

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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June/July 1983

30 cents

Smash US/China/Australia Anti-Soviet War Axis!

Reagan/Hawke: Hands Off Vietnam!



Ho Chi Minh

China: Don't Be a Cat's Paw for US Imperialism!

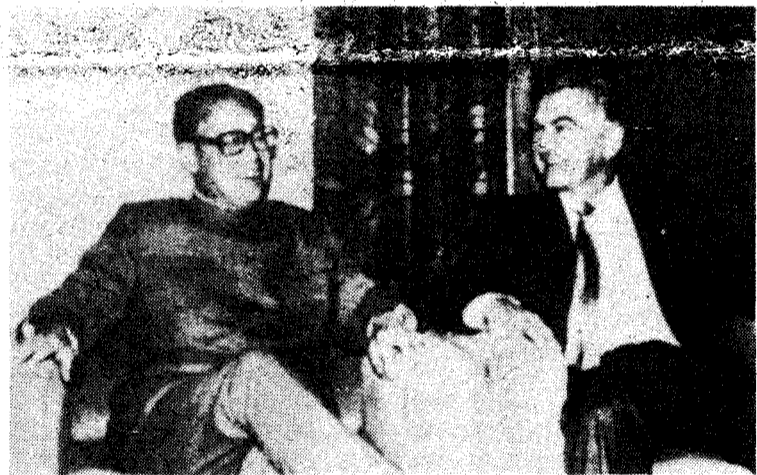
United States imperialism is orchestrating an attack all around Vietnam and inside as well. And once again its Australian junior partner, this time under Hawke's Labor government, is deeply involved in its bloody counter-revolutionary intrigues. US and Australian imperialism hate Vietnam because it inflicted upon them a humiliating defeat, one which inspired the oppressed masses from Central America to Southern Africa to struggle for their liberation. The existence of the Indochinese workers states, historic conquests for the world proletariat, pose a deadly threat to the regional allies of Australian imperialism, the highly unstable neo-colonial butcher regimes in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). And now, as the Soviet Union's toughest ally, Vietnam is in the gun-sights of the US imperialists' preparations for launching World War III.

In April China, Washington's anti-Soviet ally in Asia, launched artillery attacks against Vietnam's northern border. At the same time the US rushed Thailand ultra-modern weaponry as US-supplied Thai warplanes dropped napalm on Vietnamese forces which were cleaning out the Pol Pot/Son Sann remnants on the Thai-Cambodian border. And then came an ominous report that CIA director William Casey had dined with former South Vietnamese Marshal Ky, the jumpsuited Hitler-lover, at the Philippines presidential palace in Manila.

As China shelled Vietnam Hawke's

Labor government hosted a state visit by Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang, the first of a whirlwind of "consultations" with their US, Chinese and ASEAN allies, ostensibly over Labor Party policy to resume its token economic aid (some \$2-3 million) to Vietnam. Australian foreign minister Hayden, in Jakarta for talks with ASEAN Indonesian ally Suharto, the butcher of 1965 and the Timorese people, greeted the outbreak of fighting by parroting the lies of Cambodian anti-communist guerrilla leader Son Sann about Vietnamese "slaughter of innocent civilians". Of course Labor's policy of "consultations" with its fanatically anti-Soviet allies and the US's neo-colonial ASEAN creature is nothing but a de facto reversal of policy. Labor Party policy to withdraw Australian troops from the US imperialist bridgehead in the Sinai was similarly dumped, while Hawke waits to "consult" with Begin/Sharon. And now Hawke's deputy Lionel Bowen is calling for an Australian military presence on the Asian mainland as part of an Australia/Japan "peace-keeping force" in Cambodia! The Trotskyists say: US/China/Australia — Hands Off Vietnam!

When the Chinese premier dined with NSW Labor premier Neville Wran (after visiting Hawke) at a well-guarded State banquet at Sydney's State Office Block on April 20, the Spartacist League was there to protest. "US/China: Hands Off Vietnam! Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia", read our banner, flanked by the flag of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the red flag of Trotsky's Fourth International (see



Hawke hosts
Zhao as
China shells
Vietnam.

article page three). On May Day, the eighth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City), we distributed thousands of leaflets in four cities, reporting the demonstration and sounding the alarm to the labour movement:

"... as Reagan's man in Southeast Asia, Hawke is fronting for and party to naked aggression against Vietnam. We say: Australian workers: don't let Hawke get away with it! During and after the Vietnam war, militant solidarity with the workers and peasants of Indochina found a base in the organised labour movement. Seamen blacked Australian supply ships in 1968. Wharfies struck against the war. Maritime unions blacked Chinese ships in protest against Nixon's Christmas bombing. In 1979, Sydney and Port Hedland waterside workers blacked Chinese ships in protest of China's invasion of Vietnam. Organised labour must again use its union power against the revanchist designs of Reagan's man Hawke!"

We have watched with bitterness as this Labor government has reneged on its aid commitment to Vietnam, however miserable and minimal it was. Vietnam has long been isolated by a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits from most of the western capitalist powers. By forcing Vietnam to expend massive military resources in Cambodia (Kampuchea) and on the Chinese border, US imperi-

alism and its allies seek to further starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding their war-ravaged economy. Per capita income in 1981 was only \$153, ranking Vietnam among the poorest of nations. Moreover the deep-going social revolution in Indochina created the conditions to productively use vast sums of aid.

For thirty years Vietnam fought French colonialism and then American (and Australian) imperialism, and won. The image of those Marines desperately trying to escape from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon remains a searing, bitter memory for the men who inhabit the Pentagon, the CIA headquarters at Langley and other corridors of power in Washington. They long to avenge themselves on this small but heroic people. As for Australian imperialism they begged Washington to let them send troops to Vietnam in 1964-65. Their xenophobic hate and fear of social revolution by the desperately oppressed masses of surrounding Southeast Asia makes them willing lackeys and border guards for US imperialism's Asian empire. Certainly, it was never doubted that Hawke would continue military aid to the Thai generals and "humanitarian" aid to the counterrev-

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Spartacists Confront Cold Warrior Mandel...6

Sri Lankan Leader Picketed in England, France

Paris: Hundreds Protest Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

In Paris April 21, some 200 militant demonstrators chanting "Stop anti-Tamil terror" filled the sidewalk outside the Air Lanka office, occupying most of a city block along the Rue du 4-Septembre. They were protesting the arrival of Sri Lankan prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa who had come to beg favors from French imperialism for the brutal regime of President J R Jayewardene. The demonstration, calling international attention to the desperate plight of the oppressed Tamil minority in Sri Lanka, was initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF, section of the international Spartacist tendency) and supported by the People's Liberation Organization — Tamil Eelam and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council. Over 150 Tamils attended and slogans in French, Tamil and English were vigorously chanted one after another for over an hour. Tamil activists' chants included "Stop the torture of Tamil youth!" and "The Tamil people must break the state of siege!"

The Paris demonstration followed earlier protests in Washington, DC on April 13 and in London, April 18, as Spartacist comrades together with the Tamil activists denounced the Lankan ruler on each leg of his trip through the imperialist capitals. Premadasa is the representative of the Jayewardene regime which is moving even closer toward naked dictatorship. Taking its orders from the International Monetary Fund, JR's United National Party enforces vicious austerity at home while lining up behind US schemes to further its hegemony in the Indian Ocean. State repression against the Tamil people in the North has put hundreds in military custody, held incommunicado without charges and subjected to torture under the vicious Prevention of Terrorism Act. At the demonstration, LTF demands included: "Support the right of the Tamil people to self-determination!" "Immediately free all imprisoned Tamil liberation fighters!" and "Premadasa/UNP: anti-Tamil butchers, pro-imperialist flunkies!"

An LTF spokesman told the demonstrators, "Reagan has a loyal ally in Mitterrand for his imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union". As an LTF statement read:

"The US base at Diego Garcia and their attempt to gain access to the militarily key Trincomalee harbor are crucial to the counterrevolutionary designs of the imperialists to reconquer the workers states like the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Not one inch of Lanka to the imperialists! Stop imperialist arms deals with the JR government! France and US out of the Indian Ocean! Independence for Reunion island! France out of Mayotte! Down with Reagan/Mitterrand's anti-Soviet war drive!"

The joint demonstration ended with Tamil activists singing their anthem, "Tamil Eelam", and the comrades of the LTF leading the "Internationale".

The next day, April 22, a protest called by Tamil rights groups drew 300 people outside the Sri Lankan embassy. There, in a bizarre incident, a police commissioner twice threatened to arrest an LTF militant on the pretext his sign, "Mitterrand, anti-Soviet war-



Paris, 21 April: French Trotskyists, Tamil activists protest Sri Lankan hangman Premadasa.

monger!" attacked the "dignity" of the chief of state. The authority cited was Article 26 of the Law of 29 July 1881 on "freedom of the press"! The LTF refused to give in to this blatant attempt at police censorship and the commissioner retreated. In the semi-bonapartist regime installed by a military coup in 1958, De Gaulle frequently used this law to suppress protest by magazines and newspapers which criticized France's dirty colonial war in Algeria. Moreover, the "crime" of offending the president of the republic stems from the *ancien regime* laws of *lese majeste*, in which the slightest criticism of the king could land you in the dungeons. In the interests of elementary democracy, the LTF demands, "Down with the Law of 29 July 1881!"

London

In London on April 18, despite a heavy downpour, the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) picketed outside No 10 Downing Street as Premadasa arrived to take tea with British prime minister Margaret "Iron Lady"

Thatcher, representative of the former colonial oppressors of the Lankan people and loyal ally of Reagan and his anti-Soviet war drive. As Premadasa's limousine sped through the gate, chants rang out of "Sinhala, Tamil, men, women — Workers bring down UNP!" Two days earlier a Spartacist contingent joined the Tamil Women's League in a protest outside the Ceylon Tea Center in London against the arrest of Tamil activists Nirmala Nithiyanthan and her husband and several others in Jaffna. The SL/B contingent also highlighted the struggle against the brutal exploitation of women in Sri Lanka. On the tea, rubber and coconut plantations, where the stateless male Tamil workers toil for less than \$1/day, women are paid even below this pittance. And in the "Free Trade Zones", where to encourage foreign capital inflow the UNP government has set up virtual slave labor camps, young women workers live in barracks and unions are outlawed.

While the SL/B was organizing militant protest action in defense of

Tamil rights and against UNP representative Premadasa, Upali Cooray of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP), Lankan supporters of the United Secretariat, was busily orchestrating a popular-front-style "International Conference on the Problems of Plantation Workers in Sri Lanka" over the weekend of April 23-24. For two days the RMP clung to the coattails of the Liberal/Labourite parliamentarians and Christian do-gooders who pontificated from the pulpit. Our comrades intervened with a hard revolutionary perspective highlighting the record of the Spartacist League/Lanka. The Spartacists call for full citizenship rights for the stateless "Indian Tamil" plantation workers who not only face grueling working conditions but pogromist raids and deportation. Cooray continually sought to suppress the SL's Trotskyist politics, even censoring the photo display of protests initiated by the iSt against anti-Tamil terror. Cooray finally rammed through our expulsion from the conference when we exposed the treacherous role of his former leader, CIA-tainted trade-union bureaucrat Bala Tampoe.

In Sri Lanka, the parliamentary opposition to the cringing pro-Western regime of "Yankee Dickie" Jayewardene has been led by the popular front headed by the Sinhala chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs Bandaranaike. Like JR, the SLFP has instigated pogroms against the Tamils and fought to make Sinhala the "official" language. The brutal regime of Mrs B also bloodily sup-

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Spartacist League/Lanka Fund Drive

\$1

Since its formation two years ago the Spartacist League/Lanka has actively defended the rights of the deeply oppressed Tamil people against Sri-Lankan strong-man J R Jayawardene's campaign of genocidal terror. Against the Sinhala-chauvinist left which is tied to the popular front of the bloody Mrs. Bandaranaike, the SL/L is fighting to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party to unite the toilers of Sri Lanka — from the tea plantations to the women workers enslaved in the industrial "Free Trade Zone" — in struggle for a workers and peasants government.

As part of an international effort to help the SL/L continue publication of its two journals, *Lanka Spartacist* in Sinhala and *Illangai Spartacist* in Tamil, and to expand its revolutionary activities, the Spartacist League/ANZ is seeking to raise 5000 rupees (approx A\$260) in the next period. We urge readers of *Australasian Spartacist* to contribute generously. Make cheques payable to "Spartacist League" and post immediately to: SL/Lanka Fund Drive, Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473 Sydney, NSW 2001.



