the (outgoing) international Spartacist tendency decided unanimously to found the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Today our small forces confront very high stakes. The achievements of our international organisation are modest: our militant labour/black mobilisations against fascist provocations in the United States — an expression of our consistent understanding that the fight against racial oppression is key to the American workers revolution — have been warmly greeted, as have other legal and social defence initiatives of the Partisan Defense Committee and co-thinkers internationally; we have protested every move by US and Australian imperialism against the Vietnamese Revolution and the Kampuchean deformed workers state; among some layers of the Communist movement in West Europe we have become known as "the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union"; our forthright championing of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, under the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism!
Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!



Upheaval in China

U.S. Get Out of Panama!



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Jalalabad Victims Aid Fund

A Great Success!

Around the world — in immigrant communities, at factories, workplaces and union halls, among foreign students — a campaign of international solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan has been under way since 9 April. Under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" this effort has evoked sympathy among sections of the working people against the imperialist rulers who are arming and bankrolling the Afghan mujahedin. Now, with their backs to the wall Afghan soldiers and civilians have thrown back the CIA's cutthroats from a horrendous three-month siege. We salute the heroic Afghan defenders of Jalalabad! And we are pleased that through this campaign we have been of active, if modest, assistance.

The international aid campaign has been highly successful. As of 16 June, over \$56,000 has been deposited in special accounts, of which \$51,351.12 has been wired to the government of Afghanistan for material aid to civilian victims of the battle at Jalalabad.

The Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was launched by the Partisan Defence Committee in response to an appeal issued by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/ANZ. A PDC has been active in the United States for more than a decade. The Jalalabad campaign provided the impetus for initiating similar legal and social defence organisations here and in Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, and



Spartacist League contingent at Melbourne May Day march.

West Germany in conjunction with sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The women students, mothers and grandmothers in Kabul who have enlisted in the battle against Washington's murderous Afghan rebels should know that the cause of Afghan women has struck a chord. The campaign was kicked off internationally at a massive abortion rights march in Washington April 9, where PDC supporters distributed more than 25,000 leaflets. The issue of women's rights has continued to be the cutting edge of our efforts.

In London, the Asian community responded particularly enthusiastically, and the Asian Times (28 April) covered the PDC campaign on its front page. In France, where the efforts are being organised by the Comité de defense sociale, an Afghan woman supporting a family of five on her

welfare cheque donated 100 francs. At shopping areas in Toronto's East Indian community women in saris put bills into PDC buckets. From Hamburg, West Germany, a comrade collecting for the Komitee fur soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defence) reported a very positive response "particularly among older women for whom the humanitarian appeal of a city destroyed by war recalls nightmares that never vanish." At an abortion rights demo in Rome, the Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria raised the equivalent of A\$400 for Jalalabad.

For working people, the PDC campaign provides an opportunity to oppose the bloody designs of their own rulers. Hawke's government has been a fulsome supporter of Washington's "holy warriors," and Foreign Minister Evans had lunch and discussions with arch-reactionary mujahedin

leader Gulbaddin Hekmatyar in Sydney soon after our campaign had begun. At a Seamen's Union pick-up in Melbourne every man gave -- one saying that if the CIA was behind the mujahedin then he was "agin 'em." Waterside workers, postal workers, seamen and others have given \$187.90 in PDC bucket collections at meetings and worksites. \$480.04 was collected from students at Melbourne University, Sydney University and other campuses. At May Day marches in Sydney and Melbourne \$428.59 was collected. PDC collectors reported that immigrants from Middle Eastern regions gave particularly generously.

The cause of defending Afghan women and coming to the aid of the victims of the CIA's Afghan cutthroats has united conscious elements across ethnic and national lines: anti-Zionist Jews with North African Arabs, East Indian women and Sikh men, unionists and immigrant communities. But while our campaigners have found curiosity, sympathy and surprising support among many layers of working people and minority communities, one sector of society is simply hostile: the anti-Soviet left. The International Socialists shamelessly support the mujahedin. Young Socialist Workers Party supporters gave donations until advised not to by their cynical leadership. Members of the pro-Moscow Stalinist SPA also contributed but their leadership is still discussing the question. Give generously to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Every cent collected will be sent to Afghanistan. Please send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to PDC, Box 102, Shop 3, 500 Elizabeth St, Surry Hills NSW 2010. ■

