The article reprinted below is Part One of an article first printed in Workers Vanguard no. 440, 13 November 1987, paper of the Spartacist League/US. Part Two will follow in the next issue of Australasian Spartacist.

Seven decades ago there occurred the epochal event of our times, the Russian October Revolution of 1917. As the cruiser Aurora trained its guns on the Winter Palace, a new dawn broke for mankind. For the first time, the program of proletarian revolution was given flesh and blood. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, political power passed into the hands of the working class. In its first act, the Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies decreed land to the peasants, and offered a just and democratic peace to all belligerent nations, to put an end to the slaughter of the imperialist world war. As the delegates rose to sing the Internationale - "Arisse ye prisoners of starvation! Arise ye wretched of the earth!" - it was a clarion call for world socialist revolution. Seventy years later, the Bolshevik Revolution remains the greatest victory for the working people of the world.

The Russian Revolution was the living confirmation of Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" - namely, that in the backward countries like Russia, the tasks associated historically with bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be accomplished by the weak bourgeoisie, but require the proletariat to take state power at the head of the oppressed masses. This understanding enabled Trotsky to stand with Lenin, against Zinoviev and Kamenev (and initially Stalin) who blinched in the face of the opportunity to take power, refusing to go beyond the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

However, lacking the expected support of victorious revolutions in West Europe, the fledgling Soviet state was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world. Under these conditions - after several desperate years of engulfing civil war, loss of industry, decomposition of railways and starvation in the cities and countryside - there developed tendencies toward demoralization and depoliticization among the toiling masses and toward bureaucratic commandism and loss of programmatic ideals and of revolutionary confidence among cadres of the new workers state. These tendencies culminated in a political counterrevolution which found its supreme leader in Joseph Stalin and its program in the dogma of "socialism in one country." The forces of revolutionary internationalism, personified by Trotsky after Lenin's death, were defeated and later physically exterminated.

Yet fundamental conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution have remained to this day, principally the collectivized economy built by ripping the productive resources out of the hands of the capitalists and landlords. Ever since November 1917, the imperialists have sought to bring back capitalist exploitation to the USSR. Today, with a war-crazed maniac in the White House who dreams of "bombing [Russia] in five minutes," defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is more than ever a duty for every class-conscious worker.

STALIN'S HERESIES AND STALIN'S CRIMES

To secure the rule of the bureaucratic caste, Stalin had to destroy the entire Bolshevik leadership. Fifty years ago, with the infamous Moscow Trials and the Great Purge, he instituted a reign of terror that wiped out the entire Central Committee which had made the Revolution - Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and the others - and de-capitated the Red Army on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

With Khruschev's revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the lid was partially lifted on these years of infancy, only to be clamped down again. Under Brezhnev the Kremlin sank into lethargy as the USSR was ruled by colorless gray old men, leading some to recall the Stalin years with nostalgia - at least the lights burned late in the Kremlin.

After a tentative start by Andropov and a retreat by Chernenkov, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has vowed to get the country moving again. Suddenly there's great interest in the West in what's going on in Gorbachev's Russia. The words glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) have become so common in political discourse they're not even translated from the Russian.

A lot of the interest in Gorbachev's Russia reflects the visible difficulties of American imperialism. There is the phenomenon of "Gorby chic": kids in London and New York wearing T-shirts with Lenin's portrait, with "CCCP" (USSR in the Cyrillic alphabet) as a big "screw you" to Ronald Reagan. Today, with Khruschev's revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the lid was partially lifted on these years of infancy, only to be clamped down again. Under Brezhnev the Kremlin sank into lethargy as the USSR was ruled by colorless gray old men, leading some to recall the Stalin years with nostalgia - at least the lights burned late in the Kremlin.

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Lenin and Trotsky...

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Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, Reagan is still going down in the American and British political polls, with the ex-president's popularity rating reaching an all-time low. The situation is no better in Russia, where the economic crisis continues to fuel public discontent.

Yet, as in the case of the US, the Russian government is desperate to project an image of stability and progress. This is evident in the recent visit of Russian President Putin to Washington, where he met with US President Bush. The two leaders discussed a range of issues, including the war in Iraq, energy cooperation, and the future of the global economic order.

On the domestic front, the Russian government is facing growing opposition from the business community, which is concerned about the government's plans to increase taxes and regulate the economy more strictly. This has led to protests and demonstrations across the country, with many people calling for greater democracy and political freedoms.

In conclusion, while Russia and the US share many similarities, there are also significant differences in their economic and political systems. The US has a more developed market economy, while Russia is still in the process of transitioning to a market-based system. This has implications for their foreign policies and international relations.

Letter

14 November 1987

Dear Comrades,

Since the last issue of Australasian Spartacist, no reports on the Philippines show the situation getting sharper. However, we have to look to the US as the class and organised oppression of the US military and the organised working class and oppressed peoples. The US imperialism and their allies like Vietnam are very much concerned about regional anti-Soviet stalinism. A recent article in the Australian 12 November, reports US State Department official William's concern over the threat to US bases by the communist insurgency expressed at the Pacific 2000 conference in Singapore, attended by representatives of the butcher regimes throughout South East Asia. As the same article said: "But because the Philippines are bases are regarded as vital to Western defence in a global context, there is little doubt of the US and other great powers' concern over the situation in the Philippines, which has been opened for elements in the US who consider themselves leftist Communists to exploit into the political realm of Trotsky's struggles against the bureaucracy. This is despite the intentions of Trotsky's famous secret speech which was delivered at a closed session of the 20th Party Congress in 1936. When Stalin died in 1933, after extinguishing all his opponents and building an apparatus that was backed up by massive secret-police terror – a power fight was unleashed within the bureaucracy. The Kremlin tops – who had been accomplices in Stalin's crimes or at least having connived with them up – needed to dismiss some of the more onerous and bizarre aspects of Stalin's paranoid personal dictatorship. Thus, a few months after Stalin's death, his much-feared head of the secret police, Lavrenti Beria, was shot in the Kremlin and posthumously accused of having been a British spy since 1919!

