



Appeasing US Imperialism, Gorbachev Turns Screws on Hanoi

Vietnam to Pull Out of Kampuchea

Sunday Observer

US/Australia/ASEAN Hands Off Vietnam!

The Vietnamese army has begun a partial withdrawal from Kampuchea. On 26 May Hanoi announced that it would withdraw half of its military contingent, some 50,000 men, before the end of this year. On 23 June the Vietnamese army command in Phnom Penh was wound up amidst farewell ceremonies. Deputy commander of the Vietnamese forces, Major-General Le Kha Phieu, announced that Vietnam lost 55,000 dead in the war in Kampuchea since 1977. Significantly, 30,000 of these were killed in the bloody border fighting in 1977-78 against Pol Pot's murderous raids into Vietnam, which was finally goaded into overthrowing Pol Pot in January 1979. The remaining fighting men are to be "put under the command" of the government of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), led by Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, until final withdrawal in 1990. Hanoi expressed confidence that the PRK and its army was now sufficiently strong to guarantee Kampuchea's security against the murderous counterrevolutionary bands holed up along the Thai border, which receive massive aid from the imperialist West, the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) bloc and the Chinese Stalinists.

But the timing of the statement, only days before the Moscow Summit between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, made it clear that Hanoi's decision was the result of arm-twisting by the Soviet leadership. Vietnam is totally dependent on Moscow for economic and military aid to stave off the all-sided and relentless imperialist pressure upon this heroic people. Confronted by imperialist militarism and in fear of renewed economic stag-



Vietnamese troops pulling out of Kampuchea. Vietnamese army liberated Kampuchean peoples from Pol Pot!

nation, the Gorbachev regime has chosen to attempt to accommodate the US through a policy of global appeasement — burying the struggles of all the peoples who look to the Soviet Union for aid in liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke. Gorbachev thinks that he can buy "peace in our time" by extinguishing "regional hot spots" from Afghanistan and Angola to Kampuchea. All he will do is fuel Washington's counterrevolutionary ambitions to roll right up to the Kremlin gates.

With the Vietnamese withdrawal under way, the imperialists, ASEAN and China see a chance of gaining at the conference table what their Khmer contra proxies had no hope of winning on the battlefield. In late July the diplomatic ice was broken by the informal "cocktail party" talks in Bogor, Indonesia between ASEAN, Vietnam, PRK prime minister Hun Sen and the three factions of the "resistance" coalition. This consists of the

Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, with Khieu Samphan as front man; the ultra-rightist KPNLF of Son Sann and the followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who staged yet another theatrical resignation as president of this unholy and uneasy "coalition" just before the talks. All are on the CIA payroll, but the last two are military phantoms. Pol Pot's remaining forces, now openly standing for capitalist restoration, are the "coalition's" only military muscle.

For its sponsors the "cocktail party" wasn't much of a party. Hun Sen declared there was no way the PRK would dissolve itself to form a coalition government with the contras, but offered Sihanouk a place on a "national reconciliation council." It's far from likely that the Khmer rebels can patch together any kind of lasting coalition. The Khmer Rouge are the major obstacles to a deal. For the imperialists, the Khmer Rouge were a useful in-

strument of military pressure against Vietnam, but they don't want them back in power and what to do with them now is a problem. Likewise for Sihanouk, most of whose family was murdered under Pol Pot and whose latest resignation was prompted by more Khmer Rouge killing of his men. Thus the talk of shunting off Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, their wives and several key henchmen — the "Pol Pot clique" — into Chinese exile, although the Peking Stalinists don't seem all that keen to host their Khmer creatures.

The Vietnamese Stalinists, thoroughly nationalist and wedded to the dogma of "socialism in one country," went into Kampuchea in 1979 out of a sense of self-preservation. In so doing they rescued the Kampuchean people from the horrendous holocaust of the insane Pol Pot regime, which had turned the country into one huge concentration camp. There is absolutely nothing to negotiate with the

Continued on page twelve

Free Leaders of Turkish CP!



Committee for the Freedom of Kutlu and Sargin

On 16 November 1987 Turkish police arrested Dr Nihat Sargin, general secretary of the Turkish Workers Party, and Haydar Kutlu, head of the "official" pro-Moscow Communist Party of Turkey, as they emerged from a plane at Istanbul airport. Handcuffed and blindfolded, Sargin and Kutlu were taken to the notorious "Deep Investigation Laboratory" of the security police and thrown into solitary confinement for 19 days of torture. Sixty-year-old Sargin was kicked, hosed with freezing water and hung by his arms from the ceiling.

Sargin and Kutlu are charged under the infamous articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, modeled on Mussolini's fascist Code of 1936. The charges include "making Communist propaganda," "insulting the president" and "forming an illegal organization aiming to overthrow the constitutional order." They were arrested as they stepped off

the plane in their well-publicized return to join in the "democratization" (!) process in Turkey and establish their newly merged party, the United Communist Party of Turkey (TBKP), as a legal organization.

Since Turkey's 1980 NATO military coup, half a million people have been detained, the trade-union federation DISK was banned and many of its leaders imprisoned. Thousands remain in jails for political "crimes," 400 face the death penalty, and the genocidal repression of the Kurds in eastern Turkey continues.

Over the past 18 months a new wave of workers' strikes and student struggles against the brutal austerity rule of the Evren regime has swept Turkey. The charges against Kutlu and Sargin are a sinister attack on all Turkish workers and leftists. But in an act of sectarian stupidity, the rival left-Stalinist Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) responded by brand-

Nihat Sargin (left) and Haydar Kutlu, leaders of United Communist Party of Turkey, imprisoned and tortured by NATO regime.

ing Kutlu and Sargin as "traitors," suggesting they arranged their own arrest as part of a "deal" with the Turkish government. Whatever their illusions in Turkish "democracy," Kutlu and Sargin are in the hands of the notorious security police. This hideous frame-up must be defeated — and the TKP's criminal sectarianism repudiated — by mass workers protests in Turkey and around the world.

Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain and the Trozktistische Liga Deutschlands have joined in publicizing the case

of Kutlu and Sargin. On June 16 the Partisan Defense Committee protested to the Turkish embassy in Washington, "Even among your reactionary NATO allies Turkey stands unique as the only European country in which communist parties and workers organizations such as the DISK are outlawed.... We demand the immediate release of Sargin and Kutlu, their lawyers Atillo Conkum and Rasim Oz and the 12 others arrested with them."

