



Bust Hawke's Cold War Consensus!



Defend Vietnam/USSR! US Bases Out! Smash ANZUS!

NOVEMBER 19 — It looks like Hawke's Labor Party will be back on the government benches after 1 December. So big deal. The ruling class sits smugly complacent looking at how Labor's "national reconciliation" has imposed its Cold War consensus on the country, how the ACTU has jumped into line to police the unions, how the Tory parties have been marginalised into irrelevant disarray. In his stupid arrogance Hawke has even taken over Malcolm Fraser's old election slogan "Let's Keep Australia Working". Hawke wants a plebiscite on this class peace to mandate even sharper austerity measures and before the economy heads downhill again.

No doubt Hawke timed his election to coincide with the American Presi-

dential elections so he could bask in the reflection of the predictable re-election of anti-Soviet nut Ronald Reagan. Our strutting little Labor messiah makes much of his admiration for Reagan's "God and America" down-home style. The personalities reflect the real character and relations between these two imperialist ruling classes, Reagan the dangerous irrationality of American imperialism in its decline and Hawke the fawning junior partner whose job it is to help police imperialist domination of the Pacific and Southeast Asia and lock up this region for anti-Soviet war.

The gloating bourgeois predictions that Hawke's class peace is here to stay are built on sand. If Reagan invades Central America the revolutionary reverberations will be felt around the world, not least in the US where fear and hatred of the Reaganites runs deep in the volatile power of the desperate black population and organised labour. The tottering rule of the corrupt despot Ferdinand Marcos

in the Philippines is a powder keg under the brittle "regional stability" of Southeast Asia. Even the "no nukes" nationalism of the NZ Lange Labour government is seen as a threat that could unravel the global anti-Soviet consensus. Internationally Reagan's allies in the "democratic" imperialist camp are in trouble. The hated Thatcher clique only narrowly escaped being blown away by the IRA, much to the disappointment of hundreds of thousands of British miners and their supporters. Apartheid South Africa sits on the edge of a proletarian-led explosion. And thankfully the Soviet Union has rough nuclear parity with the US.

In this country there is widespread hostility and bitter resentment amongst trade-unionists, blacks, minorities and youth to this rightwing social-democratic government that openly stands for Reagan, the banks and the corporations, for the open courting of racist and social reaction in its "national consensus". Hawke's

Accord with the unions rests on the rotted foundations of the Laborite and Stalinist union bureaucracy. Any seriously prosecuted strike has the potential to bring this house of cards tumbling down. Governments and CIA-loving union bureaucrats can try and legislate the rules of the class struggle all they like, just as they can try forever to feed the workers on patriotic bilge and illusions in parliamentary reformism. But only for so long, particularly without reforms. Nothing can be changed at the ballot box, it is hard class struggle that will bust open Hawke's Cold War consensus — *that is our election message!* The main enemy is at home, and they are already in government in Canberra!

We in the Spartacist League stand for a fighting labour movement and the building of a class-struggle workers party to provide the conscious purpose and leadership to win the class struggle and establish genuine working-class power throughout this

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Australia's Indonesia Jitters



Hayden with Indonesian strongman Benny Murdani.

With its relations with Indonesia soured by the ALP wrangle over East Timor and the flare-up this year on the Irian Jaya (West Papua)/Papua-New Guinea (PNG) border, the Australian bourgeoisie is getting alarmed about potential conflict. The 13 November *Financial Review* quoted a "senior Western diplomat in Jakarta" who said: "for the first time since World War II Australia has a real security threat on its doorstep". In April the leaked government "Strategic Basis" papers warned that Indonesia was a potential "threat". And the Laborite nationalist "left" have for some time been hysterically denouncing Hawke's supposed "appeasement" of Indonesian "expansionism" and stridently demanding preparations to defend PNG.

A sample from Nonie Sharp of the "Marxist" journal *Arena* (no 61, 1982): "Canberra must be prepared to answer the question: if at some time Indonesia were to enforce an act of incorporation on Papua-New Guinea, would Australia offer military support to her former 'colonial possession' and friendly neighbour?"

Anti-Indonesian chauvinism is increasingly the main expression of White Australia xenophobia, and behind it is fear of a rearmed imperialist Japan. Though Reagan's lackey Hawke is now a Cold War partner of the anti-communist ASEAN bloc, the explosive instability in the region could easily blow this apart. If Marcos was toppled in the Philippines, for example, the shock waves could crack the fragile stability of the

Jakarta generals, who are sitting on a social volcano in the form of a powerful and intensely oppressed working class and peasantry. Fearing that the US alliance could mean "betrayal" of little-Australia, the left nationalists draw different conclusions about Indonesia than does the mainstream of the ruling class, which clings to the US to avert any "threat". But the left social democrats are converging with the CIA-nationalism of Hawke around a common program of defence of Australia as a regional mini-imperialist power and its domination of the surrounding small states, in particular Papua-New Guinea.

The ALP "lefts" screamed "betrayal" when Hawke/Hayden got the July ALP national conference to drop

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British Spartacists Introduce WORKERS HAMMER



REPRINTED FROM
WORKERS HAMMER NO 61,
SEPTEMBER 1984

The eighth national conference of the Spartacist League/Britain, meeting in London in mid-August, voted to change the name of our monthly newspaper *Spartacist Britain*. Following a meeting of our newly elected Central Committee and subsequent consultation it was resolved to rename the paper *Workers Hammer*.

Through more than six years of



First issue announces formation of Spartacist League/Britain in 1978.

publication and sixty numbers, *Spartacist Britain* has addressed the key issues of domestic and international politics from the standpoint of Marxism. From No 1 announcing "The rebirth of British Trotskyism" up to the recent extensive coverage of the miners' heroic battle, it has been an increasingly effective collective organiser and tool of intervention for our organisation. And in recent months it has reached significantly broader layers of the working class than ever before.

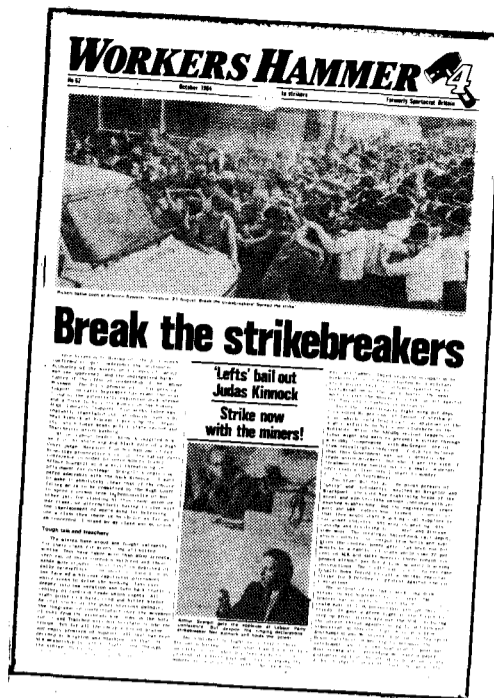
We have chosen the name *Workers Hammer* in recognition of our tasks in fighting to be the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. The hammer is an instrument for change; for reshaping and constructing through the force of human action. The worker's hammer was joined with the peasant's sickle as the symbol of the Russian Revolution of 1917, of the new Soviet state and of Communist parties throughout the world in the early years of the Communist International. The figure 4 in our new masthead insignia symbolises our fight to reforge the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 to continue the fight for world revolution in the face of the Comintern's Stalinist degeneration.

Spartacist Britain, which has identified us for sixty issues as the British section of the international

Spartacist tendency, tends to sound like a spin-off press. Further, it does not adequately reflect the fighting history of the British working class or our goal of forging communist leadership for this class.

This country is in a period of deep-going class struggle, and we want our press to be expressly and obviously a champion of the proletariat. We want it to be bold, uncompromisingly Soviet-defencist in the face of the imperialist war drive, forthrightly against the smarmy English establishment centred on the Royal Family and Westminster, and sharply counterposed to the prevailing, narrow, parochial Labourite mush of the British so-called left.

What we did not want in our choice of name was the pedestrian, look-and-sound-alike quality of most British left papers, reflecting their opportunist politics and appetites. We stand in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks, of the early Trotskyists, of the World War I German revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund (*Spartacus League*), from whom our organisation proudly takes its name. And we draw inspiration as well from past great revolutionaries on this island, from Cromwell to the Chartists to John Maclean. It was Maclean, leader of the Clydeside proletariat in its historic revolutionary battles during and



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following World War I, who summed up the aims which the Spartacist League and our *Workers Hammer* uphold today:

"We witness today what all Marxists expected, the capitalist class of the world and their Governments joined together in a most vigorously active attempt to crush Bolshevism in Russia and Spartacism in Germany. Bolshevism, by the way, is Socialism triumphant, and Spartacism is Socialism in process of achieving triumph. This is the class war on an international basis, a Class War that must and will be fought out to the logical conclusion — the extinction of capitalism everywhere."

— *The Call*, 23 January 1919

Hawke...

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region, an Australian workers republic as part of socialist Asia. The working people of this country have the urgent need and responsibility to play their part in rolling back the plans for nuclear barbarism and imperialist counterrevolution that are being plotted in Washington and Canberra. Labor's ability to "unify the nation" in the past behind the Empire and White Australia is why it has been delegated the responsibility of leading this country in two imperialist wars already this century. In alliance with the declining American empire of death squads and military terror

Hawke's government is preparing the ground to lead us into the third.

What centrally holds Labor's "consensus" together is not Hawke's "charisma" but the trade-union bureaucracy. They have become, in the words of the *Financial Review*, Labor's "industrial police force" as can be seen so starkly in the Labor-ACTU orchestrated moves now to smash the Maoist-led Builders Labourers Federation (see article p 3). The starting point for building a fighting labour movement is class independence from the capitalist state, its parliament and its courts. Hawke's corporatist Accord stands for just the opposite, the strengthening of Arbitration, and the tying of the unions ever closer to the state through the trade-union bureaucracy. "Politics"

for the reformists is voting once every three years for Labor with the promise/threat: we won't screw you so bad. Once you accept this victim mentality they've got you by the balls.

Two years ago we stood alone on the Australian left in refusing to give even the most critical electoral support to Labor's open program of Cold War austerity. There are times when critical support can serve the class struggle and further the task of breaking Labor's active and militant working-class base away from its pro-capitalist leadership. Just the opposite was the case in 1983. Hawke has been more than true to his promises but this will not stop the social-democratic "left" from once again hitting the hustings for the Labor vote. In their parliamentarist worldview, which sees the only possible change coming through loyally pressuring Labor in government, there is no other alternative. The Communist Party (CPA), Socialist Party (SPA), Socialist Workers Party (SWP) et al are all running token campaigns, with different variants of an alternative program for this government of Australian imperialism. As if to underline their own opportunism and felt irrelevance the

ostensibly "anti-Accord" and pro-Soviet SPA and SWP are running on a joint "Peace and Socialism" ticket with the anti-Soviet and pro-Accord CPA in South Australia (scared sheep tend to huddle together). And for the most farcical example of parliamentary cretinism you couldn't go past the disoriented devotees of Qaddafi's Libya in the Socialist Labour League (SLL). The SLL candidates are running on a supposed program to "Bring Down the Hawke Government" while the small print advises "In other electorates we call for a Labor vote as a class vote against the Liberals" (*Workers News*, 16 October)

This Pavlovian Labor loyalism and earnest concern about who will warm the parliamentary seats in Canberra weighs like a dead hand on the Australian workers movement, corroding its will and capacity to struggle. As any worthwhile union militant knows, no fundamental gain or reform was ever won in the bosses' parliament or courts. They were won by mobilising the power of labour in strikes, occu-

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Down with Police "Verbals"!