While Labor Fetes Chinese Premier Zhao—

SL Protests Chinese Attacks on Vietnam

SYDNEY, April 20: "US/China: Hands Off Vietnam! Down With Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!" read the banner at a Spartacist League (SL) demonstration here outside a State banquet for visiting Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang thrown by New South Wales Labor premier Neville Wran. The demonstration was called at short notice by the SL to sound the alarm to the labour movement in Australia and internationally against the dangerous escalation of US imperialist-backed Chinese and Thai provocations against Vietnam.

Helmeted police along with Wran's special SWAT-type Tactical Response Group cops lined the pavement around the entrance to Sydney's State Office Block as 30 spirited demonstrators chanted "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan — Hands Off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS, ASEAN! Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Spartacist signs read "Labor Fronts for Anti-Soviet US-China-Japan Axis!" "Smash US Imperialist-Backed Chinese/Thai Provocations Against Vietnam!" and "Stand Ready to Defend Vietnam Against Threat of Destruction!" For behind these provocations stands the anti-Soviet war plans of

US imperialism aided and abetted in every way by its Australian junior partner, led by Hawke's Australian Labor Party (ALP) government. A Spartacist spokesman at the rally set the anti-Vietnam provocations in the context of US global anti-Soviet strategy:

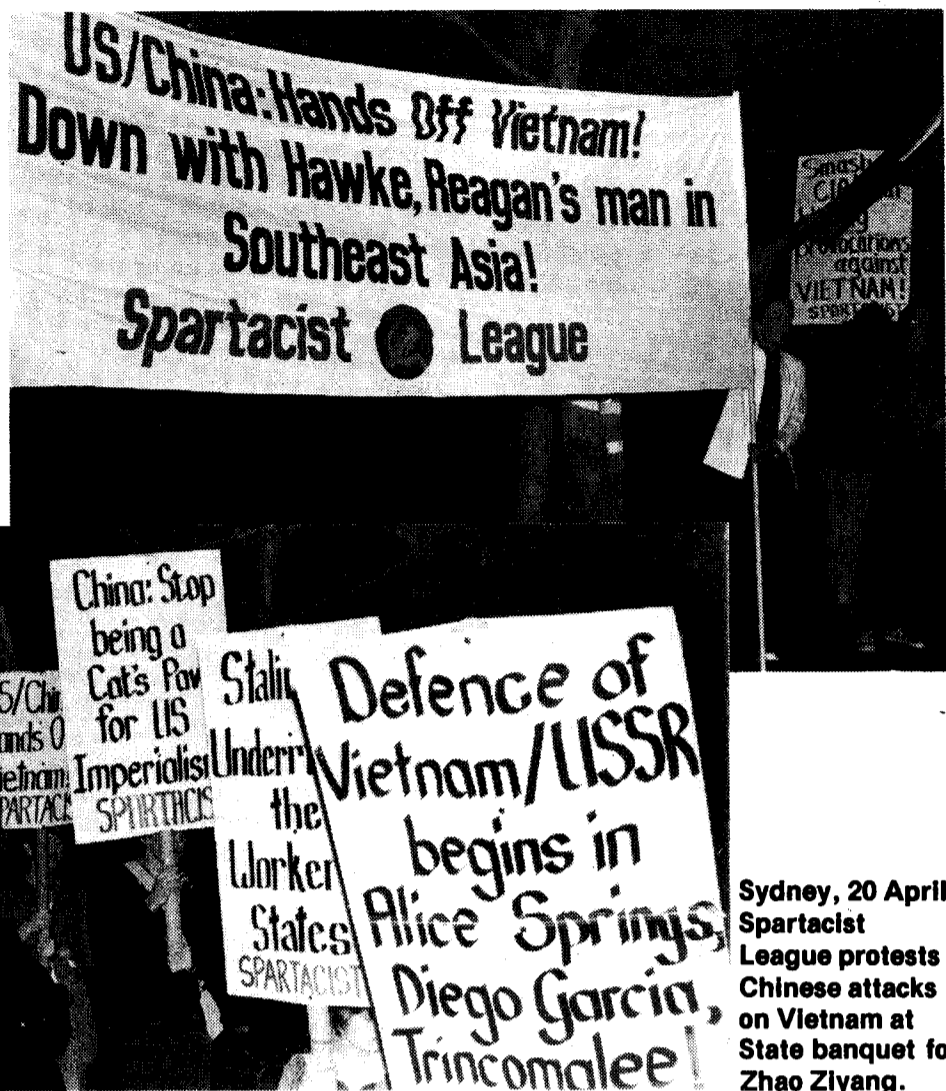
"The Thai' use of napalm epitomises the genocidal intent behind this most dangerous assault on the Vietnamese workers state and the people of Indochina. What is going on here is that Reagan is telling the Russians to get out and stay out of Central America or to lose Vietnam. A counterrevolutionary bloodbath in Central America and Cuba, or extinction of Vietnam."

If the US, using China as its instrument, goes all out to get Vietnam, continued the speaker, "then all people must rally to the defence of Vietnam in all ways".

Throughout Zhao's visit Chinese shelling continued against northern Vietnam. Following talks in Tokyo and Auckland the Chinese premier came to

Australia to beat the war drums and pressure the Hawke government not to resume its token economic "aid" to Vietnam, cut off by Fraser's Liberals following the Vietnamese ouster of Cambodian butcher Pol Pot. Hawke, who had already shelved the ALP's "aid" policy until "consultations" with its US, China and ASEAN allies, was briefed before the Zhao talks by "close friend" US Secretary of State George Shultz. Meanwhile of course Australian aid continued to Thailand and anti-communist guerrillas in Cambodia. And just before Zhao's arrival Labor foreign minister Hayden sat in Jakarta with Suharto and his generals, the butcher of Indonesian workers and peasants and the Timorese people, and echoed the lies of the CIA's Cambodian flunky Son Sann about Vietnamese "massacres" in Thailand.

Behind the hoopla on "aid" the Laborites are fronting for Reagan in



Sydney, 20 April: Spartacist League protests Chinese attacks on Vietnam at State banquet for Zhao Ziyang.

Southeast Asia, trying to line up an anti-Soviet "consensus" at home and throughout the region for bloody annihilation of the heroic Vietnamese. As Wran and Zhao toasted their common struggle against Soviet and Vietnamese "hegemonism" demonstrators outside chanted "Vietnam was a Victory! 2,3, Many Defeats for Imperialism!" "Son Sann/Sihanouk/Pol Pot — Wipe Them Out!" and "1,2,3,4, Hawke is fighting Reagan's war! 5,6,7,8, Defend the Vietnamese Workers State!" and carried placards reading "China: Stop Being a Cat's Paw for US Imperialism!" "Unconditional Military Defence of Vietnam/USSR Against Imperialist Attack!" "Stalinism Undermines the Workers States" and "For Workers Political Revolution from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi!"

Revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war drive means standing against one's "own" ruling class. In

Australia the touchstone is the US bases like Pine Gap near Alice Springs, which the anti-Soviet "peace" movement, obedient to the ALP's loyalty to ANZUS, dare not oppose. SL placards at the demonstration demanded, "US Bases Out of Australia and the Indian Ocean!" and "Defence of Vietnam/USSR Begins in Alice Springs, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!"

This Cold War Hawke Labor government is the enemy of workers and minorities at home and the enemy of the Asian masses abroad. The Australian imperialists and their US patrons suffered a humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina and long to reverse what the Vietnamese workers and peasants won at the cost decades of struggle and over a million lives. To these threats the Trotskyists reply with the call for revolutionary

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Hawke's ASIO: Bringing the Cold War Home

With the highly publicised expulsion of Soviet diplomat Valeriy Ivanov as a KGB spy and the related frame-up and witchhunt of former ALP national secretary David Combe the Hawke Labor government is doing its best to bring the Cold War home. While Hawke/Hayden front for US/Chinese military provocations and war plans against Soviet-allied Vietnam, the political climate is being prepared to strengthen and unleash imperialism's secret police agencies such as ASIO and the state Special Branches against the left. In particular Combe's frame-up at the hands of ASIO and its CIA big brother was both a test for Hawke and a warning to the Labor tops to

again remember the lessons of Whitlam's 1975 ouster — and to clean up their own house.

The 22 April expulsion of Ivanov was orchestrated from Washington in concert with similar expulsions of Soviet diplomats in Britain, France and the US. "They have got their orders from their masters", said Ivanov while Hayden admitted he acted on information relayed by ASIO or ASIS (the Australian external spy service) from "overseas sources". The victimised Combe, now "compromised" and barred from contact with Government ministers, was a successful Canberra lobbyist who had travelled to the USSR lobbying for

Australian businesses and had become friends with Ivanov through the Australia-USSR Society.

But ASIO and the CIA had more reasons than association with the Russians to go gunning for Combe. Combe was continuing to push for investigations into the CIA involvement in the 1975 sacking of the Whitlam Labor government (unlike his ALP parliamentary associates, for whom the subject is taboo). There is no lack of evidence pointing to the CIA's involvement: Whitlam's exposure of the CIA's role in running the Pine Gap spy base at Alice Springs, the well-known CIA to ASIO cable threatening to break off

relations, the intelligence connections of Kerr, the revelations of Christopher Boyce etc. According to the *Canberra Times* (12 May) it was Combe's promise to supply Ivanov with unspecified materials on the CIA/Kerr conspiracy which was the "main premise" for ASIO moving against him.

For now, Hawke has achieved his domestic "consensus" at the Economic Summit, and relatively easily. The servile trade-union bureaucracy is only too eager to police wage-cutting and continued mass unemployment for "their" government. What's more, capitalism's labor lieutenants understand what is at stake with renewed Cold War. The defection of the trade-union bureaucrats around Pat Clancy from the pro-Moscow Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia in order to maintain their ties to anti-Soviet social democrats demonstrates this only too clearly. But "consensus" with the CIA will be more difficult to achieve.

US imperialism still has a deep and

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ASIO...

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abiding distrust of Labor, particularly after the Whitlam experience and going back to the Cold War 1955-57 ALP split, which broke up the anti-communist bloc between then-Labor leader Evatt and the CIA-loyal Industrial Groups which spear-headed Catholic reaction in the working class. The CIA's side lost out then, some remaining in the ALP and some splitting to form the National Civic Council of B A Santamaria. Santamaria's NCC has since worked closely with the spy agencies, supplying them with its superior intelligence on the left. The big anti-Soviet spy scare of the 1950s, the Petrov case of 1954, was turned against Evatt and the ALP. Today Hawke and his Labor government, in league with ASIO and the CIA, are doing the job themselves. This time around Hawke intends to carry through the ruthless Cold War house-cleaning of the ALP that foundered in the 1950s, a task posed even more urgently by Australian imperialism's close partnership in Reagan's anti-Soviet war plans. Hawke's ALP faction is campaigning for the NCC-led unions to be reaffiliated to the ALP, which in Victoria will overturn the Socialist Left's present control of the state branch. And Hawke's Attorney-General, Gareth Evans, publically reminded leading supporters of the Socialist Left Bill Hartley and MP Joan Coxsedg that they could be charged for publicising ASIO Director-General's address in response to the Combe frame-up.

The *National Times* did its ASIO expose to protest ASIO handing over "potentially damaging information to American authorities about prominent Australian figures" (6 May), or doing break and enter jobs against the likes of former Liberal prime minister Billy McMahon. They want ASIO to direct its attention to the left and labour movement. Meanwhile Santamaria's NCC, which considers Fairfax's *National Times* a "house organ" for the left, is convinced that ASIO is riddled with KGB moles. Thus the Royal Commission into ASIO.

Justice Hope is to head this Royal Commission, just as he headed the last Royal Commission into ASIO in 1974 under the Whitlam government. That inquiry resulted in a larger budget for ASIO and the 1979 legislation granting it draconian new powers, legalising their burglaries, phone tapping and spying

activities and imposing savage penalties against any attempts by their would-be victims to obstruct or expose their criminal activities. The new legislation for example would have made illegal the Spartacist League's 1977 exposure of Janet Langridge, a self-confessed ASIO agent who briefly infiltrated our organisation. Similarly this Royal Commission's only purpose will be to bolster ASIO for stepped-up Cold War witchhunting, spying, harassment and frame-up of the left, the working-class movement and any group deemed "subversive" by the capitalist state.

To see what is in store one only has to look at the NSW Special Branch frame-up of Ananda Marga members Paul Alister, Ross Dunn and Tim Anderson, smeared but never charged as responsible for the Hilton bombing (rumoured to be the work of ASIO themselves, out of which they got massive new "anti-terrorist" funding and powers). We demand the immediate release of the Ananda Marga three, framed-up and jailed for 16 years for allegedly "conspiring to murder" the well known fascist Robert Cameron. So too the recent bombings of the Israeli consulate and Hakoah Soccer Club smelt strongly of ASIO provocation, providing the pretext for cop raids against the Palestinian/Arab community followed by a Special Branch visit to the US to consult with FBI "terrorism" experts.