—Reprinted from **Workers Vanguard, No 456, 1 July 1988**

WA Cops Arrest Mourners of Eddie Cameron

Drop Charges Against Geraldton Blacks!

On 8 July Eddie Cameron, aged 23, was "found hanged" by a bootlace in the Geraldton lockup, the 34th Aboriginal to die in custody in Western Australia since 1980 and the third such victim in as many years in Geraldton. When this talented young footballer and favourite son of Geraldton was buried on 25 July, 1500 mourners attended from as far south as Perth and as far north as Broome. The cops and white racists of the town shook in their boots at such a large and outraged Aboriginal presence.

After the funeral Leedham Cameron, Eddie's father and a prominent local Aboriginal leader,

led a dignified march of 300 to confront State Labor Party Cabinet members who were meeting in the town at the time. Their demands included that the Muirhead Inquiry come to Geraldton and that federal cops instead of WA cops conduct the investigation into the death. But blacks will get no more justice from Hawke's cops, who round up Tamil refugees for deportation to death in Sri Lanka, than they do from the racist WA cops.

That night, according to reports, a crowd of Aboriginals tried to enter the Freemasons Hotel and were refused entry. A customer was heard telling one of the Aboriginals to "go hang himself — the same as his mate" (West Australian, 28 July). Then it was on — hotel windows and the odd cornered-rat cop getting smashed up. The fight continued until Leedham Cameron secured the release of six arrested Aboriginals on bail on the condition that it would end.

Next day there were 14 more

arrests (including Eddie's father and brother Patrick) and a massive cop presence. Then the backlash began, with widespread denunciation of the Aboriginal demonstration and fightback — ranging from black leader Ken Colbung busy Uncle Tom'ing for the government, who reportedly blamed the violence on Aboriginal parents and the Legal Service, to Geraldton shopkeepers threatening to start a branch of the Ku Klux Klan! The situation is explosive. On the night of 7 August WA's Labor Premier Dowding made an extraordinary appeal for calm televised to all outback areas of the state.

One year ago similar incidents occurred in the NSW town of Brewarrina around the funeral of Lloyd Boney, another jailhouse victim (see Australasian Spartacist no 122, September/October 1987). The Aboriginal militants arrested there are now undergoing committal proceedings, when they are guilty of nothing but defending themselves and their own.

They include Arthur and Anna Murray, father and sister of Wee Waa jailhouse victim, Eddie Murray, and relatives of Lloyd Boney.

No justice will be found through such Bicentennial scams as Hawke's "treaty," the Muirhead cover-up or other state investigations. These are meant for international consumption and as sops — meanwhile the cops thumb their noses and the killing and state terror continues.

The answer is political, for mass mobilisations of trade union power alongside blacks and other oppressed minorities against racist terror. Through a fight against the racist ALP, a revolutionary party must be built to lead the working class to seize state power in order to end racist terrorism once and for all. Smash Australian Apartheid! Bring down the racist Hawke regime! Drop the charges against the Brewarrina and Geraldton Aboriginal protesters! ■

Spartacist League

GPO Box 3473, Sydney, 2001 Ph: 281-2181
GPO Box 2339, Melbourne, 3001 Ph: 654-4315

Australasian
SPARTACIST

Marxist two-monthly of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency.
EDITORIAL BOARD: Greg Blythe, (editor), Linda Brooke, Doug Flynn, Andrew Giannakis, Sandra Morris
CIRCULATION: Jenny Klein
PRODUCTION: Linda Brooke
Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication -- Category B. Subscription \$3 for 6 issues; overseas airmail \$7 for 6 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001. Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 21 Ross St, Glebe.

JUST OUT!
"Where is Gorbachev's Russia Going?" translated into Turkish \$0.75

Spartacist English Edition
No 41-42
Winter 1987-88
(64 pages)
\$1.50

Make cheques payable/mail to:
Spartacist League
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001

SPARTACIST
NUMBER 41-42 ENGLISH EDITION WINTER 1987-88

70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution
Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

The Poland of Luxemburg vs. the Poland of Procaszk
Memoirs of a Revolutionary Jewish Worker
& Review... PAGE 53

The "Blank Space" That Haunts Gorbachev's Russia

Leon Trotsky: Fighter for World Revolution

JUNE 27 — As tensions mount within the Soviet bureaucracy with the approach of the Communist Party's special conference, set to open June 28, the "historical" issue of the victims of Stalin's purge trials has become one of burning immediacy. But as the Gorbachev regime rehabilitates the leaders of the Bukharinite Right Opposition and the Zinoviev-Kamenev capitulators, there is one glaring "blank space" which continues to haunt Gorbachev's Russia: Leon Trotsky, co-leader together with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, founder of the Red Army and leader of the Left Opposition — the only ones who fought Stalin to the end, those who stood on the Leninist program of communist internationalism.

On Monday, June 13, the Supreme Court of the USSR formally reversed the convictions of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Pyatkov, Radek, and 29 other Bolshevik leaders framed up in the first two Moscow Trials in 1936 and 1937. Earlier, the court had rehabilitated Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky and 17 others convicted in the 1938 frame-up trial of the so-called "Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites." Although the latest court decision cleared "everyone involved in their trials," there was no mention of Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov. But on Friday, June 17, Yuri Afanasyev, rector of the State Institute of Historical Archives, called at a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the juridical exoneration of Trotsky and for the publication of his works:

"We have to rehabilitate all who were oppressed or wrongly accused and, as a matter of justice, Leon Trotsky stands equally with all the victims of Stalin.... It is very strange that professors and teachers try to criticise Trotsky when they have never read a word that he wrote. The same is still true of Bukharin and Kamenev and Zinoviev."

Meanwhile, the London Guardian (23 June) reported that a public memorial in central Moscow to millions of Stalin's victims is expected to be authorized by the CPSU conference. A public rally for the memorial was held June 25 outside Moscow's Dinamo Stadium, with speakers including prominent Gorbachev supporters such as Afanasyev and Vitaly Korotich, editor of the

glasnost weekly Ogonyok. And on the eve of the conference, Moscow News (26 June) ran a lengthy article, "The Poisonous Mist Disperses," on the rehabilitation of the victims of the Moscow Trials. The article admits that "the main defendant at the trial — in absentia, to Stalin's great dismay — was Trotsky, whom Stalin hated bitterly." And it adds:

"Trotsky, then living in Norway, couldn't believe his ears. How could he — a Jew and an anti-fascist — and his former supporters be accused of conspiring with the Gestapo?"