The "justice" of the capitalist courts — especially in this former penal colony — is class-biased and anything but democratic. Witness the arrest of Campaign Against Verbals activists Brett Collins and Peter Wilshire at Sydney's Darlinghurst Courts on 8 and 10 October and the subsequent arrest, "trial", denial of bail and jailing for 25 days of two anti-verbal activists on 15 October. Their "crime": distributing a leaflet exposing police "verbals". "Verbals" are unsigned "confessions" presented by cops in court and accepted there as "evidence". Cop lies are enough to lock you up! At this point the verdict against the two jailed activists has been overturned — after a term in jail — but Collins and Wilshire are to appear before the Court of Appeal on 10 December. They must not go to

jail! Drop the charges! Abolish "verbals"!

Jailing these two would be a victory for the "strong state" apparatus key to Hawke's war/austerity plans. It is urgently necessary for the left and labour movement to defend Wilshire and Collins against this gross frame-up in defence of frame-ups. The ominous Costigan Report argues for strengthening the cops at the expense of democratic rights because the "major oppressor of civil rights and liberties is the criminal". Well, the worker is robbed daily by the boss; cops murder blacks at will; the legislators make it legal; the courts sanction it. We know the real criminals and the way to stop them: organise a class-struggle workers movement to sweep away their state — cops, jails, and courts. ■

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Australasian SPARTACIST

Marxist two-monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency.
EDITORIAL BOARD: Darlene Carlson, Paul Connor, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis, Steve Hooper (editor)
CIRCULATION: Vicki Pearson
PRODUCTION: Jenny Brown
Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication — Category B. Subscription \$2 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist Publications, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001.

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

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

Australasian Spartacist

ACTU, Labour Council Scabherding for Hawke

Defend the BLF!

The Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) is in danger of a decisive defeat which would weaken the entire working class. It's election time again and the latest moves by the Hawke Labor government — pledged to squash "industrial unrest" — against the BLF are the culmination of three years of intensified threats and intimidation designed to bust the union. What's always stirred the enmity of the ruling class is the BLF's record of taking care of its own at the expense of the genuinely corrupt property developers in a notoriously dangerous and insecure industry. Now their "crime" is having worked around the edges of the Accord's restrictions a bit, defying both the ACTU and the government. As the *Financial Review* (15 October) so aptly put it:

"The Hawke Government has become a jailer for unions which dare to buck the accord's consensus, and the ACTU has become an industrial police force."

The Royal Commission witchhunt over alleged "corruption" in the BLF, begun by Fraser, has escalated under Labor. The charges of "violence" and "sabotage" are intended to prove that the BLF is a corrupt bunch of criminals that doesn't have the right to exist. Among Costigan's recommendations for dealing with the unions is entreaty the ACTU to draw up legislation like the US Landrum-Griffin Act, a product of McCarthyite witchhunting designed to spearhead attacks on the unions in the guise of "racketeering investigations".

Even more ominous is the intention to enact a law similar to the Racketeer and Influenced and Corrupt Organisation (RICO) statute, already in effect in Reagan's America, which wipes out any legal distinction between the government's political opponents and "organised crime". Based on militant Cold War reaction it's a first-strike legal weapon in the government's war against the labour movement, whereby a militant union could be labelled "subversive" and charged with "terrorism" and instigating "acts of violence". Such laws would augment the anti-union legislative arsenal still on the books — like the infamous penal powers and section 45D of the Trade Practices Act against secondary boycotts — which the bosses' intend to use to declare "open season" on militant unions, like it's always been for blacks in this country.

The right-wing NSW Labour Council is leading the charge, demanding that the BLF be disaffiliated from the ACTU as the prelude to deregistration from the Arbitration system — legal sanction for destruction of the BLF through ACTU-organised raiding. According to scabherding ACTU policy a union is acting "outside the trade union movement" unless it has ACTU permission to strike! But driving the nails into the BLF's coffin is not going to be any walkover. Union busting is a hard pill for any decent trade unionist to swallow, and the ACTU has yet to muster up its scab alternative to the BLF. In the last few months they've had to rely on massive cop intimidation at BLF picket lines, while Royal Commission "findings" attempt to create a groundswell of public opinion against "renegade" unions as well as bolster legislation.

The vendetta against the BLF reached a crescendo over the recent struggle at the police centre building site in Sydney. Sparked by a walk off by 70 builders labourers on 5 September in support of demands for pay lost in an earlier dispute, it quickly became centred around occupational health and safety issues. It is an outrage that three builders labourers have been killed and two seriously injured on Sydney city sites alone in the space of 7 weeks. BLF pickets went up and 14 BLF members were sacked, including safety officers, site delegates and scaffolders. Although the pickets had some success in turning away trucks, 200 tradesmen in the BWIU and other building unions continued to work, having been "authorised" to scab by the ACTU.

The NSW Labour Council/ACTU in cahoots with the building site contractor, Graham Evans, were out for blood. When the BLF refused to take down their pickets the cops were brought in. On 25 September the state's elite hit-men of the Tactical Response Group were called in "to prevent trouble"! Likewise Victorian Labor Premier Cain ordered a massive cop presence including mounted police and provocateurs at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG), where BLF picket lines went up after the Cain government decided to exclude them from building the light towers, work they have traditionally covered. This was simply another blatant attack on the union, in tandem with ALP/ACTU moves to bring in the rightwing Australian Workers Union to cover their work. Hawke's advice to Gallagher was to "cop it sweet".

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!

Joint militant mass pickets should have gone up at both the MCG and police centre sites and shut them down until demands were met and in Sydney until the 14 BLs were reinstated. But the BLF leadership voluntarily limited pickets, later boasting that everyone was allowed to walk through their lines. We know and so does every self-respecting trade unionist that picket lines are supposed to mean you better not try to cross! Militant defence of the unions' strongest weapon — the strike and the right to protect its strikes — is what the bourgeoisie calls "violence". If the BWIU bureaucrats think threatening scabs is gangsterism, maybe

Drop the Charges!

At least eight BLF members, arrested during cop attacks on their picket lines at the Melbourne Cricket Ground last August, are reported to be facing criminal charges and possible jailing. As well, three leading BLF officials — Norm Gallagher, Brian Boyd and John Cummins — are up on criminal charges. If convicted they face exclusion from holding union office under section 130-D.

Every dirty trick in the state's arsenal — from phone tappings and surveillance to mounted police attacks on picket lines and SWAT teams targetting BLF officials — has been used by Victoria's Cain



2500-strong BLF demo, Sydney, 17 October.

A Sp photo

they should get a lesson on a British miners' picket line.

It is a disgrace that the BWIU and Building Trades Group misleaders have twice called on their members to march against the BLF in Sydney. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (3 July) labelled the first as "the march to bring to heel Australia's most militant union". On 17 October there was a repeat performance, another march for ACTU policy which echoed the bosses' charges of BLF "violence" and "corruption" that could outdo a Royal Commission. The BLF outdrew the stooges' march of 11 unions by 2500 to 1000 in its own demonstration the same day. A lot of workers don't like the taste of what's coming down.

But a march or two to blow off steam is nothing but diversion from a real fight. When Gallagher signed the building unions superannuation deal on 3 October, in effect a no-strike pledge, he knifed his own union. True to his word a few days later even the token picket lines came down. Labourers at the Sydney and MCG sites got miserably sold out, the ACTU ordering completion of the police centre without BLF labour. Even the safety issue was used by the BLF tops — not as a means of uniting all building workers but as a way to get off the dime. In a whinging full-page appeal to Wran to lay off the BLF (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 November) they pay tribute to Arbitration and red-bait the BWIU for being pro-Soviet.

The BLF Maoist bureaucrats have often tried to curry favour with the class enemy through grovelling self-abasement with anti-Soviet credentials in one hand and sellouts in the other. In 1981 the BLF got embroiled in a squalid, backstabbing fight with the Ironworkers over

who would get to break a long-standing (if ineffective) black ban by Victorian trade unions against the US Omega war base in Gippsland. In the face of a full-blown Cold War II, Gallagher and his co-thinkers in the Maoist Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) thought their anti-Sovietism would transcend "disagreements" with the ruling class. Ted Hill's CPA(M-L) are slavish followers of Peking's anti-Soviet alliance with US imperialism (and its Australian junior partner). After virtually backing Fraser in 1980, they called for voting ALP for the first time in 1983, having discovered that class struggle wasn't "on the agenda". To prove it Gallagher, just out of jail, meekly sat through the first Hawke-ACTU-bosses' bread and circuses — the Summit.

The September 1983 Cold War ACTU Congress backed Hawke's "national consensus" to the hilt and became a grandstand for the anti-Soviet furore over Reagan's KAL-007 war provocation. Gallagher was right in there with the Catholic anti-communists and hard-line pro-US ALP forces — buying his seat on the ACTU executive with his leaflets rehashing Reagan's "Soviet barbarism" rubbish, then and now so thoroughly discredited as lies. But making common cause with Reagan and Hawke's anti-Soviet war drive has not saved the BLF from domestic anti-communism and union-busting. As for the so-called "pro-Soviet" BWIU bureaucrats like Pat Clancy, these sell-out artists defected from the Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) when Cold War Labor came to power. They've always backed Hawke's Accord, which means mobilising for anti-Soviet war abroad and chaining the unions at home.

There are two choices posed. *Either* the ACTU will enforce the class enemy's moves to break the BLF and make it a tame-cat union within the Accord or destroy it outright. *Or* class-conscious militants in the BLF will stand in the forefront of mobilising militant mass action to forge one, united, class-struggle building union. There must be a union-wide fight for industrial unionism — fighting class independence and organisational unity — to bust the Accord and unchain the unions and to defend the historic gains of the working class, the workers organisations and the workers states.

Every major workers struggle today becomes a political fight requiring a class-struggle leadership. From amongst the ranks of the BLF must come a section of this leadership — committed to building a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government. It is necessary to oust the labour traitors to bust the union busters! ■

Indonesia...

Continued from page one

opposition to the Indonesian annexation of East Timor from its platform, formally aligning it with their actual Cold War policy. "Left" MP Ken Fry swore he wouldn't be part of a Hawke Labor government that went down in history as the one that sold out East Timor (he's retiring anyway). Hayden shot back at them, "How far back do you go? To the point where you put troops on the beaches?" All the moralistic criticism from the press and politicians only further annoyed the Indonesian junta, which despite the ALP's line change, denounced Australian "interference" and announced a "cool off" in relations. Nine years after the 1975 invasion, the war, Indonesian massacres, and two terrible famines have wiped out between 100,000 and 200,000 (one third) of the population. Hundreds of thousands have been herded into "resettlement" camps and thousands of supporters of the guerrilla resistance Fretilin are rotting in the Atauro Island concentration camp — yet Fretilin has recovered from virtual extinction in 1979/80 and is now somewhat extending the Indonesian army.

In Irian Jaya, the outbreak of fighting between the Indonesian army and separatist guerrillas of the OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka — Free Papua Movement) and mounting repression drove 11,000 refugees, mainly from the educated urban elite and Irianese deserters from the military, across the border into PNG. A spate of Indonesian border violations followed in "hot pursuit" and PNG Prime Minister, Michael Somare, who wants to deny the OPM sanctuary for fear of Indonesia, tried to starve the refugees back to Irian Jaya — 93 died. The OPM threatened that if Somare used troops to force the refugees back, they would blow up the newly opened and very rich gold-copper mine at Ok Tedi, just inside the border. Meanwhile OPM activist Mathew Mayer is facing deportation from Australia to Indonesia. Somare is caught between the pressure of his Australian masters to suppress the OPM to avoid "destabilising" the border, and the deep-seated popular support in PNG for its Melanesian brothers and sisters across the border. Australian and PNG workers must demand: Stop the deportation of Mathew Mayer! No forced repatriation of Irianese refugees to the bloody junta!

West New Guinea was the last remnant of the Dutch colonial empire in the East until 1962, when the US gave it to the Indonesian regime of Sukarno — to strengthen the hand of the reactionary generals against the powerful Communist Party (PKI). The generals repaid the US this favour by drowning the PKI in blood in 1965. Opposition to the Indonesian takeover within the small Dutch-trained indigenous elite led to the formation of the OPM after the farcical "Act of Free Choice" in 1969, in which hand-picked representatives were bribed or coerced into "voting" for integration of the province with Indonesia.