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to June 16 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee (US) and joined by fraternal legal and social defence organisations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the accounts. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defence organisations in each country. Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organisation. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in Australian dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 16 June 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+ Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	= Total Collected
Australia: Partisan Defence Committee. Receipts Nos 1-37	\$4,727.12	\$0.00	\$4,727.12
Britain: Partisan Defence Committee. Receipts Nos 1-100 & 2/1-2/100	£3,884.05 \$7,962.18	£324.59 \$665.40	£4,208.64 \$8,627.58
Canada: Partisan Defense Committee. Receipts Nos 95401- 95484	C\$3,833.91 [\$4,268.13]	C\$30.00 [\$33.40]	C\$3,863.91 [\$4,301.53]
France: Comité de defense sociale. Receipts Nos 1/1-1/50 & 2/1-2/23	FF31,501.10 [\$6,170.11]	FF555.00 [\$108.71]	FF32,056.10 [\$6,278.82]
Italy: Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria. Receipts Nos 1-114	L2,644,565 [\$2,399.67]	L30,400 [\$27.58]	L2,674,965 [\$2,427.25]
Japan: Partisan Defense Committee. Receipts Nos 1-13	Y44,992 [\$413.47]	Y0	Y44,992 [\$413.47]
United States: Partisan Defense Committee. Receipts Nos 5001-5200	US\$14,779.27 [\$19,692.58]	US\$2,935.02 [\$3,910.76]	US\$17,714.29 [\$23,603.34]
West Germany: Komitee fur soziale Verteidigung. Receipts Nos 1-87	DM8,517.77 [\$5,717.86]	DM0.00	DM8,517.77 [\$5,717.86]
International totals (Aust dollars)	\$51,351.12	\$4,745.85	\$56,096.97

ICL Launched...

Continued from page eight

slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan — Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples," was grudgingly admired by elements of the Western CPs which were seeking to resist the "Eurocommunist" drift toward greater social-democratic accommodation with one's "own" ruling class. Recently, our offer of an international brigade to fight the CIA's mujahedin "holy warriors" after Gorbachev's cowardly withdrawal and, when that offer was declined, our publicity and fundraising campaign for the civilian victims of Jalalabad met with surprising support from women and from Muslim immigrants and other minorities in many countries, as well as among Stalinist milieus. Our defence of the program of "permanent revolution" for those vast areas of the world deformed by imperialist domination — ie, that the proletariat, independent of the weak and cowardly bourgeoisie and counterposing a vision of social emancipation to the ideologies of nationalism (particularly the nationalism of the majority), must take power to achieve even those democratic tasks formerly associated with bourgeois revol-

utions — has won us a hearing among oppressed national minorities.

Revolutionary regroupments on the program of Leninist internationalism are the means to resolve the disproportion between our small forces and our task. The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counterrevolutionary disorganiser for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have brought "communism" into disrepute thanks to the crimes they have committed in its name, they have also reduced their ability to manipulate the allegiance of dedicated pro-Communist workers throughout the world. No longer can a Stalin and his half-dozen conscious accomplices wield "monolithic" parties as instruments of class-collaborationist treason in the name of "building socialism."

We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 understood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly be-

trayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life.

We must believe that, failing sudden working-class upsurge against the conditions of capitalist decay, the reforging of a communist Fourth International, built of authentic communist parties on every continent, will be arduous and often dangerous. But this is the only road forward for all of humanity. Yet as we seek to bring this program to bear among the world's workers and oppressed, we must recognise that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational imperialist ruling class foreshortens the possibilities: we probably do not have much time.

But experience, not least bitter negative experience, can also be a powerful and accelerating teacher. We had better follow the precepts and practices of such comrades as Lenin and Trotsky. Thus we could cut short by months or years the time required for the necessary rearmament of the communist movement. ■

Cockatoo Strike...

Continued from page twelve

with a new and massively reduced workforce and a rotten deal or union conditions to guarantee the company "competitive productivity." Beazley sold off the Williamstown Naval Dockyards with the same result as Newcastle. To build up for war against the Soviet Union and to play the role of regional cop, the Hawke government is building warships galore — a dozen navy frigates and new attack submarines. It wants the work done by compliant, docile wage slaves, which is why Cockatoo with its long history of militancy is being sacrificed.