Elsewhere in the same issue of Moscow News, the heretofore number one "non-person" in the Soviet Union is mentioned in an interview with Healyite actress Vanessa Redgrave (who calls for Trotsky's works to be published), and a column by Afanasyev urges tour guides in Leningrad's Smolny Institute, the hub of the 1917 October Revolution, to point out Trotsky's study. Yet MN's back



Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and organizer of International Left Opposition, victim of Stalin's terror.

page gives even more prominent coverage to the millennium of the Russian Orthodox church, that bastion of Russian nationalism, obscurantism and anti-Semitism. And in a succinct expression of glasnost today, they announce that George Orwell's 1984 will soon be published in the Soviet Union (while Trotsky's works are still banned).

As we noted in "The Bukharin Dossier" (WV No 455, 17 June), the common thread behind the rehabilitations has been the "desperate need to find some historical alternative to the

Trotsky exposes
Moscow Trials
frame-up from
Mexican exile
in 1938.

discredited Stalin on the same political ground of 'socialism in one country'." Thus the Izvestia (14 June) article on the rehabilitation of Zinoviev and Kamenev baldly claims, "Everyone knows today that Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin was another Lenin, the favorite of the party and its most prominent theoretician." Gorbachev's brain trusters look to the leader of the Right Opposition as the granddaddy of their market-oriented economic policies (perestroika). Trotsky remains anathema because his name is synonymous with the program of world revolution.

Moreover, with the rehabilitations they seek not to solidarize with the generation of the October Revolution that Stalin murdered in the Moscow Trials, but to conciliate Western liberal (imperialist) opinion. The Moscow News article makes this explicit. Not only does it grotesquely suggest that the seeds of Stalinism are to be found in the intransigent defense of revolutionary Russia during the Civil War, castigating Trotsky and Zinoviev for regarding "their well-known ruthlessness during the Revolution as a sign of valour" and claiming, "They themselves put into the operation the bone-crushing machine which crushed them." The author's main objection to the purge trials is that: "Satisfying his thirst for blood ... Stalin himself undermined the anti-fascist front then taking shape, and ignited the democratic West's mistrust for the USSR."

In fact, the opposite is the case. The Western press overwhelmingly bought the Moscow Trials and helped to spread Stalin's murderous slanders around the world, with such mouthpieces as the New York Times' Walter Duranty, the British Fabian "socialists" Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and various Stalinist fellow travelers. A Boston paper gleefully summed up the bloody purges, saying that the Third International had been stood against the wall and shot. At the same time, Stalin was beheading the Spanish Revolution by starving it of weapons, smashing the Barcelona workers and executing



militant leftist leaders. As the then-Trotskyist Max Shachtman wrote in his 1936 pamphlet, Behind the Moscow Trials:

"The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky — that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred."

Yet this was not enough for the "democratic" imperialists, who refused Stalin's entreaties for an alliance. They were counting on Hitler to finish off the "Bolshevik menace." As Trotsky wrote in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

"In spite of all the efforts on the part of the Moscow clique to demonstrate its conservative reliability (the counterrevolutionary politics of Stalin in Spain!), world imperialism does not trust Stalin, does not spare him the most humiliating flicks and is ready at the first favorable opportunity to overthrow him. Hitler — and therein lies his strength — simply more consistently and frankly expresses the attitude of the world bourgeoisie to the Soviet bureaucracy. For the bourgeoisie — fascist as well as democratic — isolated counterrevolutionary exploits of Stalin do not suffice; it needs a complete counterrevolution in the relations of property and the opening of the Russian market. So long as this is not the case, the bourgeoisie considers the Soviet state hostile to it. And it is right."

In explaining the "confessions" extorted by Stalin and his GPU thugs, and to explain away the political capitulations, the Moscow News writes that "a torture can be found to break anyone, even the staunchest." Yet there were those who did not confess, who fought to the end.

Continued on page eleven

The Working Class Will Not Forget!

Blair Peach: Anti-Fascist Martyr

The article below is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* (no 98, May/June 1988), paper of the *Spartacist League/Britain*.

Nine years ago on 23 April 1979 Blair Peach, an anti-fascist activist and socialist, was killed by police on Orchard Avenue in Southall. The rioting cops, over 3000-strong and including members of the Special Patrol Group (SPG) invaded the predominantly Asian Southall community that day to ensure the fascist National Front would be able to stage its provocation in the heart of the area. Hundreds of anti-fascist militants were arrested, dozens were injured and Blair Peach died from a severe blow to the head resulting in a massive extradural haemorrhage. His death was mourned and his memory honoured by a march of 10,000 in Southall on 28 April 1979. Blair Peach's martyrdom will not and must not be forgotten by the working class and oppressed to whose just cause his life was devoted.

A member of both the Anti Nazi League and the Socialist Workers Party, Blair Peach was 33 years old when he was murdered. He had come to Britain from New Zealand, taught at the Phoenix School in East London and, as the report of the unofficial committee of enquiry published by the National Council for Civil

Broadway where they remained until about 7.45 pm. The report of the unofficial enquiry notes that "Confusion, frustration and fear was caused within the crowd by the fact that for much of the time they were hemmed in by two police cordons" and as demonstrators attempted to leave the area, they were followed by the SPG units carrying riot shields and truncheons.

Eye-witnesses to the cop riot reported seeing the SPG pour out of two vans and waded into the fleeing demonstrators. No fewer than ten of these witnesses reported seeing Blair Peach attacked by one of these SPG thugs outside 62 Orchard Avenue. Parminder Atwal gave this statement to the *Evening Standard*, quoted on 24 April:

"This boy was standing on the corner next to the wall, when everybody came running past. He got tangled up in it and was knocked over. Then, when he was lying on the ground, the police came rushing past him as they chased these other blokes down the road.

"As the police rushed past him, one of them hit him on the head with the stick. I was in my garden and saw this quite clearly. When they all rushed past, he was left sitting against the wall. He tried to

bad state and could not speak.... I got a glass of water for him, but he could not hold it and it dropped out of his hand."