The OPM has historically been militarily weak, lacking outside arms or support and plagued by obscure divisions. But its recently reunified ranks are now being swollen by growing hostility among the 800,000 indigenous Melanesians to the regime's policy of "transmigration". Though ostensibly aimed at relieving overcrowding on Java, its real purpose is to assimilate the province by colonising it with loyal, land-owning, cash-crop growing Indonesian peasants — the target is 700,000 settlers by 1989. With the tribal Melanesian



Indonesian soldiers in Irian Jaya.

subsistence farmers driven off their land without compensation and also facing racial exclusion from the economy, their fate has been aptly compared with that of the Australian Aboriginals.

For Australian nationalists transmigration evokes apocalyptic fears of the "Asian hordes" on the march. Though they are full of "concern" for the East Timorese and West Papuan peoples, the treatment of the Aboriginals exposes the "democratic" hypocrisy of the Laborite nationalists. The notion of White Australia as a friend of oppressed black and brown peoples is a bitter joke. The left nationalists are in fact using these struggles to fight the battles of Australian imperialism.

Independence for West Papua and East Timor!

In both East Timor and West Papua, the forging of a common identity against brutal Indonesian occupation and their separate colonial histories make their right to self-determination the only democratic resolution. Its essential precondition is immediate independence from Indonesia. But real national emancipation for these small and very backward nations-in-embryo is impossible without a perspective of smashing Australian imperialism. The left social democrats advocate instead a neo-colonial fraud. Thus groups like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) give "full support" to the ALP's old East Timor policy, which states: "The ALP opposes the operations of Australian companies in East Timor until self-determination has been achieved" (our emphasis). This is the language of naked imperialist greed — the Indonesians leave and the Australian oil and mineral companies move in and turn it into another Papua-New Guinea. The appeals of the petty-bourgeois Fretilin and OPM nationalists for imperialist backing — in 1975 Fretilin called for UN, Australian and Portuguese aid and promised to join ASEAN, while in 1983 it had high hopes in Hawke and called for a UN "peace-keeping" force — would if successful mean the same thing.

In 1974 in East Timor sections at least of the Australian ruling class initially had concrete neo-colonial plans. Communist Party member Denis Freney, who himself demanded Australian (and UN) intervention, says of New Guinea expert Peter Hastings and the Joint Intelligence Organisation (JIO):

"Modelling their view on the Papua-New Guinea experience, they wanted an independent East Timor, run by 'moderate' elements. The young Fretilin leaders, they were sure, would be as pliable as the Pangu Pati leaders, particularly the young radical Somare, had been... A few years of 'work' on them by JIO and its friends would ensure an indepen-

dent country that would not threaten Indonesia and open up the doors to Australian investment."

— *Timor: Freedom Caught Between the Powers* (1975)

Whitlam however knew that after Vietnam direct intervention was not on and, pursuing a broader imperialist strategy in Asia, decided against the neo-colonial option and backed Jakarta's invasion.

The anti-communist massacre of a million Indonesian workers and peasants in 1965 is the foundation of the neo-colonial ASEAN bloc. Indonesia is not only a rich prize for imperialist exploitation and the bulwark of counterrevolution in Southeast Asia, it's militarily strategic for US war plans against Vietnam and the Soviet Union. US president Ford and Henry Kissinger visited Jakarta just hours before the 1975 invasion of East Timor to approve, or as some claim, to order it. One of two deep-water straits that US nuclear submarines use to pass submerged between the Pacific and Indian Oceans is the Ombai-Wetar Strait past Timor.

Though the Indonesian generals are mass murderers who undoubtedly do nurse expansionist dreams, Indonesia is hardly the imperialist juggernaut of Australian nationalist nightmares, completely lacking the political economy to realise such ambitions. Indeed, it is conscious of Australian imperialist designs. So it got, and needed, US support over West Irian and East Timor, but its "Confrontation" with Britain over Malaysia was a different story. The national



OPM guerrillas: thorn in side of Indonesian generals and Australian imperialism.

bourgeoisie are merely compradors, intermediaries between the super-exploited masses and US, Japanese, Dutch and, in a small way Australian, capital that drains off the country's vast wealth. Hawke's program of "enmeshing" Australia with Asia means increasing their share, supporting the prosperity of this rich white outpost on the economic under-

development, increasing immiseration and bloody oppression which imperialism imposes on the neo-colonial world. This basic Leninist analysis of Australia's relationship to Indonesia is almost totally absent from the outlook of the Australian "left".

Hawke and Suharto: Cold War Allies

The Australian ruling class are eternally grateful to the bloody Suharto regime for the "godsend" it delivered them in 1965. It enabled them to disengage from the Vietnam debacle and embark on a streamlined imperialist push into Asia. Hawke's renewed imperialist push meshes with his role as junior partner of Reagan, which dictates close ties with the Suharto regime, the mainstay of ASEAN. Hawke wants military cooperation, not a war — thus the Australian and Indonesian navies recently conducted the fifth in a series of yearly exercises off Darwin. And the exploitation of BHP's large new oil discoveries in the Timor Sea depends on resolution of the "Timor Gap" dispute — the region of the seabed boundary which Australia had never negotiated with the Portuguese colony. Getting the oil profits flowing means recognising Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor.

Australian imperialism is worried that the Irian Jaya border could destabilise all this just when they thought they had East Timor swept under the mat. The border is also a potential threat to Australian imperialism's main neo-colony and vital interests, like the Ok Tedi venture. In particular, it is blaming Indonesia of late for the flood of refugees from transmigration which jeopardises the fragile stability of PNG. The death-squad style execution of Arnold Ap, an OPM sympathiser and curator of a Melanesian cultural museum last April, caused a storm of Australian outrage at "cultural genocide" in Irian Jaya, which extended even to friends of the Indonesian junta like Peter Hastings.

War Over Papua-New Guinea?

The left Laborite chauvinists with their scare-mongering over PNG seem to itch for a "democratic" war against an Asian "totalitarian" state. The SWP paper *Direct Action* (18 July) ran a reader's question: "What if Indon-

esia invades Papua-New Guinea?" The lengthy reply conspicuously evaded a straight answer, saying such an invasion is "inconceivable in present circumstances... without United States and Australian support". Indeed, the likelihood of a strained friendship between two US allies erupting into war in Cold War II is presently quite remote. But it's not

Australian Spartacist

Class Struggle Can Topple Rightist Strongman Jayewardene

Victory to Women Textile Strikers in Sri Lanka!



Women garment workers in Sri Lanka

For the past three months, workers in the industrial town of Ratmalana near Colombo, Sri Lanka, have waged a solid and determined strike against Magnum Garments Ltd. The strikers are young Sinhalese women. *Workers Vanguard*, the paper of our American section has received an urgent appeal from the Magnum strikers, members of the All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, signed by the Union's general secretary, S Siriwardene. "The strike now enters the 60th day", wrote Siriwardene on September 12. "Our members are determined to break the intransigence of the Management. We need your support to sustain this struggle.... We make this appeal in the spirit of international solidarity with the struggling workers of the world." The strikers are demanding payment of a 100 rupee wage increase (around \$4 a month) won after a strike last February, which the arrogant bosses are now refusing to pay. Currently the Magnum workers earn a maximum of 23.5 rupees a day, approximately 90 cents!

This summer, a militant six-month strike at Polytex Garments Ltd came to an end with an agreement between management and the workers, who belong to the Industrial Transport and General Workers Union. Among the provisions was a substantial wage increase and the reinstatement of seven women dismissed for union organising. The Polytex victory was particularly important because the plant is one of the Jayewardene government's pet projects, the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Area, established for the benefit of foreign capitalists. Here, as in the so-called

Free Trade Zones, sweatshop conditions prevail while union organising is made all but illegal. The Polytex victory was a victory for all the thousands of young Sinhalese women, like those at Magnum Garments, brought in from the rural areas, living in barracks conditions far from their families, to be worked practically to death and then discarded, their health ruined, after an average of five years work.

At the request of the union leadership at Polytex, the Spartacist League of Lanka had initiated an international solidarity campaign. Telegrams were sent from unions and other organisations in England, France and Canada. Here in Australia, Spartacist supporters collected the equivalent of more than 8,700 rupees for the strikers. About two dozen Polytex strikers attended a support demonstration built by Spartacist comrades at Colombo University; most of the students who turned out for it were women undergraduates, many of whom donated funds for the strikers.

These outbursts of courageous class struggle by oppressed Sinhalese women workers at Polytex and Magnum occur against the backdrop of deepening poverty of the masses and draconian repression by JR Jayewardene's rightist government. Strongman Jayewardene is trying to sell the country to the imperialists for unrestrained economic exploitation and military convenience. His most brutal blows have fallen on the Tamil population, who are mainly Hindus, a national minority of about 3 million in a country of 12 million mainly Buddhist Sinhalese. Army terror in the

Tamil north and government-orchestrated mass pogroms against the Tamil minority in the south and on the upland plantations — aimed in part at securing strategic Trincomalee harbour on the historically Tamil east coast for US imperialist military aims in the Indian Ocean — have resulted in exodus of Tamils into the north, where a low-level insurgency resists the Sinhalese military occupation. In August in the northern region around Jaffna, the government launched another military campaign of terror: hundreds were killed or rounded up as "suspected terrorists" while thousands were left homeless as villages were razed to the ground.

The Tamil youth of the north, facing the full fury of JR's bonapartism, aim by their militant resistance to the army occupation to break the north and east away and establish a Tamil nation of "Eelam". Marxists defend the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. And recognizing that the pogroms have forcibly separated the island's peoples, we support the right to Tamil Eelam. We understand why the Tamil youth bitterly look upon the Sinhalese population — abandoned to chauvinist "leadership" when the class-collaborationist "left" (with very honorable exceptions) capitulated to Sinhalese communalism in the late 1950s — as one seamless reactionary mass. But the Sinhalese masses are not South African whites living in luxury by participating in racist superexploitation, but impoverished workers and peasants mercilessly ground down by their strike-breaking government and starved by the capitalists and the imperialist

plunderers of the IMF. They are scarcely different from their Tamil cousins.

The Sinhalese women striking the textile sweatshops show the potential for class struggle throughout the island against JR, as did the strike last spring of the hideously oppressed but economically strategic plantation workers. Several hundred thousand workers on the tea "estates" — mainly women and overwhelmingly Tamils who are "stateless" in their own country — held out against vicious intimidation and won their demands. The Jaffna militants struggling for their national liberation must look toward a fighting unity of all the class enemies of JR's capitalist tyranny, or their "Eelam" will be an enclave of impoverished refugees in the barren north, totally dependent on capitalist India's Gandhi dynasty — brutal oppressor of her own national minorities — for support against bloody Sinhalese reaction holding sway over the rest of the island. Sections of the Tamil nationalists and their bourgeois leaders hope eagerly for a massive Indian intervention to reverse the terms of communalist oppression on the island, as has happened more than once in Cyprus. This is what the Sinhalese fear, and what drives many into the arms of the racist rulers.

Only the perspective of international class struggle in defence of the Tamils and all the exploited and oppressed offers a way forward. Today the courageous women at Magnum Garments need international support. Victorious proletarian struggle can squash Jayewardene's plans to make the island a haven for the US military in the escalating war drive against the Soviet Union. It can bring down Jayewardene and his regime of genocide. It can open the door to the revolutionary organisation of the oppressed masses of Lanka, as a staging area for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

We urge our readers to send contributions and telegrams of support for the Ratmalana strikers to: All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, 457 Union Place, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. Victory to the Magnum Garments strikers!

— Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 364, 12 October 1984.

impossible — remember the Falklands. Then, by the way, the SWP told us that all socialists who failed to support the "oppressed neo-colony" Argentina, however repressive its rulers, against imperialist Britain, albeit "democratic", were capitulating to imperialism. But PNG is closer to Australian social imperialist hearts, isn't it?

