



## Racist ALP Tops Paved the Way for Howard's Anti-Immigrant Assault

# Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

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Kim Kohen

Melbourne protest (right) against deportation of Chinese refugees by ALP government. Above: Striking Franklins warehouse workers in Sydney. Immigrant workers are important component of the organised working class.



ASp photo

Barely days after taking office, the Howard government moved to extend to two years the "waiting period" for immigrants to access social security benefits from the already draconian six months enacted by the former Labor government. While this despicable, racist measure has not yet passed through the Senate, the government has said that it will take effect retroactively from 1 April.

Hard on the heels of this reactionary policy, federal Cabinet announced in early July a sharp cutback in the annual immigration quota, down from nearly 100,000 to just 84,000. The most savage cut was to the family reunion part of the immigration program, slashed 25 percent. This was unmistakably aimed against Asian immigrants. As Angela Chan, president of the Ethnic Community Council of NSW, commented: "You don't have to come out and say we will cut down on Asian migration...the minister knows where the target groups are coming from." Capitalism in this white enclave in Asia has always been based on the xenophobic exclusion and savage racial oppression of Asians. But as is the case internationally, the onset of the New World Disorder has seen a further escalation of racist assaults against minorities. This has been very much a bi-

partisan war. The main spearhead for the most recent tide of anti-immigrant attacks is NSW Labor premier Bob Carr.

It is no accident that the surge of government attacks on immigrants occurs at the same time it is aiming blows at the entire trade-union movement with its new union-busting Workplace Relations Bill and job-slashing privatisations. The bosses are fuelling White Australia racism to try to divide and divert the struggles of the multiracial working class, by scapegoating immigrants for the unemployment and social decay caused by their rotting system. While post-WWII immigration saw substantial numbers of darker skinned peoples coming to Australia, particularly from the Mediterranean and Middle East, substantial Asian immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon, dating from the late 1970s. Asians are by far the most vulnerable and oppressed sector of the immigrant population.

It is urgently necessary to mobilise a working-class fight in defence of the democratic rights of everyone who has made it to these shores. This is necessary not only as a defence of democratic rights but is key to waging a fightback against the bosses' all-sided war on the

working people. Immigrant workers form an important and militant component of the organised working class. We demand: full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The two year welfare ban for new immigrants is not just blatant discrimination but poses literal starvation! For the reality in racist White Australia is that many new immigrants, particularly those from non-white backgrounds, do not find a job in their first two years here, if they are lucky to ever get one at all. A study undertaken by the Office of Employment of Victoria, outlined in the *Victoria Labour Market Review*, showed that in the March quarter of 1993, 41.2 percent of immigrants who had arrived in the preceding two years were unemployed. But even these official figures grossly underestimate the reality. Many immigrants, frustrated with the terrible discrimination and racist humiliations they face in the quest for work, drop out from the job market and are not officially listed as unemployed.

The immediate victims of the two year rule will not only be recent immigrants but their relatives and friends already settled here, who will now have to provide for them. Yet many of the latter are barely able to eke out a living themselves. Unemployment rates among many

immigrant communities are extremely high: officially 28.3 percent for Lebanese immigrants and 24 percent for those from Vietnam (*Labour Force Australia*, April 1996). And those lucky enough to gain employment often have to work in the dirtiest, most dangerous and most lowly paid jobs.

On top of the welfare ban and immigration cutback, the Coalition is implementing a whole series of further anti-immigrant, racist attacks: more draconian measures to hunt down "illegal" immigrants, additional requirements for English-speaking ability and the slashing of English-language programs. Immigration minister Ruddock also plans to implement Carr's idea to force skilled immigrants to live outside Sydney and Melbourne under threat of losing a \$30,000 bond! Newly arrived immigrants are to be economically terrorised into living in the horribly racist rural areas in Australia's "Deep West" and "Deep North."

In a vile, puritanical, anti-woman move, Ruddock announced measures to restrict immigrants under the spouse-nomination category to temporary residency for a two year waiting period, after which they must prove that their

*continued on page 4*

**For Workers Action to Fight Bosses' Racist Attacks!**



# Partisan Defence Committee

## CLASS STRUGGLE DEFENCE NOTES

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Donations/correspondence may be sent to the PDC at: PO Box Q217, Queen Victoria Building, Sydney, NSW 1230.

## Iraq: Kurdish Leftists Attacked/Jailed in Imperialist "Safe Haven"

The following protest statement was sent to the Sydney office of the Patriotic Unity of Kurdistan (PUK) and to the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in London.

11 June 1996

Dear Sir/Madam,

We have been informed that at a recent mass May Day demonstration of workers in Iraqi Kurdistan, the armed forces of the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) viciously attacked the protesters, assaulting demonstrators, tearing down their banners and placards, and arrested three members of the Workers Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI). Those three victims of KDP repression—Mohammad Younis, Azad Mohamed Amin and Kalid Mohamed—are still held in KDP prisons. We demand the immediate release of the three WCPI militants and an end to the terror by the

KDP against leftist political and worker activists! Free them now!

Further, we understand that Kousrat Rasoul, Prime Minister of the government in Iraqi Kurdistan, closed down the publication of the WCPI, *Bopishawa (Forward)* allegedly for its publication of an article entitled "Islamists Declare the Message of Women Rape" which exposed and denounced the degradation of women by Islamic reactionaries. The repression against the WCPI is an attack on the international working class movement. Specifically these attacks are carried out in the service of imperialism, whose creation of the so-called "safe haven" of northern Iraq issued out of the US/UN-led imperialist slaughter against Iraq in 1991.

Stop the repression of the WCPI and its publications!

Sincerely,

Neil Florrimell  
for the Partisan Defence Committee

## International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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### Australasian

## SPARTACIST

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## Anti-Paedophile Witchhunt Targets Gays

# Free Lee Dunbar!

The following statement protesting the jailing of Lee Dunbar for transgressing the state's reactionary "age of consent" laws was sent to both the premier and attorney general of NSW. In the first week of Dunbar's incarceration at Mulawa Women's Prison her cell was trashed and disinfected thrown over her pyjamas. Following this attack she was reportedly transferred to "a heavily guarded cell with eight other high security inmates" (Lesbians on the Loose, June)! She has since been transferred to a "minimum security" jail at Emu Plains.

29 June 1996

R. J. Carr  
Premier, NSW

J. W. Shaw  
Attorney General, NSW

Dear Sirs,

We protest the outrageous jailing of female teacher Lee Dunbar. On May 8 Lee Dunbar was sentenced to a minimum of fifteen months jail for having a love affair with a 14-year-old female student. The affair, which lasted 20 months, occurred fifteen years earlier! In sentencing Dunbar, top of her class at university, a dedicated teacher and a founding member of women's soccer in NSW, NSW District Court judge Flannery pointed out that she felt "the relationship was never anything but caring, loving and very mutual". But for transgressing the state's reactionary "age of consent" laws Dunbar's career has been destroyed, she is branded a criminal, and she is now incarcerated at Mulawa Women's Prison. We protest this vindictive, outrageous imprisonment! We demand that Lee Dunbar be freed immediately!

The persecution and jailing of Lee Dunbar for what was clearly a consensual relationship rests on the reactionary "age of consent" laws, which are made to be used in just this punitive and vindictive way. These laws outright deny the right

to teenage sexuality and serve to instil in them guilt, abstinence and fear, giving the state the ability to interfere in the most intimate aspects of people's lives. This has nothing to do with protecting children and youth from the real abuse, sexual or otherwise, that is commonplace in capitalist society, systematically carried out by its state and fostered by the nuclear family. Reactionary "age of consent" laws have everything to do with regimenting the population to accept the diktats of a state defending a system of exploitation and oppression. Government out of the bedroom!

Lee Dunbar's imprisonment takes place in the context of an outrageous witchhunt unleashed by the Wood Royal Commission in NSW against paedophiles, gays, lesbians—in short against anyone whose sexual desires, fantasies or behaviour do not conform to the bourgeois establishment's dictates of what are "proper family values". The focus of what was ostensibly an inquiry into police corruption has been transformed into an hysterical judicial/media campaign against those whose sexual preferences are branded as "criminal" by the reactionary capitalist state.

The real source of crime in society is the bosses' state, whose armed thugs in blue rape Aboriginal women and kill their menfolk, which systematically stole tens of thousands of Aboriginal children from their families and which polices the working class, oppressed minorities and immigrants on behalf of the employers.

We demand that Lee Dunbar be freed immediately! She should be compensated with millions of dollars for the terror and humiliation she has endured! Down with the anti-paedophilia witchhunt! Government out the bedroom! Stop the inquisition of gays! Down with the reactionary "age of consent" laws!

Yours truly,

Keith Douglas  
for the Partisan Defence Committee

## Welcome to New Readers

From mid-April to mid-May the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs waged a subscription drive to win new readers to *Australasian Spartacist*, *Workers Vanguard*, *Women & Revolution* and other publications of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). We also consolidated our existing readership through re-subscriptions.

We focused on university campuses, leftist youth, immigrants, trade unionists and Aborigines. Regional trips took us to Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra and to Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand. We achieved 406 points, 116 percent of

our original 350-point quota. Congratulations to comrade Bernard who outsold all! Welcome to our new readers!

V.I. Lenin wrote "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction..." ("Where to Begin," 1901). Our paper is for the construction of the revolutionary, internationalist vanguard party of the working class to fight for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

## SUBSCRIBE!

### Australasian Spartacist

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 \$5/4 issues (1 year) Overseas rates:  \$7 airmail  \$5 surface

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# Washington Buys Russian Elections

Boris Yeltsin's re-election as president of Russia in a July 3 runoff ballot was cheered by Western stock markets. The capitalist media exulted that the defeat of Yeltsin's opponent, Gennadi Zyuganov, meant "The End of Russian Communism"—though, in fact, Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) is a thoroughly bourgeois-nationalist party. And U.S. president Bill Clinton hailed Yeltsin's victory as evidence that the Russian people had "turned their backs on tyranny" and were "turning the corner towards freedom."

For all its hoopla about promoting Russian "democracy," Washington enthusiastically welcomed Yeltsin's embrace of the sinister ex-general Aleksandr Lebed, an open advocate of bonapartist "order." Lebed's appointment to the powerful position of national security chief was in fact the most significant outcome of the election. This strident chauvinist and virulent anti-Semite is a self-professed admirer of former Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose 1973 coup led to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. In particular, Lebed holds up Pinochet as a model for combining police-state terror with "free market" economics dictated by Wall Street.

The elections were immediately followed by a sharp escalation in terror against dark-skinned people. Seizing on mysterious rush-hour bombings of trolley buses in Moscow a week after the elections, Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, a key Yeltsin ally, claimed these were terrorist acts carried out by the "Chechen diaspora." Targeting Chechens and other Caucasian and Central Asian peoples, Luzhkov vowed to round up and expel "not only homeless down-and-outs but also those elements we consider dangerous."