When he was taken to hospital, Blair Peach was examined by Dr Richard Bentall, the surgical registrar at the hospital. He was unconscious when Dr Bentall saw him and was becoming more deeply unconscious. Blair Peach's condition was summarised by Bentall: "he was bleeding from a number of veins and arteries inside his skull. Because the skull cannot expand, the bleeding had the effect of compressing the brain. If the bleeding had been allowed to continue, it would eventually have forced the brain through the bottom of the skull. The skull was fractured above the left ear, with the line of the fracture going along the side and back over the top of his head. Blair Peach's condition deteriorated during the operation, and he died at 12.10 am" (NCCL report, *Southall 23 April 1979*, p 77).

The doctor who carried out the second post-mortem on behalf of the Peach family suggested that the weapon used had been "a lead weighted rubber 'cosh' or hose-pipe filled with lead shot." A normal police truncheon could not have inflicted the sort of blow that killed Blair Peach. Six weeks



Peach was "an unfortunate victim" of a "reasonable" police action. Death was declared to be by "misadventure."

The grisly, violent police murder of Blair Peach was no accident, no example of "excess" that day. The cops were out for blood. Southall had become a symbol of resistance — from the youth revolt three years earlier against the racist murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar, a revolt which took up the Sikh battle cry "We shall fight like lions," to the long list of workers strikes and organising drives, heavily supported by the community at large, at Woolf's, Perivale Gutterman, Heathrow airport and Wyuna Corset Co — to name a few. The fascist rally was a provocation in the most literal sense. When word spread of the Ealing Council's decision to allow the NF scum to "celebrate" St George's day (a celebration of English chauvinism as well as genocidal racism) in the Town Hall, there was mass public outrage. On 22 April over 5000 protested, fifteen were arrested and the stage was set for the next day. By the early afternoon of 23 April 1979 most town centre shops were closed and boarded up and many local trade unionists had walked off the job, particularly at the nearby Ford Langley factory and Heathrow.

By 6.30 that evening Southall was the scene of a fully-fledged cop riot. Some of the most brutal attacks took place around 6 Park View Road, the headquarters of the Peoples Unite and a prominent West Indian community centre. During the demonstration, this building was designated as a first aid station. Mounted and riot-gear clad cops stormed the building in what was clearly a preplanned revenge action. According to the NCCL report, a member of Peoples Unite had been told by a cop before that "We know what you are doing round at No 6 and we are going to get you" (p55). Those inside, including a woman doctor, an ambulanceman and a solicitor were beaten and forced to run the gauntlet of truncheon-wielding cops. The injured later reported widespread attempts by the police to beat them about the head. All of those in the first aid room were hit. A black man, Clarence Baker, was subjected to heavy blows and developed a blood clot on his brain. He was hospitalised for 15 days and still suffered headaches six months later. Women in the building were not only beaten but had racist, sexist verbal abuse hurled at them by the cops. The headquarters was systematically ransacked, floor boards were torn up and thousands

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST



Southall's Asian community turned out en masse for 28 April 1979 Blair Peach memorial march (above). Asian women (right) pay last respects.



Liberties put it, "He seems to have been widely admired as a dedicated teacher and committed anti-racist."

Blair Peach lived with fellow anti-fascist militant Celia Stubbs and her children in Hackney and participated in anti-racist activity in East London, particularly against the National Front in Brick Lane. On the evening of 23 April, Blair Peach was among the thousands who turned out in Southall to oppose the race-hate NF rally at the Town Hall. He and several other Anti Nazi League members found the way to the NF rally site blocked by police cordons and ended up on the

get up, but he was shivering and looked very strange. He could not stand. Then the police came back and told him like this: 'Move! Come on, move!' They were very rough with him and I was shocked because it was clear that he was seriously hurt.

"His tongue seemed to have stuck in the top of his mouth and his eyes were rolled up to the top of his head. But they started pushing him and told him to move; and he managed to get to his feet. He staggered across the road and came to where I was in the garden.... He was in a very

after his murder, an internal police "investigation" found in the lockers of the SPG cops deployed in Southall on 23 April a number of illegal weapons including knives, crowbars, a pickaxe handle, a "Rhino whip," a sledge hammer and a number of leather encased truncheons at least one of which had a lead weight in the end. One of the lockers contained Nazi regalia. Even the cops' own investigation narrowed the suspects down to the six in the van from the no 1 unit of the SPG. Yet no one was ever charged with Blair Peach's murder. Instead the Hammersmith Coroner's inquest announced in 1980 that Blair

of pounds worth of sound equipment was wrecked.

Some of the older Sikhs present likened the bloody police riot that night to the infamous massacre by the British imperial troops at Amritsar almost 60 years earlier to the day. The countless reports of head injuries show how intentionally murderous this rampage was. When the thousands of mourners took to the streets to honour the memory of Blair Peach, they knew that it could easily have been them or their family members lying dead. Marching past the spot where he was struck down, demonstrators raised clenched fists in grim defiance. Again in June, more than 8000 paid their respects to Blair Peach at the Dominion Cinema, where his body lay in state.

This is the truth about Blair Peach: a young man who hated the NF fascist filth and everyday racist brutality of this society was murdered by the armed fist of the

capitalist state. His widow Celia Stubbs was eventually forced from her home by fascist terrorism. Not only have the cops been shielded from any punitive action, but when the Friends of Blair Peach Committee distributed posters containing the names of the six SPG suspects they were warned of possible libel action and more by the chairman of the Police Federation who stated: "People who attempt to undermine the morale of the police by making wild accusations must realise we will not sit back and do nothing." It was not simply court action that was being threatened. As if to underline the point, on 1 August 1979 — barely three months after Blair Peach's killing — Sarn Singh Crewel died after having been beaten in the Southall police station.

Labour was in power when the cops killed Blair Peach. Its racist austerity policies had aided and abetted the growth of fascist gangs on the street and fascist

"credibility" at the polling booths. Anti-racist fighters like Blair Peach were drawn to the SWP in a period when that organisation proclaimed its opposition to Labourite treachery and at least postured as militant organisers against the NF and its ilk. But the SWP's attempts at coalitions with the likes of Neil Kinnock (a supporter of the Anti Nazi League) both belied its leftist posturing and tied thousands of would-be anti-fascist fighters to the strategy of impotent carnivals designed to pressure the powers that be. (The seminal example was the 1978 ANL carnival: while the fascists marched virtually unimpeded through the heavily immigrant East End of London, some 100,000 anti-fascists were diverted to a festival held at the opposite end of town.) In the last general election, the SWP gave its unswerving support to the racist, cop-loving scab Kinnock. It is on record today for advocating an "ignore the fascists" stance.