At the moment the company and government line is to go easy and let the strikers run out of puff. Due to a shortage of parts for the subs the company has little work for the men anyway, so if they're not paying wages they're laughing. Moreover all the leadership is demanding is talks with Beazley. The only language "hit 'em on the beaches" Beazley understands is power. He should be given a taste of it, by shutting down Sydney's ports and holding his precious boats to ransom. The union officials and the Labor Council will sell 1600 jobs down

In the Service of Butcher Pinochet Hawke Deports Chilean Leftist

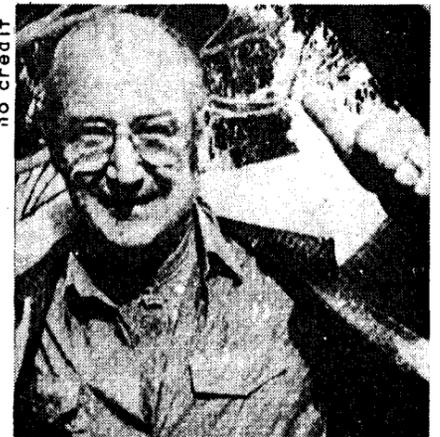
On 12 June, in a deliberate act of anti-communist solidarity with the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship, the Hawke government deported Chilean leftist Sergio Buschmann. The government guaranteed him safe passage to Sweden, where he has been living in exile. But Australian federal police promptly informed Interpol in Washington and Santiago of his route and, in an outrageous act of international terrorism, he and his travelling companion, Eduardo Rojas, were snatched from the plane during an unannounced stopover in Anchorage, Alaska, and held in chains, in solitary confinement for four days by US immigration authorities. The US reportedly intended to hand Buschmann over to the junta's torturers in exchange for the Chilean secret policemen it wants for the 1976 assassination of former Chilean ambassador to Washington Orlando Letelier and his American assistant. But this dirty deal came unstuck when the US was forced to release them on 17 June, citing "insufficient grounds" for holding them. Both were subject to an exclusion order by the US government.

Buschmann is a member of the Chilean Communist Party and supporter of its armed wing, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front. Guerrillas of the MRPF took responsibility for the September 1986 grenade and rocket attack on the motorcade of Augusto Pinochet, killing five bodyguards, injuring 10 more, and, unfortunately, just missing Pinochet himself. Buschmann

was arrested in the round-up that followed. In 1987, after serving six months of a 47-year sentence, during which he was hideously tortured, Buschmann led an escape from Valparaiso Prison.

Buschmann had come to Australia on 21 May at the invitation of the Uniting Church, the BWIU and the Pablo Neruda Cultural Centre for a speaking and fund-raising tour. He was held for eight hours upon arrival at Melbourne airport, released, and later re-arrested and imprisoned briefly at a Perth airport detention centre on the concocted grounds of "contravening" the terms of his visa, while the junta demanded his extradition. Angry protests by the Chilean community and trade unionists briefly stayed the deportation order but it was clear who was writing the government's script when Immigration Minister Robert Ray ranted that Buschmann was a "left-wing terrorist". Foreign Minister Evans denounced him for advocating armed rebellion ... against a regime which came to power in 1973 by slaughtering 30,000 workers and leftists. An urgent protest telegram to Ray was sent by the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defence Committee, a newly formed class struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation; this purpose is in accordance with the SL's political views. Another was sent by the PDC's sister organisation in West Germany, the Komitee fur soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defence).

Hawke's hypocritical post facto "protest" at the US arrest of Buschmann and Rojas was intended solely to keep up appearances. Buschmann had been able to tour 15 European countries without harassment, but the Hawke government went out of its way to get his blood on its hands. Its demonstrated Pavlovian obedience to the dictates of the CIA and its local branch office ASIO is a large part of the explanation. Also, Pinochet has opened the doors to Australian investment, in the first place Alan Bond, who last year took over the privatised Chilean telephone company CTC, lengthening working hours, cutting wages and sacking 500 workers, which provoked an angry sit in at the Australian embassy. The Pinochet junta used, along with South



Sergio Buschmann while in Australia.