The reformist left only echo Fairfax's *National Times* charge that ASIO "betrayed" to the CIA while pretending that Hawke can be pressured into reforming Australian imperialism's secret police and hit-men. The simple truth is that only proletarian revolution will destroy the imperialist spy agencies. Down with Hawke's Cold War witchhunts! Drive the US military and CIA spy bases out of Australia! Smash ASIO and all the imperialist spy agencies! ■

SL Protest...

continued from page three
class struggle at home. As the SL speaker noted:

"Vietnam means something in this country. The organised labour movement in Australia, especially the maritime unions, have in the past used their power in militant solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Seamen blocked supply ships in 1968. Maritime unions blacked US shipping in protest against the Christmas bombing in 1972. Wharfies struck against the war. In 1979 Sydney wharfies blacked Chinese ships in a

week-long protest against China's invasion of Vietnam. We say: Australian workers: don't let Hawke get away with it! Not one Australian bullet or plane to the ASEAN butchers! Nothing heading for the Thai generals or Son Sann's butchers should get out of Australian ports! Chinese shipping should be blacked in protest!"

The bourgeois press blacked what was the first protest thus far against the recent US/China anti-Vietnam provocations. As for the Laborite left they took a big dive, and no wonder. They support Hawke and across the board greeted Labor's election as a great victory. The Spartacist League said "No Vote to Labor!" and told the Australian working class the truth: that Hawke's Labor government, no less than the Fraser government, would be a Cold War government of capitalist austerity.

As a Spartacist spokesman summed up:

"From Indochina to west Beirut to San Salvador Reagan's drive to anti-Soviet holocaust is bloodying the toiling masses. And the task of Marxists is to tell the simple truth: only workers revolution will prevent nuclear annihilation. Australia's future lies with the working masses of Asia. The struggle for a Australian workers republic must go hand in hand with the perspective of social revolution throughout Southeast Asia. Above all this means building internationalist, Trotskyist parties in Australia and across Asia, the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. For a workers Australia, part of socialist Asia!" ■

Anti-Tamil Terror...

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pressed the 1971 JVP uprising by Sinhala youth. Thus the struggle against the popular front is crucial to the fight against bonapartism and anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka.

The Spartacist League/Lanka has pursued the politics of revolutionary class independence on which it stood when, two years ago, it emerged from the now moribund Revolutionary Workers Party of Edmund Samarakody after a bitter political fight. The SL/L has distinguished itself by its consistent fight against anti-Tamil terror even when the rest of the left has been silent. It publishes both *Lanka Spartacist* in Sinhala and *Illangai Spartacist* in Tamil. Our comrades have forged a crucial link between students of the mainly

Sinhala Colombo University and Tamil students at Jaffna University, organizing militant protests against JR's plans for total segregation of Sinhalese and Tamil students and the near-elimination of higher education for Tamil youth.

"The Tamil question is the question of internationalism in Sri Lanka", as stated in the "Agreement for Fusion" at the time of the formation of the Spartacist League/Lanka (*Spartacist*, no 31-32, Summer 1981). It is "the acid test for revolutionaries in the struggle against Sinhala chauvinism". As Leninists we support the right of national self-determination for the Tamil people, that is, the right to a separate state in the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon. But the Tamil nationalist program for a mini-state of "Eelam" in this barren section of the island is both utopian and an obstacle to the struggle for power. These entrenched nationalists refuse to reach out to the stateless Tamil plantation workers of the crucial upland tea-growing region, the mainstay of the Sri Lankan capitalist economy. These workers are key to the united struggle for a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka.

And those who dream of "Eelam" must make no mistake: it will take a struggle for power, not least because the harbor of Trincomalee, situated in the Eastern Province, is of strategic interest to US imperialism. The internationalist character of the Tamil question is made strikingly clear by the fact that across the Palk Straits — only 25 miles away — live millions of Tamils in the south of the Indian subcontinent. Instead of a program for a small, indefensible, isolated "Eelam", the Tamils could be the basis to forge the revolutionary link with southern India, to the social revolution of all South Asia.

In Lanka, where the term Trotskyism has been sullied through decades of betrayal by centrists and reformists falsely claiming the Trotskyist mantle, the SL seeks to again bring honor to the name of Trotskyism. Forging a revolutionary party to fight in the interests of the stateless "Indian" Tamil plantation workers, the viciously exploited women of the "Free Trade Zone", the Sinhala workers, the peasant masses, the "Ceylon" Tamils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces and all the oppressed, the SL seeks to open the road to revolution in all of South Asia. Forward to a South Asian Soviet Federation!

— reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 329, 6 May 1983



SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE SUCCESS!

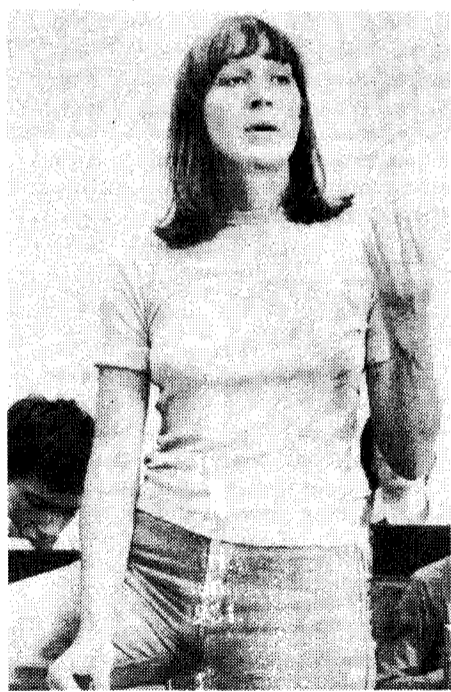
This year's Australasian Spartacist subscription drive has ended in success, once again surpassing the national quota by a comfortable margin. What makes the 1983 total impressive and noteworthy is that the subs were sold on the basis of our communist opposition to the Cold War anti-working class Labor government which cuts hard against the stream, just as last year's successful sub drive was based heavily on our Trotskyist opposition to the counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc in Poland. In Sydney the sub drive was combined with the preparation of the Spartacist League demonstration held to protest the US/China provocations against Vietnam, which highlighted our opposition to the Labor government. As in 1982, a major priority was regional sub-selling trips by comrades from the Sydney and Melbourne branches to other cities. Especially successful were the Canberra and Adelaide trips, where we sold 67 and 34 subs respectively. Our international press sold well, including *Workers Vanguard* (26 subs) and *Women & Revolution* (81 subs). We congratulate comrade Greta M of Melbourne, national sub drive winner with 73.5 points. We welcome our new readers and congratulate members and supporters whose hard work made success possible.

Branch	Quota (points)	Sold (points)	Percent
Sydney	400	425.5	106.4
Melbourne	325	362.5	111.5
At Large		10	
Total	725	798	110.1

SWP "Third Campists" Fall Out Over Poland

When the Polish military spiked Solidarity's counterrevolutionary power bid in December 1981, the forces of imperialist reaction around the globe let out a wail in anger and bitter frustration. And howling along with the imperialist wolves was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its international partners in Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) and Jack Barnes' American Socialist Workers Party. These fatuous opportunists claim that Solidarity was leading a political revolution in Poland. On the contrary, Walesa's "free union", a movement of Polish clerical-nationalism, was moving to overthrow not only the corrupt and discredited Stalinist regime, but social gains inherited from the Bolshevik Revolution and extended to Poland after 600,000 Red Army troops died liberating the country from Nazi occupation.

For the SWP, as with other fake-lefts here and internationally, this mortal threat to socialised property throughout the Soviet bloc was seen as the perfect chance to earn their stripes as a left cover for the social-democratic labour bureaucracy who act as imperialism's agents in the labour movement in its drive to war against the Soviet Union. But giving a left cover to counterrevolution is no easy task, and now the "left wing" of imperialism's



A Sp photo

SWP minority leader Nita Keig

pro-Solidarity "third camp" is in big trouble. This is no surprise with a pro-Solidarity protest crowd whose international patrons are Reagan and the Vatican. Thus an oppositional minority has emerged within the SWP in an effort to protect their party's tarnished "socialist" credentials. While no less pro-Solidarity, the minority objects to SWP leader Jim Percy's all-out drive for "solidarity with Solidarity", which in December 1981 landed the SWP in a bloc with the fascistic "Captive Nations" crew and its "Free Poles" offshoot outside Sydney's Polish Consulate.

For Trotskyists, the Polish counter-coup and importantly, the lack of significant resistance, created the conditions for an *underground regroupment* and the *crystallisation of Trotskyist cells* committed to defence of proletarian state power while fighting for political revolution against

the discredited Stalinist bureaucracy. But the SWP had reckoned on Soviet intervention; like Reagan they longed to see Polish workers throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks so that they could be the "best builders" of anti-Sovietism in the labour movement. Instead they found themselves way out in right field, while the ranks of organised labour remained relatively passive — and, in cases, distinctly *unsympathetic* to Fraser and the NCC's favourite "union".

"We were fortunate we didn't come off much worse", said SWP minority spokesman Nita Keig at an April 1982 National Committee plenum:

"I've got a photo here of the Sydney picket. It comes from *Australasian Spartacist* but could as easily have been taken by the bourgeois media. It shows one of our party banners and several of our members standing next to placards which read 'Down with Red Fascism in Poland,' 'Polish Children die because of Communist Regime,' and 'Help Freedom in Poland.'"

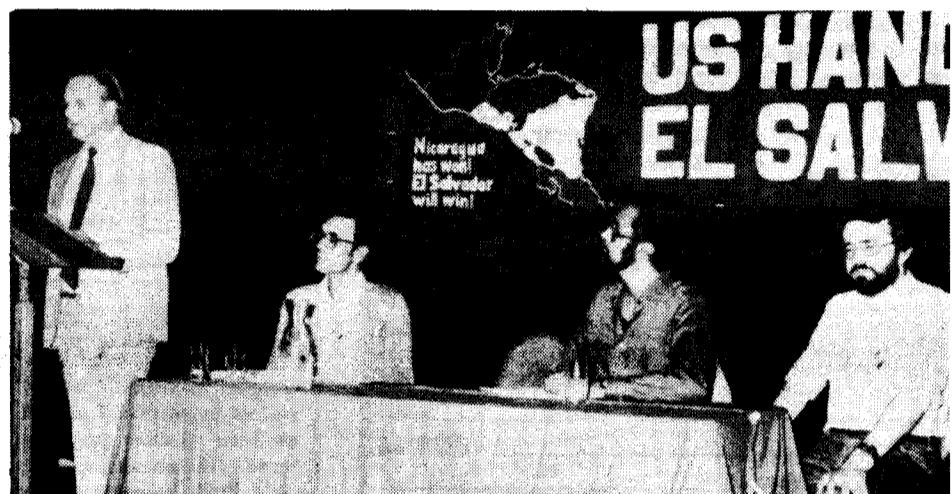
— "Counter-report on Polish solidarity work", *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, October 1982

Counterposed resolutions were voted at this plenum with 6 out of 25 votes going to the minority and, reportedly, the minority won about one third of the delegate votes at the SWP's January 1983 national conference. Basically the minority wants to abandon the Polish protest scene altogether, tacitly acknowledging the fact that the SWP *can't* possibly distinguish itself from the open anti-communists. Of course, even at the level of sensitivity to public embarrassment, the minority's concern for the company the SWP is keeping is limited to Poland, and certainly doesn't extend to the Ustasha-loving HDP. It was leading minority spokesman Jamie Doughney that introduced the "leftward moving" HDP to the pages of *Direct Action*. Nevertheless the Percy majority obviously see this as a major challenge to its drive for unity at any cost with bigtime Cold Warriors in the Labor Party, a task all the more urgent now that Hawke is in power.

The divergence in the SWP expresses on Australian terrain the contradictions and ensuing polarisation that is ripping its "International" apart. The USec hasn't been so close to a split since the 1970s, when Mandel's infatuation with "third world" guerrillaism and the question of Portugal strained relations to the breaking point. Over Portugal in 1974-75 Mandel tailed the Stalinist Communist Party's (CP) popular front with the bonapartist Armed Forces Movement, while from across the barricades Barnes backed Mario Soares' Socialists (PS) as the PS mobilised in the name of "democracy" (and with big bucks from the CIA) to sack and burn CP offices. But in Cold War II, it is Mandel who has emerged as the USec's foremost partisan of social democracy in the service of counter-revolution, praising Mitterrand's Socialists in France for taking a "class stand" over Poland and mercilessly baiting the Barnesites over their passion for Stalinist Cuba. It is on this basis that Percy's SWP is shifting its factional allegiances from Barnes to Mandel, while their former American mentors are hope-



A Sp photo



SWP minority squirms at demonstrating with "Captive Nations" over Poland (top) but not at building platforms for Lionel Bowen, who attacks Cuba, pushes imperialist "negotiated solution" in El Salvador (bottom).

lessly caught between Castro and Walesa. Moreover, whereas Barnes doesn't have a mass social-democratic party to capitulate to, this is Labor Party Country.