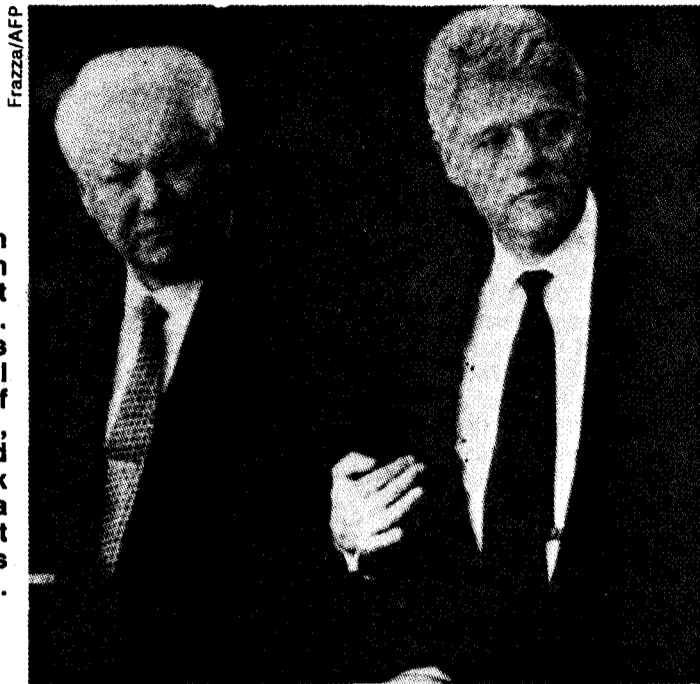
At the same time, Yeltsin flagrantly repudiated his pre-election promise to end the unpopular war in Chechnya, a traditionally Muslim region in the Caucasus conquered by the tsarist empire in the early 19th century. Only days after the election, in the fiercest attack in months, Russian artillery bombarded two villages near the Chechen capital of Grozny, killing dozens of civilians. In the past year and a half, over 30,000 people, mainly civilians, have been killed in the savage colonial-style war in Chechnya and 600,000 have been driven from their homes. We of the International Communist League call for the defeat of the Russian invasion forces and for the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate.

Only six months ago, the Russian



Days after re-election, Yeltsin violated truce in Chechnya, launching bloody army assault on Chechen towns.

Russian president Yeltsin with imperialist patron Clinton. Below: Yeltsin's new national security chief Aleksandr Lebed, surrounded by Cossack admirers, a sinister chauvinist who seeks "strongman" rule.



president had sunk to a 6 percent approval rating in opinion polls and ranked seventh in a field of presidential contenders. As late as mid-March, Yeltsin had all the preparations in the works for canceling the elections outright. As a report by David Remnick in the *New Yorker* (15 July) details: "One of Yeltsin's aides had already drafted a series of *ukazi*—decrees—on the dissolution of Parliament, the banning of the Communist Party, and the cancellation of the June 16th elections." Fearing destabilization and wanting to maintain some façade of "democracy," Yeltsin's imperialist patrons instead "bought the elections fair and square."

In the months before the elections, the imperialists showered \$14 billion in loans

on the Russian regime. Yeltsin promised to pay \$1.6 billion in back wages for workers in the public sector, to help clear up \$4 billion in unpaid wages in private industry, to write off debts of collective and private farmers, to raise pensions and student benefits, etc.

The Russian president and his imperialist backers wasted no time renegeing on these promises. The post-election cold shower served only to underscore a *Washington Post* (5 July) headline which acknowledged that "Hard-Up Workers Greet Yeltsin Win with Little Joy." Indeed, it is a measure of the pervasive immiseration produced by capitalist restoration that despite the demonization and fear-mongering in the Russian media that a KPRF victory would mean a return to the Stalinist gulag, some 40 million people voted for Zyuganov.

Yet for Marxists there could be no question of extending any support to Zyuganov in the presidential elections. As we wrote after the KPRF won more than a third of the seats in the Russian Duma (parliament) elections last December:

"While many people supported Zyuganov's Communist Party because they lived better under the Soviet collectivized and planned economy, despite its bureaucratic deformations, the heavy vote for the KPRF does not represent a step forward for the working class in Russia. Despite its red flags and talk of restoring the Soviet Union, the KPRF is neither a communist nor even a reformist working-class party, but rather a bourgeois-nationalist party which promotes Russia's imperial ambitions."

The plight of Russia's working people and subjugated nationalities will not be bettered by replacing one set of nationalist thieves and butchers at the head of the Russian capitalist state with another.

What is necessary is the reawakening of the dormant working class and its entry into the arena of class struggle, fighting for its interests and those of all the oppressed on the road to a socialist revolution that sweeps away the new exploiters and their state. Key to this is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party of the working class.

## "Wild Capitalism" and Would-Be Bonapartes

By the time of the first round of the elections in mid-June, it was expected that Yeltsin and Zyuganov would finish neck-and-neck in front. What was not expected was the strong showing of Lebed, who came in third with 15 percent of the vote. It turned out that Lebed's campaign was largely financed by the Yeltsin camp in order to take votes away from Zyuganov. The tactic worked as the bellicose ex-general effectively co-opted the main themes of the KPRF campaign—exaltation of traditional Russian culture, advocacy of a strong state dominating the region of the former USSR, "law and order," and a crackdown on pervasive government corruption. When asked by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (24 June) whether he intended to become president at the end of Yeltsin's term, Lebed replied, "Possibly sooner." No sooner had the final votes been tallied than another power struggle erupted in and around the Kremlin, with Lebed pitted against Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, spokesman for the powerful natural gas monopoly, and newly reappointed economic czar Anatoly Chubais, a darling of the Western bankers.

Lebed's meteoric rise expresses a powerful tendency in post-Soviet Russia for a "strongman" who can tame the present conditions of "wild capitalism," well described by American economist Rudi Dornbusch:

"Around the world, the lobbies of five-star hotels are now full of champagne-sipping Russian gangsters who gained control of state-owned assets. Yes, there are opportunities in Russia—enough to get many thousands of criminals instant wealth. But that wealth is created by corruption, theft, and violence on a scale probably unprecedented in history...."

"Property rights are mostly a matter of how much more an investor is likely to put up in the future. And physical safety has to do with who shoots faster."

—Business Week (15 April)

Russia's new capitalists very much want to establish more Western-style rules of

*continued on page 8*



Economist

KPRF leader Gennadi Zyuganov, embodiment of Russian chauvinist "red-brown" coalition.

## Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

relationship has been maintained. So red-neck Ruddock's message to immigrating women is: stand by your man or get out. Down with Ruddock's racist, totalitarian, immigration controls! Ruddock is also restricting the rights of asylum seekers to appeal deportation orders and get access to legal support. Scores of mainly Asian refugees continue to be detained in and deported from the hellish detention centres in which many have been incarcerated for years. No deportations—close the racist concentration camps!

### International Anti-Immigrant Backlash

The anti-immigrant attacks in Australia, uniting Tories, Laborites, Democrats and Greens, are part of a sharp world-wide increase in virulent anti-immigrant racism and violent assaults. This follows from the drive of the capitalists—emboldened by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and driven by the heightened inter-imperialist rivalries that it has unleashed—to rip from the working people every gain they have won. Capitalist governments generally regulate the flow of immigration depending on the needs of the capitalist economy. In the midst of economic recession and needing to compete with their imperialist rivals abroad, the bosses are seeking to scapegoat immigrants (particularly dark skinned ones) for unemployment and cutbacks in social services. The capitalist rulers aim is to divide and wreck the struggles of the exploited masses, while they jack up their rate of profit by slashing workers jobs, wages and social services.

In 1993, Germany abolished the right to asylum and violent attacks against "foreigners" (many Turks have lived in Germany for decades) rapidly escalated in the wake of the capitalist reunification which absorbed the former East Germany. From 1990 to 1993, there were over 7,500 racist assaults in Germany and over 30 outright racist murders. The German government is now deporting thousands of Vietnamese immigrants

**Jailed refugees protest hellish conditions at Villawood Detention Centre in Sydney. Mass protests and breakout attempts have taken place at the remote detention compound at Port Hedland, Western Australia. Close the deportation camps now!**



Robert Pearce

(already witchhunted as "criminals" and "illegal cigarette smugglers") who had been well-trained contract workers in the former East German deformed workers state. In France, the right-wing government in 1993 declared a "zero immigration" policy and police and fascist attacks have escalated, particularly against North Africans. And in the U.S., California has introduced Proposition 187 which denies undocumented immigrants all access to welfare, health and education.

### White Australia ALP Tops Paved Way for Howard's Racist Attacks

The Labor opposition has essentially supported Howard's extension of the "waiting period" for immigrants to access welfare, complaining only about its retrospective implementation and the govern-

ment's "lack of consultation." Opposition leader Kim Beazley even opined that perhaps the cut to the immigration quota was insufficient. This should come as no surprise. Under the previous Labor government, hundreds of refugees were thrown into hellhole detention centres—overcrowded and lacking basic facilities. Internationally notorious, these concentration camps provoked hunger strikes and breakout attempts by their desperate occupants. Many were later deported along with the *thousands* of other "illegal" immigrants brutally thrown out of the country each year.

From the ALP's very inception, White Australia racism has been its central plank. The Labor misleaders have whipped it up to push the lie that Australian workers have a common "national interest" with their white exploiters at home against the Asian masses. Fueling

such White Australia nationalism helped the former ALP government, during its thirteen years in power, to keep strike struggles at an all-time low, while it administered massive cuts to workers jobs, wages and working conditions in the "national" (i.e. bosses') interest.

As the ALP government sought to make Australian capitalism more "internationally competitive" by attacking workers conditions and overseeing a rise in long-term unemployment not seen since the Great Depression, it slashed immigration levels and first introduced the "waiting period" for immigrants' welfare eligibility. Only last year it introduced legislation to deny Austudy to tens of thousands of immigrant students—simply for being permanent residents and not citizens. While the Labor-led National Union of Students and their fake-left tails tried to bury opposition to that obscene attack, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilised united-front actions against it. At the time we warned that if the assault on immigrant students was not thoroughly smashed it would open the road to further attacks on all immigrants. This has now come to pass. And if the capitalist rulers get away with this latest blow against welfare benefits for immigrants, they will use it as a cutting edge to slash welfare for everyone. Only weeks after the "waiting period" extension was announced, Social Security minister Newman announced that "anything is on the table at the moment" as far as welfare cuts are concerned.

Anti-immigrant racism is, of course, closely linked to the rampant racism against Aborigines. This was explicitly seen in the federal elections earlier this year, when outright racists like National Party MP Bob Katter, ex-Liberal Pauline Hansen and ex-Labor now independent MP Graeme Campbell (whose well-known rabidly racist and anti-immigrant views were tolerated in the parliamentary Labor Party for over a decade) were elected with huge swings. In the June by-election for Keating's former seat of Blaxland, two far-right parties ("Australians Against Further Immigration" and "Reclaim Australia: Reduce Immigration") got 22.5 percent of the primary vote. These racist demagogues are feeding off the sentiment highlighted in a

## Germany

# Defend Vietnamese Immigrants!

The following is translated from a 26 June protest statement issued by the Committee for Social Defence, associated with the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

Amid a campaign of state racist terror against immigrants and refugees and exactly three years after the Bonn parties (the ruling Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats) gutted the right to asylum, the government is now announcing the deportation of 2,073 Vietnamese. In doing so it cynically appeals to the so-called "Repatriation Agreement" that Germany extorted from the Vietnamese government (SRV) on 21 September 1995 under the threat of stopping any and all "development aid." This agreement stipulates that by the year 2000 approximately 40,000 of the 97,000 Vietnamese residing in Germany will have to be "returned" in accord with "yearly quotas," explicitly including deporting people against their will. The Committee for Social Defence (KfsV), along with the Spartakists, demands: Not one deportation! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Defend the Vietnamese!