Khrushchev's denunciation of the "cult of personality" was buttressed by the official version of Lenin's letter to the 12th Party Congress in January 1923 (known as the 26 January letter which was not presented to that Congress. It was verbally revealed secretly to the party at the 14th Party Congress and was subsequently suppressed by Stalin and his cohorts. In referring to Trotsky as an enemy of Stalin in his 2 November address Gorbachev carefully omitted Lenin's call this year for a "secret speech" about a way of removing Stalin from that post, namely, general secretary of the party and chairman of the state, which was posthumously published in 1961 in Sovetskaya Rossia. Stalin wanted to clearly signal the permissible limits of glasnost.

But it is not so easy. During the last 30 years we have seen how the "Khrushchev thaw," an important layer of the Soviet political elite became discredited. However, the effects of this are seen in the current situation in Russia. It is not clear how the US, which is now more willing to engage with the Russian government, will fare in its efforts to push forward a "new" policy towards Moscow.

Correction

In Australasian Spartacist no 122 (September 2001) 1997 there is an omission from the article "Smash Racist State Terror Campaign" on page 14, the second column, paragraph 4, line 7, the word "Eddie West died in jail..." should be "Eddy West died in jail..."
Tamil nationalism has been a major factor in the conflict in Sri Lanka. After the 1987-1988 accord, which was supposed to bring peace, the Tamil Tigers continued their struggle for independence. The result was a bloodshed and suffering on both sides. This article provides insight into the complexities of the conflict and the role of Indian troops in it.

**Sri Lanka:**

**Indian Troops Out of Eelam!**

**Workers to Power!**

OCTOBER 27 — Less than three months after Sri Lankan president J R Jayewardene and Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi signed their much-vaunted "peace accord," the blood-soaked Jaffna Peninsula in northern Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has again become a scene of untold horror. After years of being ravaged and terrorized by Jayewardene's Sinhalese-chauvinist, officially Buddhist regime, the oppressed and long-suffering Tamil people (who are mainly Hindu) are now getting it from those whom they looked to as their saviors. For two weeks upwards of 20,000 Indian troops backed by heavy battle tanks, artillery and helicopter gunships have battled the nationalist guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (L TTE). An estimated 700,000 civilians were slaughtered, in addition to Tiger guerrillas; up to a million of the peninsula's 700,000 people are now refugees in their own land.

One week after the J R/Gandhi accord was signed, we wrote: "...we have repeatedly warned that the Tamils' illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie are deadly dangerous... Now they are getting what they wanted... and they won't like it. "If the Tamil Tigers refuse to come to terms, they are likely to find the Indian army a far more formidable proposition than the Sri Lankan forces. "But it is not just the Tigers' blood that will run, the Eastern Province is heavily interpenetrated, more or less evenly among Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims.... This arrangement is a recipe for massive communal bloodletting and forced population transfers as the different communities fight to control the province."

— Workers Vanguard No 936, 7 August

The "Indian Peacekeeping Force" is now waging war on the entire people of the Northern Province, while in the Eastern Province the accord triggered a spree of indiscriminate communal atrocities by the Tigers against Sinhalese civilians.

For years Tamil militants have desperately beseeched "Mother India," with 60 million Tamils just across the Palk Strait, to save their people from Sinhalese-chauvinist terror and aid their struggle for an independent state of Tamil Eelam, Now Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran laments that the Tamils are "the victims of India's geopolitical interests." When capitalist India finally moved, it was only to be expected that it would assert its own interests. Capitalist India, that prison house of peoples, can play no progressive role in the region. We demand: Indian Army Out of Eelam!

The government-instigated anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983 created a de facto partition of the island. But what Eelam constitutes may well be determined tragically, as so often in the past in cases of interpenetrated populations — through a massive communal bloodletting. The peoples of Lanka may well relive the horrors of the 1947 partition of India. The Tamil nationalists have come to mirror the bloodiest aspects of Sinhala chauvinism with their own murderous logic of racism. Even in the best of circumstances, an isolated, impoverished Eelam offers a bleak prospect for the Tamil masses, while leaving untouched the hideous oppression of the Tamil plantation workers of the hill country tea estates. The superexploitation of these low-caste Tamil laborers, many of whom are women, is the material basis on which the island's economy rests. Only workers rule can end the communal hell on the island and bring the emancipation of all toilers of South Asia. Down with murderous nationalism! For the right to Tamil Eelam: For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka — For a socialist federation of South Asia: THE "ACCORD" UNRAVELS

Mindful of anger among Tamils in India at the Sri Lankan slaughter and fearing a United States-brokered encirclement as Pakistan and other US allies aided Jayewardene's UNP regime, India staged a relief airlift operation in the face of a major Sri Lankan offensive against the Tamils in June, signaling Jayewardene that it would not remain passive much longer. The July 29 accord between Gandhi and Jayewardene represented nothing less than overt Indian overlordship of the island. The agreement had particular designs on the Eastern Province, site of the strategic Trincomalee harbor, and this agreement was thus a setback for American anti-Soviet interests in the region.

Gandi also promised to disarm the Tamil guerrillas in exchange for Jayewardene's grudging agreement to establish a federal administrative unit in the North and East, effectively under Indian suzerainty. The day after the accord was signed Indian troops disembarked in the north while Indian air force transports ferried Sri Lankan soldiers south. The Tigers and other Tamil groups went along with the accord very reluctantly, turning in a small fraction of their arms. The Sri Lankan government procrastinated on releasing Tamil detainees (by mid-September only about one-quarter of the 5,700 had been released) and on disarming its Sinhala-communalist Home Guard rabble.

At the end of September, Tigg lotta militia leader Thileepan died after a hunger strike to demand the expulsion of Sinhalese colonists and Lankan army and police installations from the occupied areas.