The question, once posed, cannot be ducked, and moreover would become very real if and when the fragile stability of the butcher regime in Jakarta, or elsewhere in the region, breaks down. After all, Australian troops were sent to fight Indonesians in North Borneo in 1964, during the "anti-imperialist" demagogue Sukarno's "Confrontation". The SWP has served notice that when the time comes they will enlist behind their imperialist rulers. All the calls for Australian imperialism to take a "stand" over East Timor are just a moral prelude to such a war. And what about the real war that Hawke is locking this country into — Reagan's plans for nuclear world war to destroy the Russian, Vietnamese, Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions? Chauvinist "national unity", whether whipped up

by the "left" against Indonesia or by racists like Blainey against Asian immigration fuels the anti-Soviet war drive, just as the hysteria in the days of Sukarno's West Irian and "Confrontation" adventures helped prepare the ground for conscription and troops to Vietnam. For revolutionaries a key test is class opposition to this anti-Indonesian chauvinist campaign — the only basis for class solidarity with the Indonesian workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities. Any Australian war against Indonesia would be reactionary and revolutionaries would fight for the defeat of Australian imperialism, using these reverses to facilitate its overthrow.

PNG: Aust. Colonialism...

Australian social democrats and liberals from the SWP to the *National Times* crowd perpetuate the myth of a benign, humane and paternal colonialism in Papua-New Guinea, now "free" but still fondly attached to Australia. Central to this is the racist "fuzzy wuzzy angels" folklore of the New Guinean people loyally sacrificing their lives to help the great white overlords and so on, ad nauseum. The

fright it got in World War II burned two lessons into the national consciousness of Australian imperialism — firstly that the enormous world power of the US was its irreplaceable lifeline, and secondly that it could never afford to let go of its "special relationship" with Papua-New Guinea.

That strategist of neo-colonialism, Peter Hastings, described pre-war Australian rule as "a fairly straight history of imperialist economic rapacity combined with a chilling indifference" towards the indigenous people. (*New Guinea: Problems and Prospects*, 1973). Having "pacified" the country by "punitive expeditions", ie, massacres and burning of villages, a thin layer of white planters, policemen and administrators lorded it over their black subjects slaving as servants or as indentured labour on the plantations and gold mines. Rebellion was met with savage repression. For example the 1929 Rabaul general strike, despite achieving total surprise and 100 per cent indigenous support (even the police), was smashed after one day. The strict racial separation was symbolised by the ban on Papuans

wearing clothes above the waist! Inhabitants of Papua, though not those of the mandated territory to the north, were in theory Australian citizens, yet had no right to travel to Australia or vote in its elections.

New Guinea and Timor illustrate the truth of the Trotskyist position of revolutionary defeatism in the Pacific war — that for Australia as much as for the US, Britain, Japan and Holland it was an imperialist war for possession of markets and colonies. The masses of PNG had no choice but to obey and be enslaved by whatever army was on top at the time, and "victory" meant the return of the same white pigs who had fled in panic as the Japanese approached in 1942. In East Timor in fighting between Japanese occupation forces and Australian commandos, 40,000 Timorese were killed, mainly by Japanese reprisal massacres and Australian bombing.

... and Neo-colonialism: BHP's "Pot of Gold"

Since the late 19th century the islands to Australia's near north have
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We reprint below the edited transcript of a presentation by comrade Reuben Samuels of the Spartacist League/US Central Committee to a meeting of the New York City branch of the SL/US and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). The text is taken from the October 1984 issue of the SYL paper Young Spartacus.

As South Africa has once again become a focus of our public work a number of fundamental questions have arisen. Does the permanent revolution apply in South Africa? Is there a national question in South Africa? Is there a land question? One problem in addressing these questions is that while South Africa is unique, one of the things that makes it unique is that it is a *mirror* of colonial oppression in which every form of colonial oppression is magnified, institutionalized, made more acute and drawn to its logical conclusion. One reason that the struggles in South Africa have had such a profound effect on oppressed peoples in the rest of the world, especially American blacks, is that they see there the mirror of their own oppression. American blacks ask: apartheid? What are we going to have next, a pass system? Analogies are always made with South Africa as the *standard* for oppression and degradation.

Now, what is permanent revolution? It is based on the experience of the three Russian Revolutions (1905, February and October 1917) and the extension of that experience to the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial world. Permanent revolution is the recognition that in the countries of *belated* capitalist development — whose development has been held down and suppressed first by the West European imperialist powers and then by the United States and Japan — the solution of the social and national questions requires the mobilization of the agrarian masses. But the agrarian masses are themselves too diffuse, too differentiated, too atomized to be a contender for power. Therefore it is only the bourgeoisie or the proletariat — the two principle urban classes — which can place themselves at the head of the oppressed nation, of the agrarian masses. Only the proletariat leading the oppressed nation can overcome imperialist domination, the legacy of feudalism, the suppression of democratic rights, the bondage of women. To deny that the proletariat must lead the oppressed nation is really a variant of economism, which also has ultraleft expressions. It is popular frontism by default, because it hands over to the bourgeoisie a responsibility which it cannot fulfil: to be the liberator of the oppressed nation of the peasant

US/South Africa Axis: "Free World"

Smash Apartheid Slavery!

Black Workers Must Take the Lead!



Mineworkers In Welkom, South Africa

masses, of the women held in bondage.

Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!

Now, how does the permanent revolution apply to the specific conditions of South Africa? After the 1976 Soweto uprising we had a discussion of the slogan, "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution!" What was wrong with this slogan? It implicitly assumed that the workers could come to power within the framework of apartheid, that on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat the apartheid system would not have to be shattered. Instead we put forward the slogan, "Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!", that is, smashing apartheid would open the road to workers revolution. Someone might argue, doesn't this imply a two-stage revolution? First we complete the democratic revolution by destroying apartheid, then we fight for proletarian power? No, that is formalistic. On the *road* to power the proletariat must lead the oppressed

black masses in the struggle against apartheid; it must address *all* of the social questions associated with apartheid.

Let us take the question of the disenfranchisement of the black people, who account for almost 75 percent of South Africa's population. Some years ago we had a discussion of the slogan, "Not Majority Rule, But Workers Revolution!" Now, we do *not* counterpose majority rule to proletarian rule. To be sure, most of the people who were calling for "majority rule" were full of all kinds of reformist and liberal utopian schemes, including schemes which *denied* majority rule such as the so-called "Federal approach". In South Africa the "Federal approach" means that each race is represented equally in the government setup and has veto power over every other race. Such an approach is common among South African liberals and is incorporated in the African National Congress' Freedom Charter of 1955. Instead, a genuinely bourgeois-democratic program would call for universal suffrage based on one man, one vote.

We don't simply put a minus wherever the liberals, reformists and nationalists put a plus. Behind the demand for majority rule in South Africa is a powerful felt urge, the enfranchisement of a people who have lost their birthright. Consider by analogy the slogan of "black power", which was raised by American black militants in the 1960s. When this slogan was first raised we wrote a basically negative article, counterposing black power to workers power. This was leftist formalism. The question in real life was to link up the demand of "black power", which expressed the felt urge of blacks for independent political action, to the class question, that is, to workers power. To *link* the demands. Likewise, in South Africa we want to link the demand for majority rule to workers rule. Hence our demand for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on one man, one vote as a step toward a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Let me call to your attention a very similar kind of discussion Trotsky had with his South African comrades in "On the South African Theses" (*Writings* 1934-35). In their theses the South African comrades had *equated* the demand for a "black republic" with the demand of "South Africa for the whites", which was the demand of the so-called Labour Party in South Africa at the time. This was a period when there was a substantial unskilled, poor white proletariat in South Africa. Nevertheless, the race question and the class question were and are intertwined. As Trotsky wrote:

"When the theses say that the slogan of a 'black republic' is *equally* harmful for the revolutionary cause as is the slogan of a 'South Africa for the whites,' then we cannot agree with the form of the statement. Whereas in the latter there is the case of supporting complete oppression, in the former there is the case of taking the first steps toward liberation."
[emphasis in original]



Black workers battle apartheid.

" Racism



South Africa March 1983.

foreigners in their own country. Every day 2,000 blacks are arrested for violation of the pass law. Every day! That's what? 700,000 a year! A big industry in South Africa is prison labor. The prisoners are overwhelmingly blacks who have violated the pass laws, who don't have adequate documentation to prove their right to be in the "white homeland", where all the industry is, where all the cities are, where all the ports are, where all the economically viable land is.

So there is a profound national question. These people have been deprived in the most fundamental sense of their birthright, turned into foreigners *not* in Europe but in their own country. All the harsh laws of apartheid basically exist to create a migratory, cheap labor force that can be used at will in industries highly subject to trade cycles, mainly mining. Also keep in mind that 28 percent of the black population are agricultural laborers on white-owned farms. So the black population is closely linked to the land. True, you have a very urbanized black proletariat. But apartheid has driven down their wages by taking the cost of social insurance, of unemployment, the cost of raising the next generation of wage slaves and relegated these costs to the bantustans. When a worker is too old to work, he is thrown back on the land. When there is no work, he is thrown back on the bantustans to scrub out subsistence existence in the brush lands. There his children are raised and there he is buried at no cost to the white employer.

Apartheid creates a twofold national question. It deprives a whole people or peoples of their birthright, of their land. But it creates another one, too, because the nature of the newly emergent imperialist powers or would-be imperialist powers in this epoch is to run the film of the bourgeois revolution backwards. Israel today, governed by the Talmudic law of the Middle Ages, is indicative. Likewise South Africa, where blacks have been forced to retribalize. Not just feudal autarky but tribal autarky has been reimposed on blacks. That is what the "self-development" schemes of the bantustans are all about.

So the white South African ruling class has a program of "national self-determination", just as Hitler did. But just because Botha talks about "national self-determination" (as did Hitler) doesn't mean that we can't use the language. To use the term "national" with regard to South African blacks is not to capitulate to

nationalism, either to black nationalism or to Afrikaner nationalism. We have a responsibility as the vanguard of the proletariat to champion the national rights of oppressed peoples.

In "On the South African Theses" Trotsky observed that the situation was so politically backward that, like the most oppressed nations in tsarist Russia, the yoke must be lifted from the black people in order to develop a national future. What their national future is, is really an open question — whether there will be one black nation, or few, or many nations. What is undeniable is that the yoke of colonial oppression, of white supremacy, will *prevent* an answer to that question. It took the Bolshevik Revolution to give tongue to the many languages of Russia and to put these languages, in many cases for the first time, in



Free ANC leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for 20 years by racist South African police state!

written form. We do not know what the Bolshevik revolution of South Africa will mean specifically in terms of the national destiny of the blacks. It will mean they will *have* a national destiny.

These questions are intimately linked to the woman question, which we have addressed in *Women and Revolution* No 16, Winter 1977-78 ["On Black Women in South Africa — Smash Apartheid Terror!"]. What do we mean by running the film of the bourgeois revolution backwards? In the bantustans every black woman is subject to Bantu Laws created by whites and administered by white judges and officials. For example, the bride price has been *reimposed*, either in cattle or cash, on the black women of South Africa. If there's a dispute about the bride price, you go to a

Bantu court administered by whites to tell you what your tribal law is! Your local tribal witch doctor happens to have a white face. Take tenancy. Women have no right to housing *anywhere* in South Africa, including the bantustans. They have no secure tenancy. If they are able to move in with their husbands (which is rare) and the husband dies, they're evicted from the house. And, of course, women have no rights of contract, no rights to control their wages. Wages for women are much below that of black men, even that of prison labor.

Women are a real reservoir — a terribly underestimated reservoir — of opposition to the apartheid regime. This was demonstrated in the 1950s by the mass mobilization of courageous black women against the pass laws. In the great demonstration of August 9, 1956 in Pretoria, 20,000 women from all over the country sang the famous freedom song, "Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed".