Many Vietnamese were well-trained contract workers in the DDR (East German) deformed workers state. With capitalist *Anschluss*, their plants were

devastated, and then they were forced out of their hostels and into homelessness. Left without a job or a place to live, they were then declared to be "illegal cigarette smugglers." Today the Vietnamese, along with Roma (Gypsies) and Kurds, are the target of a racist campaign carried out in the name of a "fight against organised crime." In 1995, after weeks of this witchhunt aimed at justifying intensified repressive violence by the bourgeois state, police chased 38-year-old asylum-seeker Vo Huan Cuong to his death under a train. He had been in Germany for just four months. The police who pursued him stood laughing and joking beside his body. In a report earlier this year, Amnesty International declared that this police terror, especially as directed against Vietnamese, is the result of "horrible, inhuman and humiliating treatment."

The Bonn government even succeeded in getting Vietnam's "repatriation" obligation inserted into the preamble of the cooperation agreement between the European Union and the SRV. The revolting face of this German-dominated "Fortress Europe" à la Maastricht is ever more obvious: the state's implementation of the racists' cry for "Foreigners Out."

The rulers are now carrying out the demand of the Nazi gangs during the state-instigated Rostock pogrom of August 1992, when 115 Vietnamese workers and their families were terrorised for days, barely surviving an arson attack on their dormitory. The KfsV fights for the workers movement to form worker defence groups jointly with immigrant organisations to smash the Nazi/skinhead gangs.

This year we celebrated the 21st anniversary of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism. Everyone who stands on the side of the world's exploited and oppressed will recall with joy and triumph the images of April 1975, when the last packed helicopters departed in panic from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon. But neither have the vengeful imperialists forgotten these images. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and under the unyielding pressure of world imperialism, the revolutionary gains of the besieged Vietnamese nation are mortally threatened, while the market "reforms" pursued by Hanoi's Stalinist leadership are taking the country in the direction of capitalist counterrevolution.

Through a so-called "Reintegration



Spartakist

**Berlin protest against deportations of Vietnamese contract workers in 1993. Signs read: "Workers Resistance Against Fourth Reich!" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!"**

Agreement" in 1992, Vietnamese were sent back to Vietnam, where they had little chance of surviving in a country being starved out by the imperialists. And those remaining here in Germany were forced into petty crime and a lumpen existence by an anti-Communist and racist campaign of vengeance. The organised workers movement, joining with immigrant organisations, has the power to defend the democratic rights and the very right to live of all the oppressed. This power can and must be mobilised to stop the deportation of the Vietnamese! ■

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST



ASp photo

**Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs initiated united-front demonstrations against ALP's attack last year on immigrant students.**

June AGB McNair poll, which revealed that two-thirds of the population thought immigration was too high, over half felt the "immigration mix" was "not right" and 88 percent of the latter felt that immigration policy allowed in too many Asians (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June). Campbell has now launched a new "Australia First Party" for the "dispossessed and patriotic majority" which seeks to unite anti-immigration sentiment with right-wing shooters angered by the government's gun control legislation.

In this climate of racist reaction, the National Action fascists will be greatly emboldened. We fight for mass, militant union/minority mobilisations to crush these fascist scum in the egg! At the same time, we adamantly oppose the government's attempt to create a monopoly on firearms by stripping the population of the right to own guns. No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defence!

**Unite the Working Class and All the Oppressed! For a Leninist Vanguard Party, a Tribune of the People!**

A powerful working-class-centred fightback combining defence of immigrants with the interests of the entire working class, would find enthusiastic support among unemployed immigrants, immigrant women and anti-racist youth. Such a struggle would include combating discrimination in employment through raising demands for union hiring halls and union-run recruitment and training programs—paid out of the bosses' pockets—to assist minorities, women and youth to get the jobs and skills they have been barred from systematically. This has to be part of a broader fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay. But to wage such a struggle requires an uncompromising fight to root out the deep-going chauvinism and backwardness that currently poisons the union movement. Militant workers must

be won to the understanding that only by fighting in defence of minorities can the working class forge the unity and consciousness necessary to successfully turn back the bosses' mounting attacks. To wage such a fight for political class consciousness in the workers movement requires the building of a revolutionary vanguard party, like the party Russian revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin built.

The construction of such a party requires an implacable struggle against the current leaders of the working class, the ALP/ACTU tops. Reformist workers parties like the ALP express the immediate interests and bourgeois consciousness of the "aristocracy of labour"—and in Australia as elsewhere that means the whitest and most skilled layers of the proletariat. Lenin called such parties "bourgeois workers parties": working class at the base but dominated by a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership and program. The ALP/ACTU reformist leaders act as a direct transmission belt for bourgeois ideology, infecting the working class with the philistine parochialism, brutal male chauvinism and racism which we have characterised as "the culture of white pigs."

The ACTU tops have done worse than nothing to defend immigrants. Instead they have been actively fuelling White Australia racism by lining up Australian workers against their class brothers and sisters internationally with the lie that overseas and immigrant workers are "stealing Australian jobs." In the late eighties, leaders of the Australian Workers Union organised their members to protest cheap Japanese cement imports by attacking (armed with dangerous cement bombs) Japanese seamen and local wharfies unloading a Japanese ship in Port Melbourne. For years, the leaders of the Maritime Union have railed against "foreign seamen on Australian ships," targeting low-wage seamen from Third World countries as "the enemy," instead of fighting for Australian union

conditions for these horribly exploited workers on "flag of convenience" ships in Australian ports. The leaders of the CFMEU regularly raise the "yellow peril" by urging the Australian coal-mining bosses to "get tough on the Japanese" steel company coal importers to "protect the Australian coal industry" instead of fighting to unite the struggles of Australian coal miners with Japanese steel workers against a common class enemy.

Such racist protectionism only serves to divide the Australian working class from their real allies—the workers of all countries—while lining them up behind their exploiters at home. The results of these policies have been disastrous. Pushing such chauvinist poison, the sell-out bureaucrats misleading the powerful Maritime Union have allowed the bosses to slash jobs and working conditions like crazy, without a serious fight.

The former ALP government oversaw the emergence of a huge army of over 300,000 superexploited outworkers—mainly immigrant (especially Asian) women and children slaving away for as little as \$2 an hour and up to 20 hours a day. Now Howard's denial of welfare benefits to recent immigrants will help the capitalist exploiters to further

and union conditions. This involves a fight for solidarity action by the unionised workforce and more strategic sections of the working class. It must also include the demand for full citizenship rights for everyone who makes it here. Without the latter the ruthless bosses can legally and economically terrorise migrant workers into submission. The key to mobilising such a badly needed class-struggle fightback will be the waging of a fierce political struggle within the unions against the chauvinist, Laborite union bureaucrats in the fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party.

Such a party will not be built by the various pseudo-revolutionary groups that campaigned to re-elect the racist, union-busting former Keating government at the last federal elections. Tailing after the ALP, these reformist and centrist groups inevitably adapt to their masters' politics—including White Australia chauvinism. So the Workers Power group managed to write a four page pre-elections leaflet and a four page article in their international journal titled "Australian Labor: Thirteen years of social con-trick" without in either piece even once mentioning any of the former



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erode union conditions and boost the proliferation of outwork and low-wage sweatshops by creating a pool of very desperate, helpless people. The union tops have not lifted a finger to mobilise the power of the working class against the superexploitation of immigrant labour. When they have bothered to address the question, it is only to futilely beg the bosses' government to introduce protective legislation.

Enough of crawling to the enemy! There must be a determined struggle to unionise the outworkers and win full pay

Labor government's mountain of attacks against Aborigines and immigrants. Their sole reference to defending minorities in these articles was under the section "Vote Labor and Demand:..." This effectively tells the working class that the only way to defend immigrants is to once again elect an ALP government, which can then be pressured to the left. Trapped in this Laborite framework, WP, in the pitiful few words in their latest paper (*Workers Power*, July/September 1996) they manage to devote to the

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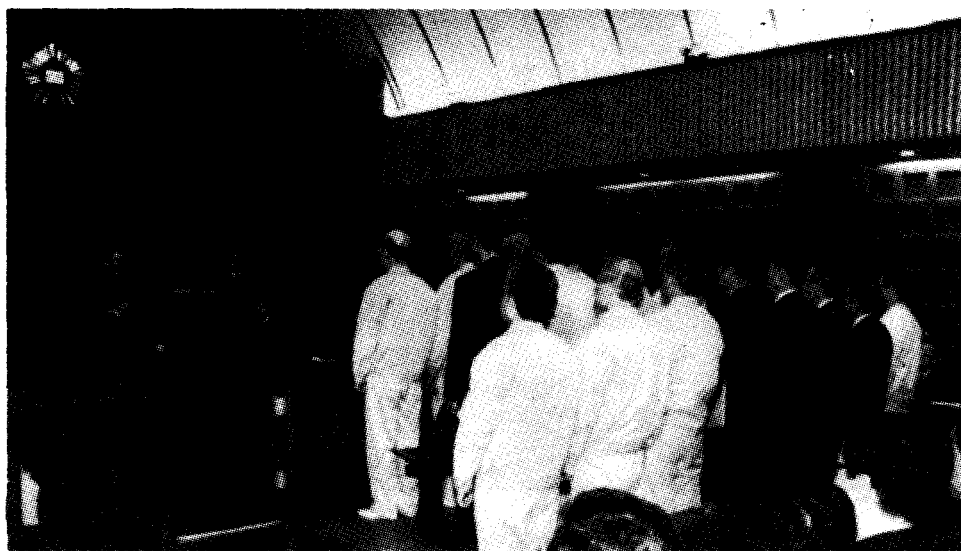
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# The Bloody Suppression of the 1980 Kwangju Uprising



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Yonhap/Reuters

South Korean army massacred 2,000 during crushing of May 1980 rebellion in Kwangju. Right, former presidents and generals Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo are on trial for this slaughter and 1979 military coup.

## South Korea: Coup Generals on Trial

For months, the attention of the South Korean population has been riveted on an unprecedented trial of two former generals and presidents, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo. Sixteen years after they ordered a bloody massacre in the city of Kwangju, Chun, Roh and 14 other defendants are being tried in Seoul for corruption, mutiny and treason for seizing power in a December 1979 coup, and for their role in the May 1980 Kwangju massacre. When the trial began in March, hundreds of protesters crowded outside the courthouse to jeer and throw eggs at the hated former military rulers. "We've waited for 16 years, and our suffering has never stopped. We've come here to rip them to pieces," exclaimed one woman, the mother of a student protester killed in Kwangju.

On 18 May 1980, student protests against the imposition of martial law the previous night gave vent to pent-up anger over years of brutal U.S.-backed

uprising as a symbol of resistance. At the same time, as an article in *CovertAction* (Spring 1996) notes, "For many Koreans, the massacre is also a symbol of all that was and continues to be wrong with the nation's close relationship to the United States."

Now, in the aftermath of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, and with the North Korean deformed workers state ever more isolated and brittle, the South Korean bourgeoisie is trying to spruce up its "democratic" credentials. The trial of Chun and Roh is intended to serve a similar purpose to the "Truth Commissions" which have become a commonplace in countries from South Africa to Argentina and El Salvador, where U.S.-backed right-wing dictatorships have been replaced by supposedly "democratic" governments. A few particularly repugnant figures may be sacrificed in order to amnesty the criminal rule of

activists in an attempt to suppress a militant textile strike in the southern industrial city of Kumi.