Wide sections of the Tamil population at first welcomed the false promise of peace that came with the arrival of Indian troops. With the lifting of the siege on Jaffna it could be seen that the damage and destruction wrought by the Sri Lankan army was much more extensive than previously revealed. As one visitor to Jaffna observed, the Tamils liked the peace but not the peace accord.

For the first time in years the Colombo/Jaffna train was running again, allowing Tamil in the

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south to visit their families, Fish and Jaffna soon started turning up in the Colombo market as Tamil and Sinhala merchants restocked their stores. Meanwhile, other Tamil militant groups who are mostly more interested in the Tamil Tiger’s immediate needs instead of long-term political aims, have been trying to re-establish them.

Tigers, tried to re-establish their territory, while other militant groups have been trying to re-establish their territory. But in mid-September Tigers carried out attacks in 20 different villages near Batticaloa, killing more than a hundred supporters of rival groups, including people just recently released from the Sri Lankan concentration camps. They again quibbling over exactly how much power the LTTE leaders would get, demanding domination of the new interim administration. The Indians granted them seven out of the twelve seats on the ruling body of the new Eelam.

This paper “Eelam,” which in any case was to be an impoverished capitalist puppet regime totally subordinate to India. But the nationalist LTTE leadership remained unconcerned. Thus the Tigers on October 5, the lid completely blew off this uneasy truce. Seventeen Tigers intercepted in the Palk Strait swallowed cyanide suicide capsules after J R’s National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali, a hardliner unhappy with the accord, ordered them to be shipped to Colombo for interrogation. Most of them died within twelve hours. The next day the Tigers shot dead eight Sri Lankan soldiers whom they had been holding for months, dumping their bodies at Jaffna central bus station. Seventeen Tamil nationalists went on a rampage of indiscriminate slaughter, murdering more than 200 Sinhalese, mostly civilians — men, women and children — in the Eastern Province. The Colombo/Batticaloa train was stopped, Sinhalese and Muslims were separated out and 40 shot. In the southeast 20 bus passengers were murdered, another 150 or more, including 27 others killed in two fishing villages. In one fishing village alone, which the Tigers described as laughing Tamilis, the police, who outnumbered and calculated acts of indefensible terrorism sent thousands of Sinhalese fleeing their homes in the tiger-infested Eastern and North Central Provinces. At this point, Indian High Commissioner N Dutt announced that India would turn its guns on the Tigers; shoot-to-kill order for all. The Indian onslaught has wreaked unparalleled destruction and devastation in the Jaffna area. A doctor at the Jaffna Teachers Hospital reported that “The situation in Jaffna town is worse than anyone can imagine.” Seventy-six bodies had been brought to the hospital just in the first four days of the fighting and he was certain of at least another 100 civilian dead. The desperation of Jaffna Tamils in the face of this is expressed in an appeal by 170 Jaffna civil servants, pointing out that “indescriminate bombing and shelling and aerial strafing” in which “almost 700 innocent civilians have died” and added angrily that the butcher Jayewardene “ruined the country on behalf of the Tamils (New York Times, 1 October).”

American whitewashed the Indian campaign as “a disciplinary action” justifiably aimed at bringing the Tamil militants “into line in getting the peace accord going” (India Abroad, 23 October). It is true that Raja Gandhi moved against them, the Tigers lost much of their traditional support among bourgeois politicians of south India’s Tamil Nadu state. In fact one of the largest contingents of the Indian force in Jaffna is drawn from the Madras regiment from Tamil Nadu.

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FOR WORKERS INTERNATIONALISM!

The international Spartacist tendency discussed the looming crisis in Lanka last month at a meeting of the International Secretariat held in conjunction with the Spartacist National Conference. The discussion was prompted by a carefully written statement submitted by an SL/US comrade to our pre-conference discussion list. It concluded in a discussion pertinent to our tendency the slogan “Indian troops out of Eelam!” The slogan was to address the likelihood of a bloodbath by the Indian army to reassert the right of Tamil Eelam, for which the Tamil National League/Lanka (sympathizing section of the SL) has fought against the vicious backlash of Sinhalese racism.

From July 1983 and before, in our press and in demonstrations and marches around the globe we put forward slogans advising against illusions in the Gandhi. We warned, “Remember the fate of the Muki Bahini!” — the Bangladeshi liberation fighters who were put down by Mrs Gandhi — and pointed to the Golden Temple massacre of Sikhs in Amritsar in 1984. Our warnings were met with hostility by the various Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalists, whose “armed struggle strategy” was fundamentally aimed at provoking a bloody response by the Indian regime in order to force India to act. Even after the Indian army had been slaughtering Tamils for a week, a Tiger-dominated demonstration in London on October 13 still appealed to Gandhi’s India: A leaflet for the demonstration denounced India’s “hasty genocidal military action” which “even surpasses Sinhalese state atrocities” — only to conclude with the pathetic plea “India, land of Gandhian pacifism and leader among world’s democracies, come to your senses, stop the slaughter.”

The Tigers et al were not ignorant of the fate of the Sikhs and the Bangladeshis at the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie. The truth is, as with all nationalists, they never have been a damn bit as “their nation” was not on the receiving end. One disillusioned Tamil nationalist interviewed in South India recently said that “Indian Tamils” (so called by the Mangalos) were the most intelligent, hard-working, educated group of people in the whole country. And we couldn’t see something that should have been obvious to a little child.”

With their perspective of carving out Eelam, they were profoundly unconcerned with the plight of the island’s “Indian Tamils” who were reduced because they were imported from India by the British over the last century and more to work the tea estates in the highlands of Sri Lanka. Yet an alliance with the strategic Indian Tamil estate workers could have become an important component in uniting all sectors of the oppressed in Lanka as well as the Tamil struggle for social emancipation.

While the Tamil guerrillas in the early ’80s rigorously limited their attacks to Lankan state targets, their nationalist strategy inevitably led to indiscriminate terror against Sinhalese civilians. The massacre of 150 unarmed Sinhalese civilians in the town of Anuradhapura in May 1983 marked a watershed. Today, the Tigers adopt Zionist methods in the Eastern Province, driving out the Sinhalese and Muslims to ensure a Tamil majority. The government has for years colonized the province with Sinhalese to successfully overturn the pre-existing Tamil majority. The Tigers in protest demand that all Sinhalese colonized since 1982 be expelled, and their government to order them to leave.