So if you take these questions together — the woman question, the national question, the agrarian question, the question of enfranchisement — you have a profound reflection and encapsulation of the colonial and semi-colonial condition of the oppressed peoples throughout the world, whether it be Kurdistan or El Salvador. South Africa is a mirror, an intense magnification, of social oppression and degradation.

The Anti-Apartheid Struggle and International Solidarity

Much of our debate externally around South Africa takes place with liberals or reformists who push divestment, with supporters of the Black Consciousness movement on the campuses, and so on. The divestment crowd basically believes that the imperialists within South Africa can be pressured to reform apartheid. Divestment is an appeal for progressive portfolio management on the part of various capitalist institutions in America. Ultimately its protectionist chauvinism paving the road for trade war and imperialist war. It is the same language as the trade-union bureaucrat who denounces sweatshops in Taiwan and South Korea when he negotiates a contract in the garment district for five dollars and change an hour. He throws up his hands and rails against the export of jobs. There's very little difference in all this divestment claptrap.

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The demand for a black republic is a demand for supremacy not simply of a race but of the oppressed toilers of the region. Their struggle against their exploiters also takes on a racial and national component.

The National Question in South Africa

Is there a national question in South Africa? Here is a country where blacks have been disenfranchised in a way that is so profound it is perhaps inconceivable. Hence the problems in applying categories developed in more "normal" societies. In South Africa blacks have been relegated to 13 percent of the land. These are the bantustans. The "white homeland" is the other 87 percent. This 13 percent is the poorest land; it is really brush and desert. Outside of this 13 percent, blacks must carry a passport. They are

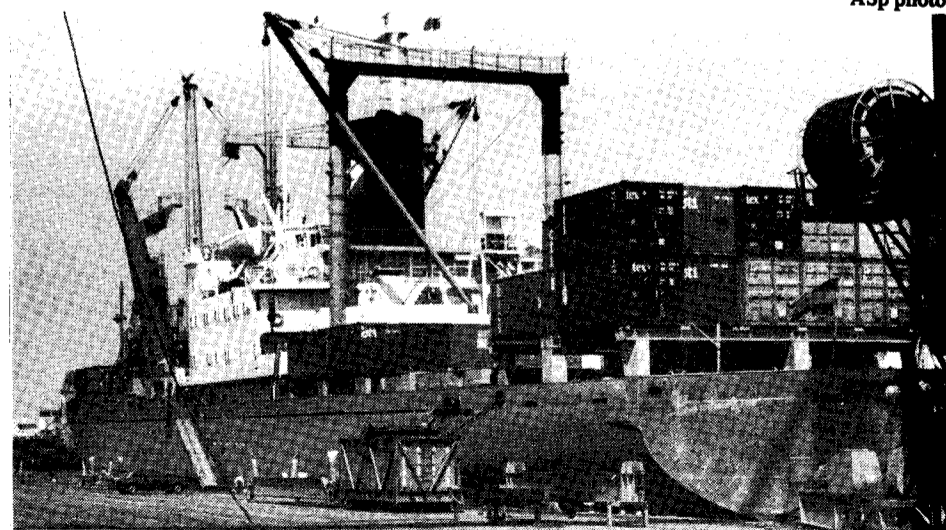
Waterfront Workers Ban South African Shipping

MELBOURNE: During September and October Australian ports saw a number of important labour actions in solidarity with South African black miners and black townships fighting bloody apartheid terror. On October 7 the *Safoccean Mildura*, a Dutch-registered ship with cargo bound for South Africa, was blacked for 24 hours by waterside workers in Melbourne. This action followed earlier bans initiated in Sydney by maritime unions against shipping to South Africa in protest at the state terror coming down against the current explosive upsurge of black struggle against the apartheid regime.

On September 6, in the wake of murderous repression of mass protests

against rent hikes in black townships like Sharpeville, the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) blacked the *Safoccean Nederburg*, a South African freighter on the Safoccean service. As soon as the watersiders lifted their ban the tugmen in the Firemen and Deckhands Union of New South Wales slapped on their own ban, which kept the ship idle for another 48 hours. According to the Melbourne WWF's 11 September *Official Branch News*, 24-hour bans hit the *Safoccean Nederburg* in every port the vessel visited.

Australian maritime unions have a long history of solidarity with black struggle against apartheid, and were known internationally for their political strikes and actions against the Viet-



Safoccean Mildura blacked in Melbourne, October 7.

nam war. These traditions continue to have a real base on the waterfront. Particularly now, with the black revolt spreading and the black proletariat coming to the fore, as in the two-day Transvaal general strike, international labour solidarity action is crucial. To

strike a blow against the apartheid rulers, the examples of these bans against the *Nederburg* and *Mildura* ships must be extended to *all* cargo bound to or from South Africa. This kind of class-struggle action must be taken up in ports around the world. ■

Hawke

Continued from page two

pations and in the streets. Power in this society is a question of the relationship of class forces. When Builders Labourers leader Norm Gallagher noted this truth two years ago after the courts dropped charges against the union in the face of mass walkouts they threw him in jail for "contempt of court". The "democratic" emperors do not like being told they have no clothes. Neither do the social-democratic left. Our communist opposition to Hawke's Labor government and hard Soviet defencism draws the battle lines today between a fighting labour movement and one tied to the apron strings of imperialist "democracy".

Defend the Soviet Union!

Defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states is the main question of proletarian class strategy today, as it has been at every critical turning point for the international labour movement since the 1917 Russian Revolution. The gains of the collectivised economies remain despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration which throttles their potential and whose narrow nationalism and conciliation of imperialism threatens their defence at every turn. It is not the lack of internal democracy that troubles the imperialist powers, only the fact that this section of the globe has been ripped from its control. What they want to destroy we want to defend and extend internationally — the planned socialist economy. We defend the USSR through the methods and the program of revolutionary class struggle, for socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution against the bureaucracy in the workers states. As Leon Trotsky pointed out in the Fourth International's manifesto on WWII and the world proletarian revolution in May 1940:

"The class conscious worker knows that a successful struggle for complete emancipation is unthinkable without the defence of conquests already gained, however modest these may be. All the more obligatory therefore is the defence of so colossal a conquest as planned economy against the restoration of capitalist relations. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

The Cold War consensus in the ruling circles of this country already permeates all fundamental questions, from foreign policy to political dissent to social and democratic rights. In league with ASIO Hawke's cabinet ran an anti-Soviet witchhunt against David Combe, the ALP's national secretary from the "anti-American" Whitlam days, through the best part of 1983. Combe, a middle of the road social democrat, never learned to shut up about the fix the CIA put in to

bring down the Whitlam government after it threatened to expose its Pine Gap spy base in 1975. This did not go unnoticed and Combe's "bitter anti-Americanism" and business relations with Soviet diplomat Valeriy Ivanov as a lobbyist for Australian-Soviet trade was all the CIA and ASIO needed to frame up and expel Ivanov for "KGB activities". Then Hawke surprised even ASIO with his vicious vendetta to smear Combe as a "security risk" (see David Marr's book *The Ivanov Trail*). The Hope Royal Commission cleared Combe of any "crime" but it set the framework for the Cold War witchhunts to come, backing ASIO's judgement that Combe's anti-CIA and anti-ASIO



Anti-Soviet nut Reagan: Hero of Labor's messiah Hawke.

sentiments put him "at risk" as a Soviet "agent of influence" (working "objectively" for the enemy) and made him a legitimate target for ASIO's witchhunt.

The Polish events in particular provided the political opening for Hawke to make his move and bring back the Catholic anti-communist unions that split from the ALP in the 50s to help form the Democratic Labor Party. The anti-Soviet Labor "lefts" are prostrate before this Cold War reaction because at bottom they share the same pro-capitalist program. When the Reaganites sent over 250 people to their deaths with their Korean plane provocation a year ago all wings of the union bureaucracy scrambled to condemn the Soviets and jump into line with Hawke's ravings about Soviet "barbarism". Sharpening class struggle since has only widened the gulf. Now the social democrats' hero Walesa, the Pope's shop steward in Poland, has come out lauding Margaret Thatcher and Britain's "working miners". One scab greets another. The labour movement should never forget these "socialists" who lawyered for Solidarnosc counter-revolution and anti-communist reaction. They are easy to recognise, they are the same crowd out hustling the vote for Hawke.

If the war drive gets any prominence in these elections then it is around the question of the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). The NDP was born mainly in reaction to the ALP's reversal of its "anti-uranium" position at the July national conference and is broadly representative of both the Cold War "peace" movement and the nationalist/ecological concerns of Labor's liberal middle-class constituency, badly disillusioned at the ALP's domination by the pro-US wing of social democracy. The aim of the NDP is "to put pressure on the leadership of the Labor Party to change its policies" in the words of Jean Melzer, leading NDP spokesman, in an interview with the Socialist Workers Party's *Direct Action* (7 November). Its 3-point program is 1) removal of all foreign bases 2) no visits of US nuclear ships, and 3) no mining or export of uranium. It is loyal to ANZUS (merely

wanting to get out of the nuclear firing line), lays no claim to any working-class base, openly courts the bourgeois Democrats of Don Chipp, favours the "hard" struggle of parliament, and fake-lefts like the SWP are in raptures over it.

Voting NDP is no "anti-war" vote. Their nationalist, supposedly "neutral" pacifism will quickly drop away when the hammer comes down, for they agree with Hawke on Cold War fundamentals. The coming showdown in Nicaragua for example draws a bloody line between revolution and counterrevolution, and victory for our side means drawing the class line hard internationally — Soviet MIGs and any other weapons and support from the workers states, revolutionary struggle throughout Central America, and organising labour political and solidarity strikes in Australia in opposition to this CIA-loyal Labor government. Those like the NDP and, a step removed, their cheerleaders in the SWP, who preach the lie of a "peaceful" and "neutral" Australian imperialism, are already in advance the "left" face for imperialist counter-revolution. On September 19 the SWP's *Direct Action* ran a front page on Nicaragua: "Blow to Reagan war plan, Hayden admits election will be fair." The slimy Hayden (Hawke's "dissident" kept mouthpiece for the Labor "left") had just left El Salvador where he praised the butcher Duarte, and in Nicaragua he kept his mouth shut about the openly flaunted US provocations and invasion preparations. The SWP are reduced to this grovelling opportunism because they see "solidarity" with Nicaragua as winning the battle of bourgeois "public opinion", above all with "their" social-imperialist government.

For a Fighting Labour Movement!

The weapons that workers have to fight the class struggle are inherent in the strengths of their collective organisations. Their numbers, militancy, organisation and discipline, their relationship to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society, these are what constitute workers power and determine their strategy and tactics: the strike and its defence through mass pickets, the sit-down strike or occupation, the black ban or solidarity strike. The arsenal of the capitalists is their state: the courts, the cops and ultimately the army. It is the role of the social democrats to gut the workers' weapons of their fighting content, transforming them at best into loyal pressure tactics on the capitalist state to enact "progressive" policies for their wage slaves. Then, as the line in the old Wobblies song went, "you'll eat pie in the sky by and by", except here god's priests on earth are Labor's parliamentary hacks.

The task of the Marxists is to train, educate and organise the working class to take power into its own hands, to sweep away this capitalist system of war, racism and depression and institute a rationally planned organisation of society based on human needs. The struggle for that sense of purpose and power does not begin "after the revolution" but now, in the day-to-day struggles of the working people. The fight for jobs and conditions for instance. The bureaucrats and their "left" followers are forever lobbying parliament for government handouts or new contracts for the bosses, even if it's to build up "our" navy as they've done at Sydney's shipbuilding centre at Cockatoo Island. Our taxes to subsidise their profits — this is the content of the reformist left's calls for "nationalisation" or the more open racist calls to protect "Aussie jobs".

This shit serves only the boss, and saves no jobs either.