It was only as the result of a massive strike wave in 1987-88 that the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun, was forced to grant direct presidential elections, placing Roh in power. At the same time, the rise of an independent labor movement, breaking the stranglehold of the "AFL-CIA"-advised and government-sponsored corporatist trade-union federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity, marked by recurrent strikes and plant occupations. The current New Korea Party (NKP) government of President Kim Young Sam came to power in December 1992 with the aim of quelling years of militant working-class and student struggle. While Washington hailed the triumph of "democracy" in South Korea, we noted that "Kim's election is little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" (*Workers Vanguard [WV]* No. 574, 23 April 1993).

The trials of Chun and Roh are connected to the efforts to rein in corruption and the political influence of the military. Yet Kim's NKP comes out of a 1990 merger with Chun and Roh's old party, and today features a number of ex-generals in prominent parliamentary positions. Until recently, Kim opposed any investigation or trial of the former military rulers, urging "let us forgive" and insisting that "history [will] determine the full truth if there are still doubts about it" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 27 May 1993). Only when corruption charges against Roh threatened to engulf Kim himself did the president finally become, late last year, an advocate of "righting the wrongs of history." Former "dissident" Sohn Hak Kyu, now an NKP parliamentarian, asserts: "We need a new history. This means not only defining Kwangju as a democratic movement, but also punishing those who suppressed it" (*Guardian* [London], 20 January).

The Kwangju uprising should be remembered as part of a history of struggle running back to the resistance to Japanese colonial rule and the struggle for national independence at the end of World War II. The postwar partition of the country was one of the first acts of the Cold War. When Kim Il Sung's forces attacked the Southern puppet army, this led directly to the

counterrevolutionary onslaught by U.S.-led United Nations forces against North Korean and later Chinese troops backed by the Soviet Union. A Korean Trotskyist party, committed to military defense of North Korea, will avenge the Kwangju massacre through socialist revolution against the South Korean *chaebol* (monopoly) capitalists—linking this to proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist regime in Pyongyang—and the revolutionary reunification of the peninsula.

### Front Line in the Cold War

The division of Korea along the 38th parallel was demanded by the United States in the face of the Soviet advance into Korea in the last days of World War II. As an independence movement dominated by Communists and radical nationalists erupted throughout Korea, the U.S. ordered Japan not to surrender to "unauthorized local armed Resistance groups." U.S. occupation authorities rearmed Japanese troops to liquidate the "people's committees." After the Moscow conference in late 1945, where Stalin effectively acquiesced to U.S. plans for South Korea, repression was stepped up in the American occupation area.

Syngman Rhee (Yi Seung Man), who had spent years in exile in the United States and was the solitary nationalist leader willing to serve as a U.S. puppet, was installed in power. The same police who had rounded up and enslaved Korean women to serve as "comfort women" in imperial Japanese army brothels—and who later ran prostitution rackets that seized young women from refugee columns during the Korean War—were now recruited to wipe out any popular resistance to the American occupiers and their puppet regime. Likewise, the head of the South Korean army when the Korean War broke out had served in a special Japanese anti-guerrilla force, akin to the Nazis' Waffen-SS, which hunted down Kim Il Sung's Korean Communist guerrillas in Manchuria. Park Chung Lee (Pak Chung Hee), the military dictator who replaced Rhee in 1961, also saw active service with the Japanese army in China.

As Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings write in *Korea: The Unknown War* (Pantheon, 1988), "the occupation spent much of its first year dismantling the [people's] committees in the South, which culminated in a major rebellion in



May 1980: Insurgents patrol the streets of Kwangju after seizing weapons and military vehicles. Popular revolt drove out the army and held the city for over a week.

military dictatorship, triggering a full-scale popular revolt which drove the army out of Kwangju. Nine days later, assured of the support of their U.S. imperialist overlords, the South Korean army bloodily suppressed the uprising, labeling it a "communist revolution" orchestrated by "impure elements" and North Korean agents. Ever since, particularly during the bitter struggles of the 1980s against the military dictatorship, radical students and working-class activists have looked to the Kwangju

the whole capitalist class.

The backdrop to the current trial is a military garrison state riven by explosive class struggles and student protests against the regime and the nearly 40,000 U.S. occupation troops which have been stationed in the country since the 1950-53 Korean War. As a wave of demonstrations broke out in the lead-up to parliamentary elections this April, Kwangju police threatened to "strongly confront" the student protesters. Earlier this month, police arrested 45 union

October 1946 that spread over several provinces." In addition, the occupation authorities suppressed peasant seizures of formerly Japanese-owned land (which was then handed over to new profiteer landlords) and imposed exploitative restrictions on the sale of rice. The correspondent of the *Chicago Sun* reported on the main uprising in the southeastern city of Taegu:

"The railroad workers went on strike, followed by the phone, metal, textile and electric workers. As each strike was suppressed by the police, another one took its place. Students went into the streets to demonstrate...."

"From the city, the revolution spread into the country side and was taken over by the sharecroppers. The farmers refused to surrender their rice to the police. They attacked the homes of the landlords, and then the police stations. They tore off jail doors to release arrested sharecroppers, they burned the records, and they stole the weapons."

"Arrayed against the revolution were the police, the rightist organizations and the American Army. In one town after another, right-wing leaders offered their aid to our local commanders, or actively participated in the mass roundups of suspects. As for us, we did more than just transport the Korean police to the trouble areas, or supply arms, or maintain preventive patrols. Our troops—come here as liberators—had fired on crowds, conducted mass arrests, combed hills for suspects, and organized posses of Korean rightists, constabulary and police for mass raids."

—Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary*, quoted in Jon Halliday, "The Korean Revolution," *Socialist Revolution* (November-December 1970)

Two years later, mass unrest broke out again. Even before the Korean War began in June 1950, more than 100,000 people had been killed in the South.

Though organized resistance had in large part been suppressed in the South by 1950, sporadic guerrilla struggle continued in many areas during the war. Tens of thousands of people were killed in Seoul after Rhee's troops reoccupied it in September 1950. Contrary to anti-communists like Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" Socialist Workers Party in Britain (represented by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and the International Socialists in South Korea), the origins and development of the Korean War graphically demonstrate the intimate connection between the defense of the deformed workers states and revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism. While the Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union, Cliff capitulated to imperialist Cold War pressure, breaking from the Fourth International in 1950 through his refusal to take a side in the Korean War.

### Kwangju: "Let's Rise Up! Let's Fight!"

Traumatized by the horrors of the Korean War, in which some two million people were killed by the U.S.-led forces, the South Korean population was then subjected to a brutally authoritarian police state. South Korea's vaunted "economic miracle" of recent decades was the result of vicious exploitation imposed through naked terror. This created a large—and combative—urban proletariat in what had been a largely agricultural area. By the end of the 1970s, three-fourths of the South's 8.8 million non-agricultural workers were under the age of 29, and 44 percent of Korean women worked outside the home. A sit-in by 250 women textile workers at the Seoul office of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) in August 1979 marked the beginning of a new wave of struggles. A thousand riot police were sent to break up the sit-in and one woman was killed. This, in turn, provoked student demonstrations and mass protests in the industrial cities of Pusan and Masan in October.

The mounting popular resistance led to splits within the military regime. In late October 1979, Park was assassinated by the head of the Korean CIA and replaced by a caretaker regime. But when the new government promised concessions and elections, General Chun

attacked army headquarters and seized power. Chun proceeded to consolidate his coup with the acquiescence of the liberal opposition. Kim Young Sam, then head of the NDP, vowed that his party would cease playing the role of an opposition. His more populist alter-ego, Kim Dae Jung, released from house arrest, stressed the importance of "national security" against North Korea and called for restoring dictator Park's 1963 draft constitution.

But Chun's coup was met with growing popular resistance from student demonstrations and labor struggles. The *Los Angeles Times* (5 May 1980) reported with alarm: "Sitdown strikes, walkouts and other labor protests, some of them violent, are spreading across South Korea in a wave of worker uprisings." In Pusan, a thousand steel workers clashed with cops. In Sabuk, coal miners attacked a police station. On May 14-15, more than 50,000 students demonstrated in Seoul, followed a day later by 20,000 in Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla province and the country's fourth-largest city. At midnight on May 17, Chun declared martial law, closing universities, banning strikes and all political activity, and arresting thousands of student leaders and worker activists along with prominent bourgeois opposition politicians like Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung.

The next day, a Sunday, protesting students in Kwangju defied the martial

law about what to do next. All called for Chun's ouster and an end to martial law. Initially a committee dominated by local officials and dignitaries sought to negotiate with the government on the basis of seven demands, including no return of combat troops to Kwangju, the release of all those arrested and no reprisals. But this grouping was shortly supplanted by a more radical committee, which opposed compromise and sought to organize arms distribution and the defense of the city. Commissions were established to handle public administration, external affairs, planning, analysis of the situation, security and public information, which included the publication of a news journal from May 18 to May 26.

On the night of May 26, expecting the army to attack the next day, women and youth were told to go home, leaving a core of several hundred militants in the provincial administration building. The army stormed the city with tanks, flame throwers and heavy machine guns, killing scores more. The central government building was taken after a three-hour gun battle.

Other cities in the southwest—the port of Makpo, Hwasun and Polkyo—also came under insurgent control during these days. Draconian repression was to follow. An official report of 9 February 1981 speaks of more than 57,000 arrested in a "campaign of social purification" and 39,000 sent to military camps

(*Tribune*, 6 March). However, recently released Pentagon and State Department documents confirm what was obvious at the time: that despite occasional counsels of "moderation," the U.S. knew in advance of the plan to use the Special Forces thugs to suppress the Kwangju uprising, and aided and abetted the military crackdown (see "Kwangju Massacre: Washington Gave the Green Light," *WV* No. 646, 24 May 1996). The U.S. repaid Chun by rolling out the red carpet when this bloodthirsty dictator visited Washington in February 1981, the first foreign head of state to be invited by Ronald Reagan after his inauguration.

Even today, as the South Korean rulers undergo a bit of cosmetic house-cleaning by trying Chun and Roh, other bourgeois spokesmen continue to stand by these butchers for their services on behalf of the "war against Communism."

A recent editorial in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (4 April) seeks to amnesty Chun and Roh:

"In terms of substance, moreover, there is an excellent case to be made that what Mr. Roh, and especially Mr. Chun, did in 1979 saved the country from disaster. Mr. Park's assassination, it is worth recalling, came at a time when the balance of power between North and South favoured the former and support for Seoul from the Carter administration was uncertain."

In the 1976 American presidential election campaign, held in the immediate aftermath of U.S. imperialism's defeat in



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law edicts. The center of a historically deprived area, Kwangju had a history of political revolt, going back to the post-WWII people's committees and further still to an anti-colonial student uprising in 1929. On the afternoon of May 18, 3,000 paratroopers and "elite" Special Forces, who had been moved into the city in preparation for the declaration of martial law, waded indiscriminately into the street crowds. During the Vietnam War, the Special Forces had earned particular notoriety for their brutality as part of the 300,000-strong South Korean mercenary contingent for U.S. imperialism. Now, in Kwangju, these elite killers murdered hundreds and beat, bayoneted and tortured thousands more in a matter of days.