To be sure, the Australian SWP shares many of the idiosyncracies of the Barnes organisation, and then some. Cuba is a case in point. Both SWPs pretend to discern in the foreign policies of the Castro regime a "revolutionary" and "internationalist" content, while castigating the USSR's bureaucrats as sellouts. The problem is that the Cubans and sellout Russians agree about everything. Castro and the Kremlin are in complete accord in denouncing Solidarity for doing the work of the CIA, as Mandel has ceaselessly pointed out. What then does the Australian SWP say? "The fundamental attitude of the Cubans towards Poland is the same as our own", majority spokesman Allen Myers flatly states, only to later add: "the minority comrades position drifts away from defending Solidarnosc" towards — what else? — "the position of the Cubans" ("Defending Polish workers: what policy for Marxists?" *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, October 1982).

No less sticky an issue is Afghanistan, where the SWP continues to maintain its support to the Soviet forces long after Barnes opted for Mandel's pro-imperialist "troops out" line. When the Australians first insurrected against Barnes' line shift, we wrote:

"In a country where even sections of the Victorian ALP Socialist Left defend the Soviet intervention, where Fraser's anti-Soviet Olympic boycott campaign was massively unpopular, the Percy leadership feels a pressure to *maintain* its position — if only to distinguish itself from mainstream social democracy."

— *Australasian Spartacist*, February 1981
Well, Poland changed all that. Now

both SWP factions Stalinist-bait the Victorian Socialist Lefters the SWP sought to unite with over Afghanistan for not being sufficiently strident in their denunciations of the Polish crackdown. The SWP is beginning to sense that no softness on Soviet troops will be tolerated among the true devotees of "free trade unions" in Poland and moves to reverse their Afghanistan line are only a matter of time.

Truly the SWP's Poland documents read like the children's story about the king who had no clothes. So the minority warns that *any* united front with capitalism's labour lieutenants in defence of Solidarity fuels imperialism's attempts to "foster sentiments and movements towards a restoration of capitalism" in the workers states — except that this isn't supposed to be even remotely posed in Poland ("For class struggle solidarity with the Polish workers", David Lawrence & Nita Keig, *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, December 1982). While swearing up and down its opposition to imperialism and its agents, the minority of course *supports* the movement fostered by "God's Bankers" and the CIA — and very materially, with millions of D-marks and dollars funnelled to Solidarity through the AFL-CIO Cold Warriors and (as was the case in Portugal) West Germany's Social Democratic unions. As for Myers, he does away with this problem by baldly declaring that the Soviet bloc bureaucracies *are* imperialism's "agents in the workers states". Time and again, Myers' refutations of the minority's not-so-implicit charge of "third campism" sound like a complete confession:

"Let's try looking at things from the perspective of the Polish workers. We know that the truth is always concrete, and the Polish workers face some very concrete problems at the

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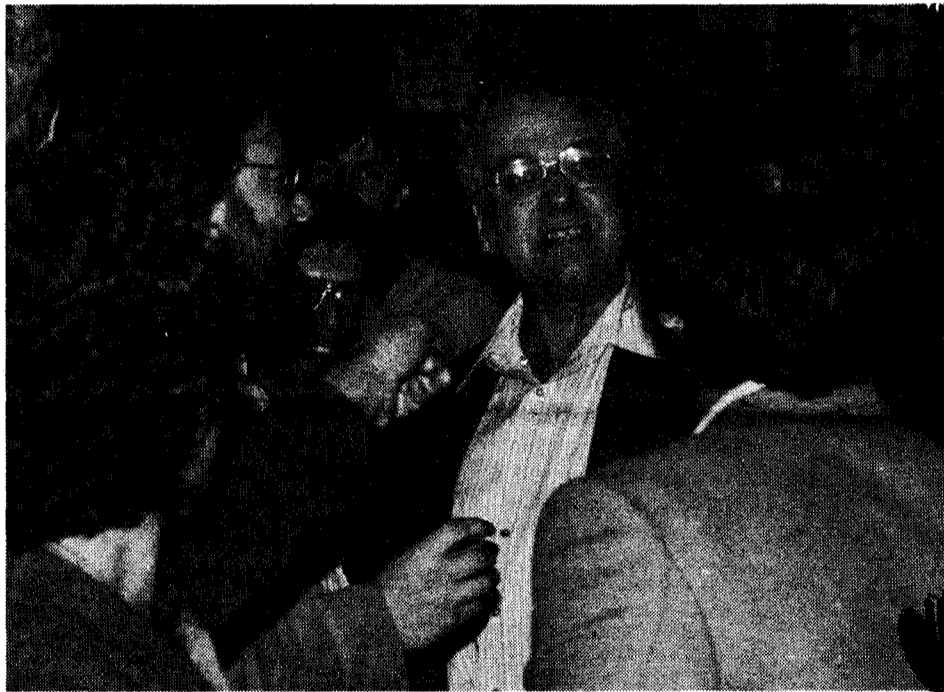
SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference":

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP)'s "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" was held over the Easter weekend in Melbourne. This was very much a factional event for the SWP's United Secretariat (USec), that decaying end-product of the liquidationist revisionism that destroyed Trotsky's Fourth International in the early 1950s. Once again factional warfare has erupted in the USec, this time under the impact of escalating anti-Soviet Cold War. The American SWP of Jack Barnes and the European centred followers of Ernest Mandel are at each other's throats and talk of a split is rife. Barnes has officially denounced Trotskyism and written off the USec as "hopeless, irreformable sectarians", the better to pursue "fusion" with the unsuspecting Sandinista government, tiny Grenada's New Jewel Movement and the Cuban and El Salvadoran CPs. For his part Mandel seems to have won a following among the oppositionists in Barnestown and, it seems, the leadership of Jim Percy's Australian SWP, who share the USec's political impulses to swim in the mainstream of pro-imperialist social democracy by going all out behind Polish Solidarnosc.

Trotskyists Excluded, Ustasha Lovers In

The star attraction at the conference was none other than Mandel himself, fresh from a stopover in Canada and accompanied by Peter Camejo, a former Barnes hack, now out of the US SWP but touted around as the leader of Mandel's American "opposition". SWPers told us that the US SWP turned down its invitation (and one member of the SWP's youth group told us Camejo was the US SWP rep!). Mandel, the armchair guerrillaist of yesteryear, is today a demagogic Cold Warrior. In both Canada and at the Melbourne conference Mandel went absolutely berserk in heated confrontations with our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. What really drove him up the wall was our characterisation of Solidarnosc as a Polish company union for the CIA and bankers. Pounding the podium at the Melbourne conference, flailing his arms and shouting at the top of his voice, Mandel, who an hour or so earlier had slandered us as "Stalinist counterrevolutionaries", declared "It's a clear united front between Jaruzelski, Monsignor Glomp, the Pope, and perhaps the Spartacists". There's a united front all right, directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, and it extends from the White House and Vatican to Cold War social democrats

Ernest Mandel on Tour for Cold War Social Democracy



Spartacists confront Cold Warrior Ernest Mandel.

like Mitterrand/Hawke and their USec tails, all cheerleading for Solidarnosc.

From the beginning the SWP made it clear that the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) was to be excluded from its "Karl Marx" conference. Every registered conference participant received a 20-page exclusion dossier which lumped the SL together with the dubious Qaddafiite Socialist Labour League, detailing the SWP's slanders of Spartacist "violence" and "disruption". At times up to 30 SWP goons lined the gates of the conference, complete with specially selected "Spart spotters". But, even from the

outside, the SL's aggressive political intervention sold more than 250 pieces of literature to conference participants — and precipitated a series of crises for the SWP.

It was our leaflet to the conference (reprinted on opposite page) which exposed the SWP's scandalous patronage of the "leftward moving" nationalists in the Ustasha-loving Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), a sinister grouping that reveres the 1941-45 Nazi satellite state of Ante Pavelic's barbaric fascist "Independent State of Croatia". Mandel, himself a young Trotskyist in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war, never said a word and the SWP tried to provocatively brazen it out, putting HDP members on the goon squad where they defended the Ustasha with the bald lie that Ustashi terror was the work of Yugoslav agents. The SWP even threw out of the HDP's workshop a Polish Jew who had survived the Nazi holocaust, an ex-CPer in his 60s by the name of Jacob Bilander. Bilander's "crime" was to demand a retraction when he was racist-baited by the SWP for denouncing the genocidal crimes of Pavelic's Ustasha.

For the SWP the conference was an important public opportunity to further shed their always empty pretences to Trotskyism. In a talk on the Russian Revolution Percy hack Doug Lorimer regurgitated (like Barnes) all the

Menshevik/Stalinist arguments to prove that 1917 was really a two-stage revolution and that the "anti-Leninist" Trotsky ignored the peasantry. Or there was SWP Political Committee member Dave Holmes speaking on the "Fourth International" who spent all his time obsessing about the danger of "sectarianism", noting also that "fusion is not on the agenda" with the Cuban Stalinists. But by far the high point of the weekend was Mandel's confrontation with the Spartacists over Poland.

Spartacists Confront Cold Warrior Mandel

Mandel's first confrontation with the SL occurred outside the gates just before his second evening talk. Earlier Spartacist supporters had challenged him on his support for Solidarnosc counterrevolution, accusing him of political cowardice for accepting our exclusion to which he had pathetically shouted he was "afraid of no one", not "even imperialism". When Mandel arrived at the conference for his Saturday evening talk on the "Capitalist World Economic Crisis" he immediately went into a tirade while his 30-strong coterie of SWP goons stood by dumbfounded. "You are Stalinist counterrevolutionaries", "Stalinist strikebreakers" and "the difference with you and Walesa is Walesa is against the Church" he screamed in a heated exchange with our supporters. "You invite me somewhere and I will come", Mandel said before disappearing into the meeting, but the SWP goon squads were never bigger than when he was speaking.

That night the first speaker from the floor — a Spartacist sympathiser who had made it past the goons and the back-up teams of "Spart catchers" — challenged Mandel:

"The land of the October Revolution is in danger... Many comrades of the SWP here tonight realise your position on Afghanistan is support to the mullahs who are rebelling, shedding the blood of the Red Army soldiers who are fighting to defend such elementary rights as women learning to read. And of course in Poland he supports that CIA-type union (interjections)... And it comes as no surprise that a sinister group of Ustashi apologists have been welcomed into this meeting while the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (drowned out by shouting and interjections)".

Mandel devoted most of his lengthy reply to Poland, saying nothing of course, on the touchy question of Afghanistan where the SWP's formal support to Soviet forces stands counterposed to Mandel's call for a Soviet defeat. Mandel hails what the SWP correctly labels as imperialist-backed feudalist counterrevolutionaries for the "encouragement" they've given to "the peoples subjected to national oppression by the Soviet bureaucracy, such as the Poles in particular" (from the USec's *International Viewpoint*, 29 November 1982). Similarly Mandel ignored the Pavelic-loving friends of the SWP. He began by asking rhetorically if "the purpose of the rearmament today — I don't say historically, in ten(!), fifteen(!), twenty years (!) — but today, is to attack the Soviet Union?" and answered,

"No. The immediate target of the present rearmament drive is the Salvadoran revolution, is the Nicaraguan revolution, is the Palestinian revolution, is the Arab revolution, and not the Soviet Union."



Afghan Islamic reactionary murders school-teacher. These are the scum Mandel wants to see defeat the Red Army and whom he hopes will "encourage" Polish Solidarity.

This is the most cynical demagoguery. Reagan/Begin's "anti-Soviet consensus" in the Near East, the imperialist troops in West Beirut and the Sinai — constituting the beachheads for US imperialism's Rapid Deployment Force and "Pax Americana" in the region — were imposed as part and parcel of the Zionist holocaust against the Palestinians and Muslim poor in Lebanon. The more blatant and provocative that US imperialism's war plans for first strike capacity against the Soviet Union become, the more the Reagan administration makes ominously clear that it views the Palestinian fighters, the insurgents in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas as "Soviet surrogates", the more the USec must deny reality to duck the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defence of the bureaucratized workers states against imperialist attack.