Not surprisingly, given their perspective to become the new rulers of their own statelet, the various nationalist groups have also engaged in bloody internecine warfare aimed at securing a monopoly of political power, with the Tigers gaining the upper hand over the years. In 1983 they murdered two former MPs from the moderate bourgeois parliamentary TULF. In 1986 they wiped out the moderate Sinhalese Tamil EPRLF and TELO groups. Now, in the Sinhalese-dominated south of Lanka, the UNP government is under assault from the same communalist forces that it itself fomented. Even as Gandhi arrived in Colombo to sign the accord, a member of 3 R’s honor guard attacked the Indian prime minister with a rifle butt. In the subsequent days, a state of emergency, nationalized services and cooperatives were the Continuation on page nine

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
On Thursday 1 October the Spartacist League (SL) held a lunch-time forum at Melbourne University entitled "Hawke's Cold War Regime Kills Blacks," detailing the urgent need for mass labour/black/minority mobilisations against the murderous campaign of racist terror against the Aboriginal population. This forum was subject to a premeditated and outrageous disruption led by one Paul White. White calls himself "Workers Revolution," a one man group linked to a tiny thoroughly anti-Soviet US outfit known as the League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP) which absurdly considers the USSR to be "state capitalist." He has attended Spartacist League functions against the murderous security guard to the scene. He has screamed disgusting insults, in defiance of the chairman's calls for order. This was the cue for his four stooges to join in — another long-time fake-left fringe dweller, Owen Gager; Mamadu Panahe, a self-styled supporter of the Iranian Fedayeen Minority; and two Polish Solidarnosc supporters, Jan and Tony Kowalski — provoking a physical fight. SL comrades and union supporters were able to physically eject these disrupters, spiking their provocations and allowing the meeting to continue in good order.

So White is now squawking all over campus with a poison pen tract entitled "Denounce Sparta­acist violence" and a similar piece where he for the last decade has sub­merged himself in the small ALP.

White has been through at least seven different fake-left groups, managing to kick out of two organisations that he helped to found! With each new organisation he accumulates more rotten traits, displacing the political banditry of the Socialist Labour League and the enormous opportunism of the Socialist Workers Party.

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White has been through at least seven different fake-left groups, managing to kick out of two organisations that he helped to found! With each new organisation he accumulates more rotten traits, displacing the political banditry of the Socialist Labour League and the enormous opportuni­sm of the Socialist Workers Party.
The Spartacist League celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution with well-attended forums in Sydney and Melbourne titled, "Where is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" In October 1977 the workers of the Tsarist Empire, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky and supported by the peasantry, overthrew their capitalist exploiters and established the world's first workers state amidst the bloody chaos of the first Imperialist war. Today the two-year-old regime of Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated dramatic changes in the Soviet Union under the watchwords of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring). Tracing the history of the Soviet Union through the civil war and the Stalinist degeneration to World War II, Spartacist speaker David Garden noted that this has been 'seventy years of warfare between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world in its various combinations and rivalries, which has run hot and cold, but always basically relentlessly since October 1917.'

Addressing the current imperialist war drive against the USSR, comrade Garden told the Sydney meeting: "We have said from the get go that the Hawke regime is the most loyal regional ally, lackey and enforcer of anti-Sovietism. Hawke has gone out of his way to identify himself both personally and his government with Reagan. When he was in the US a month ago he told the US Chamber of Commerce that the US bases in Australia made Australia the US' most valuable ally. Indeed the US bases are intimately linked to the US war-fighting capacity. A key example in the recent past is the Korean airliner war provocation, when Reagan sent a passenger aircraft over the most important and sensitive Soviet installations in the Soviet Far East. The intelligence gathered by the vast array of satellites and other equipment was run through the US bases here, centrally in Pine Gap. And to fulfill this regional role as anti-Soviet enforcer Hawke has launched his own arms build-up. His position was perhaps most graphically illustrated earlier this year. After the first military coup in Fiji and a lot of hoopla about Soviet/ Libyan influence particularly in Vanuatu, the Wall Street Journal in an editorial demanded that Hawke do his job. Within 24 hours he kicked out the Libyan Embassy in Canberra.

The White Australian bourgeoisie has always hated Red Russia. It volunteered an expeditionary force in 1918 to help the British particularly in the Murmansk region. Back in the 60s if you saw an ANZAC Day parade on TV, you'd see this contingent with their various medals, they were mercenaries in Russia in 1918. And it has been volunteering against revolution ever since, witness Korea, Malaya and Vietnam. Our racist bourgeoisie would play the counterrevolutionary mercenary for all occasions. For us the struggle to explode this racist capitalist state, which lives in constant fear of social revolution particularly in Asia, through workers revolution is intimately linked to the defence of the Soviet workers state. In Cold War II the Spartacist tendency internationally as defenders of the Russian Revolution have stood alone on the left over Afghanistan, over Poland, over all the other anti-Soviet provocations, in unconditional defence of the Soviet workers state. We have stood at our post and done our communist duty. For the working class internationally must understand that it cannot make new conquests if it cannot defend those already won."

DEFEND VIETNAM/USSSR!

In the discussion comrade Kathie spoke about the Vietnam Revolution: "Australia is in the role of Reagan's junior partner in this region in its war against the Soviet Union, of which Vietnam is the central target. Australian imperialism begged the US to let it send troops to fight in Vietnam and has fought in counterrevolutionary wars in such countries as Korea, Malaya and Borneo. Vietnam was a defeat for US and Australian imperialism - it was a victory for communists and we hail the defeat of our own imperialist government in this long and dirty war. By defeating US and Australian imperialism the heroic Vietnamese did more to defend the degenerated Soviet workers state than a thousand summits where Stalinists preach the illusory policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism, based on Stalin's policy of socialism in one country. "The Vietnamese Revolution has stayed the hand of imperialism, it has bought us time and also the 'Vietnam syndrome' lives on, that deep-seated fear of more losing wars and defeats for imperialism and our debt to these heroic people is to fight for the international extension of communism under the program of Lenin and Trotsky."