Mass outrage swelled; an American Peace Corps volunteer in Kwangju recalled: "It was at this point I began to hear murmurs from the crowd—Let's rise up! Let's fight!—not from students, but from ordinary people in the streets." Taxi and bus drivers offered their vehicles to the demonstrators. People began to arm themselves—first with kitchen knives, sickles and pipes, then by seizing weapons from police stations and armories—5,400 rifles and 318 military vehicles, according to the government's own records. In places, the soldiers fired blindly as they were overwhelmed by the enraged masses. On May 21, as 200,000 people took to the streets, students installed a machine gun on the roof of Chonnam University Hospital. That evening the army withdrew from the city. Mass rallies continued, as debate raged



Kyunghang Shinmum

**Turmoil in today's South Korea. Left: Police attack student demonstrators in Seoul in March. Above: Mass rally of illegal Korean Confederation of Trade Unions.**

for "physical and psychological re-education." Many people simply disappeared and were buried secretly. The official claim of about 200 dead is still propagated by various imperialist mouthpieces, but the best estimate is that around 2,000 were killed. Official figures of the arrested and killed indicate the heavy involvement of industrial workers alongside students.

To this day, Washington denies any responsibility for what happened at Kwangju. A State Department spokesman recently insisted, "We have denied on multiple occasions that we had advance knowledge of what was going to happen at Kwangju or that we gave our approval for it" (*International Herald*

*Vietnam*, Democratic candidate Carter called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea. The following year Major General John Singlaub, then chief of staff of U.S. forces in Korea, was fired for publicly denouncing Carter's call. But by 1979, U.S. imperialism was seething about its humiliations in Iran and Carter had proclaimed his "human rights" Cold War II crusade against the Soviet Union. As mass protests rocked the streets of South Korea in October 1979, visiting U.S. defense secretary Harold Brown went out of his way to reaffirm South Korea's "pivotal" and "vital" role in U.S. strategic interests.

In the years 1980-87, 1.7 million new

*continued on page 8*

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## South Korea...

(continued from page 7)

manufacturing jobs were created in South Korea. Some of the world's largest steel mills, car plants, shipyards and television factories were built there. Wages were low and working conditions horrendous. The combative young proletariat intersected with students and petty bourgeois deeply alienated by the brutal dictatorship and the continuing presence of the domineering U.S. military. Underground circles talked about revolution while the workers sought to organize illegally. The memory of Kwangju was a rallying point for thousands of radicals and labor activists.

Some sense of the radical students and labor activists is gained from a description of the political evolution of Yoon Sang Won, a 29-year-old leader of the struggle committee which sought to lead the uprising and who died in the final shootout at the central administration building:

"Simply opposing Park was no longer

enough, he discovered. Students sought a more all-encompassing, progressive view of the world. Yoon and others devoured Hegelian philosophy, Third World radical texts and Western books on economic history, capitalism, socialism and communism. Renting a room in a Kwangju slum, Yoon watched the wretched lives of the slum-dwellers and agonised over his future. Should he become a salaried man and help put his younger siblings through school? Or should he opt for an entirely different direction, organising a social movement?"

— *Far Eastern Economic Review*,  
26 May 1994

The consciousness of the participants in the 1980 Kwangju uprising was quite mixed. Demonstrators often waved Korean flags and sang the national anthem. There is no evidence of attempts to organize the workers into factory councils and soviet-type bodies, nor of any clear idea what to do once the army had been driven out. The consciousness evidenced during the Kwangju uprising remains indicative of much of the current South Korean left, which blends vague Marxist ideas with nationalist sentiment, often expressed as sympathy for the bizarrely nepotistic Stalinist regime in the North, particularly its appeals for

"peaceful reunification." By and large they subscribe to the Stalinist/Menshevik "two stage" theory, advocating a "democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) revolution first (some precede this with a "national liberation" stage), while relegating the "socialist stage" to an indeterminate future.

Caught between the U.S. and Japanese imperialist powers, South Korea continues to be a powder keg. South Korean "democracy" is limited and unstable. The draconian National Security Laws remain in place. In the last few years the South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons have been congratulating themselves about a decline in working-class and student struggle, conditioned in part by the death of the Soviet Union, as well as by South Korea's recent "democratic" facelift and the rise of a more affluent middle class. In any case, spontaneous upsurges cannot continue indefinitely in the absence of a revolutionary workers party to lead these struggles toward the seizure of state power.

The volatile situation in South Korea

cries out for a Trotskyist party based on the strategy of permanent revolution, the understanding that only the working class leading the rural masses and other oppressed layers in a socialist revolution can solve the democratic tasks, as it undertakes the expropriation of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and seeks to extend revolution internationally, particularly to the economic powerhouse of Japan.

Such a party will be internationalist to the core, championing the rights of the increasing numbers of Chinese Korean, Filipino and other minority workers. It will stand for defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialist and South Korean provocations, while fighting for political revolution to remove the Stalinist Kim Jong Il regime in North Korea. It would also reach out to the working masses of China to carry out proletarian political revolution to thwart the growing danger of capitalist counterrevolution from within. *For the revolutionary reunification of Korea!*

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*  
No. 646, 24 May 1996

## Russia...

(continued from page 3)

the game—e.g., that CEOs don't simply get offed by their competitors. And, of course, the same holds true for executives of multinationals and foreign banks operating in Russia.

The elections indicated that Russia's new exploiters are beginning to cohere as a politically conscious class. In late April, 13 major bankers, oil tycoons and industrial barons issued a barely veiled appeal that the elections—which had provoked warnings of civil war on all sides—be called off in favor of "a political compromise that can prevent acute conflicts that threaten Russia's basic interests" (*Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press*, 22 May). The proposed compromise was the formation of a broad coalition government including the KPRF, on the condition that it "not insist that society repudiate the hard-won achievements of the past decade." The statement ended by warning that "our country's entrepreneurs have the necessary resources and will to influence both politicians who are too unprincipled and politicians who are too uncompromising." The call for a coalition government was also taken up by Zyuganov and Lebed.

What is clear here is that until the Western imperialists weighed in heavily, many of Russia's new capitalists were not wedded to Yeltsin's re-election. But thanks to the deep pockets of the International Monetary Fund, Yeltsin was able to piece off those sectors of the new exploiters, who in the end united behind his candidacy.

### Centrists in the Camp of Russian Chauvinism

When Yeltsin seized the reins of political power in August 1991, the ICL declared, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" In contrast, much of the left internationally enthused over the "democratic" capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and supported by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. Today, with Yeltsin widely despised, not only in Russia but even in mainstream Western social-democratic and liberal circles, many fake lefts have hopped on the KPRF bandwagon.

A prime example is the British centrist Workers Power (WP) group, which called for a "critical vote" to Zyuganov's KPRF as "an instrument of pressure for workers immediate needs and demands" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). Even while conceding that "its main ideological core is its repeatedly proclaimed patriotism," Workers Power prettifies the KPRF as

a "bourgeois workers party" with "both historic and current links to the degenerated workers' state and the working class."

WP's ludicrous assertion that Russia remains a degenerated workers state is little more than a cynical cover for its earlier shameless support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Moreover, the idea that the KPRF is any kind of workers party is a complete fiction. Unlike the remnants of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Poland and Hungary, which transformed themselves into social-democratic parties linked to the trade-union movement, the KPRF is not based on or organically tied to the mass organizations of the working class, and it does not even claim to represent the class interests of the proletariat.

WP praises Zyuganov's outfit for stopping the fascist demagogue Zhirinovskiy "from monopolising the discontent of millions." In fact, the KPRF has largely supplanted Zhirinovskiy with similar chauvinist/populist appeals. For years, the Russian Stalinist has-beens have cohabited with outright fascists in a "red-

Russia sounds like it was lifted straight from the anti-Semitic tsarist forgery, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which has again become a bible for Russian chauvinists. Zyuganov rants:

"Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour. The Jewish Diaspora traditionally controlled the financial life of the [European] continent and became more and more the owner of the controlling interest in all the stocks of Western civilization and its socioeconomic system."

—quoted in *New York Review of Books* (23 May)

### Russian Nationalism and Sham "Anti-Imperialism"

As Geoffrey Hosking, a professor of Russian history at the University of London, pointed out: "If one disregards the rhetoric for a moment, however, then much of the difference between Yeltsin and the Communists vanishes" (*London Independent*, 5 April). Why, then, the hostility toward the KPRF among the NATO powers? To some measure, the imperialists were concerned that a KPRF electoral victory might lead to increased expectations among the downtrodden



Triukhenko/NY Times  
**"Free market" misery: coal miners in Vladivostok protest non-payment of wages.**

brown coalition." Zyuganov himself is a virtual embodiment of this grotesque bloc: he is a former head of the fascistic Russian National Sobor and a prominent figure in the "left-right" National Salvation Front.

Having called on Russian workers to vote for the KPRF candidate, Workers Power then cynically proclaimed—after he lost!—that "Zyuganov does not deserve the confidence of those millions...who voted for him," remarking that "Zyuganov's thoughts on religion, patriotism and Russia's national destiny have been widely denounced as un-Marxist" (*Workers Power*, July-August 1996). "Un-Marxist"?! Zyuganov is a raving Russian chauvinist. One of his chief advisers is the rabid anti-Semite Aleksandr Prokhanov. And Zyuganov himself is no less an anti-Semite. His tract *I Believe in*

Russian masses. But the fake-lefts' Pollyannaish assertions to the contrary, there is no reason to believe that this would have taken the form of class struggle. The KPRF's appeal is based on Russian chauvinism with a veneer of populist rhetoric. A Zyuganov victory would likely have intensified chauvinist backwardness within the working class.

More importantly, the NATO powers opposed the KPRF not because it stands for communism in any sense but rather because it represents Russian imperialist ambitions. Even under Yeltsin, there have been serious tensions between Washington and Moscow, for example, over the expansion of NATO into East Europe and the interests of American oil companies in the Caucasian oil fields. The KPRF's talk of "restoring the Soviet Union" is in fact a call for an expanded Russian-dominated imperialist state.

The small British Socialist Action group, formerly a denizen of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat swamp, openly embraces the KPRF's chauvinist "patriotism." Its position in this regard is both more intellectually honest and more reactionary than that of Workers Power. An article in *Socialist Action* (April-May 1996) lays out the core of its position, that defense of the Russian state against Western imperialist influence and pressure is in the present historic juncture progressive:

"With Russia's existence once again threatened, progressive patriotic demands, such as opposing NATO expansion and rejecting IMF interference in economic policy, are therefore completely entwined with the other demands necessary to defend the Russian people from social, economic and national catastrophe."

As the Chechen war so clearly demonstrates, the main targets of Russian nationalism are not the NATO powers and IMF but the non-Russian peoples of the former USSR. Far from being some sort of ersatz "anti-imperialism," the KPRF's chauvinist program reflects the real interests of the new Russian bourgeoisie, which understands that to build a capitalist state strong enough to play a world role requires that it dominate and exploit the industrial and agricultural resources of the Ukraine, the oil fields of the Caucasus, the mineral wealth of Kazakhstan and the cotton fields of Central Asia. And that is the common program of Yeltsin, Lebed, Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy. Thus the position of Socialist Action amounts to support for Russian subjugation and oppression of the Ukrainians, Azeris, Georgians, Uzbeks, etc.