To great applause Mandel ridiculed US imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive as "imagination" and "myth" before getting down to the heart of the matter, a 10-minute attack against Spartacist "counterrevolutionary nonsense" on Poland. The powerful influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the homeland of Polish Pope Wojtyla he dismissed as "ideological inclinations", ranting that the clerical-nationalist leaders of Solidarnosc "are the best socialists in the world" (as opposed, we presume, to the Cuban Stalinist heroes of the Barnesites). Mandel's rather explicit "third campism" was no more in evidence than when he took on our characterization of Solidarity as a Polish company union for the CIA and the bankers:

"Who are the bosses of the Polish factories today? The American imperialists? Are they ruling in Poland or is it the Polish bureaucrats? So what is a bosses union in Poland? ... The bosses unions in Poland are the state-governed unions led by the Polish bureaucracy."
 "The free unions", shouted Mandel,



Wałęsa and the Pope. "Against the Church"?

appropriately taking up Radio Free Europe's longtime fighting slogan for Cold War anti-communism, "are the unions of Solidarnosc which represent three quarters of the Polish working class".

Mandel went on to alibi the "free world's" favourite "union" (in fact a clerical nationalist movement incorporating large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests etc) by pointing to the Polish bureaucracy's concessions to Solidarnosc such as extending "private property in agriculture by up to 100 hectares". This is hardly news. The crime of the bureaucracy is precisely that their conciliation of reaction produces and fuels the counterrevolution.

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More Pro-Ustasha Apologetics from the SWP

As detailed in the articles on this page, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has put itself forward as "socialist" frontmen for the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), a group of pro-Ustasha counterrevolutionaries which openly seeks the destruction of the Yugoslav deformed

workers state (for a thorough account see "SWP Whitewashes Sinister Croatian Nationalists" in *Australasian Spartacist* no 101, April 1983). The photo excerpt (left) of the HDP's presentation to the SWP's "Karl Marx Centenary Conference", taken from the HDP's newspaper (*Hrvatski Tjednik*, [Croatian Weekly] 12 April) amply testifies to the sinister aims of this dangerous group, whose defence of Ustasha fascism reads like a neo-Nazi tract on how the Holocaust "never happened". Five pages of this paper are devoted to the SWP's conference, including what is claimed to be the full text of the HDP's workshop speech and, ominously, a photo reduction of our leaflet under a caption describing the SL as a "pro-Yugoslav" group.

The SWP's outrageous partisanship of the HDP has been picked up with relish by the "Euro"-Communist Party of Australia (CPA). Thus *Tribune* (27 April) printed a piece by CPAer Denis Freney scandalising the SWP's physical ejection of Jacob Bilander, a Polish Jew who survived the Nazi Holocaust, from their "Centenary Conference" when he rose to denounce the bloody Ustasha at the HDP's workshop. The SWP responded by deepening its crime, if that is possible. In an article by one Steve Martin ("What's the function of *Tribune's* gutter attack?"), *Direct Action* disgustingly lumps Bilander in with the Zionist perpetrators of genocide and its Ustasha-loving friends with their Palestinian victims:

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SL Leaflet to SWP's Conference

For the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx is the perfect opportunity to further bury its twelve year claim to represent Trotskyism, the Marxism-Leninism of our time. Just take a look at *Direct Action's* (8 March) "Marx Centenary Feature", replete with giant portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin — no Trotsky. In "disappearing" the co-leader of the Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, the SWP reformists are only doing openly what they have done in fact for over a decade. And here to lend a hand is none other than Ernest Mandel, the central leader of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (Usec) and for years the arch factional opponent of the Australian SWP and their former mentors in Jack Barnes' increasingly irrelevant and faction-ridden US SWP.

The SWP has made clear its intention to exclude the authentic Trotskyists of the Spartacist League from this weekend's highly publicised "Karl Marx Centenary Conference". But one group that will be welcome here is the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) — that's right, the sinister Croatian nationalist outfit that made it "leftward" from the *Ustasha* to honoured guests at the SWP's national conference! The HDP's stated aim is a "free, independent and sovereign Croatia" through the counterrevolutionary dismemberment of the Yugoslav deformed workers state which it denounces in terms like "the fascist Belgrade regime". It openly sympathises with the 1941 Croatian regime of fascist butcher Ante Pavelic which at great human cost was defeated along with Hitler's army of occupation by Tito's victorious peasant-based partisans. It lyngly alibis Ustasha terror in Australia and overseas. Its purported "break" from and links to what the SWP euphemistically refers to as the "right-wing dominated Croatian umbrella group" in Australia are murky at best. *This group is dangerous!* Yet the HDP will have a "workshop" at this conference where the SWP will "debate" whether or not the monstrous Pavelic regime was "genuinely independent" with Pavelic's local supporters (for the full background on the SWP-HDP scandal see "SWP Whitewashes Sinister Croatian Nationalists" in the April 1983 *Australasian Spartacist*). This outrage must be protested as should the SWP's anti-Trotskyist political exclusionism.

Ernest Mandel's participation as the keynote speaker at a conference hosting the HDP is truly scandalous. Mandel was himself a young Trotskyist in occupied Europe during the war. Many of his comrades, fine Trotskyist cadre of the Fourth International, were amongst the countless victims of the Gestapo murderers. But we doubt that Mandel, a veteran apologist for Pilsudskiite reaction in Poland and Islamic counterrevolution in Afghanistan, will utter even the mildest public protest against the outrage perpetrated by the SWP. Simple decency is never too high a price for this polished "Trotskyist" impostor, whose revolutionary youth is but a distant memory.

Ernest Mandel: "Euro-Trotskyist" Cold Warrior

Mandel will be speaking here on the revolutionary potential of the working class, a singularly inappropriate theme for the man who has

prostituted Marxism to suit every conceivable petty-bourgeois radical craze, from "student power" and peasant-guerrilla "armed struggle" to popular frontism and Euro-communism. So it's no surprise that today, with Reagan and his allies preparing a first strike against the Soviet degenerated workers state, Mandel has emerged as a Cold War "socialist" *par excellence* as he and his international followers enthusiastically capitulate to the anti-Soviet social-democratic parties of Tony Benn, Francois Mitterrand and... Bob Hawke.

In a recent debate in Winnipeg over the class nature of the Soviet state Mandel — speaking against a pro-Soviet, ex-Maoist academic — went after his opponent with an anti-Soviet diatribe that would make a Mitterrand or a Hawke blush with pleasure. Singing paeans to the brutal capitalist system of poverty, racism and war, Mandel declared:

"In the capitalist societies, you can write as much as you want against the bourgeois dictatorship. You can write books and articles in favour of the proletarian dictatorship. You can even publish the works of Marx and Engels without being prohibited."

"In spite of the fact that it is a class ridden society, and you have some political repression (!)", Mandel continued, there was no comparison with the "monstrous crimes" perpetrated by the Kremlin!

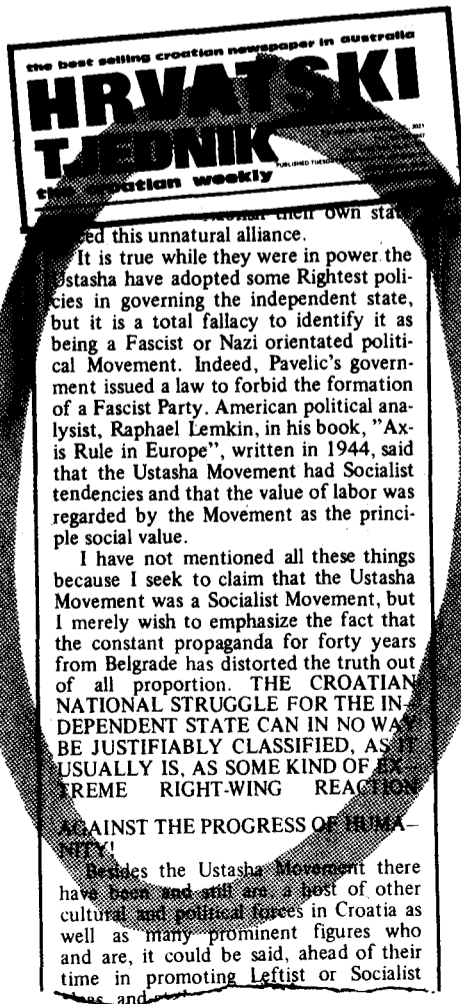
And this is not all. When challenged by comrades of the Trotskyist League (Canadian section of the iSt) over Mandel's support for pro-Western "democratic" counterrevolution in Poland, he responded by stating: "I have more respect for Catholic workers who want to run their own factories than for Communist workers who want the boss to run the factories for them."

In Defence of Trotskyism!

Mandel's political spine and appetites are as supple as the petty-bourgeois moods his will-o'-the-wisp revisionism caters to. This was observed as far back as 1951 by French Trotskyist leader Favre-Bleibtreu when Mandel capitulated to the revisionist current led by M Pablo whose liquidationist program led to the destruction of the Fourth International as the organised vanguard of world socialist revolution. After commenting on the "cultural level, richness of imagery and style" of Mandel's documents, Favre-Bleibtreu bitterly added: "you lack one quality, the one most necessary to a leader: firmness of your political ideas..." For the last three decades Mandel has employed his agile mind and impressive erudition to fight *against* a Trotskyist program at every crucial juncture. Take a few recent examples:

● *Trotskyists stand for defence of the Soviet Union!* But when Western imperialism made Afghanistan a focus of its Cold War offensive against the Soviet degenerated workers state, Mandel's Usec called for Soviet troops out! Moreover the Usec openly sides with the CIA-backed Islamic-feudalist counterrevolutionaries, whom its journal *International Viewpoint* (29 November 1982) grotesquely portrays as "the forces fighting in defense of the Afghan people's right to self-determination" and amongst whom they discover "consciously socialist oriented currents". Even the Solidar-

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Pro-Ustasha...

"[Tribune tries] to make it appear that the SWP persecutes survivors of the holocaust who criticise the Ustasha. Surely this game has been played for all its worth against the Palestinians." (3 May).

Some in the SWP are less than comfortable with their party's brazen attempt to defend the indefensible. One SWPer emphatically told SLers at the conference that "we *certainly do have differences*" over the HDP, and when confronted with the 12 April issue of *Hrvatski Tjednik*, long-time Melbourne SWP cadre Dave Deutschmann claimed that the HDP falsified its speech and dubbed the *Hrvatski Tjednik* text as "counter-revolutionary". But Martin's article, which came out only three days later, cites "the actual text ... (as printed in English in the HDP paper)" as proof of the HDP's "socialist" credentials!

Freney would like to put the knife into the SWP, but neither anti-Soviet reformists like the CPA nor the pro-Moscow Socialist Party uttered a word when the HDP turned out for May Day, the holiday of the international working class. When several Greek Stalinists angrily approached the HDP as the Sydney march was forming up, the SWP moved the HDP to *the middle* of their contingent, wedged between CISCAC and the SWP's youth group. As the SWP marched by with the Croatian flag in its midst, the Spartacist League contingent chanted: "Defend Yugoslavia! Smash Ustashi fascists!" ■

SWP/Poland...

continued from page five

moment — like how to get the Stalinists off their necks. That's a very concrete problem, and its very likely that until they've at least begun to solve that problem, they won't be in a position to understand that their main enemy is imperialism, even though we'll do what we can to help them understand it before that."

— "Defending Polish workers"

The Trotskyist program for proletarian political revolution is counterposed down the line to such pro-imperialist "anti-Stalinism". Strict separation of church and state, Soviet-Polish workers unity in defence of the Soviet bloc against capitalist-imperialism, the establishment of a democratically elected workers government based on *soviets* to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivisation of agriculture) — every one of these de-

mands is critical to the Polish political revolution and every one of them runs counter to what Solidarnosc and its fans in the West are fighting for.

Following Solidarnosc's first national congress in September, 1981, we wrote:

"The massive strike in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. The Gdansk accords and the emergence of Solidarity, the mass workers organisation which issued out of last year's general strike, produced a situation of cold dual power. This precarious condition could not last long, we wrote. And now time has run out.

"With its first national congress ... decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for 'free trade unions' within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for 'free elections' to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of 'Western-style democracy,' that is, *capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government*. And now leading Polish 'dissident' Jacek Kuron, an influential advisor of Solidarity, and a member of the Second International, has issued a call for a counterrevolutionary regime to take power."

— *Workers Vanguard* no 289, 25 September 1981

Faced with a pro-imperialist mobilisation on the Western border of the USSR, we wrote, "Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped!" and stated in advance that "If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this."

But when Solidarnosc crossed the Rubicon in September 1981 it made absolutely no difference to the SWP. From the beginning they supported the most reactionary demands raised by Solidarity's clerical-nationalist leaders, such as the long-standing call for greater church access to the media, an *anti-democratic* demand that would legitimise the church as the sole recognised opposition to the Stalinist regime in the world's only workers state to have chaplains assigned to the army. Here is Myers again, taking on the minority (and forgetting for the moment the USec's claim that the Polish Pope supports Jaruzelski):

"Solidarnosc has at various times formed a united front with the Catholic Church in defence of democratic rights — that is, opposition to Stalinist repression. ... Isn't this united front, far more than our picket, open to the charge that it 'papers over' the question of which social force is going

to overthrow Stalinism...? And in that case, wouldn't we have to say that in the present conflict between the Polish bureaucrats and the working class, the bureaucrats are objectively defending the Polish workers state against an opening for imperialism created by the Polish workers misguided alliance with reaction?"