We suggest that the workers would be better off, either in jobs or a decent "golden handshake" if say Sydney shipbuilding workers had forgot about Canberra, occupied Cockatoo Island and held it for ransom until decent terms were met. The Labor and union bureaucrats sure moved fast in September when the workers threatened in the Sydney daily papers to campaign against a Labor vote. And undoubtedly we would see a little action if the mining and steel workers of layoff-ravaged Wollongong took over the steel mills of the "Big Australian", aggressively going out to seek fighting class solidarity from the rest of the labour movement. People like to help people who help themselves. The union tops of course will say this is "illegal", but what isn't now under Hawke's Accord? If the unions are to defend their membership's jobs and conditions then the rules will have to suit the job to be done.

The unions also have to throw off the narrow attitude that muscle can only be flexed over wages and conditions and that everything else is for the parliamentarians. The question of health, transport and education for example affect every worker and their family and under Labor if it's "public" (ie, for you and me) then you just know it's getting screwed for capitalist austerity. Like Medicare, Labor's great "reform" that was paid for out of a tax levy on our wages, while in NSW Wran's Labor government and the surgeons compete in running down and wrecking public health care. The nurses, hospital workers and decent doctors around could use a few 1,000-strong flying pickets to turn this situation around, just like Arthur Scargill's boys.

This was our approach when the young Aboriginal John Pat was murdered by Labor's cops in WA. We said we want to organise a fighting labour movement that will fight every instance of racial and social oppression.

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

— "Vengeance for John Pat",
ASp no 107, July/August 1984

There are people in this country already who would like to kill off all the blacks, Asians, homosexuals and anyone else they consider "deviant" and really make Australia the South Africa of Southeast Asia. This Labor government is already starting to try and tell us what we can say, read, watch on our videos, even who and how we screw. Soon it will be back to the days of an Australia where "men are men and sheep are nervous" (as a Sydney wall sign put it). The ugly reality of this white imperialist enclave in Asia is going to reassert itself more aggressively the closer it gets towards resolution of the imperialists' mad war plans, and they must be fought at every step. A genuine Marxist party of the proletariat must be a tribune of all the people, driving all the struggles of the working people and their allies towards establishing their own government, based on their own organised power. This is the program of the Spartacist tendency internationally as we fight to reforge the world party of Trotsky's Fourth International. The working people and the oppressed peoples have a world to win, for this sick, irrational and dangerous capitalist system threatens to destroy our planet. ■

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Sosyalist, Birleşik Kürdistan Cumhuriyeti için!



Aşağıdaki yazı, Enternasyonal Spartakist Tendens'in bu yaz Orta Avrupa'da yapılan Kürt militanlarının konferansına sunduğu bildirisi- dir.

Yoldaşlar, sizleri Enternasyonal Spartakist Tendens adına selamlıyorum. Devrimciler olarak biz, ezilen Kürt kitlelerinin önündeki kurtuluşunun, ulusal ve toplumsal kurtuluş için kendi amansız mücadeleleri ile başka yerlerdeki gerçekten... enternasyonalist olan Marksist güçlerle el ele, birlikte verecekleri mücadelede yattığını ısrarla vurguluyoruz. Bu bir bütün olarak ele alındığında, yeryüzünde ki her çeşit baskı ve sömürüyü yoketmeye kendini adanmış, gerçek Leninist-Marksist enternasyonalist gerektirir. Enternasyonal Spartakist Tendens Kürt halkı üzerindeki her saldırıya, her haksızlığa karşı tetiktedir. Biz, Londra'dan Sidney'e (Avustralya), Almanya'ya kadar her yerde Kürt militanları ile beraber, onların haklarının savunusu için gösteriler yaptık. Sizlere, burada, tartışmalarımıza bir katkı olarak, tarihten alınan derslere ve özellikle ilk başarılı, çok uluslu sınıf savaşımını gerçekleştiren Lenin yoldaşın mücadelesine temellenen görüşlerimizi sunuyoruz.

Pankartlarımızda da belirttiğimiz gibi, biz, Kürtlerin kendi kaderini tayin hakkını sarsılmadan savunuyoruz. Kendi kaderini tayin etme bir demokratik hak. Fakat onun uygulanması çok çeşitli şekiller alabilir. Kürtlere baskı yapan ve onları bu haklarından mahrum kılan dört kapitalist ülkenin karakterini göz

önüne alacak olursak, kapitalizm altında Kürtlerin kendi kaderini tayin eden tutarlı bir çözümün olamayacağına inanmamız gerekir.

Burada, herhalde çoğumuz sosyalist bir çözümden yanayız. Fakat bu ne demektir? Programatik olarak kesinlik ve açıklıkla ifade edilmelidir. Örneğin, bağımsızlığı kazanmış birçok Afrika devletlerini ele alalım. Bu kapitalist devletler kendilerine Marksist ve Sosyalist demelerine rağmen despotça yönetimlerini sürdürüyor ve kendi halkını, komşu halkları suistimal ediyorlar. Oysa sosyalizme ulaşmak için, mülkiyet sahiplerinin, yani toprak ağaları ve kapitalistlerin mülksüzleştirilmesi ve işçi köylü yönetiminin inşasına kaçınılmaz bir şekilde ihtiyaç vardır.

Yoldaşlar, tarih bize öğretiyor ki; proletaryanın toplumsal gücü olmadan, bunu örgütleyen, halkların tribünü (temsilcisi) olarak hareket eden Leninist bir parti olmadan, geçmişteki kahramanca savaşımın çoğu zaman yenilgiyle içersinde boğulmuştur. Kürt kitleleri Arap, Fars, Türk proleterya ile ittifaka hedef edinmeli, bu proleterler de kendi burjuvazilerinin büyük devlet sovenizmine karşı kürt halkının kendi kaderinin tayin hakkının en kararlı, en öncü savaşçıları olmalıdırlar.

Biz, bu devrimci savaşçıların arasında Kürt kadınlarının yer alacağını biliyoruz. Bugün kölenin kölesi olan Kürt kadınları, bilince vardığında devrimin ve komünist fikirlerin en iyi savaşçıları olacaklardır.

Kürt halkı ulusal baskının ve sovenizmin bataklığından kurtulmanın müthiş çabası içerisindedir. Enternasyonal Spartakist Tendens, İran ve Irak arasındaki kirli milliyetçi kan davasında herhangi bir tarafın zaferinin, İran veya Irak emekçi kitleleri için hiç bir çıkar temsil etmeyeceğini belirtmiştir. Biz, bu gerici ve milliyetçi savaş molları ve generallere karşı bir iç savaş dönüşürün diyoruz. Kürtler hem Baasçıların hem de Homeyni'nin devrim muhafızlarının canice saldırısına uğruyorlar. İran Irak savaşı, Kürt halkına, 1946 yılında kısa süre yaşayan Mehabat "Kürt Cumhuriyeti"nden" bu yana, ilk olarak ulusal devletlerini kurmak için en iyi imkanı sunuyor.

Yoldaşlar, bizler, diğer ezilen ulusların mücadelelerinden dersler almamız. Eskiden, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kuzey topraklarını oluşturan Balkanlar da, Ortadoğu gibi, ulusal kinlerin kaynayan kazanıydı. Fakat bugünkü Yugoslavya'da, çoğunluğu Sırp ve Karadağlılar'dan oluşan komünist partisi, Hırvatlı Tito'nun önderliğinde, deformede olsa kurduğu Yugoslavya işçi devletiyle harmoni yaratabildi.

Buna karşın Lübnan, kapitalist ve diğer mülkiyet sahibi sınıfların, kitleleri tatmin etmeye yönelik bir çözüme bile yaratamayacaklarının, en güzel örneğidir. Filistinlilerin ise Arap burjuvazisinden bekleyebilecekleri hiçbir şey yoktur. Onlar, kan emici emperyalist güçlere, özellikle anti-Sovyet seferleri için Lübnan'ı bir sığınak noktası olarak kullanma- va çalışan ABD emperyalizmine tam ve kor-

kaçça bağımlılıklarını bir kez daha açığa vurdu. Biz diyoruz ki; varolan, (İsrail'deki) Siyonist devlet yıkılmalı ve yerine Arapça ve İbranice konuşan proleterya'dan oluşan işçi sınıfının komünist iktidarı kurulmalıdır. Böylece İbranice konuşan işçiler Sosyalist Orta-Doğu Federasyonu'nun yaratılması için son derece değerli kültürel ve teknik kaynağı oluşturabilirler.

ABD'nin Lübnan'dan geri çekilişi emperyalistlerin anti-Sovyetizmini azaltmadı. Bugün ABD emperyalizminin politikası Kohl'un emperyalist hükümeti de dahil, Avrupalı NATO mütefikleri ile beraber anti-Sovyet savaş kışkırtıcılığı üzerine temelleniyor ve hedefleri Ekim Devriminden kalan kazanımlara (üretim araçlarında devlet mülkiyeti, monopollermiş dış ticaret, ve planlı ekonomi) çevrilmiştir. Biz Sovyetler Birliğinin emperyalizme veya içten kapitalizmi yeniden inşa etmeye çalışan güçlere karşı, askeri olarak, koşulsuz savunusundan yanayız.

Yoldaşlar, emperyalizmin çöküş çağında demokratik hakların ve prensiplerin, yalnız, iktidardaki devrimci proleterya aracılığıyla tam olarak hayata geçirilebileceğini, Rus devriminin muhteşem ve tarihsel örneği dramatik bir şekilde ispatlamıştır. İşçi sınıfı zayıf olan diğer birçok ezilen uluslar da vardır. Ashında hatın sayılır nicelikte Kürt işçisi olmasına rağmen çoğunluğu Kürt ulusal hüviyetinin hakim olduğu coğrafi bölgelerin dışında çalışıyorlar. Kürt proleteryasının böyle her bir tarafa yayılmış olması tabiki kaçınılmaz olarak sizin politik görevlerinizi karıştırıp güçleştiriyor. Fakat bu artık başkalarında karşılaşılmış oldukları bir sorundur. Halkların hapishanesi diye adlandırılan çarlık Rusya'sında, proleteryanın iktidarı ele geçirmesini kolaylaştıran, Bolşevik partisinin en az gelişmiş ezilen uluslar için

bile kendi kaderini tayin hakkı için amansız mücadelesi olmuştur. Diğer taraftan bugünkü Sovyet Orta Asya ve Dış Moğolistan'ın ezilen uluslarında, Petrograd ve Noakova'daki işçilerin iktidarı ele geçirmesinden ilham aldılar. Özellikle de örgütlenmiş kadınların ve gençliğin etkin mücadelesi ve Troçki yönetimindeki kızıl-ordu birliklerinin yardımı ile ulusal ve feodal baskıların boyunduruğundan, kendi kurtuluşlarının yolunu buldular. Bugün bile, Birçok Kürt, Sovyetlerde yaşayan ulusdaşlarının 20. asrın bilim, teknoloji ve eğitim zenginliklerinden faydalandıklarını, ulusal demokratik haklarını uyguladıklarını bilerek Sovyetler Birliğine yöneliyor.

Kürt kitlelerinin ezilmişlikten kurtuluşu ancak bölgesel düzeyde bu dört kapitalist ülkedeki gerici burjuva rejimleri parçalamayı hedef edinen bir perspektif ile gerçekleşebilir. Proleterya devrimi, gerçekte birçok cepheye verilen savaşların kampanyaların, hareketlerin neticesinde doğar. Bizim anlayışımıza göre birleşik Sosyalist Kürdistan Cumhuriyeti için mücadele bölgenin devrimci proleteryasının Ortadoğu Sosyalist federasyonuna açılan mücadelesi ile biçimlenecek. Diğer taraftan bu da proleteryanın mücadelesini şekillendirecek. Aldığımız örnek Bolşeviklerin ulusal azınlıklara Sovyet federasyonuna katılma seçeneğini ve yararlarını sunduğu 1917-1924'lerdeki Lenin'in Rusya'sıdır. Biz üzerimize düşen görev olarak, kendimizi dünya çapında proleter devrimlerin enternasyonalist partisini kurmaya adanmış, sizlere insanlığın geleceğinin böyle bir partinin kurulmasına bağlı olduğu anlayışla hitap ediyoruz. Sağolun yoldaşlar. ■

— Reprinted from Spartakist no 51, October 1984

40c

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SPARTAKÜS LİGASI'NIN TEMEL PRENSİPLERİ

Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League — 10c

Smash Apartheid...