Africa, to be a favoured target of the "democratic" grandstanding of the Laborites, but this captures what they are really all about — on behalf of their "mates" like Bond, and the CIA of their US big brother, they conspired to deliver another victim to Pinochet, imperialism's bloodhound in Chile. It didn't come off this time, but won't be forgotten. Down with Hawke! Pinochet to the wall!

Telegrams

Immigration Minister
Senator Ray

3 June 1989

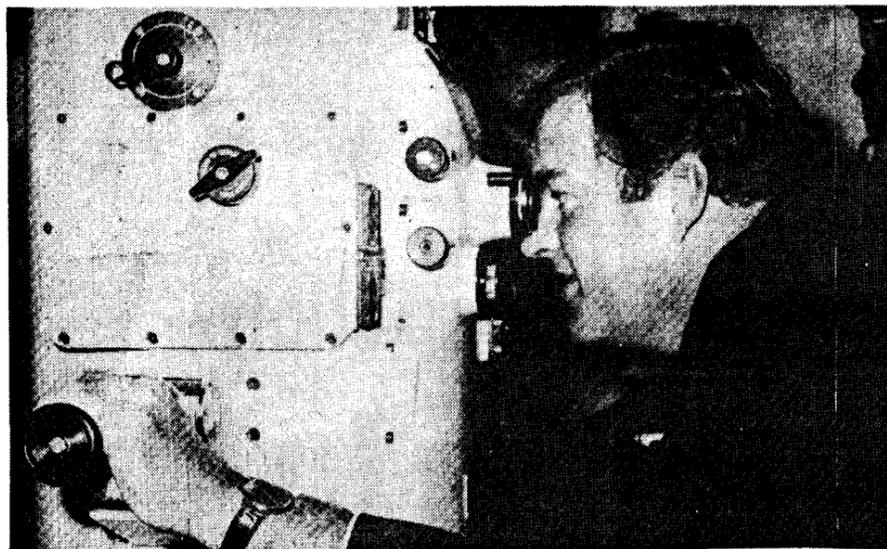
Hands off Sergio Buschmann! No deportation of this fighter against bloody Pinochet dictatorship! Vindictive harassment of Buschmann by your government is in the service of brutal Pinochet regime, butcher of thousands of working people. Demand you lift anti-democratic restrictions placed on Buschmann's activities, which deny Australian working people their rights to express solidarity with their Chilean class brothers and sisters.

Partisan Defence Committee
Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

5 June 1989

Deportation of Sergio Buschmann back to Pinochet's torture chambers and firing squads would be death sentence. Your intimidation and gagging of this fighter against bloody junta denies working people in Australia right to express solidarity with their class brothers and sisters in Chile. Hands off Sergio Buschmann!

Komitee fur soziale Verteidigung, Hamburg



"Hit 'em on the beaches" Beazley has militant unionists in his sights.

the river for a sweetened redundancy payout. As the last thirty years on the waterfront show, the golden handshake is the deathgrip for militant unionism. "Award restructuring" means all-out war on workers' jobs as well as conditions. One Cockatoo striker put it: "Cockatoo is the extreme expression of the ACTU's restructuring." It can also be the place which sparks a militant working class fightback. But only by taking this strike out of the hands of the Laborite misleaders who want it to be contained to an isolated, heroic last stand.

A revolutionary leadership would seek to turn this struggle into an offensive for jobs. The massive bulk of the strikers have been left idle and unorganised on shore. They need to be mobilised and put into action. For a start, the island needs reinforcement, with pickets at all the wharves in case of a government attempt to take it back. The company men must be escorted from the island so that the strikers have unchallenged control. A mass meeting of the strikers needs to elect a strike committee to run the strike. Elected representatives of the other maritime unions must be invited onto it. For the urgent need of this strike is to extend, to harness the enormous industrial muscle lying dormant and become a general, city-wide, maritime strike. There need to be mass meetings of all maritime unions. And if the union tops won't call them, then onshore flying pickets

can be used to bring out the wharfies, seamen, firemen and deckhands, Garden Island Naval Dockyard workers. Extending the strike is the only way to defend it against possible intervention by the state forces. And if they want to use the navy as scabs, remember the sailors are workers and sons of workers in uniform. Shut down the Sydney waterfront! Nothing must move on Sydney Harbour or Botany Bay except the sea pickets and Cockatoo supply vessels!