COLD WAR AND THE LEFT

Comrade Greg Blythe took up the Australian left: "The Russian Revolution has divided the left ever since October 1917. It split the social democracies in Europe and across the world leading to the formation of the Communist International. It's been a key test of revolutionary will and tactics and strategy in all countries ever since that revolution. The Cold War in Australia has had a very big impact on the left, virtually the entire left went along with the imperialist hue and cry over Afghanistan. Virtually the entire left supported the Polish Solidar-

Vietnam, 1975, Saigon liberated. Two, three many defeats for US and Australian imperialism!

We had the spectacle last week of the Socialist Labour Party holding a celebratory meeting. This outfit has long been known as political bandits on the noc counterrevolution in 1981 and found thereby themselves in alliance with Reagan, Hawke, Thatcher and the Pope. That event moreover split the Stalinist party here, the Socialist Party, which lost most of its trade union base.

"We had the spectacular last week of the Socialist Labour Party holding a celebratory meeting. This outfit has long been known as political bandits on the
Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Continued from page two

racy. But the bureaucracy won, and that fact is decisive in understanding the Soviet Union today.

Lenin formed a political bloc with Trotsky against the Troika of Stalin and his then-allies Zinoviev and Kamenev. He sought Trotsky's active support in defense of the state monopoly of foreign trade and in curbing the abuses of the "Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" (Rabkrin) which was headed by Stalin until the middle of 1922 and still closely associated with him thereafter. Particularly, Lenin sought to gear up Trotsky to Stalin's chief lieutenant, for Stalin's highhanded abuse of the nationalities, particularly the Georgians, who after enduring national oppression under the tsar wanted guarantees of the equality of nations in the union of Soviet republics. Lenin insisted that "exemplary punishment must be inflicted" on Grigory Orjonikidze, Stalin's chief lieutenant, for brutality and Great Russian chauvinism in the Georgian affair. And he added: "The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky" ("The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'" (December 1922), ibid., p. 610).

But Trotsky pulled back from the sharp struggle which Lenin urged. He was unable to discern in advance where Stalin was going (Stalin probably didn't know either). And he was in some isolations while now being the number two leader in the Soviet state, he had only joined the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution (despite having then personally led the October). He feared being constrained to be too modest for too long when the necessities of maintaining a revolutionary policy required that he urgently push the Leninist policy which he espoused, and therefore push himself.

Under the conditions of the exhaustion and atomization of the Soviet proletariat by the civil war and the resultant devastation of the economy — and the demoralization engendered by the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution — the soviets ceased to function as governmental organs. But debate could still take place within the Bolshevik Party and in December 1923 the pages of Pravda were opened again one last time for the ventilation of party discussion.

Lenin was incapacitated by illness and died on 21 January 1924 at the age of 54. At the 13th Party Conference held in January 1924, Stalin and his allies in the "troika" (Zinoviev and Kamenev) gutted party democracy to seize the decisive ascendancy. In the fall of 1924 Stalin announced his new schema of "socialism in one country": the negation of the Leninist understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended upon its extension internationally, above all to the advanced capitalist countries.

Stalin school of falsification: in original photo (left), Lenin addresses troops headed for Polish front, 3 May 1920, as Red Army leader Trotsky stands on steps; in later versions, Trotsky was disappeared. Open the archives — they belong to the Soviet peoples!

In the Revolution Betrayed (1936), Trotsky explained the social basis for the rise of the bureaucracy as rooted in scarcity: "When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy." "Socialism in one country" reflected in "theoretical" terms the nascent bureaucracy's acquisition of self-consciousness; henceforth, it would act deliberately to preserve its privileges.

To further consolidate his power, Stalin made and unmade a series of blocs with various party leaders, pursuing an impressionistic zigzag course. For example, once he had smashed the Left Oppositionists he was free to adopt sections of their program. Having opposed their proposals to check the disastrous consequences unleashed by the economic policies of the Right (led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky) — which turned its back on the necessity for a policy of socialist industrialization, while giving the rich peasants the upper hand in the countryside — Stalin then turned around and imposed forced collectivization. The wanton brutality and tremendous human cost of this policy is supposed to be a secret in the USSR today. In the course of this "left" turn, Stalin broke with and politically destroyed the Bukharinite Right.

To secure the rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, it was not sufficient for Stalin to smash and isolate his political opponents. He had even to destroy the Stalin faction itself, since many of its leading members were opposed to shooting Communist opponents of their faction.

At the 17th Congress of the already multiply-purged party in 1934, Stalin's re-election as general secretary was conducted by secret ballot — and some 20 percent voted against him. The 1934 assassination of Kirov — a longtime member of the Stalin faction who was seen as Stalin's potential rival — became the excuse for mass murder, including a bloody revenge on the 17th Congress participants. Because of the secret ballot, Stalin was unable to distinguish the "enemies" who had voted against him from the "broad" with whom he essentially killed them all. Khursevich's 1936 speech revealed that 70 percent of the Central Committee elected by the 17th Congress had been executed, along with an almost equal proportion of the Congress delegates.

The degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution was mirrored in Moscow's direction of the world Communist movement. In the mid-1920s the Communist International promoted revolution by bureaucratic means, sometimes (particularly associated with Zinoviev) engaging in lightning insurrectionary adventures. The

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Lenin and Trotsky ... Continued from page seven

Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 found Stalin and his confident partner Bukharin totally disoriented, first groveling before the bourgeois- imperialists, then staging an insurrectionary adventure: the Canton Commune. Whatever Trotsky did, nothing worked. During the so-called "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, the Comintern was given over to ultraleft and sectarian posturing — which in Germany allowed Nazism to triumph without a struggle by the powerful German proletariat.