We fight for a proletarian strategy to sweep the fascists off the streets — the independent mobilisation of the working class and oppressed, the building of workers defence guards to smash the fascist scum. This can only be realised by waging a sharp struggle inside the unions against the bureaucrats and the splitting of the Labour Party base from its wretched pro-capitalist tops as part of the fight for British Bolshevism.

The cruel murder of Blair Peach has taken its place in the collective history of working-class struggle in this country and internationally, alongside the many who have fallen fighting for our rights. Vengeance for his death will only come with victorious socialist revolution. Along the road to that revolution, the workers movement will honour its martyrs and its heroes. And Blair Peach was certainly both of these. ■

Attacks on IS Salesmen

Workers Action Must Crush Fascist Scum!

Recent months have seen an increase in assaults and vandalism by neo-Nazi skinhead gangs and fascist groups like National Action (NA). Leftist bookshops and publishers, offices of anti-Apartheid activists, and the Cafe e Afrik in inner Sydney have all been subject to attacks ranging from bricks being hurled through windows to firebombings. The July issue of the *Socialist*, paper of the third-campist International Socialists (IS), reported that its supporters have been assaulted by skinhead fascists, with one ISer suffering a broken jaw. These anti-Asian fascist gangs must be crushed in the egg.

A 6 June IS leaflet details several attacks on IS newspaper salesmen in Melbourne, claiming of the most recent incident that "the fascists were again decisively beaten." But in our experience this needs to be treated with some scepticism. At dusk on 1 July at Sydney's Town Hall Square, the mother of one of our comrades witnessed another assault. The IS had their regular sale going, with half a dozen newspaper sellers and a speaker denouncing the Soviet Union. One of a group of five or six skinheads passing by turned to harass a young ISer. Yelling abuse, the scrawny skinhead pushed the ISer in the chest and punched him in the face, hurling his papers to the ground. The thug then joined his gang amid raucous laughter. Criminally, the rest of the IS team stood by and watched, not lifting a finger to defend their comrade. Only when the skinheads departed did the ISers sheepishly move, to help pick up the scat-

tered papers, leaving our diminutive, middle-aged witness boiling with rage, and feeling like she should have intervened.

On 3 August a group of four skinheads provocatively counter-demonstrated against a thousand-strong anti-Thatcher demonstration in Melbourne. The IS spoke from the platform calling on the crowd to ignore the punks. Spartacist League members present agitated for driving them away. Some unionists present took up this call and attempted to put together a defence guard. Eventually, as the crowd stirred, the cops put a protective cordon around the skinheads, and let them get away. The IS policy resulted in a lost opportunity to teach these scumbags a lesson.

The IS's "hands off" policy towards the fascists is not simple cowardice, but a function of their reformist program. Their co-thinkers in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party, have adopted an explicit "ignore the fascists" line. Politically the IS even tend to occupy some of the same turf as the fascists, which makes them a particular target. Their rabid anti-Sovietism led them to join a demonstration with the fascistic Captive Nations over Afghanistan in 1980, and again over support to Polish Solidarnosc's attempted counterrevolution in 1981. In 1984 they scored what they called a victory by actually recruiting a fascist, founding NA member, David Greason, playing out to its logical conclusion the dangerous liberal notion that the struggle against fascism is a competition of ideas.

In 1982, when the Progressive Nationalist Party (precursors of NA) became active at Sydney University, the Spartacist League initiated a united front action of some 200 students and trade unionists around the demand to "Drive the Fascists off Campus." The IS endorsed the rally and joined in building it. But at the rally itself, the IS blocked with the CPA who demanded "strict non-violence," opposing the rally's intention to drive the fascists off if they dared show, endangering the safety of those demonstrating. Days before, they pathetically called on the university administration to ban the fascists. Calling on the state to ban fascists is not only futile but dangerous, as can be seen in the brutal cop murder of anti-fascist militant, Blair Peach, detailed in this issue. The bourgeois state holds its fascist gangs in reserve, as the nuclei of shock troops for use against the workers movement in times of crisis.

The *Socialist* describes the fascists as "a nuisance rather than a serious threat." But a policy of ignoring the fascists, of passivity to their attacks, is deadly dangerous, serving only to embolden them. The current climate of anti-Sovietism and Cold War reaction provides a fertile medium

in which they can grow. These days racist ideologues like Professor Geoffrey Blainey and radio announcer Ron Casey are becoming mainstream. The IS, ever loyal Laborites, blame the Liberals. But it's Labor that pushes anti-Japanese protectionist poison in the unions. And it was John McBean of the NSW Labor Council who ostentatiously rehired Casey (sacked four months ago for racist remarks) for radio 2KY. It's been the state and federal Labor administrations which have overseen terrorisation and jailhouse murder of blacks, racist deportations of Tamils to almost certain death in Sri Lanka, military standover tactics in Fiji and Vanuatu, and six years of grinding austerity and union busting against the working class.

In their leaflet the IS say they "consider that it is now an appropriate time for the left to make a stand against this ongoing fascist violence." We agree. They call for a public meeting to plan actions but two months later they continue to be attacked on the streets and have organised nothing. The way to crush the fascists is through independent working class action. It is necessary to build union defence guards, and mass mobilisations of unionists and oppressed minorities to smash the fascists, like the Spartacist-organised mobilisation of 5000 unionists and blacks which prevented the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington DC on November 27, 1982. ■

Spartacist Class Series

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

The Bureaucratic Degeneration of the Soviet State

13 August

International Revolution vs the Popular Front

August 27

Where is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

September 10

VENUE: Upstairs, Metropolitan Hotel, corner George St and Bridge St, Sydney.

TIME: Saturday, 1:30pm

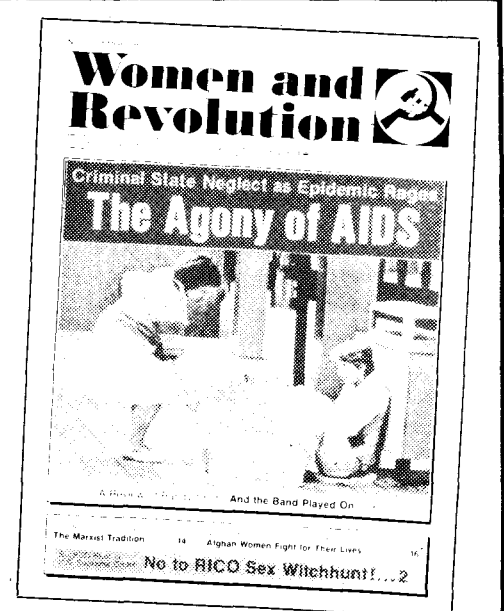
JUST OUT!