— "Where the minority goes wrong on the united front", *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, December 1982

These are not the kinds of questions the minority wants to deal with. The SWP applauded Solidarity's efforts to force the government to recognise Rural Solidarity, the restorationist organisation of peasant smallholders who constitute the historic social base of the Catholic Church, (despite the fact that they were driving up food prices for urban consumers). And anything "democratic", like "free elections" or "free unions" is good enough for "democratic socialists" like the SWP, as with anything nationalist, especially if it's anti-Soviet.

Myers figures he can *frighten* the minority by baiting them for softness on Stalinism (the Cubans) and even Trotskyism (the Spartacist League) precisely because the minority shares the SWP's congenital anti-Sovietism and popular-frontism. Thus Myers writes:

"The argument that any united front against Stalinist repression promotes 'the idea that somehow [the labor fakers] are more in our camp' than in Fraser's will be familiar to anyone who has ever debated with Spartacists our participation in anti-imperialist united fronts."

— "Where the minority goes wrong"

By "anti-imperialist united front" Myers means the SWP's popular-frontist strategy of building platforms for Labor Party parliamentarians. For as long as we can remember, the SWP has sought to alibi its alliances with the openly pro-imperialist social democrats who occasionally participate in its various front groups by insisting that it's "their" contradiction. Well, it's never been "their" contradiction, as Myers makes quite clear:

"Contrary to [the minority's suggestion], the phrase 'fascism of the left and right' was *not* used by [ex-Labor senator] Tony Mulvihill at one of our Poland pickets. It was used by Lionel Bowen, to attack the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions — at a reception for Rafael Gonzalez of the FMLN/FDR! See what happens when we make 'mere' opposition to US intervention in El Salvador the basis of unity in action — we provide a platform from which Bowen can attack the Cuban workers state!" (emphasis in original)

— "Where the minority goes wrong"

The minority agrees that it's fine to unite with Hawke's deputy Bowen over El Salvador where, in Myers' words, the social democrats "aim not for revolutionary victory, but for a 'compromise' to preserve imperialism's interests" ("Defending Polish workers"). But when Percy suggests it would be a "victory to have managed to get Bill Hayden to speak" at the SWP's Poland pickets, the minority acts like they're horrified. This is sheer cynicism. What bothers the minority over Poland is that here the "Peoples Front" the SWP is building *includes* the very forces they claim to be uniting against in El Salvador, ie, Reagan. For unlike Central America, where sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie are worried that Reaganite intransigence will create "another Cuba", over Poland all wings of the bourgeoisie are for "solidarity with Solidarity".

As the USec's various components capitulate to their respective national terrains, the SWP is likewise

compelled to modify their always fake "anti-imperialism" to meet the demands of Cold War II. "Who do you want to unite with?" is the implicit question Myers keeps throwing at the minority. Who indeed? For the entire labour bureaucracy has moved far right, pulling the SWP in tow. Isolation from the Labor Party bureaucracy is the kiss of death for a group like the SWP. So it's all the way with Solidarity and all the way with Hawke.

In making common cause with Pilsudskiite reaction in Poland it is only fitting that the SWP should be on the same side as the political descendants of what the great Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg called "the stinking corpse of social democracy". Luxemburg was murdered by the social democrats because of her struggle for a German revolution that would link hands across Poland with the Red Russia of Lenin and Trotsky. It is the tradition of Luxemburg and Lenin that we seek to revive in Poland today. You've made your bed, SWP, now sleep in it! ■

SL Leaflet...

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nosc-loving SWP, which can hardly wait for the Soviet bureaucracy to negotiate a sellout withdrawal from Afghanistan, holds that "the victory of the guerrillas would have been a catastrophe for the Afghan toilers" and might constitute an imperialist military threat to the Soviet Union. This irked Jack Barnes who, when the US SWP was reversing its initial position of support to the Soviet intervention in late 1980, attempted to scare the Australian SWP into doing likewise with the spectre of the international Spartacist tendency: "I also read the press of the Spartacist sect. 'Hail Red Army' was the main headline in the first issue after the Soviet intervention."

● Over Poland all wings of the USec lined up behind Polish Solidarnosc, the Vatican and CIA's favourite "union". When Mitterrand's ruling Socialists organised a mass anti-communist mobilisation of 50,000 in Paris to protest the spiking of Solidarnosc's power bid — a veritable *union sacree* ranging from the fascists and Gaullist opposition to the USec's French section, the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) — Mandel praised the head of the French imperialist state for taking a "class position". Here the SWP had to settle for rubbing shoulders with a bunch of "Captive Nations" reactionaries outside Sydney's Polish Consulate. But not to be outdone, the SWP's Steve Painter actually boasted that over Poland they "agree" with NCC-type veteran anti-red witchhunters like retired FIA boss Laurie Short and the VBU's Joe Thompson!

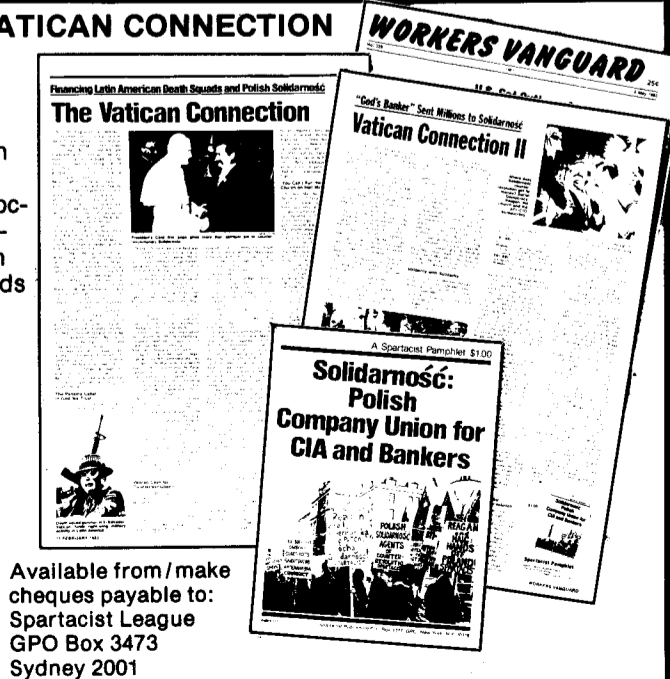
● Trotskyists hold that in the period of imperialist decay, the "democratic tasks" associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the earlier epoch (eg, national self-determination, destruction of feudal class relations in the countryside, universal suffrage, etc) can only be achieved in those countries under the yoke of imperialism through the class rule of the proletariat led by a Leninist party. This is the program of *permanent revolution* the SWP is busy renouncing in order to justify its Menshevik program for coalition with the bourgeoisie in Central America and elsewhere. Mandel claims to defend Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and, currently more interested in tailing anti-Soviet European social democracy, is rather more critical of Castro's

SOLIDARITY'S VATICAN CONNECTION

What the bourgeois media has tried to suppress — how the Vatican in conjunction with the CIA and European social democracy finances counter-revolution, from Latin American death squads to tens of millions of dollars to Polish Solidarnosc.

The Vatican Connection — articles from *Workers Vanguard* nos 323 and 329, 40¢ each.

Also Spartacist Pamphlet — Solidarnosc: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers, \$1.00.



Cuba (which the SWP claims has nothing to do with Russia). But like the SWP Mandel supports the popular-frontist FDR's program for a "negotiated solution" with the Salvadoran junta butchers and US imperialism to head off a military victory and social revolution throughout the region. Far from struggling to build Leninist parties to lead the proletariat to the seizure of power, Mandel joined the US SWP in calling on the USec's Nicaraguan supporters to liquidate into the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN.

● The program of permanent revolution, for a socialist federation of the Near East, has never been more urgent than it is today. Nor has it ever been clearer that the "anti-Zionist" oil sheiks, the nationalist colonels, etc who rule the Arab states are not "allies of the Palestinian struggle" but grotesquely subservient to imperialism. Yet as long as we can remember, the SWP and the USec have hailed something called the "Arab Revolution" as a great anti-imperialist struggle embracing the hideously oppressed Arab workers and peasants and their rulers. Unlike the SWP, which is more fanatically pro-Arafat than ever, the USec has now taken to lecturing the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO on why it shouldn't rely on the Arab bourgeoisies and imperialism. But when Mitterrand's French Foreign Legion — butchers of Indochina, Algeria and the Congo — were sent along with the US Marines and Italian Bersaglieri to disarm the PLO fighters in West Beirut the LCR could barely muster a protest. The LCR continued to crawl to Mitterrand even when its own 18 August demonstration was banned, professing its "astonishment" at the government's decision since its slogans "were not hostile to the French government" (*Liberation*, 19 August 1982). Likewise, at no point prior to the return of the US-led "peacekeepers" did the SWP raise a single slogan on any banner or placard, in any leaflet or article against the imperialist troops that set up the holocaust at Sabra and Shatila.

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

There isn't a corner of the globe where Mandelite opportunism and cynical SWP reformism don't spell betrayal and defeat for the toiling masses... Of course given the factional context of Mandel's visit we wouldn't be at all surprised if this political chameleon engaged in some erudite polemics in defence of "Trotskyism" against the SWP(s) — that is, unless the SWP's already changed its mind and decided to hold onto the

label for a while yet. Besides, the USec has already shown itself equally willing to junk the "Trotskyist" label in pursuit of bigger-time alliances. In 1976 Mandel, envisioning a manoeuvre with the social-democratic PSU group in France, declared:

"What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

What difference do labels make? Trotsky once replied simply to this question: "In politics, the 'name' is the banner" (*Writings*, 1935-36).

As *Workers Vanguard* (no 321, 14 January 1983), the press of the Spartacist League/US, put it:

"The international Spartacist tendency was born as the Revolutionary Tendency of the (American) SWP, expelled in 1963 for defending the authentic revolutionary program of Trotskyism. This is our label, and we wear it proudly, confident of its future decisive victory through international proletarian revolution." ■

—Abridged

SWP Conference...

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utionary threat. But it was Solidarity, with the blessing of the pontiff, that threatened a nationwide strike on behalf of Poland's restorationist land-owning peasantry organised in Rural Solidarity. Here is the real social base of the Catholic Church in Poland, yet Mandel claims that "the Pope is going to Poland this year in order to further social peace"! And this only months after the Pope was in Central America denouncing "collectivist systems" and urging a holy war against the Sandinistas!

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has extensively documented the very real unity, measured not only in formal declarations but many millions of D-marks and dollars, that links Solidarity to the Vatican and Western imperialism via its labour lieutenants internationally. Mandel enthused at length in his talk on the "absolutely positive" European anti-Soviet "peace" movements (and the American "Freeze" movement), hysterically warning his audience of the prospect of nuclear "collective suicide of the human race". But he didn't go into the line of "the best socialists in the world". Here's Solidarity's North American spokesman Zygmunt Przetakiewicz, at a Toronto meeting in March 1982.

"I don't understand, for example, why so many German people — there was 300,000 Germans — demonstrate against America, against American arms in Western Europe. Without American umbrella Western Europe won't exist for a day."

In September 1981, before the Polish military crackdown but after Solidarity's leadership had decisively consolidated on a counterrevolutionary course, we wrote:

"What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend the gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat... We warn the Polish workers and the world proletariat that under the banner of nation, church and 'the free world', the Solidarity leadership is organising a bloody capitalist counter-revolution."

— "Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution", *Workers Vanguard*, no 289, 25 September 1981

The Polish military crackdown of December 1981 bought some time — nothing more — for a revolutionary

socialist solution to the Polish crisis. While Mandel's USec is on campaign footing with Reagan/Mitterrand/Hawke for Solidarity we fight for a Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland which will restore Poland's deep and rich Marxist tradition represented by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Communist Party. As Marxists we are convinced that the mass of Polish working people can be broken with their current infatuation with Reagan's America, Wojtyla's Vatican, the memory of the reactionary dictator Pilsudski, and be won to the authentic communist program of workers political revolution to defend and extend the anti-capitalist gains embodied in the Polish deformed workers state.

Percy's SWP in Trouble

As anyone knows who went to this conference, the SWP are in big political trouble. They are in the process of switching factional allegiances in the USec, which, moreover, is intertwined with an unresolved faction fight over

any SWPer who opened his mouth to a Spartacist was whisked inside for fear of more Jamieson-type incidents.