Fearful of resurgent, rearming German imperialism under Hitler, Stalin then desperately sought an alliance with the "democratic" imperialist powers, France and Britain, under the rubric of the "Popular Front" adopted in 1935. Stalin's stranglehold of revolu-tions abroad for the sake of the "Popular Front" went hand in hand with the extermination of the Old Bolsheviks. The Moscow Trials coincided with Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish Revolution in order to gain the confidence of the capitalist rulers in Paris and London. Successful prolétariat in Spain could have inspired the workers of the world — and given the Soviet workers the revolutionary confidence to sweep out the Kronen oligarchy. Stalin, instead, sent in waves of GPU agents and "commissars" to smash the advanced detachments of the insurgent workers movement who wanted a "socialist" revolution; his "practical" policy was that the workers should uphold the Republic to "win the war" against General Franco. The result was the triumph of Franco, who ruled Spain for the next four decades. This was "socialism in one country" in action and at large. On the other hand, the crimes against the international proletarian, Trotsky branded Stalin the "gravedigger of revolutions."

During the "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, Trotsky carried forward the Trotsky carried forward the line, which, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The contrast between the fe-verish debate leading up to Gor-bachev's 70th anniversary speech and its cautious content highlights the contradictory relationship between the Kronen oligarchy and the changed realities in the Soviet Union. The new general secretary seeks to maintain bureaucratic administrative rule in the presence of a sizable cultured petty bourgeoisie and the felt needs of the Soviet masses for a better life. The intellectual layer that Stalin pretty much destroyed during his reign is now a significant stratum in Soviet society, and it interpenetrates the bureaucracy. Gor-bachev — a representa-tive of the new generation of Stalinist bureaucrats who did not participate personally in Lenin's crimes — is also the first Soviet leader since Lenin with a uni-versal recognition. It's been a long time since the direct and open ap-plication of terror; no longer are there millions of people - in state labor camps; police-state repression has become more indirect, more numbing than in the capitalistic West. Traveling to Murmansk, high above the Arctic Circle, the Soviet leader spoke of "revolu-tionary tasks" and gave the marching orders: "Work — this is what should be done now." That will certainly be the case in a country where during the Brezhnev period the standard joke was: "If you want to work, you pretend to pay us."

In moving to accelerate econ-omic growth, Gorbachev has more than exhoritication in mind. Under the rubric of perestroika the pre-sent Kremlin leadership is acting to minimize centralized economic planning in favor of "market socialism" along the lines of Yugoslavism. Previou-sly, the "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, Trotsky carried forward the Trotsky carried forward the line, which, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile during the "Third Period" which began in the late 1920s, Trotsky carried forward the Trotsky carried forward the line, which, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, proclaims: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."
Sri Lanka...
Continued from page four

particular targets of the enraged communist mobs. In the
front of this opposition is the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs Bandaranaike, who
smashed the 1971 New Left JVP insurrection.

Today that same JVP, now renamed the New Left, is
fostering the Tamil nationalists and the Buddhist monks are
communalist mobs. In the foreground is the 1971 New Left
partisan to fight the Tamil question. This did not even mention the Tamil people's right to self-determination. The
military has no ideology other than violence. To this day the Jewish leader, holding a bomb in the 1983 pogroms, has been found guilty of manslaughter, and the newspaper offices of both the CP and the Asian Social Democratic have been attacked with grenades and dynamite.

The history of the decline of the once strong workers organization of Lanka was their capitulation to Sinhalese chauvinism in the form of popular-front alliances with bourgeois forces they falsely promised as anti-imperialists. Like the SLFP, architects of the "Sinhala Only" language policy, to this day the CP and its offspring, the NSSP refuse to fight for the rights of Tamil self-determination.

Sri Lanka: New Left and the Communist Fraction

most has been the more public emergence of nativist Russian
class of Pambaty (Money), which demonstrated in front of the Kresin last May. Railing against heavy metal rock music, alcoholism, drugs and the "deviant youth," this group harks back to the anti-Semitism of the black business owners of the worst excesses of Stalinism — which used anti-Semitism against the Tsarist government and with the backwardness embodied in the old Russian Orthodox Church. But Pambaty has a problem — they are nativist Russian fascists who are, however, con-
strained by appeal to a "historical nationalism" of all the Soviet peoples — because half the population of the Soviet Union consists of non-Russian nationals.
Pambaty is not some collection of chauvinoging old people and right-wing eggs from the fringe of Soviet society. Some of its leaders are drawn from elements of the bureaucratic apparatus. Pambaty's organization reportedly has the support of the Ministry of Aviation Industry as well as top-levelのが "national" emergency in the high echelons of the Party hierarchy. Trotsky observed in the Transitional Program that "all shoppers are not to be regarded as the world but to be-within the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolsheviks (Ignace Reuter) to people like the Stalinist center playing a bonapartist role. The form of this political polarization exists because the bureaucracy is not a ruling class but a "career" which has no ideological justification for its rule, claiming to stand for the revolutionary ideals which it betrays.

Even the mystical blood-and-soil rhetoric which is a hallmark of fascism can find an echo among some Stalinist apparatus factions. For example, the "slogan of the Moscow Komsomol distributed a leaflet demanding: "Love for the motherland is a temporary and sufficient condi-
tion for citizenship. A cult of the ancestors must be set up... At first, a long campaign should be conducted in favor of native, moral, and physiological values of virginal purity and abstinence to persuade young people of the criminal nature of premarital sexual intercourse. We must not stop even at promoting ancient customs: painting gates with tar, public showing of the body after the wedding, corporal punishment of women who give themselves to foreigners, branding and sterilization of them." — reprinted in Alexander Yanov, The Russian National Question (1978)

The strain of nativist Russian fascist represented by Pambaty has provoked widespread repudiation among the intelligentsia. Despite the personal attacks of the political elite. A meeting last August in Moscow of 600 representatives of the intelligentsia called Solidarnosc issued a large part a response to Pambaty. Out of this meeting came two associations of intellectuals. Social Initiatives, with a loose membership and a broad social program along the lines of the West European Greens, whose declaration proclaimed the ideals of "socialism, democracy, humanism and progress." The second was the "Nationalists," including 16 groups who signed a broad manifesto. The Socialists Clubs, is still the left-wing opposition to the nationalist component of veterans of the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, which is under tremendous pressure from the right wing of the CP. They include the Perestroika Club, sponsored by Trotskyist Trotsky, and a group of economic advisers. Others are named the Che Guevara Brigade and Young Internationalist Communards.