Women and Revolution

Summer 1988. No. 35
30p (16 pages)

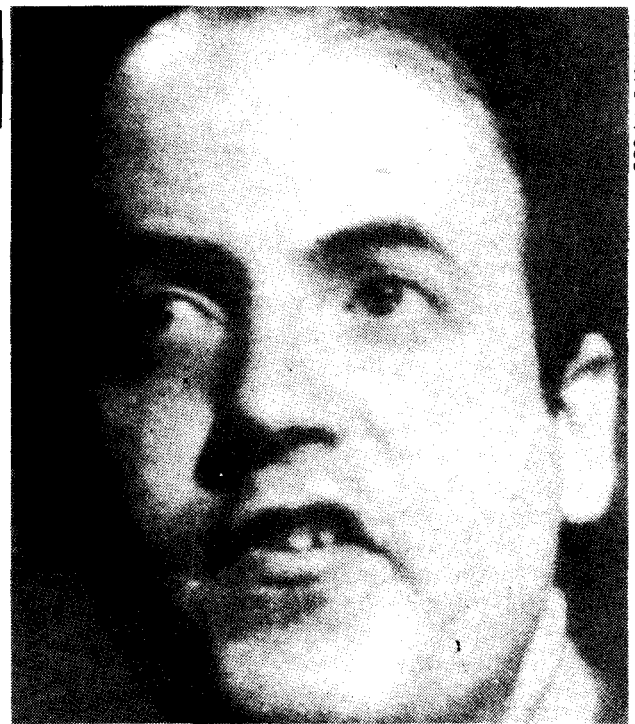
- Criminal State Neglect as Epidemic Rages: The Agony of AIDS
- SL/PDC Brief in U.S. Supreme Court: No to RICO Sex Witchhunt!
- In Defense of Homosexual Rights: The Marxist Tradition
- Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives

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



Anatomy of a Healyite Russia Hater

David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son



Workers Press

The article below is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (no 456, 1 July 1988), paper of the *Spartacist League/US*. Following the international implosion of Healyism in 1985, the Australian Healyites of the *Socialist Labour League (SLL)* split and the majority, still under the leadership of Nick Beams, switched their allegiance from Healy to his lieutenant, David North, head of the *US Workers League*. For further discussion of the *SLL* split, see "From Healyism to Trotskyism" on page 11.

Workers League leader David North has made no small effort to ensconce himself as the undisputed "leader" of the shattered remnants of Gerry Healy's corrupt International Committee (IC). To do so of course requires that North declare all of the other former leading lights of Healyism (including the "founder-leader" himself) to be hopeless "renegades." Never mind that North was trained, tutored and installed as a leader by the same crew he now denounces in order to proclaim himself to be the sole surviving repository of Healyite "orthodoxy."

One of the most recent installments of this cynical charade is North's book *The Heritage We Defend*. Ever so modestly described as "A Contribution to the History of the Fourth International," in reality it is a 500-page treatise against Healy's longtime hatchet man Michael Banda. Against Banda's ignorant, anti-Trotskyist "Twenty-Seven Reasons Why the IC Should Be Buried Forthwith and the Fourth International Built" — a way station on Banda's road to becoming a Stalinist PR man — North attempts to claim as his own the revolutionary heritage of James P Cannon's Socialist Workers Party. This is really egregious considering that the Workers League published hundreds of pages written by their former leader Tim Wohlforth, sneering that Cannon was a barely Marxist, vulgar "window smasher." This was Wohlforth's way of making himself out to be, in effect, the first real American Marxist.

As for North, he was specially chosen by Healy to be the WL "leader" as a reward for his eager services as mouthpiece for Healy's obscene "Security and the Fourth International" campaign — a psychotic smear job impugning the integrity of the old, revolutionary SWP and Trotsky himself. Slander-

ing the SWP's Joseph Hansen as a conscious agent of the FBI and the Russian secret police, and an accomplice in the murder of Trotsky, the Northites have for over a decade echoed the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by one of his own.

"Security and the Fourth International" grew straight out of Gerry Healy's own particular combination of years of political banditry and paranoid megalomania. It was Healy's way of "explaining" his International Committee's failure to definitively expose and defeat Pabloism, the revisionist current originated by Michel Pablo which in the early 1950s abandoned Trotskyism with the perspective of liquidation into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the 1960s Joseph Hansen became the main spokesman of the Pabloite degeneration

of the SWP as it abandoned the struggle for an independent proletarian vanguard. But instead of political struggle the Healyites concocted their devil theory that Hansen had been hired by the US government and the Kremlin Stalinists to destroy the SWP.

Declaring themselves to be the Fourth International, Healy's IC kept up a vicious vendetta against the long-since reformist SWP, including the use of the capitalist courts. This is not the only time they crossed the class line. A secret report (which surfaced as part of the fallout from the Healyites' spectacular implosion) by an IC Commission to investigate "the corruption of G Healy" details payoffs that were received for services rendered to a variety of oil-rich Arab despots. This included supplying photographs to the Iraqi embassy of a demonstration of opponents of Saddam

Hussein's Ba'athist regime in Iraq. The report of the IC investigation says that while the "Commission has not yet been able to establish all the facts ... a receipt for £1,600 for 16 minutes of documentary footage of a demonstration is in the possession of the Commission." An indisputable and monstrous fact is that the Healyites hailed the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists by Ba'ath rulers in 1979. Healy's payoff was blood money!

As the Spring 1988 issue of *Solidarity*, a British journal of "libertarian socialism" which leaked the secret IC report, notes: "It is certain that the anti-Healy camp know far more about the dirtier aspects of the WRP's past than they have so far publicly admitted.... These include North, who has resolutely chosen not to make public even the skeletal information we publish...." Of course he hasn't. Of all Healy's former lieutenants, North is uniquely the one who clings to the real "heritage" of Healyism — in particular the scandalous "Security and the Fourth International" campaign.

"COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY THROUGH AND THROUGH"

But North could well be hoist on his own petard. In *The Heritage We Defend* he writes that "Trotsky had branded the Stalinist bureaucracy as 'counter-revolutionary through and through'...." One can look through everything Trotsky ever wrote and never find this falsely and stupidly one-sided formulation. On the contrary, as he said in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933): "Whoever fails to understand th[e] dual role of Stalinism in the USSR has understood nothing." The formulation "counterrevolutionary through and through" which North embraces was the work of... none other than the devil incarnate of Healyism, the arch-agent himself — Joseph Hansen.

It first issued from the big and unwise mouth of Dave Weiss (D Stevens) during the 1952-53 fight against the pro-Stalinist liquidators in the Cochran-Clarke faction in the SWP. And it was Hansen who landed the assignment of defending Weiss' statement. This Hansen did with his usual quite capable vigor, including the amplification that the Kremlin Stalinists were not only "counterrevolutionary through and

Stanton/Pathfinder Press



American SWP's Joseph Hansen framed by Healy/North's psychotic "Security and the Fourth International" smear, which parroted Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by "one of his own."

Bulletin

Security and the Fourth International
THE INDICTMENT
—June 11th 1976
THAT REMAINS
UNANSWERED

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International



Spartacist protest against Healyite Big Lie campaign. We defended Hansen as "an honest revisionist."



Workers Vanguard

through" but "to the core" ("What the New York Discussion Has Revealed," Joseph Hansen, SWP Internal Bulletin, Vol 15, No 4, February 1953). Indeed Hansen was the biggest exponent, if the number of pages count, of the view North falsely ascribes to Trotsky.

Yet who in the Soviet Union could be characterized as "counterrevolutionary through and through"? Only an out-and-out Great Russian fascist, something out of the present-day Pamyat or perhaps a CIA mole in the KGB could fit this bill. But this certainly doesn't describe the Stalinist bureaucracy. A conservative nationalist caste resting on the proletarian property forms established by the Russian Revolution, the Kremlin bureaucracy is the product of and reflects the contradictions of a bonapartist regime issuing from the degeneration of a workers revolution in a backward country surrounded by imperialism.

In "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937), Trotsky explained:

"The proletariat of the USSR is the ruling class in a backward country where there is still a lack of the most vital necessities of life. The proletariat of the USSR rules in a land consisting of only one-twelfth part of humanity; imperialism rules over the remaining eleven-twelfths. The rule of the proletariat, already maimed by the backwardness and poverty of the country, is doubly and triply deformed under the pressure of world imperialism....

"In its capacity of a transmitting mechanism in this struggle, the bureaucracy leans now on the proletariat against imperialism, now on imperialism against the proletariat, in order to increase its own power. At the same time it mercilessly exploits its role as distributor of the meager necessities of life in order to safeguard its own well-being and power. By this token the rule of the proletariat assumes an abridged, curbed, distorted character. One can with full justification say that the proletariat, ruling in one backward and isolated country, still remains an oppressed class. The source of oppression is world imperialism; the mechanism of transmission of the oppression — the bureaucracy. If in the words 'a ruling and at the same time an oppressed class' there is a contradiction, then it flows not from the mistakes of thought but from the contradiction in the very situation of the USSR. It is precisely because of this that we reject the theory of socialism in one country."

Far from characterizing the bureaucracy as "counterrevolutionary through and through," in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, Trotsky wrote that "all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F Butenko)." The dual nature of the Kremlin oligarchy is fundamental to the Trotskyist

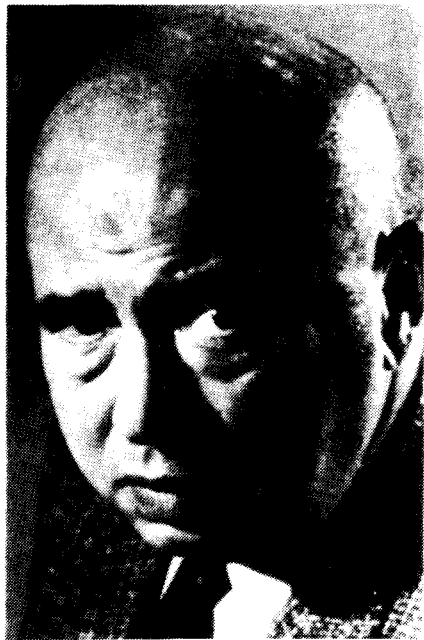


Who in the Soviet Union could be "counterrevolutionary through and through"? Only CIA agents or Russian fascists like General Vlasov (left), who collaborated with Nazi invaders, or anti-Semitic Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev (right).

position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union combined with the call for political revolution to oust the bureaucracy.

Trotsky presented his fullest analysis of the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the last political battle of his life, against the repudiation of Soviet defensism by the petty-bourgeois Shachtman/Burnham opposition in the SWP in 1939-40. Even in the context of some of the most heinous counterrevolutionary crimes of the Soviet government — the destruction of the Bolshevik Party, the strangulation of proletarian revolution in Spain by the Kremlin bureaucrats, the beheading of the Red Army — Trotsky never characterized the bureaucracy as counterrevolutionary through and through." But Shachtman certainly did.

Defending Baron von Mannerheim's Finland against Soviet intervention, Shachtman argued that in Poland the Red Army had acted only as a "counterrevolutionary force." Trotsky, who saw the possibility for a social transformation in Finland coming with the Red Army intervention,



Max Shachtman.

pointed to the expropriation of the capitalists and large land owners in Eastern Poland which took place despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state. Against Shachtman he argued: "the Kremlin with its bureaucratic methods gave an impulse to the socialist revolution in Poland.... This impulse in the direction of socialist revolution was possible only because the bureaucracy of the USSR straddles and has its roots in the economy of a workers state."

As Trotsky noted, the seizure

of eastern Poland was both "a pledge of the alliance with Hitler" and "a guarantee against Hitler" through the nationalization of semi-feudal and capitalist property. To understand this means understanding real dialectical materialism as opposed to the cynical shell game of "dialectics" employed by the Healyites. For years they were distinguished by obfuscating, idealist lectures on the ever-mystical "dialectic" which nobody could understand — except Healy. Only the self-declared "founder-leader" was meant to understand, just as only he could determine "security" clearances. "Dialectics" and the "Security" slanders were the underpinnings of the Healy cult, designed to keep the membership completely confused and above all intimidated by their omnipotent leaders.