The various incidents captured the deep-going cynical demoralisation and rotten internal fabric of this organisation. While Mandel's speaking sessions pulled over 500 people, from all reports the conference itself was boring and a political flop. The CPA and even the "third camp" International Socialists boycotted and only a handful of Labor lefts turned up, like MPs Joan Cox and Ken Fry. Their cynical contempt for the proceedings was summed up by Fry who announced to a crowd of SWP goons and Spartacist supporters outside that he was representing the "r-r-revolutionary Labor Party" as he got into a chauffeur-driven limousine after his speaking session. And much to the SWP's annoyance, even the conservative *Australian Financial Review's* nasty little front-page piece, "Marx Gets a Testy Trot" (5 April), highlighted our exclusion while picking up that "The few notes of



SWP goons at conference gate. Left, anti-gay bigot Jamieson and third from left, Yure Lasic, member of both SWP and pro-Ustasha Croatian HDP.

"solidarity with Solidarity" in the leadership of their own party paralleling the Mandel vs Barnes USec war (see SWP Poland article this issue) — and they have a Cold War Labor government in power. Then there is the HDP. Even the pro-ANZUS Communist Party have realised the Percy leadership is deeply compromised by their patronage of what may well be just another Ustasha front. And the day before physically ejecting Bilander, there was yet another gross scandal, when the SWP's "socialist steelworker" Andrew Jamieson told someone he thought was "just a Spart", but who turned out to be one of their own gay workshop speakers, that he'd "like to shoot NAMBLA", the North American Man/Boy Love Association, a tiny gay rights group under ferocious repression from the FBI. Jamieson's revolting anti-gay bigotry is no aberration, being one of the products of the SWP's "turn to industry" which, with new-found petty-bourgeois workerist fervour, embraced all the chauvinist prejudices of the trade-union bureaucracy. Except this time these bigoted Big Liars got caught. Much to the resentment of the SWP's bully-boys, Percy ordered a written apology to appease the gay-lifestylist adherents of the Mandel-linked US Freedom Socialist Party. In fact Jamieson's written apology reads more like a defence statement, claiming he was "set up" by Spartacists who asked "provocative questions" like "Do you support Ante Pavelic" and "what is your position on the Man/Boy Love Association?" By the end of the conference

discord came from what appeared to be a Spartacist infiltrator who attacked Mandel for his support for the Polish Solidarity union and for Afghanistani rebel resistance to the Red Army".

Mandel is a Cold Warrior, faithfully echoing at each and every hot spot in the global Cold War the line of Mitterrand and Western imperialism (like the USec's call for Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia, to give one more example), and this only highlights the SWP's political dilemma. The SWP is still struggling to pull itself into line with mainstream, ie, Cold War, social democracy in this provincial imperialist backwater, where even the bourgeoisie has to be reminded (or so Reagan and the CIA believe) that the "Russian Question" is no tenth-rate issue. The trouble is, to prove you hate the Russians you've got to love American imperialism — or at least be "neutral". This is a bind for the nationalist, anti-American SWP, which wants to be very anti-Reagan and at the same time very pro-Hawke. The SWP has always been a deeply conservative, ultra-electoralist reformist tendency, whose "Trotskyism" in the past served only to bolster its "anti-Stalinist" (read: anti-Soviet) credentials, while Mandel has been for many decades an impressionistic centrist. But today they are marching together, straight into the arms of Mitterrand and Hawke under the banner of "solidarity with Solidarity". Our banner, the banner of the iSt, is that inscribed by Lenin's Bolsheviks and carried forward by Trotsky's Fourth International. Defend the gains of October! Reforge the Fourth International! ■

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Vietnam...

continued from page one

utionary scum in Cambodia. We say: Break the imperialist economic blockade against Vietnam! Not one Australian bullet or plane to the ASEAN butchers! Australian workers: black all aid to the Thai generals and Son Sann guerrillas!

Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia!

The latest anti-Vietnamese provocations appear to have been intended as a message to Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have Vietnam". But there is a corollary: "this is what we intend to do to the Soviet Union". The Chinese are telling the Kremlin that the price of detente is giving up Vietnam. Vietnam is a long way from Russia and the connection is from Vladivostok through the western Pacific. The Americans could easily interdict those sea lanes, but then they've got World War III. The Sino-Vietnamese border has been a potential tripwire for World War III since early 1979 when China, vowing to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson", invaded that nation



Imperialists flee Saigon, 1975

and ended up receiving a bloody lesson of its own. Since then China has continued to play the US game, yet the People's Republic would not long survive if US imperialism succeeds in its ultimate aim of destroying the Soviet Union.

Our internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution demands implacable opposition to this renewed US/Chinese military pressure against Vietnam. As the international Spartacist tendency stated in the face of the recent attacks, if the US really seeks to smash Vietnam, using a Chinese invasion as its instrument, then all people everywhere must rally to the defence of Vietnam in all ways.

Hawke is the imperialist frontman for the US/China/Japan anti-Soviet war axis in this region. When Hayden vows to "free" Vietnam from "stifling dependency" on the Soviet Union, it's not the miserly couple of million provided for in Australia's aid commitment he's thinking of, but bloody counterrevolution. For Hawke/Hayden the value of the "aid to Vietnam" policy lies not in its implementation, but in the highly deliberate orchestration of its reversal. The so-called "aid controversy" is in fact a campaign for an anti-Vietnam "consensus" both at home and

abroad. Australian imperialism now sees the chance to finish off its own "Vietnam syndrome" as Hawke himself pointed out to Zhao when he urged him to "understand the political history of the ALP's involvement in the Vietnam issue" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April).

When Hayden returned from his ASEAN tour and meetings in Paris with US Secretary of State Shultz and Mitterrand's foreign minister Cheysson (the "peacemakers" of Sabra and Shatila) he announced to no one's surprise that Labor's US/ASEAN allies had argued their opposition to renewing aid to Vietnam "with great force and clarity". Then he declared that "we should think again" about the planned RAAF withdrawal from the Butterworth base in Malaya, which means replacing the aging Mirage squadrons with F-111s or the new F/A-18 fighter-bombers, only 600 miles from Ho Chi Minh City. And in June Hawke will fly to Washington to report in person to Reagan.

US policy under Reagan has shifted somewhat away from China as the centrepiece of its system of alliances in Asia to a rearmed Japan to aid in policing the Pacific against the Soviet Navy. American imperialism is beefing up East Asia as another major nuclear theatre, re-equipping its Seventh fleet and B-52s with Cruise missiles and stationing F16 fighter squadrons in northern Japan. The Australians have the job of keeping the Soviet Navy out of the small newly-independent Pacific island states. Thus Hayden calls for a "nuclear-free zone" in the Pacific — with the US nuclear-armed Navy and Air Force *excepted!* Real Australian aid of course goes to bolstering ASEAN. Just contrast the few millions that Vietnam will never get with the \$75 million roadbuilding projects in the Philippines, whose purpose is to help Marcos in crushing the Muslim rebels on Mindanao and the growing Maoist New Peoples Army insurgency. We say: Smash ANZUS, ANZUK and the Manila Pact alliances! US bases out of Australia and the Indian Ocean! Australian troops and bases out of Southeast Asia! For the unconditional military defence of Vietnam and the Soviet Union against imperialist attack!

Reformist Left Covers for Australian Imperialism

Hawke/Hayden are talking about "peace" in Indochina in order to better prepare for war — and the Laborite left are doing all they can to cover for them. Having already made their peace with Hawke and US bases, "friends" of Vietnam like Labor minister and head of the Australia-Vietnam Friendship Society Tom Uren have said *nothing* about Labor's deep complicity in these war plans against Vietnam. Or what about Laurie Aarons' Communist Party, which used to boast of its links to the heroic Vietnamese? Now they are in rapid evolution from Eurocommunism to Cold War social democracy and echo the imperialist line against the Vietnamese in Cambodia, just as they do against the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Like the rest, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) acts like they don't know what's going on as they continue to bleat about "Why Labor should aid Vietnam". *Direct Action* (3 May) favourably reported on Hayden's "peace" plan for Cambodia — a rehash of the long-standing US/UN line — complaining only that it "left out one of the key conditions for a peaceful settlement", ie, an end to Thai interference! Then there's the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) which treacherously calls upon the Hawke government to "use its discussions with other

powers" to back up the call of the anti-Soviet "non-aligned" summit for an ASEAN-Vietnam negotiated settlement (*Socialist*, 11 May). The reason for this treachery is simple: they all support the Hawke government — some openly like the CPA, some "critically" — and all of them must try to hide the fact that it is an *imperialist* government.

For example, the SWP is quite straightforward in its effort to amnesty its "own" imperialist bourgeoisie, changing their "Down with Reagan/Fraser war drive!" slogan to "Down with Reagan's war drive!" after Hawke came to power. These are the groups that build platforms for the likes of Hawke's deputy Bowen, who wants Australian imperialism back in Indochina! Bowen was keynote speaker at this year's May Day in Sydney and the SWP proudly boast that he speaks at their El Salvador events, where he denounces Soviet-allied Cuba and argues for a "negotiated settlement" to stop the spread of communism in Central America.

The bourgeoisie of this country were the losers in Indochina — Vietnam was a victory for our side! When the ALP lefts, the CPA, SWP, SPA et al demand "No More Vietnams" what they are really saying is: no more defeats for Australian imperialism. The victorious Vietnamese Revolution broke Cold War I, and now the leaders of Cold War II are again out to break heroic Vietnam. US president Eisenhower argued that "losing" Vietnam would send the "dominos" tumbling throughout Indochina and into the sub-continent, and possibly "even Australia and New Zealand" too. Like the Hawke Cold Warriors they seek to "unite" with, Australia's reformists sure don't want to see those dominos falling.

Behind these cover-ups lies a populist-nationalist program for Australian imperialism under the banner of "independence" and "non-alignment". Above all Hawke's "opposition" in the Labor Party left is afraid that Australia's US patrons will sell out "White Australia". In our May Day leaflet we pointed to the example of Joe Camilleri, leading spokesman for the Victorian ALP's Socialist Left:

"Camilleri explicitly links self-determination for Timor to Cold War "principle" in Afghanistan and Cambodia, ie, Soviet and Vietnamese troops out. What bothers Camilleri and his type is not Hawke's six-point plan to turn Cambodia over to the CIA, but that Australian imperialism's regional interests in Timor and New Guinea are being sold out to "expansionist" Indonesia, long feared as the major regional threat to this privileged white imperialist enclave, especially by the gentlemen of Labor."

Imperialist Hypocrisy and Cambodia

The many-sided attacks on Vietnam are mainly being justified in the name of "self-determination" for Cambodia. What vile hypocrisy from the people who invent lying stories of communist "yellow rain" to cover their own decades of mass bombing, chemical holocaust and colonial butchery — the wholesale devastation of Indochina. In fact, Pol Pot's "Democratic Kampuchea" by comparison made Stalin's Gulag look like a country club. And the first people to be wiped out by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge mass murderers were the Cambodian communists associated with the Vietnamese, as the Khmer Rouge went on to kill *two million* of its own people. Immediately after the Vietnam war imperialist propagandists seized upon it as the ultimate horrible example of "communist totalitarian-

ism". Henry Kissinger and the like pointed to the Pol Pot regime's unbelievable atrocities to retrospectively claim the US war against Indochina was a "human rights" crusade. But when the Vietnamese occupied Cambodia in 1979 the US and Australian war criminals embraced Pol Pot as a fellow member of the "free world".

Shortly after the Vietnamese intervention the Spartacist tendency wrote: "Given a choice, would the Cambodians rather have national independence or schools, marriage of their own choice, food, children, medicine and wages?" Well, the verdict is now in. Even some US diplomats admit that the Vietnamese have brought economic progress and an incalculably more humane social order. Emory Swank, US ambassador in Phnom Penh under Lon Nol, stated recently:

"The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts.... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery."

— *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March 1983

The pro-imperialist campaign against Vietnam's presence in Cambodia is part of a bloodthirsty vendetta by the most irreconcilable enemies of the Vietnamese Revolution. The Chinese are demanding Cambodia — and ultimately Vietnam — as the price for rapprochement with the Soviet Union. And we do not find reassuring the Kremlin's apparent willingness to dump any pretence of internationalism in pursuit of detente with imperialist madmen, as signalled by Andropov's recent pronouncements on Nicaragua (see article p 12). It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivised economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty to stand up to the powerful forces arrayed against them. Only proletarian political revolution can unleash the vast military and technological resources of the Soviet Union and put them fully at the disposal of the leftist insurgents in Central America and the resolute, courageous Vietnamese.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The Laborite left likes to foster the illusion that the ALP is the party of peace and "independence" (from the US) on the basis of the brief periods when it espoused disengagement from the losing Vietnam quagmire (the Whitlam era). This is only self-serving myth: it was defeat on the battlefield at the hands of the Vietnamese that forced the imperialists out; Whitlam only opted for troop withdrawals after the emergence of a *defeatist* wing in the American ruling class; and, more generally, only after the 1965 massacre of the Indonesian communists stabilised Southeast Asia for imperialism and allowed the option of "cutting our losses" to be considered at all.