For self-described leftists to vie with nationalist demagogues in East Europe and the former USSR on their own chauvinist terrain can only further disorient the working class and strengthen the system of capitalist exploitation to the benefit of world imperialism. The Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, culminating in counterrevolution, offers a powerful if negative proof that the interests of the working class can only be defended with the perspective of international proletarian revolution. As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet, *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled* (August 1993):

"The proletariat which made the October Revolution learned from Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks that it was part of an international struggle. It understood that its only prospect for survival lay in the extension of the revolution to more advanced industrial powers...."

"Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the workers of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the grotesque horrors they now confront."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*  
No. 649, 2 August 1996.

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST



## Education...

(continued from page 12)

the picket lines. We emphasised that to wage the hard-fought strike action that is needed requires breaking the alliance with the capitalist campus administrations. Abolish the administration! For student-staff-worker control of the universities! As part of our revolutionary perspectives we argued for the need to open up higher education to the working class, the poor, the unemployed, Aborigines, immigrants, by demanding open admissions, no fees and a full living allowance for all, including overseas students.

In contrast the ostensible "revolutionary" groups in the student movement have been lining up students behind the politics of the NTEU bureaucrats. At the joint student/NTEU rallies these junior fakers raise no criticism of the NTEU tops, while leading chants like "Liberals out!", which translates into: get the Labor Party back in government. And aping the craftist, pro-capitalist Labor Party tops, they betray the elementary principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." On 7 August International Socialist Organisation (ISO) members were actively shepherding scabs across the picket lines at UNSW. On 30 May Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance (DSP) supporters led a group of students across the Sydney University picket line. And on the same day Workers Power (WP) were handing out leaflets to scabs crossing the picket lines at RMIT in Melbourne (until the growing militancy of the picket line made this a mite embarrassing). (A Workers Power member was overheard remarking that they should not have printed so many leaflets as not as many people were crossing the picket line as they had expected!)

Earlier this year our comrades in the Spartacist League/U.S. polemicised against a letter by the "Bolshevik Tendency" which defended their members and other fake socialists who crossed the picket lines of striking building maintenance workers in New York City:

"Solid picket lines that nobody and nothing crosses are not only central to winning

labor battles, they go to the core of the question of workers revolution—the need to unite the working class in struggle around its common class interests. As Leon Trotsky noted in the Transitional Program, 'strike pickets are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army'."

— "Socialist Scabs Squirem,"  
*Workers Vanguard* No. 641,  
15 March 1996

Meanwhile Socialist Alternative (SA) boasts about the work of their NTEU members at La Trobe University: "We are talking to workers from other unions. The security guards seem pretty well organised..." (*Socialist Alternative*, July 1996). The security guards are the hired thugs of the capitalist campus administrations. Security guards, like the capitalist cops with whom they are often intertwined, exist for the purpose of protecting capitalist private property and enforcing capitalist exploitation. Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions!

These Laborite groups have a sorry history of defending the existence of these direct agents of capitalist class repression in the labour movement. The ISO/SA's co-thinkers in Britain and Canada brag about organising prison guards. Militant defends the line that cops are "workers in uniform." Workers Power supports the right of "rank and file" cops to organise unions and to strike. This reflects the touching faith of these organisations in the capitalist state, at the core of which are these "armed bodies of men" whose purpose it is to defend capitalist class rule.

Now the misnamed Workers Power grouping has stepped forward as defence lawyers for the entire fake left with a scurrilous "polemic" which attacks us for "effective abstention" from the class struggle and "shrill denunciations and provocation of other left groups" ("Who is sectarian?," *Workers Power*, July/September 1996). What has got their goat is that when NTEU members at La Trobe University walked off campus on 8 May to attend a stopwork rally in the city our comrades agitated for students to boycott classes in solidarity. We carried a placard: "Support the NTEU stopwork! One Out, All Out!—from 11.30," and we boarded the buses carrying striking unionists into the city. Mean-

while the left was building an anti-VSU (Voluntary Student Unionism) student rally on the campus.

Workers Power says that we "concluded that all who supported the La Trobe action were 'scabs.'" This is a barefaced lie; we have made no such claim. At the same time, contrary to WP, the student rally was not "specifically called" to coincide with the NTEU action, nor was it "a solidarity action, intended to illustrate the common struggle of students and workers." In the leaflets advertising this rally there was *no* call for students to boycott scab classes. Amongst all the "defend student unionism" talk, the *only* time the NTEU strike was even mentioned was to lamely argue that since many classes were cancelled students had no excuse not to attend the student rally. We took our stand *in action* with those striking unionists walking off campus and fought for others to join us,

are part of this drive. They also want to disarm the population through gun control, deny women access to the RU486 abortion pill, censor the Internet and even restrict children's access to computer games! Technological breakthroughs are used not to make our lives easier but to police our lives even more. They are introducing the V-chip to restrict our viewing of "violence" on television. What next: an S(sex)-chip, an A (adult themes)-chip? Their aim is to ensure a pliant and docile population, because they know that their decaying system can offer youth nothing more than unemployment, dwindling social services, racism and ultimately war.

What is desperately needed is the building of an authentic Trotskyist party to lead the struggles of the working class and oppressed to world socialist revolution. As we concluded in the document of the Second International Conference



ASp photo

Spartacist supporters join NTEU picket line at UNSW, 30 May.

and we're proud of it. For WP, as for the union sellouts they imitate, "solidarity" means pure speechifying and hot air.

Today the ruling class and its state is launching ever broader attacks against democratic rights and political dissent, as well as a broad drive for social conformity. The repression of student activists and the attacks on student organisations

of the International Communist League in 1992:

"Instead of four-fifths of the world's population being ground down in the struggle for personal survival, this will make modern technique, science, culture and education available to all, with a corresponding explosion in creative human energy."

Join us in the fight for such a communist future! Join the SYCs! ■

## Immigration...

(continued from page 5)

plethora of anti-immigrant attacks, cannot get it up to even note Howard's draconian moves to further exclude immigrants from welfare. After all, the practice of denying immigrants access to social security benefits was the ALP's baby.

On the other hand, the Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Socialist Labour League) has of late been posturing as a defender of immigrants. This is quite something for this outfit which is notorious in this country and internationally (via its connection with the "International Committee of the Fourth International" [ICFI]) for its militant indifference to the particular needs of the most vulnerable groups within capitalist society—minorities, women and gays. In the early seventies, Tim Wohlforth, then leader of the U.S. section of the ICFI, the Workers League (now headed by ICFI supremo David North) scandalously declared "The working class hates faggots, women's libbers and hippies, and so do we!"

Anyone attracted to the SEP should be aware that these political bandits change their political line more often than they change their shirts. For decades they sowed illusions in the ACTU/ALP by calling on the ACTU to organise general strikes and for the ALP left to expel the "rights" and form a workers government. But following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated

workers state and capitalist pronouncements of the "death of communism," the SEP/ICFI declared that every tendency in the workers movement other than themselves was a tool of the bosses and wrote off the unions (as a whole, not just their leaderships) as nothing more than "agents of capital." Denouncing any union struggle as useless and a "fraud," the SEP have effectively lined up behind the bosses union-busting drive, which if successful will lead to a further explosion of social reaction targeting Aborigines, immigrants, women and all the oppressed.

The SEP/ICFI is haunted by the scandal of the late seventies/early eighties when they took hundreds of thousands of dollars from reactionary Arab regimes like Libya and Iraq in return for acting as press agents for these regimes, hailing Qaddafi's Libyan "Green Revolution" and defending Saddam Hussein's execution of Iraqi Communist Party members. Having failed to account for their acceptance of bourgeois blood money in return for political favours, the SEP/ICFI have now grotesquely flipped over to denying the right of self-determination for any oppressed nation; from Sri Lanka's oppressed Tamils (where the ICFI's section in Lanka refuses to even call for the withdrawal of the Lankan army from its occupation of the Tamil areas in the north) to India's oppressed Kashmiris and Punjabi Sikhs. The ICFI denounces the struggle of the Quebecois in Canada for independence, worried about "the continued existence of the 127-year-old Canadian nation," thus taking their stand with the Anglo-chauvinists who deny

Quebec's right to independence. Closer to home, the SEP refuses to call for independence for East Timor, or even to demand the withdrawal of Indonesian troops. So much for their "anti-imperialist" credentials! (For further details, see the two-part series "David North 'Abolishes' the Right to Self-Determination" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 626, 28 July 1995 and No. 627, 25 August 1995.)

In contrast to all these fake leftists, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) of which the Spartacist League of Australia is a section, has fought uncompromisingly against the New World Disorder attacks on minorities from Europe, to Japan to

Australia. What is needed is to forge an authentic communist party through recruiting the most class-conscious workers, immigrants, women and youth to the Trotskyist program. Such a party will lead the working class and behind them all the oppressed masses in a revolutionary fight to overthrow this racist, capitalist system and establish a workers state. Building a planned, collectivised economy, a workers government would ensure jobs, quality social services and decent working conditions for all, laying the basis for a socialist society free from racial and sexual discrimination. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

### Spartacist League Class Series

#### — The Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership —

##### SYDNEY

- |  |              |
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All classes are held on Saturday starting at 2pm in The Keg Room Hotel, 20 Broadway, Broadway (opposite UTS).

For further information contact the Spartacist League on (02) 9281 2181

## Australian Imperialism Calls the Shots, PNG Pulls the Trigger, CRA Reaps the Profits

# Australia's PNG Neo-Colony Attempts Bloody "Final Solution" in Bougainville

In mid-June the government of Papua New Guinea (PNG) announced a "final offensive" code-named Operation High Speed to "wipe out" the rebel Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and "destroy forever" its goal of an independent Bougainville. Nearly half of PNG's armed forces, some 1800 troops, massed on the island for a two-pronged offensive, while the border with the neighbouring Solomon Islands was sealed. Thousands of villagers were ordered to evacuate potential combat zones "or face the consequences," forced to join some 70,000 Bougainvilleans (*over 40 percent of the island's population*) living in appallingly overcrowded and disease-ridden conditions in government "care centres." In May it was revealed that the PNG government had distributed hit lists of key BRA leaders to be assassinated on sight.

The war in Bougainville has been brain-trusted, financed and armed directly by Canberra. At stake for Australian imperialism are its massively lucrative investments in the region, such as BHP's Ok Tedi gold/copper mine, and the stability of its PNG neocolony. The aim of this bloody war is to reopen CRA's giant Panguna copper mine, shut

down in 1989 as a result of the BRA's guerrilla war, and get the billion-dollar profits flowing again. It was the Hawke Labor government which in 1989 supplied the four Vietnam-era Iroquois helicopters to be used as murderous gunships in Bougainville, flown by Australian "mercenaries," and Australia continues to supply millions of dollars in annual military aid to PNG.

In the seven-year war 10,000 Bougainvilleans have died, mostly of preventable diseases, as necessary medical supplies were cut off by PNG's blockade of the island, enforced by Australian-supplied patrol boats. Hundreds of Bougainvilleans have been massacred and tortured. The Australian government has actively harassed Bougainville solidarity activists like Rosemary Gillespie, who attempted to collect and ship medical supplies to Bougainville. The blood of the dead in Bougainville drips not just from the hands of the PNG military but also from those of their puppet masters in Canberra. All PNG troops and police out of Bougainville! The Australian working class must fight for the defeat of Australia/PNG's murderous war against the Bougainville people!