With determined, aggressive leadership the Cockatoo occupation can electrify the Sydney waterfront. The Hawke government and bosses took on the powerful and strategic miners, whose "left" leadership handed them a bloodless victory. Now they've turned their sights on the maritime unions. The official Inter-State Commission plan envisages slashing 3000 WWF jobs — about a third of the membership — and further diluting the membership with a thousand new hires and breaking the union hiring. Similar plans are underway for the Seamen Union, including slashing manning levels on Australian merchant vessels by up to 25 percent. Hawke and the bosses want some restructuring — it's time to give them some that they won't forget. By seizing government/company property, and holding three of Her Majesty's Australian Navy vessels, the Cockatoo strikers have dealt a blow to Hawke's Cold War Accord and anti-Soviet

war plans. Many Cockatoo workers are rightly proud of the highly skilled heavy engineering work they do, the like of which is performed at few other locations in the country. But the rule of capital promises only unemployment, immiseration, imperialist war. The productive wealth of this country belongs to the working people. The Cockatoo occupation challenges the fundamentals of capitalist property, and poses the way out of the misery of capitalist depression and war — the expropriation by the working class of the factories and banks, and the socialist reconstruction of this deeply decayed society.

WE NEED A REAL WORKERS PARTY!

Cockatoo militants have shown fine mettle and willingness to fight to win but they're hamstrung by a leadership with a strategy for defeat. The Labor Council and ACTU only start working overtime when there's a struggle to sell out. Their job is to keep unionists in line for the ALP government. The Cockatoo shop committee has no alternative to this class collaborationism. Carr says he wants to save Cockatoo so Australians don't become the "white trash of Asia." AMWU official Pat Johnston joined the national chauvinism, saying Cockatoo workers don't want a future for their kids as "a waiter for some Korean millionaire in some high falutin' hotel on Cockatoo dockyard." Well, it's true blue Aussie Kerry Packer who wants to buy Cockatoo Island and bust ANI up. It's Australia's own ANI who've run the plant down, sacking thousands already at Cockatoo and other plants around the country such as Comeng. Racism and nationalist protectionism are a diversion. This poison didn't save a single job at Cockatoo and didn't defend the miners against the rapacious coal bosses. It's the Australian bosses and government who are the enemy. The rule of capital must be broken. This strike won't win under the blue Eureka flag of Australian nationalism which pretends a unity of interests between the bosses and the workers. It will win

under the red flag of working class struggle, by hitting the bosses hard where it hurts. The maritime unions have that power.

The Socialist Labour League with their paper Workers News have been preaching solidarity and agitating at worksites for support to the Cockatoo struggle. But in 1986 when the BLF was smashed, these sinister charlatans likewise talked solidarity, while all the time one of their supporters was crossing a BLF picket line at Footscray in Melbourne. Nothing can be more futile and defeatist than their efforts to turn this strike into a vehicle for reforming the ALP, calling for a "fight for the immediate and urgent convening of emergency ACTU and ALP conferences to expel the Hawke/Keating right wing" and so on. At the mass meeting on Tuesday, the SLL were no more able than the Labor Council tops to put the simple motion that the WWF's offer of solidarity action be taken up! Broadening this strike is not only the road to saving jobs, but to repainting the whole political landscape. A combative working class would quickly spell the end of the union-busting Hawke government. In the process the Labor Party must be split — base from the tops — through political struggle, and in its place a real workers party with a revolutionary program will be built to fight for a workers government.

In 1987, in an open anti-union attack, ANI sacked Spartacist supporter, ironworker/rigger Neil Florrimell from Cockatoo because for years he had been campaigning on the island for a strike and occupation, against the inaction of the union tops and the shop committee who were letting thousands of jobs go down the tubes. The two-week strike by ironworkers to defend Florrimell's job then should have broken out into an island-wide struggle. The program he fought for remains the program for victory. Spread the strike to the strategic allies of Cockatoo workers! For a sliding scale of wages and hours to spread the available work around. No sackings! No redundancies! For industrial unionism! For a real workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

China ...