The always pro-imperialist Labor Party, founded on the platform of "racial purity" and "White Australia", the enemy of the workers and oppressed of this country, openly hates and fears the Asian masses. Labor is the party of two imperialist world wars ("to the last man and the last shilling" as Labor prime minister Fisher put it in WWI), the party of the anti-communist Industrial Groups and troops in the coal mines after WWII, and today the party of anti-Soviet Cold War and capitalist austerity. The fight for a class-struggle, internationalist communist party in this country is first and foremost a political struggle

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against the imperialist racist chauvinism of the Labor Party and its "left" hangers on.

For revolutionaries the Indonesian masses can be the bridge between the Australian proletariat and the socialist revolutions in Southeast Asia which are so necessary to break the imperialist encirclement of embattled Vietnam. The defeat of Australian imperialism in Vietnam blew a breach in the wall of White Australia racism and anti-communism that separates the Australian working class from its class brothers and sisters in Asia. Though the generation of radicals thrown up by the Vietnam war has largely dissipated, the Australian ruling class has not succeeded in repairing that breach. We aim to keep it open, above all in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International: the struggle to build Trotskyist parties from Australia through Asia to link up with our Sri Lankan comrades and the masses of the Indian sub-continent. *Vietnam was a victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for US and Australian Imperialism! Reforge the Fourth International!*

Corrections:

Due to a production error in our last issue, in the article "Cold War Labor in Power" we stated on page 4 that ALP leader Calwell's 1962 call for war with Indonesia over its takeover of Dutch West New Guinea was motivated by the belief that "the Dutch colonial remnant was what stood between Australia and the Dutch". This should have read: "Calwell's line was that the Dutch colonial remnant was what stood between Australia and the 'yellow/red peril' of Sukarno's Indonesia but he was overruled when US imperialism sided with Indonesia."

In the article "Free Class-War Prisoners in Turkey!" in the same issue, an oversight allowed a typographical error to slip through which placed Turkey on "the Baltic flank of the USSR". Obviously this should have read: "on the Balkan flank of the USSR".

Central America

continued from page twelve

agency in El Salvador and overthrowing the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Portraying the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Sandinistas as tools of a grand design hatched in the Kremlin, Reagan was looking for an easy victory to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive. His aim was to restore the confidence of the American bourgeoisie, remilitarizing the US by reunifying the population behind Cold War anti-communism. El Salvador was to be the test of US imperialism's ability to confront the Soviet Union in "America's front yard". As Reagan put it in his address to Congress:

"The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America. If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble and the safety of our homeland would be put at jeopardy."

The Democratic Party "doves" fear that, by posing such high stakes in Central America, the Reagan administration is in fact committing itself to another Vietnam-style "quagmire". The Salvadoran army is manifestly incompetent. Effective at killing defenseless workers and peasants, but not a match for the guerrillas, it resembles South Vietnam's mercenary ARVN. If the US loses in El Salvador, the damage to the anti-Soviet war

drive will be all the greater for Reagan's having posed it as the decisive test of US imperialism's "credibility".

Thus the liberals believe that US imperialism's interests would be better served by negotiations with the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Salvadoran FDR popular front — politicians like Guillermo Ungo, a former member of the "human rights junta" installed by Carter in 1979, which massacred striking workers. "There are still moderates in the coalitions of both left and right", advised columnist Flora Lewis. "In Salvador they have none in common with each other than with extreme allies" (*New York Times*, 29 April). Indeed the Ungos and the Ruben Zamoras have more in common with the Christian Democratic butcher Jose Napoleon Duarte than they do with the heroic guerrillas in the field. They are explicitly opposed to a leftist military victory because they know it would pose pointblank the question of social revolution. "The United States has a right to stop the spread of communism", says Ungo (*Baltimore Sun*, 3 May). "Let us test their sincerity", urged Congressman Dodd in his official Democratic Party reply to Reagan's Congressional address. In Nicaragua too, the Sandinistas swear fealty to a "mixed", ie, capitalist, economy and political "pluralism" — freedom to organize for the bourgeoisie.

But time is running out: Reagan's intransigence forces the Sandinistas to defend themselves against counter-revolution and is pushing them down the "Cuban road". In El Salvador, the possibilities for a negotiated settlement are reduced with each battlefield victory of the leftist rebels. We say: Complete the Nicaraguan Revolution! Forward to San Salvador — No Negotiated Sellout!

A negotiated sellout of the Salvadoran civil war would be a defeat for the workers and peasants and a signal for a massive new bloodbath. The opulent, corrupt and tiny bourgeoisies of Central America can only contain the hungry workers and *campesinos* through the most brutal repression of the oppressed masses. In El Salvador today the US is financing Vietnam-style "pacification" schemes: "army-organized programs for building roads, houses, schools, etc" (*Village Voice*, 10 May). But it will take a socialist revolution to achieve industrial development, land to the peasants, and basic democratic rights for the masses of people, smashing the bloody oligarchies. After the defeat of French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, a "negotiated settlement" was arranged in Vietnam. The Geneva Accords turned Laos and Cambodia over to the imperialists, split Vietnam in half, and promised "free elections". It took 20 more years and



Sandinista/bourgeois junta in Nicaragua, 1979. From right, Borge, Robelo, Chamorro, Ramirez, Ortega. Now bourgeois members Robelo and Chamorro are with the contras.



Nicaraguan Association of Rural Workers. Sandinista leadership has protected landlords and kulaks who live off the peasants.

millions of dead and wounded before Vietnam was finally liberated from the imperialists' bloody grip.

Defend the Soviet Union!

The imperialists were defeated in Vietnam, and they were defeated by the Red Army, led by Leon Trotsky, when they invaded the Soviet Union after the October Revolution to crush the world's first workers state. Ever since 1917, anti-Sovietism has been the bottom line of US imperialism's "foreign policy". As Democratic Party presidential front-runner Walter Mondale put it, "a bipartisan consensus exists on first principles": "the Soviet leaders are cynical, ruthless and dangerous", and "their relentless military buildup directly challenges Western security". Behind every movement for social justice anywhere in the world, the imperialists see the hand of "Soviet aggression".

But it is not the privileged, parasitic Kremlin bureaucrats who threaten the "security" of imperialism. The Stalinist bureaucracy expropriated the Soviet working class politically and consolidated its parasitic position atop the Soviet workers state during the period of the restabilization of world capitalism in the 1920s, and ever since they have worked to *sell out* other people's revolutions in the interests of "detente" with the imperialist bourgeoisies. But the imperialists remain implacably hostile to the economic foundations on which the bureaucracy rests — the planned economy of a workers state — and so the Stalinists are from time to time forced for their own military-defensive purposes (as in Afghanistan) to aid the struggles of the oppressed against imperialism.

Military defense of the USSR

against imperialism is urgently posed in Central America today. If US imperialism succeeds in crushing the Nicaraguan Revolution and the Salvadoran leftist insurgency, its next target will be Cuba. The imperialists will be enormously emboldened in their program of reconquering the USSR itself for capitalism. It would be in the interests of the world working class and the defense of the Soviet Union for the USSR to send guns to the Salvadoran leftists and MIGs to Nicaragua. Reagan's claim that this is in fact happening is, unfortunately, a lie. Even as the Central American workers and peasants struggle heroically against the US-backed butchers, Yuri Andropov, in an interview with the West German *Der Spiegel* magazine, compares US policy in Central America with Soviet policy in Afghanistan! Implicit is the ominous suggestion of a deal: "Let us keep Afghanistan, you can have Nicaragua." Another Kremlin spokesman was more direct, telling the London *Guardian* (27 April) pointblank that Nicaragua "is vulnerable and lies outside the Soviet shield". Even as Reagan hypocritically decries mythical Soviet arms shipments to Nicaragua and the Salvadoran leftists, it is reported that "the United States has stepped up the quantity and quality of covert [!] military support for Afghan insurgents fighting Soviet forces..." (*New York Times*, 4 May). But the Stalinists' response to this cynical imperialist provocation is — abject capitulation. This appeasement of imperialism constitutes a grave danger to the Soviet Union itself! The struggle to defend the USSR against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for proletarian revolution internationally. Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America! Russia/Cuba: Arms to El Salvador! MIGs to Nicaragua!

It is impossible to win new gains without defending past victories, and impossible to defend the past gains of the world's workers without fighting for the smashing of imperialism, above all in the imperialist colossus, the United States. The treacherous reformists who call for "No more Vietnams" are spitting on the blood of the Vietnamese people in order to make a bloc with the Democratic Party of Lyndon Johnson. Theirs is a counterrevolutionary slogan, reeking of social-patriotic pacifism, directly counterposed to the principal internationalist task of American revolutionaries: to *bring down American capitalism*. While the reformists strive with the liberals to restore US imperialism's "credibility", we say: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism! Smash US imperialism in Central America! ■



Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

Smash US Imperialism in Central America!

The article below is reprinted from Young Spartacus no 109, May 1983, the organ of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League/US.

A spectre is haunting US imperialism's policy in Central America — the spectre of its historic loss in Vietnam. In El Salvador, leftist guerrillas are in a stronger military position vis a vis the US-backed junta than ever before. In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas are running a "roach motel" for the CIA-sponsored *somocista* invaders: "they check in but they don't check out". The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) says: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Kill the Invaders! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! We hail the military defeats of US imperialism.

As Reagan seeks an escalation of US military intervention in Central America, a section of the US ruling class fears that a "new Vietnam" — ie, another humiliating defeat for US imperialism — is in the making. Appealing to the "lesson of the painful past", liberal Democratic Congressman Christopher Dodd warns that the US is "once again on the losing side". Even "first-strike" Reagan must pay homage to the "Vietnam syndrome", the spectre of defeat. Speaking before Congress on April 27, Reagan declared, "let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam: There is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America."

These words, intended to reassure liberals and also the broader American public, evoke comparison with Lyndon Johnson's statement: "We seek no wider war." Democrat Johnson ran as the "peace candidate" against the Republican Goldwater in 1964. In the years that followed, US imperialism sent more than two and a half million soldiers to Vietnam. It dropped more bombs than were dropped in all of World War II, devastating the people and the countryside for eleven years. America's longest and dirtiest war polarized American society, helped to break the back of Cold War anti-communism especially among the younger generation, and ended with a panicky scramble into helicopters on the US embassy roof. US imperialism has never fully recovered: The fighting quality of its army has not demonstratively improved, and today one-fifth of its soldiers are blacks whose willingness to kill and die for racist US capitalism is questionable at least.



Sandinista army must crush CIA-backed invaders. Nicaragua needs Soviet MIGs.

Defence of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Everyone remembers Muhammad Ali's remark: "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." The liberals know that the Pentagon's plan for push-button warfare are not of much use in quashing guerrilla insurgencies — that's why they're *leading* the crusade for a new draft. The SYL says: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war machine! Stop the anti-Soviet draft!"

Reformist groups like the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Workers World Party echo the fears of the liberal imperialists with their slogan, "No more Vietnams!" A "march on Washington" — organised by the reformists and endorsed by Congressmen, preachers and city council members — has been called for July 2 around this slogan. As communists, we of the SYL say: *Vietnam was a Victory!* Two, three, many defeats for US imperialism! We look to the power of the

American working class and the military struggle of the Salvadoran rebels to get the US out of Central America, not to the "enlightened" self-interest of the imperialist liberals. We called for labor political strikes by the American working class to force US imperialism to get out of Vietnam, just as today we support the call of militants in the West Coast longshore union for a port shutdown to stop the shipment of military supplies to the Salvadoran junta. Stop all aid, military and economic, to the Central American butchers!

One Struggle, Many Fronts

The defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam was a victory not only for the heroic Vietnamese toilers but also for the cause of the oppressed and exploited on a world scale. After a decade of tragic defeats of guerrilla movements in Latin America, after the

bloody CIA-backed coup that brought down the popular-front government in Chile, the Vietnamese victory proved that US imperialism could be *beaten* on the battlefield — and inspired a resurgence of struggle. The memory of American defeat in Vietnam hamstrung Henry Kissinger's efforts to prevent the victory of the Soviet and Cuban-backed Angolan nationalists in 1975-76 against the US-backed South African invasion. And it helped to stay the hand of Jimmy Carter as the left-nationalist Sandinistas triumphed over the tyrannical Somoza regime in Nicaragua in 1979.

Reagan came into office on the heels of Jimmy Carter's vicious hypocritical "human rights crusade" against the Soviet Union. He vowed to "draw the line against Communism" in the blood of the Central American workers and peasants, avenging the US defeat in Vietnam by crushing the leftist insur-

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