Australian workers know well the rapacious greed of the CRAs and BHPs. Last year saw a national joint strike by miners and maritime workers in solidarity with CRA workers at Weipa fighting against CRA's attempts to bust the union through the imposition of individual contracts. The Weipa strikers were supported by the local Aboriginal community as well as the Bougainville Freedom Movement. Aborigines in Cape York have been resisting CRA's efforts, with the backing of the Queensland and Commonwealth governments, to impose the giant Century Zinc complex at the expense of their land rights claims. Maritime, transport and mining union members, themselves targeted by the Howard government's draconian anti-union legislation, should take up the fight in defence of Aboriginal rights as well as against the murderous war in Bougainville. For solidarity action in defence of the Bougainville people and other Pacific victims of Australian imperialism! Black ban all military shipments to PNG!

Already by the end of July, after fierce fighting in several centres, it was reported that PNG's "final offensive" was a

failure and half of the PNG troops had been withdrawn. It was fear of such a humiliating failure by PNG's notoriously undisciplined and discontented armed forces that lay behind Australian foreign minister Downer's earlier warnings to their venal PNG overseers about the offensive. Now the PNG government of millionaire prime minister Julius Chan is regurgitating Australia's calls for a "negotiated solution." However, the BRA's leader Francis Ona has vowed to fight on until full independence.

As Marxists, we oppose the attempt to force Bougainville to stay within the artificial boundaries of PNG, carved out by British colonialism and now serving only the interests of Australian domination. With over 700 different languages and an infrastructure that consists of little more than the means for Australian mining and timber companies to loot the resources of the country, PNG is a literal goldmine for greedy Australian multinational companies and a living hell for its exploited people. It will take socialist revolution to end Australian imperialism's bloody oppression of its colonial slaves in PNG and the tiny island states of the South Pacific.

## East Timor...

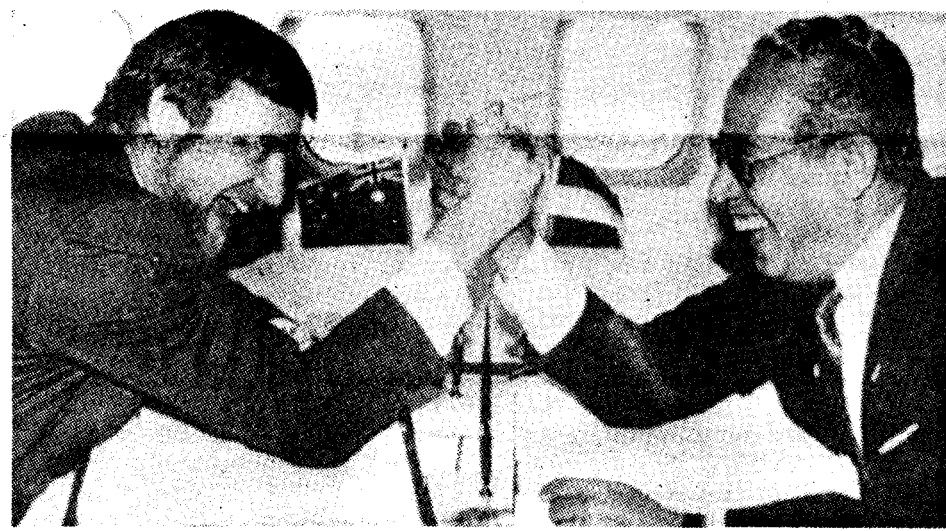
(continued from page 12)

federation, charging him with subversion, a *capital crime*. Following a demonstration by 20,000 workers in Surabaya on 8 July, Dita Sari, president of the Indonesian Centre for Labour Struggles (PPBI), was arrested and charged with "spreading hatred against the government," a charge carrying a 20-year jail sentence. Twenty-five PRD activists were arrested and brutally beaten at the same demonstration. Hands off the PRD, SBSI and PPBI! Free all the anti-regime protesters!

The current upheaval in Jakarta sharply highlights the need to build a revolutionary vanguard party of the Indonesian workers to fight for a workers and peasants government. Worried imperialist investors in Japan, America and Australia are clearly looking for potential bourgeois alternatives to put in place a more "democratic" facade should Suharto's regime crack. Such a regime would only serve to hold the masses in check long enough for the rulers to re-stabilise the situation through a new bloody repression of the awakened Indonesian working people.

Anti-government protesters in Jakarta raised slogans against the Indonesian military's presence in East Timor. Defence of the national rights of the oppressed nationalities within the Indonesian archipelago is a vital question for Indonesian revolutionaries. We print below an adaptation of our leaflet, issued on 21 June, on the fight for East Timor's independence.

For 350 years, the people of East Timor suffered the brutal rule of Portuguese imperialism. As the Portuguese empire collapsed in 1974/75, the Indonesian capitalist military regime invaded and annexed East Timor. Twenty years of bitter resistance has ensued, with over 200,000 East Timorese killed by gunfire, disease or starvation. As Marxists and Leninists who recognise the



Former Australian foreign minister Evans and Indonesian counterpart Alatas celebrate signing of Timor Gap agreement.

right of self-determination, we of the Spartacist League of Australia (Australian section of the International Communist League) demand: independence for East Timor! Indonesian troops out of East Timor! Australia hands off!

For communists in Australia, it is a special obligation to mobilise the working class in concrete solidarity action with the East Timorese people and against the Australian capitalist class, which is deeply complicit in the Indonesian slaughter in East Timor. In September 1975, then Labor prime minister Gough Whitlam signalled Australia's encouragement of the Indonesian invasion, telling Suharto and his generals "An independent East Timor would be an unviable state, and a potential threat to the area." Under both Liberal and Labor governments, Australia was the only country in the world to recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

During Hawke/Keating's Labor rule, economic, military and diplomatic ties with Suharto's "New Order" were strengthened; in recent years, the Australian military has stepped up its arming and training of the Indonesian military (helping fill the breach when the U.S. cut off military aid following the 1991 Dili massacre), including of the elite

Kopassus counter-insurgency units, the killers who are the cutting edge of repression throughout the archipelago. Under Labor, the Australian government signed, the Timor Gap Treaty, nothing less than imperialist theft of the oil and gas reserves off Timor's coast. In its last months in power the Keating government signed a highly secretive "defence treaty" with Jakarta which included a commitment to future joint military action in the event of "adverse challenges" to the Suharto regime. The treaty was seen throughout the region as aimed centrally at containing China. Significantly the (now Tory) Australian government was virtually alone in the world in fully supporting the U.S. Seventh Fleet's highly provocative and sinister exercise in gunboat diplomacy against China in "defence" of Taiwan in March this year (see "Down with U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy Against China!", *Australasian Spartacist*, Autumn 1996).

Down with the Timor Gap Treaty! Down with the Canberra/Jakarta military treaty! No arming and training of the butchers of the East Timorese and Indonesian masses! We seek to mobilise the Australian working class in concrete action, like black bans and political strikes, in solidarity with our Indonesian class brothers and sisters and the

oppressed people of East Timor! Australian workers have taken such action before, as in the black bans of Dutch shipping (the "Black Armada") during the 1945-49 Indonesian independence struggle, the refusal of wharries and seamen to ship Australian military goods to be used against the revolutionary forces during the Vietnam War and the black bans on Indonesian shipping following the Dili massacre.

Despite the absolutely clear, blood-drenched record of Australian imperialism, most of the Australian reformist "left" beseech the Australian state to play a "progressive, democratic" role in the region. Amongst those building the most dangerous illusions in the Australian capitalist state is the recently established Workers Power group. The right-centrist Workers Power accompanied its call to vote Labor in the recent federal elections with a demand that the then Labor government "Break all military and diplomatic ties with the Indonesian state." Break all diplomatic ties? In the real world of international capitalist "diplomacy" such a break is universally regarded as the precursor to war. Workers Power's grotesque call on the Keating government to take war-like measures against Indonesia is testimony to their gut loyalty to Australian social democracy which from its foundation has promoted amongst the working people the core historic racist fear of White Australia capitalism—the "threat" from what the Laborites have openly proclaimed as the "yellow hordes to the north." However unlikely at present, in any future military conflict which pitted Australian imperialism against neo-colonial Indonesia, communists in Australia would stand forthrightly for military defence of Indonesia.

One of the groups which pretends to be the "best builders" of East Timor "solidarity," the Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance (which publishes *Green Left Weekly*) puts all its efforts into appealing to the Australian state to "do the right thing" by the East Timorese. The DSP is a major organiser of the "East Timor—Its Future in the Asia/Pacific" conference which is part of its



Indonesian troops in East Timor display heads of resistance fighters.

efforts to mobilise liberal/moralist pressure on the Australian government. The DSP recently has even downplayed the issue of East Timor's independence, emphasising instead the call to "Withdraw Australian recognition of the annexation of East Timor." The DSP plaintively pleads to Australian "democratic diplomacy," while the Australian imperialists are up to the elbows in the blood of the East Timorese people! Meanwhile, leaders of the East Timor petty-bourgeois nationalist Fretilin maintain illusions that the former Portuguese colonialists will "free East Timor" in the salons of the imperialist-dominated United Nations or the International High Court in the Hague.

The notion that White Australian imperialism can be pressured into being the "big brother" friend of the East Timorese and the other myriad oppressed peoples in the Southeast Asian and Pacific region is an obscenity. Just ask the people of Bougainville, where thousands have died in a years-long starvation blockade imposed by the Papua New Guinea military which is brain-trusted, financed and armed directly out of Canberra. In June the PNG government, armed with \$16 million in annual Australian military aid, announced its biggest ever military operation to "wipe out" the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (see article, page 10).

Australia supplied its troops first for the defence of "King and Empire" for the British. Since World War II, Australian imperialism has been a junior jackal of U.S. imperialism, maintaining the spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar and making itself a staging post for imperialist intervention in Asia. Australia dispatches its military forces at the U.S.' behest, from imperialism's counter-revolutionary wars against Vietnam and Korea to the "New World Order" operations against Iraq and Somalia. Workers and the oppressed must not place one iota of faith in the "democratic" pretensions of the bloody Australian capitalist state. As the Howard government prepares new attacks on Australian workers, students, immigrants and Aborigines, basing itself on 13 years of Labor's assaults on the oppressed, we say: the main enemy is at home! For workers revolution in Australia!

### For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Permanent Revolution versus the Popular Front

The alliance between Australian imperialism and the Indonesian bourgeoisie dates from the 1965 bloodbath when the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the largest communist party in the capitalist world and commanding the allegiance of millions of workers and peasants, was physically annihilated, with up to one million dead. The Australian Security Intelligence Service (ASIS) provided crucial assistance to the American CIA, which drew up "hit lists" of PKI supporters to be exterminated by the mili-

tary and their allied Islamic death squads. Labor's Keating spoke for the Australian bourgeoisie as a whole when he described the anti-communist slaughter as an "historic" event which created a "benign strategic environment" for capitalist rule in Southeast Asia.