The Federation's manifesto contains an implicit denunciation of Pambaty, a demand to "democratize the electoral system" and a call "to show support and solidarity with revolutionary, oppositional and democratic movements in the capitalist world and in developing countries" (London Guardian, 12 September). At the same time, it declares that the "life and death of socialism in the USSR hang on whether perestroika succeeds and demands "to switch the econ-
omy to self-management."

There are many contradictory tendencies within the Soviet Clubs and other new movements. One politi
cal elite in Gorbachev's Russia is vastly different from the "anti-imperialism" of the 1980s. Solidarnosc was a company that led the working people. At the same time, it is not the case that the masses' most reactionary impulses amounts to nothing but gross betrayal.

LEGACY OF IMPERIALIST DIVIDED RULE

Historically it is rather acciden
tal that Ceylon did not become part of India. The boundaries that define the SLFP's "History of Ceylon" tell us about the imprint of British imperialism on the island. It is the imprint nationalists and the most fervent defenders of these "sacred" borders. India is indeed a prison house of the minority, oppressed castes and hundreds of millions of horribly exploited people. The Tamil nationalism, like Indian capitalism itself, is national in nature. It is both armed and unnoticed. The Tamil people are now facing a new revolution throughout the subcontinent. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the workers and peasants of the old tsarist empire — a vast prison house of peoples — to power through a program which transcended national particularities and forged unity against the common class enemy.

Today such a program is needed in India and Lanka which can unite the rail workers of Calcutta and the workers, the Sinhalese women workers of the "free trade zones," in a struggle to overthrow the class system of racist fear and genocide. This is the task to which we comrade of the center party to dedicated, Indian army out of Eelam! For the right of Tamil Eelam! For the right republics of Sri Lanka and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! Workers Vanguard no 939, 30 October 1987

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 939, 30 October 1987

While Marxists unconditionally defend the Tamils' right to form a separate state, we are less than enthusiastic about the prospects for a non-imperialist capitalist state in Jaffna. It would inevitably slide under the supremacy of the oppressive Indian regime.

— Spartacist No 33

Autumn 1983

Had they broken free from an imperialist perspective, the Tamil militants who are today either embittered racialists could have provided an important element for a national-decentralist movement. In Lanka, turning the struggle against the oppression of the Tamil people into a confrontation for revolution throughout the subcontinent. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky led the workers and peasants of the old tsarist empire — a vast prison house of peoples — to power through a program which transcended national particularities and forged unity against the common class enemy.

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Interview...

Continued from page twelve.

in the way is the protectionist Labour government of Mainland and Co. The ALP is historically the capitalists' favoured party for administering depression and in the meantime a major obstacle to revolutionary struggle. It must be split, its working class base won away from the trade union, pro-capitalist tops. Key to this is forging a real workers party that can lead the class struggle program which can provide the revolutionary leadership. It is vital for the proletariat to fight for a socialist future and the elimination of the misery of capitalism.

Asp: You "',<;::i; .. ';;; Interview •••

Fiji coup. Hawke was playing his ship, which Hawke was sweating Cockatoo. I was involved in a successful massive campaign to spike the government's war plans.

Florrimell: I have been consistently agitating for strike action to fight for all workers, particularly the PMOs, are considered potential obstacles to Hawke's grandiose notion of the BLF virtually all wings of the bureaucracy actively collaborated with government union busting. What strategy did the union tops adopt to prevent an island-wide walkout at Cockatoo?

Florrimell: The FIA officials set out by saying this struggle could not be won. When it was clear that the ironworkers would not buy this defeatist line the bureaucracy tried everything to keep them agitating inside the workers of Arbitration. Shop Committee Convener Bill Haggerty relied on craft division divisions of the island to attempt to isolate and break the ironworkers' strike. Hand-in-hand with the FIA tops the Shop Committee pushed the line that what was involved was a question of procedure line. The FIA bureaucracy's "it's just a question of procedure" line was an attempt to fuel the bosses' anti-red scare. When the Shop Committee could no longer ignore the demands for Cockatoo-wide action they organised a fake mass meeting excluding approximately a quarter of the union work force, that is, the striking PMOs and workers. Despite this, a third of the workers voted to walk out. The FIA bureaucracy and Max Callaghan of the Communist Party (CP)-supported Rank and File Ironworkers used this meeting to sell the lie, that there was no support for the strike, in fact support was coming in from workers across the country. The FIA bureaucracy tried everything to keep the workers from the Arbitration Court as evidence of my "bad attitude."

Florrimell: 'The FIA officials set out by saying this struggle could not be won. When it was clear that the ironworkers would not buy this defeatist line the bureaucracy tried everything to keep them agitating inside the workers. The same time the bureaucrats were saying that there was no support for the strike. In fact support was coming in from workers across the country. The FIA bureaucracy tried everything to keep the workers from the Arbitration Court as evidence of my "bad attitude."

Asp: You were sacked because as a communist, a supporter of the Spartacist League, you stood out as a fighter for union power and against the Hawke government's war plans.

Florrimell: I have been consistently agitating for strike action to defend our jobs. In answer to job slashing, I've said, jobs for all, spread the available jobs and sundry so-called leftists who are being used as agents of the bosses against their own interests.

Asp: And what about the rest of the workers on the island?