Continued from page five

acolyte Hawke, a long-time associate of the tops at Langley, Virginia.] And now he's had to cut off military supplies to his Chinese allies.

And while there are plenty of pro-capitalist elements in China, with close links to Chinese capital in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, the current protests are oriented not toward counterrevolution but in the opposite direction, feeding off discontent with the pro-capitalist economic policies of the Deng regime. They promised consumer goods and delivered ... but only for the privileged petty-bourgeois layers. Having sown the wind, they're now reaping the whirlwind of political revolution. A Beijing Commune was taking shape in Tiananmen Square. And moreover — unlike East Berlin 1953, the 1956 Hungarian workers revolt or the 1968 Prague Spring — it is a

political revolution without the presence of the Soviet army and the complicating factor of perceived national oppression.

The central weakness of the Hungarian uprising was the absence of a Leninist communist party to lead it. As we wrote in our article, "Political Revolution in Hungary — Ten Years After" (Spartacist No 8, November-December 1966), "a revolutionary party in Hungary would not only

have assumed the task of leading the Hungarian workers to state power, but, as a section of a disciplined international party, would have assisted in the vital work of preparing and leading insurrections in other European countries." And in another article in the same issue on Mao's "Cultural Revolution," we noted:

"The destruction of Maoism in China, at the hands of the proletariat, will open the door to

the victory of the exploited masses of Asia and it will accelerate the revolutionary struggle in Viet Nam, India and Japan. In turn, workers' governments in these countries, particularly in industrially advanced Japan, can help China to break out of its present viciously limiting circle of economic development."

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was based centrally on an urbanized, class-conscious industrial proletariat led by a communist vanguard party uniting advanced workers with Marxist intellectuals. The Chinese Revolution was based on a peasant (ie, petty-bourgeois) army led by declassed intellectuals like Mao and Deng. From its inception the Maoist regime had a petty-bourgeois bonapartist character, trying to balance above all classes in Chinese society. Thus it requires another revolution for the working class to achieve political power. That revolution has now begun. ■

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Union Tops Isolate Dockyard Occupation—

Spread Cockatoo Strike to Win!

As we go to press, the valiant Cockatoo Island strikers are holding out as their occupation enters its seventh week. But they are fighting a losing battle unless their isolation is broken. After four weeks of paper support to the strike, with recommendations for a joint "investigatory" team of federal government, bosses and union bureaucrats, the NSW Labor Council strikebreakers came out openly fighting for a return to work at the 9 June mass meeting. It was resolutely voted down in favour of the Cockatoo Island Shop Committee's motion to stay out. On 22 May Defence Minister Beazley deigned to meet strike leaders and told them his decision to sell the island was final, dismissively adding: "We've got dockyards coming out our ears."

The flood of donations and solidarity messages sent to Cockatoo strikers expresses the depth of sentiment among workers to fight back, to win one against the Hawke government's cutthroat austerity. A week after the strike began, some 2000 Spartacist League leaflets entitled "Maritime Unions — Sink Hawke's Cold War Accord! Shut Down Sydney Ports to Win!" (18 May, reprinted below) were distributed in a few days on the Sydney waterfront, Goat Island, Garden Island Naval Dockyard, at city building sites, Botany container terminals, and to Cockatoo strikers. Spartacist League supporters collected \$82.43 for the strike fund in two days from Sydney University students who clearly recognised the fight was against their common enemy, the Hawke government.

The Shop Committee has denounced the Labor Council's efforts to sabotage the strike and repeatedly called on it to organise a 24-hour statewide general strike. Hell would freeze over first. The strike leaders' strategy is to lobby parliament and pressure the Labor Council to act. Shop Committee president John Panuccio said solidarity calls must be limited to soliciting "moral and financial support." Our call to break from the treacherous Laborite bureaucracy, to elect strike committees and to extend the strike to the whole waterfront, led Shop Committee spokesman Ernie Matthews to inform us on 20 May that we "call for action detrimental to the dispute" and were not welcome on the island. However on 11 June Panuccio and Matthews denied that we were banned. On 14 May Socialist Labour League supporters were also banned from

visiting the island. Such anti-communist bans are against the interests of the strike.