As our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. noted of the Vietnam War in 1968:

"The National Liberation Front's successful Tet offensive has made it clear that a U.S. military victory will come about only through a vast increase in troops and continued heavy fighting for several years. The central aim of American imperialism in Southeast Asia—the containment and isolation of China—had already been achieved with the massacre of the Indonesian Communists in 1965, especially in the context of the Sino-Soviet split. A large section of the U.S. ruling class would now like to see an end to the Viet Nam war through negotiation, and would be willing to come to terms with whatever government could be formed in South Viet Nam."

—Spartacist supplement,  
"Johnson Goes, Imperialism Remains", May 1968

Amongst those who became bourgeois defeatist on Vietnam after Tet and Indonesia 1965 was the Labor Party led by Gough Whitlam. Whitlam had initially supported the Menzies government's eager despatch of Australian troops to Vietnam in 1963. It would take another decade of heroic struggle by the Vietnamese workers and peasants against imperialist military barbarism for the revolution to win its tremendous battlefield victory in 1975. And it was no accident that barely six months after the liberation of Saigon Suharto, with the complicity of the U.S. and the Whitlam government, invaded East Timor to crush the left-wing nationalist Fretilin to prevent the establishment of another "communist state" in Southeast Asia.

In the wake of the 1965 anti-communist blood-letting Japanese imperialism, vying with U.S. imperialism for dominance in the Asia/Pacific region, moved to become the pre-eminent foreign investor in Indonesia. And over the past decade Australian investment has grown exponentially to the point that at the end of 1994 Australian capitalism was the tenth largest foreign investor in the country with a heavy emphasis on mineral extraction.

But today, Suharto's "New Order" dictatorship is visibly losing its grip, with seething discontent breaking out amongst the working class, peasantry and oppressed national minorities. *Green Left Weekly* (17 July) reports an 8 July action of 20,000 workers in Surabaya, East Java, which was attacked by the military with over 25 activists of the People's Democratic Party (PRD) arrested, some facing charges of subversion. Free the arrested PRD activists! The venal Java-centred Indonesian bourgeoisie can only meet with violent repression the democratic aspirations of the people of East Timor, Irian Jaya, Aceh or the numerous other national minorities, the demands of women for equality in this largest Islamic

country in the world, or the social demands of the workers and land-hungry peasants. The horrendous Dili massacre in 1991, which coincided with a resurgence of class struggle by Indonesian workers, was a warning by the Indonesian capitalist regime to all the oppressed of Indonesia: we will stop at nothing to preserve our rule. The fate of East Timor is intimately bound up with the course of the Indonesian revolution.

What road for the Indonesian revolution? Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky generalised his theory of permanent revolution (developed initially to explain the central role of the working class in the Russian revolution) to other countries appearing late on the stage of capitalist development, like Indonesia:

"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution* (1929)

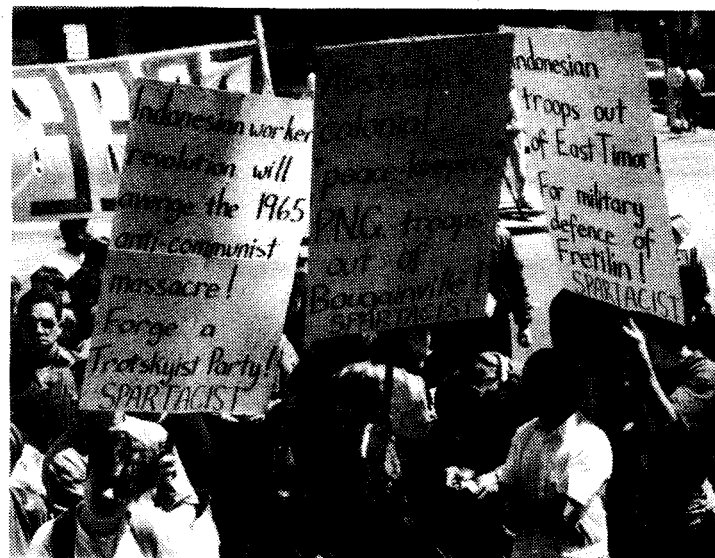
Trotsky understood that in the imperialist epoch the national comprador bourgeoisies in the backward countries were tied by a thousand strings to imperialism and that therefore the working class would have to put itself at the head of the national and democratic struggles and tie these directly to the struggle for socialism on an international level. This was counterposed to the pre-1917 Menshevik and later Stalinist position that the working class had to subordinate itself to a "liberal" or "progressive" wing of the capitalist class. Under Stalin, this became known as the "Popular Front" or "People's Front" strategy. And everywhere it led to disaster: from the beheading of the 1927 Chinese revolution (where the young Communist Party was

the praises of the oppositional PRD, which declares its eagerness to enter into strategic alliances, electoral and otherwise, with the two legal non-government capitalist parties, the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), the latter led by the daughter of former president Sukarno, Megawati Sukarnoputri, until she was toppled by a government-inspired internal coup in June. In Megawati the DSP sees the possibility of an Indonesian echo of the role played by Suu Kyi in Burma or even the coming to power of Cory Aquino in the Philippines, i.e., a very thin "democratic" veneer to the continued brutal exploitation of the workers and peasants.

While the Australian left generally supports independence for East Timor (albeit through the instrumentality of "democratic" Australia), there is the singular exception of the Socialist Labour League/Socialist Equality Party (SLL/SEP) of Nick Beams, the Australian supporters of David North's Workers League in the U.S. In their sole "line" article over the last three years, entitled "Cynical posturing at the expense of the Timorese masses" (*Workers News*, 2 December 1994), they do not even call for Indonesian troops out of East Timor, let alone for the military victory of Fretilin. Instead they directly denounce the national struggle of the East Timorese: "But the creation of a new nation-state is no solution. Under conditions of a globally-integrated economy, the establishment of such states can only lead to new forms of class oppression."

This is a purely chauvinist position which accepts the subjugation of the East Timorese to the Indonesian "prison house of peoples"...and imperialism! As Lenin himself put it in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914): "repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations

### Spartacist contingent at East Timor protest rally, Melbourne, 15 October 1994.



Asp photo

instructed to liquidate into Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist Guomindang [Kuomintang]) to the betrayal of the Spanish revolution in the 1930s (where the Communist Party tied the workers and peasants to the bourgeois Republican government), to the debacle in Chile in 1973 (when the Socialist and Communist parties told the masses not to transgress the sanctity of the capitalists' control of the armed forces, at the cost of 30,000 dead in a military coup).

Nowhere is the utter bankruptcy of the popular front more clear than in Indonesia. For years, the Maoist-Stalinist PKI harnessed its millions of followers to limit their struggles to those acceptable to the "left-talking" bourgeois nationalists led by President Sukarno. This meant the Indonesian masses were politically, organisationally and militarily completely disarmed when the Indonesian generals, backed by the U.S., Japanese and Australian imperialists, launched their horrendous White Terror in 1965.

Today, as Suharto's junta looks increasingly shaky, Washington/Canberra strategists consider possible alternatives and the DSP busies itself helping to put together a new Indonesian popular front. *Green Left Weekly* regularly sings

to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration.... Communists defend the rights of neocolonial and oppressed nations against imperialist depredations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle. The Northites "abolition" of the right to self-determination, and their sneering contempt for the national rights of the East Timorese, is nothing but a capitulation to and serves the interests of Australian imperialism.

East Timor remains a key question for the Indonesian workers revolution. And a proletarian revolution in Indonesia would send revolutionary shock waves throughout Asia. To secure itself, an Indonesian workers revolution would look to proletarian revolutions in the imperialist heartlands of Japan, Australia and the U.S. Here in Australia, we fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the Australian working class and all the oppressed. But this struggle is an international one; it requires the construction of revolutionary parties as part of a new communist international, a reforged Fourth International. That is the task we have set ourselves. Join us! ■



## For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Down with Australian Imperialism! Independence for East Timor!



Workers, youth battle riot cops in Jakarta, late July. East Timor is a key question of Indonesian revolution. AFP, Reuters

AUGUST 11—On 27 July the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, erupted in the most concerted anti-government protests there since the establishment of Suharto's military dictatorship 30 years ago. Thousands battled troops and heavily armed riot police as the Bank Ekspor-Impor Indonesia (the import-export bank), government buildings, buses and shops were torched. Despite heavy government censorship it appears the death toll runs into double figures while over a hundred are reported missing. The immediate trigger for the upheaval was the military's brutal eviction earlier that day of supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the headquarters of the government-sanctioned Indonesian Democratic Party. The size and determination of the protests however speak to a much more deep-going opposition to the venal and increasingly fragile Suharto dictatorship.

Fearful of this, the Indonesian rulers are witchhunting the People's Democratic Party (PRD). PRD leaders, including its president, Budiman Suhatmiko, have been driven into hiding and PRD headquarters in Jakarta and Surabaya have been raided by the military. The regime has arrested Mughtar Pakpahan, leader of the banned SBSI trade-union

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## Fight Education Cutbacks! For Free Quality Education for All!

As part of its all-round reactionary assault on the working class, immigrants, Aborigines and women, the Coalition government is pushing massive cutbacks in education funding. Taking up where the former ALP government left off, Howard's Tories are threatening campus workers with job losses and real wage cuts, while students are facing cuts to Austudy, increases in HECS and even up-front fees. The attacks on higher education come alongside ever more vicious cutbacks in public schooling. Schools are closing, teachers are being sacked and class sizes are increasing. Parents in working-class suburbs are being forced to pay escalating "voluntary fees" to make up for the lack of state funding.

In response to the threatened cutbacks in higher education, some 90,000 university students and campus workers organised by the National Tertiary Education Union (NTEU) held national one-day strikes on 30 May and again on 7 August. A number of large and angry student protests and occupations have occurred over recent years. Now the outbreak of strike struggles by staff and workers on the campuses poses the opportunity for joint struggle against the capitalist austerity drive. For an all-out worker-student strike against education cutbacks!

The massive cuts targeting education are only part of the ruling-class offensive. The working class has the social power and class interest to not only smash the current austerity drive but to overturn the entire capitalist system of misery for the majority and riches for a tiny ex-

ploiting minority. But the obstacle to mobilising this power is the present pro-capitalist ALP/trade-union bureaucracy. What is needed is the construction of a revolutionary party, built in political struggle against the Laborite tops, to fight for socialist revolution. The Spartacus Youth Clubs (SYCs), transitional youth organisations of the Spartacist League, have been intervening in campus struggles to win students to such a communist perspective.

The Laborite leaders of the NTEU and National Union of Students have been

pushing a grotesque alliance with the widely hated heads of the capitalist university administrations, the vice-chancellors. They are running a lobby campaign to convince the bosses' parliament that the education cutbacks are not in the "national interest." But the sole interest of the capitalist exploiters is profit. And since they have fewer and fewer jobs for working-class youth, they don't want to fork out any money to educate them. In pursuit of its class-collaborationist strategy, the NTEU leadership has postponed and limited strike actions to one

day or even two hours, as on many campuses on 7 August. And they have pushed for picket lines to be kept purely "informational."

Against this suicidal strategy, unionists and students from the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs at the RMIT pickets on 30 May argued and fought in action for solid picket lines that no-one crosses. Many union militants readily understood that you cannot win strikes if you don't shut down your workplaces tight and began to stop scabs crossing

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Melbourne, 30 May: unionists and students march during national NTEU strike against education cuts. Neale Duckworth