Continued from page seven

The main point we want to make is that the wealth of South Africa belongs to the producers of that wealth, the black toilers. And the only real divestment is when they divest the white imperialists in South Africa and the multinational concerns. Our whole strategy is linked to that. International labor solidarity — labor boycotts of military goods, and at particular moments of crisis boycotts of South African goods *in toto*. This is what we are calling for during the present revolt in the townships and the strikes, especially in the gold mines. We want to see labor boycotts, not imperialist boycotts. And also strikes and struggles against the multinationals to force them to recognize black unions and to grant equal rights to black labor in South Africa.

In considering South Africa today the Russian question is of major importance. The basis for the Washington/Pretoria axis is not simply economic in the narrow sense (eg, the importance of gold production) but a question of class survival in the larger sense. This means, above all, the imperialist drive to overturn the gains of the Russian October Revolution of 1917. That is why Angola has become such an important battleground internationally and an acid test for the left in this country. Thus the question of freedom from apartheid-imperialist domination turns on your position on the Russian Question, that is, military defense of the Soviet Union against the forces of world capitalism.

We are struggling through our propaganda to build a Trotskyist party in South Africa. The founding cadres for that party may well be recruited in exile, for example among South African student militants in England or perhaps even the United States. However, the importance of black struggle in South Africa extends beyond the boundaries of that country and the surrounding region. South Africa is seen universally and especially among American blacks as a mirror of colonial and racist oppression. It is therefore important that we strive for clarity in understanding the permanent revolution in South Africa.

Today the *New York Times* reported a meeting in a black church in Sharpeville to commemorate the dead killed by police in the recent revolt. The black mourners cried, *Amandla*, which means power, followed by *Awetu* — "It shall be ours". The *Times* reporter commented: "The police trucks outside the church, and the air force helicopter hovering above, seemed to suggest a different prophecy from their adversaries". The black proletariat of South Africa will make the demand for power their own. But they must have a party to link their isolated struggles with the struggle in the townships, among the students, the unemployed, the so-called "illegals", with the struggles in the bantustans, among the women and the peasants. And if such a party is built, it shall be ours.

— Abridged from *Young Spartacus* no 121, October 1984

Indonesia...

Continued from page five

been regarded as its defence "ramparts". The Indonesian takeover of West Irian from the Dutch in 1962 saw the last remnant of these colonial "ramparts" disappear, and spurred Australia's hasty "decolonisation" of

PNG. With "independence" in 1975 Somare was installed as the black overseer (in Pidgin, *bosboi*) on the white man's plantation. The servile colonial House of Assembly was turned into a carbon-copy Westminster "democracy", right down to knighthoods, governor-generals and occasional visiting royalty. As OPM leader James Nyaro bitterly observed: "Papua-New Guinea's independence is only a rubber stamp from Australia and even to this day everything is controlled by Australia" (*Australian*, 17 May).

Since independence business has boomed in PNG. CRA opened its huge coppermine on Bougainville in the early 70s and this year mining of the rich Ok Tedi deposit began, worth a cool US\$10 billion. Somare hopes Ok Tedi will be PNG's El Dorado but it looks more like a "pot of gold" for Australia's biggest corporation, BHP. BHP, as the leading partner in the Ok Tedi consortium, is in for 30 per cent

of the mine profits, more from the construction side and commercial spin-offs also, via trading subsidiaries. The project itself is set up like something out of South Africa. The PNG labourers live in separate housing and drink in separate clubs from the mainly white managerial and technical staff, at less than a tenth the wages. It's a closed company town so anyone without a permit can be arrested and jailed for a year, pass-laws style. This is the real face behind Australian imperialism's hypocritical moralising against South Africa.

As Cold War II heats up, the need for building Trotskyist parties throughout the region on a program for working-class power grows more acute. The "left" Laborites' desire for "democratic" war with Indonesia complements the anti-Soviet nationalism emanating from Reagan's man in Canberra. Australian workers have been sent by their leaders to be slaughtered on battlefields from

Gallipoli to Kokoda to Vietnam and for what? For the privileges of a jackal ruling class which needs their blood as its admission price, as a junior member, of the club of rich white imperialists.

For the PKI leaders' popular front with their military executioners the Indonesian masses were made to pay, in their hundreds of thousands, for the "stability" of a ramshackle clique of compradors for the IMF. The cycle of wars and butchery to preserve imperialist exploitation must be ended. Industrial action after WWII by Australian workers made a material contribution to the struggle to free Indonesia from the Dutch overlords. Now a fighting alliance must be forged between the Australian workers, the workers and peasants of Indonesia and the oppressed peoples of the region to defend the USSR/Vietnam, smash ANZUS/ASEAN, and through workers rule root out imperialist domination once and for all. ■

Central America...

Continued from page twelve

place to guide American aircraft. Both Mondale and Reagan are more than willing to use negotiations to try to bludgeon the Nicaraguans into leaving themselves militarily unprepared to face US invasion.

It's not just that the Central American policies of the twin capitalist parties look increasingly alike. They share a common framework: the anti-Soviet war drive. At San Francisco Mondale beat down every attempt to put the party on record against sending US troops to Central America. The Democratic platform like the Republican asserts that "the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua have all encouraged instability and supported revolution in the region". Where they have differed is over tactics: the Reaganites dream of another Grenada, the Democrats have nightmares of another Vietnam. But in the face of Reagan's determination to wipe out the Sandinistas, Mondale has now made it clear that he will go along and accept a "fait accompli". Providing, of course, that it is an accomplished fact. Which is another matter altogether.

From the time Sandino rose up against the Marines in 1927 until the Sandinistas drove "the last Marine", dictator "Tacho" Somoza, out of Managua, the heroic people of Nicaragua lost more than 100,000 of their sons and daughters. Somoza's murderous National Guard was routed by a popular insurrection. The radical nationalist FSLN sought a middle way: "mixed economy", political "pluralism", "nonalignment". But Ronald Reagan isn't interested — to him all revolutions are communist. And the Yankee invasion is already planned: first stop Managua.

The present regime in El Salvador is the product of 50 years of military rule, beginning with the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Communist-led peasants and workers. The killing has never stopped — only the form changes. Under CIA "democrat" Duarte executions are down, indiscriminate bombing is up. Yet the leftist guerrillas of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) and the liberal politicians of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) are seeking a "negotiated solution" with this death squad "democracy". This is a dangerous trap. If the rebels lay down their arms it will mean more massacres. The real choice for the Salvadoran masses is revolution or death.

Reagan's "two-track" policy consists of a tiny carrot and a very Big Stick. And the "alternative" pushed by various reformists and the "solidarity movement" is "Vote Mondale/Ferraro". Ultimately all the schemes for a "negotiated/political solution" in Central America come down to pressuring the Democrats, the imperialist party of Vietnam, Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. We say: "Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Defend Nicaragua — Complete, extend the revolution!" And while the rad-libs campaign for Walter "Quarantine Nicaragua" Mondale, we look to the American working class — for militant labor action against US intervention in Central America! What's needed to bring Reagan down is another Vietnam Tet offensive of class struggle, from San Salvador to Detroit.

Two War Parties

At the anti-climactic Great Foreign Policy debate October 20, Republican Reagan replied to Mondale on Central America, "I thought for a moment that instead of a debate I was going to find Mr Mondale in complete agreement with what we're doing because the plan that he has outlined is the one we've been following for quite some time, including diplomatic processes throughout Central America". Earlier, the editor of the establishment journal *Foreign Policy* made the same point in a *New York Times* (24 August) Op-Ed article, "Mondale's GOP Latin Policy". The "only significant difference between Republicans and Democrats over intervention in Central America", he worried, is "the speed and the amount of guilt with which they would approve it". And Walter Mondale does not seem beset with guilt.

Yet the reformist left and the so-called "anti-interventionist movement" have liquidated themselves almost totally into the Democratic Mondale/Ferraro campaign. CISPE (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) says: "Vote for Peace in November. Changing Presidents won't end the war in Central America by itself, but it is an important first step." Central American leftists share the same program of illusions. A publication of the Salvadoran FMLN's Radio Venceremos (*Senal de Libertad*, August-September 1984) wrote: "It is difficult to understand how the Democrats have fallen for the 'Duarte Difference' argument. Duarte, aside from being one of Reagan's puppets, also plays a key role in Reagan's campaign for reelection."

It's not so hard to understand about the Democrats and Duarte, and why Reagan and Mondale, Bush and Ferraro have non-debates over Central America. While they have tactical differences, sometimes important, they share a common political framework: the drive to refurbish the strength of American imperialism, to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" in order to drive toward war against the Soviet Union. It was under Democrat Carter, after all, that the post-Vietnam anti-Soviet war drive began, first in the guise of the "human rights" crusade and then escalating over Afghanistan. In replying to Reagan's appeal to Congress over Central America last year, Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd emphasized:

"So first of all, let me state clearly that on some very important things, all Americans stand in agreement.

"We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America.

"We will not accept to see the creation

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of Soviet military bases in Central America.
 "And, we will not tolerate the placement of Soviet offensive missiles in Central America — or anywhere in this hemisphere."
 — *New York Times*, 28 April 1983

The Democrats' quarrel with Reagan's policies, Dodd spelled out, was that they are "a proven prescription for picking a loser". And another losing war — a repeat of U S imperialism's Vietnam debacle — is what they are worried about.

The rad-libs tail behind the Democrats with their slogan "No more Vietnams in Central America". The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say, "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador!" And recalling a once-famous slogan of Che Guevara, we add, "Vietnam was a victory — Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism!" As Leninists, we understand that you cannot eliminate imperialist war by "reforming" capitalism into changing its policies. The whole system must be swept away through revolutionary class struggle internationally, in particular in the imperialist heartland. Through the misleadership of New Left and old left reformists, using the "peace movement" and "peace" candidates as the vehicle, radicalized youth of the '60s were led back into the Democratic Party they angrily protested over Vietnam. Today there are renewed attempts to build a popular-front "peace movement" and to push liberal "peace" candidates. In selling Walter "Quarantine" Mondale, they use the classic, despairing "lesser evil" arguments of old: the Democrats will give us more breathing space; if Reagan wins, he'll invade, if Mondale wins he'll only quarantine. But a blockade is the first step of the invasion.

What's needed is militant labor/black action to bring Reagan down. Revolutions, not elections, are key in deciding the questions of war and peace. And socialist revolution requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party, a class-struggle workers party built in struggle against all the pseudo-socialists who would tie the exploited and the oppressed to their exploiters and oppressors. An international party that goes beyond empty "solidarity" by fighting for common struggle against the imperialist enemy, from San Salvador to Detroit. A party that tells the truth to the workers and fighters, that peace will come only be disarming the warmakers by smashing their class rule.

At the UN Ortega recounted how Nicaragua has made innumerable offers for negotiations, both bilaterally with the United States and through the regional "Contadora process". The Contadora group of "moderate" bourgeois regimes fears the spread of the revolutionary contagion in the region and seeks to head it off by mutual agreement. In early September they finally completed their draft

the people of the United States as well. This is our contribution to peace."

Forcing the Nicaraguan people to fight barefoot and without adequate weapons is what the whole "Contadora process" is supposed to achieve. The survival of a revolution must not be sacrificed through diplomatic wheeling-and-dealing with the junior partners of Yankee imperialism!



FDR leadership includes ex-junta butchers Ungo & Zamora (left).