The Cockatoo strikers are fighting for their very livelihoods at a time when the jobs and conditions of large sections of the working class are under attack. On 15 June the NSW Electricity Commission sacked 500 workers at Tallawarra Power Station and Huntley Colliery in the Illawarra region — after the union tops had conceded major "restructuring"

plan. On 1 June the federal government announced its waterfront "restructuring" plan: to slash thousands of waterfront and shipping jobs; smash union hiring; employ casual labour for the waterfront — they want to turn the clock back to the 1930s! The Shipping Reform Taskforce proposed draconian stand-down provisions to target militant unionists and smash strikes, and to oust the WWF completely from smaller ports. The Hawke government has offered to foot half of a \$300

BWU demonstration in the city — the BWU leadership shut the demo down fast when Cockatoo workers came into sight. For years there's been virtually no struggle for jobs and against unemployment. Thus, the militant Cockatoo occupation stands out as a spark with the potential to ignite some hard class struggle against the ALP/ACTU Accord. The Labor Council and Shop Committee plead with the government to keep the yard open as part of its "defence framework." The government wants it closed as part of its drive to "revitalise" the defence industry by busting the unions. Instead of the Laborite misleaders with their defeatist nationalism, the workers need a revolutionary party to lead them.

Shut Down Sydney Ports!



26 May: Maritime unionists march in solidarity with Cockatoo occupation during 24-hour strike.

and "redundancies." The Hawke Labor government has threatened air traffic controllers with the treatment Reagan gave PATCO, and already used air force controllers on 8 June, by re-routing planes through military airspace. At job sites and in union meetings across the country workers are voting down the ACTU-government "award restructuring" packages. On 7 June an angry demonstration of 10,000 Sydney workers protesting changes to workers compensation shouted down Labor Council secretary Michael Easson and state ALP leader Bob Carr, refusing to let them finish their speeches.

The ACTU and union officials are working overtime to keep the lid on solidarity action in order to sabotage this strike. The day Cockatoo Island was occupied 1000 Maritime Services Board workers demonstrated outside Parliament House against the state government's "decentralis-

million bill for "redundancy" payments — peanuts for the bosses and government to pay for the destruction of militant waterfront unionism. A national maritime strike would cost them that much a week! But around 18 May the WWF bureaucrats allowed three containers packed at non-WWF depots to be shipped from Melbourne, breaking a 21-year-old practice. And the spineless WWF federal secretary Tas Bull said the restructuring package could be implemented "pretty much as recommended" (*Australian*, 2 June).

The 26 May Cockatoo mass meeting was joined by MSB and Garden Island workers and a contingent of seamen and wharfies. The maritime union tops called a 24-hour waterfront shutdown in Sydney, and the WWF stayed out for three days. But the maritime unions' existence is on the line, and token strikes will not win. After the meeting, strikers marched to join a 3000-strong

SPARTACIST LEAFLET, 18 MAY

Cockatoo Island's 1600 workers have been on strike since 10 May. A core of the strikers have occupied the island and, in addition to the plant and the prime harbour real estate, they hold the troopship HMAS *Jervis Bay* and two Oberon class navy submarines. The strikers are fighting to keep their jobs, which are threatened by the government's impending sale of the island, brought forward from 1992 to 1990. This strike is popular. Messages of support have come in from New Zealand Naval Support Dockyard workers, Groote Eylandt maintenance workers in the Northern Territory, from seamen and WWF branches. Cockatoo must not be another SEQEB! Messages and money are necessary, but solidarity strike action is decisive. Across the city workers are itching to turn the tide and win one. The WWF, whose own members are under attack, offered to strike in solidarity with Cockatoo. Take up the offer! All out now! Not one more job must go at Cockatoo, or anywhere. Victory to the Cockatoo strike!

After a week on strike, a mass meeting on 16 May voted to stay out until at least 23 May. The shop committee leadership is demanding that the defence minister, Kim Beazley, negotiate with the Cockatoo strikers. The mass meeting was treated to a carnival of ALP luminaries like NSW state opposition leader Bob Carr and federal "left" MHR Peter Baldwin, who actually pledged their support. But relying on the ALP is the kiss of death. Carr's predecessor Unsworth sold off the Newcastle dockyards, which reopened under private ownership

Continued on page ten