Florrimell: Cockatoo was really poised on the brink of total shut-down. For over a week it was on the edge. The FIA and PMOs were out for two weeks and at different points both voted against their official's return-to-work line. My leaflet, with a strategy for an occupation and picket line, which was distributed by FIA and other militants on the island, won widespread support for turning this anti-union, anti-communist strike into a two-ocean navy. At home the CP and the Socialists, who are the architects of Hawke's rollback campaign which goes under the name of the Accord, so they attempt to sabotage class struggle and push a program of deproletarianism up the working class behind their bosses against the workers of all countries, especially our class brothers and sisters in Asia. As for the Rank and File Ironworkers, they proved themselves total blankies for the bureaucracy, trying to limit the fight to a question of procedures to be dealt with by the Arbitration Court, and pushed a return to work because the struggle could have posed a challenge to the bosses to completely undermine the workers strike. Asp: Can you tell us about the bosses' planned roll-back of the Accord?

Florrimell: It's interesting that at the same time the bureaucrats were saying that there was no support for the strike, in fact support was coming in from workers across the country. The FIA bureaucracy tried everything to keep the workers from the Arbitration Court as evidence of my "bad attitude."

Asp: Obviously there is no lack of willingness to struggle in the working class, The problem is the crisis of leadership.

Florrimell: That's right. This struggle proved in a small way the enormous power of the program I've been fighting for. What's necessary is some hard class struggle to fight the offensive of the bosses against the workers. For workers the ALP has traditionally been "their party," but I know Hawke is Teagascian and he's anti-union and anti-working class. There's got to be a political struggle in the unions to break the workers from the stranglehold of the Labor Party and their lackeys, the trade union bureaucracy. The bosses class desperately needs workers government, and to win that we've got to forge a revolutionary workers party.

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[Picture of workers and text: SUBSCRIBE: 1 year = $20 (Air) $10 (Sea-mail) Pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co, GPO Box 1377, New York, NY 10011-3778]
**BLF... Continued from page twelve**

lines smashed and its few remaining members victimised, the BLF has no real and so to speak, with an apparatus and funds but no union, just a "rank and file" opposition to the "official" union. Thus it made no sympathy with the Imperial Standing Industrial Union (SWUI). For the Federal and State governments, BLF-bashing has been the sharp edge to seeing off the emerging Accordion which has locked the unions into their anti-Soviet war preparations.

**SWUI TOPS "YELLOW-DOG" UNIONISM**

Cain/Grabbe's haste to deliver the "clean" trade union to the BLF has everything to do with the current elections in the SWUI. The Morgan based hard-industry struggle, dominated by pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Clandyce Association for Communist Unity, are facing strong opposition from the BLF for coverage of the whole building industry, but now this scabby crew and their "official" government and ACTU fear the wrath of the SWUI ranks. A surge of opposition to Cain's "yellow dog" unionism is not limited to ex-BLF members. There is anger at low wages, the loss of safety conditions, the rampages of the cops on building sites, the fruits of the bourgeoisie, hailing the murder of Vietnamese Trotskyists, on Poland Thorne claimed the FSP supported counterrevolution or the Solidarnosc "leadership"—no, they only "supported" the "movement," against whose side the ACCU had been instructed by the ACCU to "Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution!" Our comrades also nailed the scandalous defiance of the Miskito Indian Counter Attack to CIA direction as the Counter Revolution in Nicaragua. Because the Miskito are an oppressed minority in their own country the FSP thinks it is their turn to round the US left the likes of Miskito guerrilla leader and proven CIA agent Brooklyn White's largely unintelligible rantings found them to be a "proven mass killer, sexual sociopath and sexual sociopath who manipulates the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and provocations in the guise of Marxism. His crimes are against communist morality and its substrate elementary human decency." Today passing himself off as a "gay movement leader" and even a "Trotskyist," this sinister character has no place anywhere near any left wing working class organisation.

The forums were no purely political gathering. For the working class to break the chains of Arbitration state control through struggle, thus the March 1977 speech called Albania "leftist" and that "black are the most militant workers, under conditions of resistance of the socialist fatherland, are the anti-woman, -man, imperialist enclave from within." The working class, under a revolution, will require a party of Lenin and Trotsky for the ideas of Maoism, for the ideas of the anticommunist mass movement. The meetings concluded with a toast to the Russian Revolution and the singing of the International.
"The Swat Squad arrived in black boiler suits in a raid that had all the hallmarks of Germany in the 1930s. The only things missing were the swastikas." (Age 15 October)

This is how Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) Federal Secretary Norm Gallagher described the Gestapo-style cop raid on BLF headquarters in Melbourne on 13 October 1987. On the orders of Victorian Labor premier Cain and his hetchman, Industrial Relations Minister Steve Crabb, 20 Special Operations Group "anti-terrorist" storm troopers and over 100 cops held union organisers and office workers up against a wall while they smashed doors, cut telephone wires, smashed telex, fax and computer terminals and confiscated everything inside. A safe was drilled open and BLF documents seized as well as the personal belongings of union employees. BLF organiser Mick Lewis, who suffers from a serious heart condition, was thrown to the gutter and repeatedly kicked. He was arrested, charged with hindering police and refused medical treatment for several hours.

Within hours Crabb announced that up to six million dollars in BLF funds was to be frozen, appointing Arbitration Commission deputy president Sharp as "custodian." The pretext was that the raid was flagrantly illegal, Crabb braggadocio that if there wasn't a suitable law sanctioning it, he'd make one. But the rapid collapse of their manufactured lies proved a major embarrassment, and workers reacted with anger. The following day 1000 unionists, mainly BLF members but also a contingent from the nurses union, which last year received Libyan money. Nowadays any mention of a "Libyan connection" whether it's with Vanuatu or Aboriginal groups, is the codeword for impending government attack. The Joint government/bosses' ACTU carve-up of the BLF in 1986 culminated a years-long vendetta and was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jailed, its picket lines blocked, its unionists, mainly BLF members and ACTU's press barons counselled Cain/ Crabb to get their act straight. The sellout Victorian The, which Murdoch's Australian was a watershed in Hawke's war on the unions. Its officials repeatedly jai...