"peace" treaty which would require Nicaragua to: grant amnesty to the *contras*, hold elections under international supervision, cut off any aid to Salvadoran rebels, send home Cuban and Soviet military advisers and let an "independent commission" decide how much military power it could have for defense! This would be a real setback for revolution in the isthmus. But on September 22 the Sandinistas announced they had accepted the Contadora treaty in its entirety, since once it was signed the US would supposedly be obligated (morally?) to halt its aggression against Nicaragua. For months, the US has been trying to hamstring the FSLN regime with Contadora negotiations, but as soon as Managua accepted the treaty, Washington rejected it. No matter how much they offer to sell out, Reagan just isn't interested.

At the UN, Daniel Ortega vowed courageously:

"... we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people — barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs — are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice.... We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among

Nicaragua urgently needs sophisticated weaponry, from SAM anti-aircraft defenses to MIG aircraft. For several years, the Spartacist League has raised in demonstrations over Central America the demand, "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs — Nicaragua needs MIGs!" This never fails to cause convulsions among various rad-libs who look to the Democratic Party and Contadora for "solidarity". We say, Nicaragua has the right to get whatever weapons it wants, wherever it wants — and the Soviet Union has the internationalist duty to supply them.

Meanwhile, the economic noose around Sandinista Nicaragua is tightening. Almost half a billion in loans has been cut off by the US; hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage has been caused by *contra* sabotage; vital imports were held up for months because of CIA mining of the harbors; and now Nicaragua is almost totally dependent upon the Soviet Union for oil supplies due to American pressure on Mexico and Venezuela. The country is facing economic devastation as shortages spread, yet more than half of industry, commerce and agriculture is still in the hands of private capitalists. The land reform is still limited to lands taken over from Somoza, and workers are suffering under a wage freeze in place since 1979. The FSLN's commitment to a "mixed economy", like its "nonaligned" foreign policy and political "pluralism" for the bourgeois parties, increasingly become weapons in the hands of the counter-revolution. To defend the revolution which ousted Nicaragua's blood-sucking Somoza dynasty, it is urgently necessary to complete it, by expropriating the bourgeoisie as a class. And that requires a Leninist-Trotskyist communist party, not the vacillating petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas, whose program of conciliating the class enemy has repeatedly ended in failure.

The Perils of La Palma

The "peace" talks between the government and the leftist insurgents held last week in the Salvadoran town of La Palma are a trap of the rebels' own making. Duarte bombastically claimed it was his own idea, though everyone understood that he could never have made the offer without the toleration of the military, and they would never have gone along unless the orders came straight from Washington. Reagan needed to pose as a "peacemaker" in the last lap of the US elections; he needed something to

one-up Mondale over Central America and to upstage the Sandinistas' Contadora publicity. So he got his bought-and-paid-for puppet, Jose Napoleon Duarte, to stage a media event in the village of La Palma. They talked about nothing, set up a commission to talk again, and two days later the Salvadoran army used its new UH-1H Huey helicopters to launch an offensive to encircle guerrilla forces in Morazan.

What was achieved by the talks? Duarte continues to insist that there's nothing to negotiate beyond participation in phony army-supervised "elections". The FDR/FMLN wants a "provisional government of broad participation" to organize elections, in other words "power-sharing". Neither side, however, laid any demands on the table. Even so, the FDR/FMLN claimed the talks were a step forward because they had achieved what Ferman Cienfuegos, head of the National Resistance faction of the FMLN, called "the recognition by the Salvadoran government of the guerrillas". In return, FDR spokesman Jorge Villacorta declared, "There is a legitimate government and we are being realistic" (*Philadelphia Enquirer*, 17 October). So it's "How do you do, Mr. Duarte? Very well, thank you, Mr. Ungo". But the only place the military will "recognize" the leftist insurgents is in the morgue — which is where they could end up unless they smash this murder machine which has assassinated more than 50,000 Salvadoran workers, peasants, leftists, women and youth in the last five years.

So why does the FDR/FMLN bother negotiating with the CIA's stooge? Zamora goes on: "At the same time, if the need for dialogue and negotiation arises, Napoleon Duarte is also the best man", since D'Aubuisson will never negotiate. Mr Invasion and Mr Negotiation? Yes, because these are two sides of the same US policy in El Salvador. And since the rebels' political program centers on achieving a so-called "political solution", they need Duarte as much as Reagan and the Democrats do.

Shortly after the La Palma "peace" talks, a reporter talked with market women in San Salvador to get their reaction. Asked whether they would support amnesty for the death squads, they said no. Speaking for all of them, one replied: "Here everyone wants peace, but no one wants reconciliation" (*Washington Post*, 18 October). The fight must be decided on the field of battle.

In Central America today, a civil war is raging against the brutal military/landowner regimes put in place half a century ago by the US Marines and through bloody massacres of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran people. The killing has never stopped, but today there is a real chance of revolutionary victory provided the struggle is not confined by the straitjacket of narrow nationalism, or sold out in treacherous negotiations aimed at appeasing the class enemy. As Lenin wrote at the onset of the Russian Civil War:

"Either conquer the Kaledins and Ryabushinskys [White Guardists] or give up the revolution. Either victory over the exploiters in the civil war or the collapse of the revolution. Such has been the issue in all revolutions, in the English revolution in the seventeenth century, in the French in the eighteenth century and in the German in the nineteenth century. How could it be thought that the Russian revolution in the twentieth century would not face that issue? How can wolves become lambs?"

— V I Lenin, "People from Another World", January 1918, *Collected Works*, Vol 26

— Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 365, 26 October 1984

Sandinista newspaper, *Barricada*, reports New York Spartacist protest last November against "Contra Zero" Eden Pastora.



US Hands Off Central America!

Nicaragua Needs Soviet MIGs Now!

Military Victory to Salvador Leftist Rebels! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

14 NOVEMBER: — Reagan is back in the White House. War is in the air. The target is Nicaragua. At press time Reagan, Congressional Democrats and Republicans and the US press are in full war cry about MIG 21s allegedly delivered at the Nicaraguan port of Corinto on 7 November by the Soviet ship *Bakuriani*. The US said publicly they can't prove it; the Sandinistas and Soviets both deny it. *We wish it were true.* It appears that Reagan's Cold War on the front line of his mad anti-Soviet war drive is turning hot fast. The "MIG scare" is a pretext for an invasion which is already fully planned. Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto states that US "manoeuvres" off both coasts of Central America involving 40 warships and tens of thousands of Marines are imminent, and that the 82nd Airborne Division (which invaded Grenada) has been put on alert. *Nicaragua needs those Soviet MIGs now!*

If Washington invades it is the duty of all class-conscious workers everywhere to fight for mass political strike action in defence of the Nicaraguan revolution. As well Australian unions, on the waterfront in particular with their history of strike action in soli-

arity with the Vietnamese revolution, should black all US shipping and trade to and from the United States. Reagan's man Hawke was quick to solidarise with the deadly threats against Nicaragua and any such industrial strike action will quickly run up against his imperialist ALP government, calling into question the ANZUS alliance and the US bases — *all of which must go! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defence of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in Central America!* The article below, though written on the eve of the US elections, maintains its full urgency today. Originally titled "Reagan, Mondale Mean War on Central America", it is abridged from the 26 October *Workers Vanguard*, fortnightly paper of the Spartacist League/US.

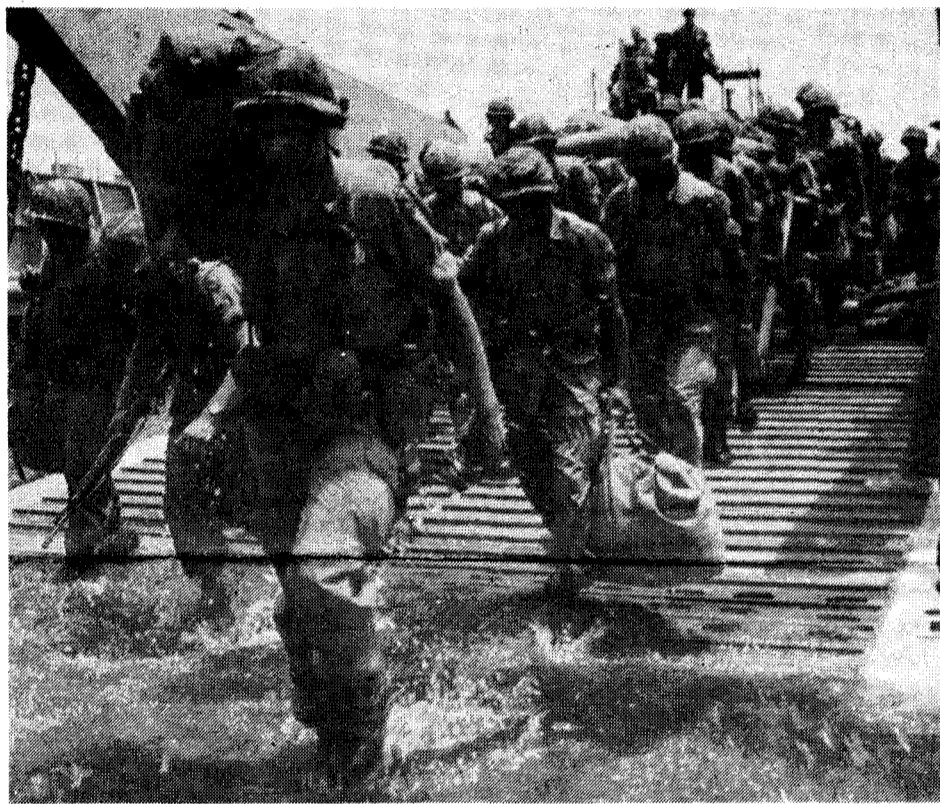
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In the United States there's an election. But in Central America revolutions are at stake. Revolutions that have been half a century in the making, against bloody tyrannies installed and protected by their American masters. Time and time again these tiny countries have been the landing ground for US troops, who left behind

P Chauvel/Sygma



July 1979: victorious Sandinistas parade through Managua after fall of US butcher Somoza.



4000 US troops land in Honduras for joint exercises with Honduran army.

their scavenging guard dogs, the Somozas and their ilk, to pick over the booty. And today the Yankee imperialists are threatening to invade once more. As Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega said at the UN this month, "The winds now blowing over Central America foretell of a holocaust for our peoples". But Hurricane Reagan could also unleash revolutionary storms, from the coasts of Central America to the heartland of North America.

CIA mercenaries in Nicaragua, CIA assassination handbooks for "contras", now CIA spy planes shot down by Salvadoran guerrillas — the US is running a real Murder, Inc down there. And that's only the beginning. They're supporting mercenary armies of more than 12,000 men against Sandinista Nicaragua, with American fleets cruising off both the Pacific and Caribbean coasts, a dozen new air bases and landing fields constructed in Honduras, and almost constant military maneuvers. Nicaragua's harbors are mined, the economy strangled, oil depots blown up, teachers killed. Why? It's revolution vs counterrevolution in Central America. And the Yankee imperialists, Reagan and Mondale, Republicans and Democrats, are all *contras*.

Meanwhile the imperialist politicians politely debate the future they have in store for war-ravaged Central America. The Republicans openly

state their intention to overthrow the radical Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government: "Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary", says their platform, while the CIA directs and finances counterrevolutionary terrorists besieging the country from north and south. Democrat Mondale announces that if the Sandinistas don't play by Washington's rules then the US should "quarantine Nicaragua". If Managua gets the MIG jet fighters it needs to defend itself against American air strikes, that would be "intolerable", says Mondale, and the US should "take steps" to get them out. And, of course, they all love Duarte.

A quarter century ago, in the 1960 elections, a similar "debate" was held, with the formal positions reversed: liberal Kennedy called for US support to the Cuban *gusano* "fighters for freedom" while conservative Nixon, caught off guard, called for a "quarantine" of the Castro regime. *And both of them knew* that the CIA already had preparations for an invasion underway, the operation that ended in ignominious disaster at the Bay of Pigs. This time, also, the plans are far advanced but on a far larger scale. The munitions are prepositioned in Honduras, airfields carved out of the jungle to serve as staging points, sophisticated radar installations in

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