DAVID NORTH: A JOSEPH HANSEN OF THE SECOND MOBILIZATION

But just how is it that David North has come to embrace the politics of Joseph Hansen — a man he has reviled as the sinister arch-nemesis of Trotskyism and slandered as the number one agent responsible for the supposed infiltration and takeover of the SWP by the US government? Applying the demonology of Healyism to North himself one can only ask: can he be far behind? Not subscribing to the paranoid conspiracy theories that are the stock-in-trade of Healyism against their opponents, we can trace the political genealogy of Hansen/North's shared anti-Soviet revisionism back to the source.

In his 1953 document "What the New York Discussion Has Revealed," Hansen proclaims, "I trace the current differences back to the discussion on Eastern Europe.... First of all, in taking the position that Stalinism had brought about an overturn in property forms in these countries, I raised the question myself as to how this affected our estimate of the political character of Stalinism. My answer was that the power to make such changes did not require us to revise the concept of Stalinism developed by Trotsky. Stalinism still remained counterrevolutionary to the core."

Leaving aside Hansen's wrongful attribution to Trotsky the view that the Kremlin bureaucracy was "counterrevolutionary to the core," his analysis of the differences that developed within the SWP and the Fourth Inter-

national are quite to the point. The SWP had a very hard time for a couple of years explaining how deformed workers states were created in Eastern Europe. So did the leadership that emerged at the head of the Fourth International in Europe where the most promising cadres had been killed by war and by fascist and Stalinist repression. As we noted in "Genesis of Pabloism" (Spartacist No 21, Fall 1972), they were confronted with the question:

"...is the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism correct if Stalinism shows itself willing in some cases to accomplish any sort of anti-capitalist social transformation? Clinging to orthodoxy, the Trotskyists had lost a real grasp of theory and suppressed part of Trotsky's dialectical understanding of Stalinism as a parasitic and counterrevolutionary caste sitting atop the gains of the October Revolution, a kind of treacherous middle-man poised between the victorious Russian proletariat and world imperialism."

Empirical evidence tore a gaping hole through the Trotskyists' post-WWII attempt at wooden orthodoxy. The impressionistic Pablo simply threw overboard "the old Trotskyism" and declared that the Stalinists could play an "objectively revolutionary" role; his conclusion was deep entrisism into the Stalinist and mass reformist parties in Europe. During 1951-53, Pablo's liquidationism led to the destruction of the Fourth International. The SWP (with Healy in tow) waged a belated and partial fight against Pabloism, splitting out the anti-liquidationist International Committee. But a few years later over the Cuban Revolution the SWP followed suit and Joseph Hansen was the main theoretical apologist. The need for a Trotskyist party was dropped as Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillas were embraced as the modern-day equivalent of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

In the name of combatting Pabloite revisionism the Healyites reacted by simply putting a minus where the SWP put a plus. Making a caricature of the sterile, formal "orthodoxy" that had characterized the post-World War II SWP, the Healyites argued that since there was no Trotskyist party in Cuba no social transformation had taken place — in short they stood Pabloism on its head. In contrast the Spartacist delegation to the

Continued on page ten

Labor's Strikebreaking in Cold War I

The 1949 Coal Strike

In 1986 the Hawke ALP government carved up the militant Builders Labourers Federation. Now it has the strategic coal mining unions in its sights. It is timely, then, to recall the last great confrontation between a Labor government and the working class, the 1949 coal strike, broken by Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley's troops. Today this historic strike is slandered by Laborites as a "Communist conspiracy," and repudiated by "older-but-wiser" Stalinists and social democrats as "an ultra-left adventure." These same tendencies would today shackle the miners to the Labor government and the bourgeois state machine, promoting the chauvinist lie that the miners' enemy is in Japan rather than their own rapacious coal bosses and the Hawke government. They would have the miners go down without a fight. In Cold War II, a period of escalating imperialist anti-Soviet war preparations, when under the ALP/ACTU Accord virtually every strike becomes a political confrontation with the government, the lessons of 1949 need to be drawn. In 1949 the miners knew that if you don't fight you lose. Recognising the Arbitration courts as their enemy, they defied its rulings and fought to defend their jobs and livelihoods. However their militancy and enormous fighting capacity were not enough.

A watershed of the post-war period, the 1949 miners strike was above all a political confrontation on the terrain of the Cold War between anti-communist Laborism and the then-Stalinist Communist Party of Australia (CPA), which dominated the leadership of the Miners Federation. For seven weeks the 23,000 miners were pit-



Miners' strike support rally in Newcastle, August 1949.

ted against the coal bosses and the state in a struggle which deeply polarised Australian society, nearly brought the country to a standstill and was finally broken when, in the most dramatic and best-remembered use of the army to break a strike in Australian history, the Chifley Labor government sent troops into the mines as scabs. NSW Labor MP J J Maloney's claim that "If this strike lasts four weeks there will be a state of revolution in Australia," (quoted in Edgar Ross, A History of the Miners' Federation of Australia) captures some sense of the stakes involved. From day one this crucial battle posed the question — which class shall rule? To win, the miners needed to take on and defeat the state forces arrayed against them and bring down the Chifley govern-

ment, whilst defeat of its leading battalions would cripple the proletariat's class struggle for a protracted period. Then, as now, the working class confronted a crisis of revolutionary leadership. The miners' CPA-dominated leadership, because of its reformist loyalty to the capitalist state, and in particular the ruling ALP, was wholly inadequate to lead them to victory.

MINERS TAKE ON "BOOTS AND ALL" CHIFLEY

The CPA took over the leadership of the Miners Federation in 1934, after it had been heavily defeated in the 1929 northern coalfields lockout, in which a miner was killed on a mass picket line at the famous "Battle of Rothbury." Working in one of the most strategic sections of the economy, in a notorious boom-bust and desperately unsafe industry and living in compact, often rural, communities, the miners had historically been the vanguard of the proletariat. They knew a picket line meant "don't cross." The bitter memory of the Depression fuelled their determination to fight and throughout 1949 a showdown was clearly coming.

In April, the union served demands for a thirty-shilling weekly wage rise, long service leave, improved amenities and, centrally, a 35-hour week to counter the bosses' "rationalisation" plan, which threatened wholesale mine closures as mechanisation replaced the pick, shovel and horse underground. In the ensuing negotiations, Arbitration, in the form of the Coal Industry Tribunal, backed the bosses' provocative line, supporting their applications for no-strike injunctions and withholding its final award on the miners claims. Incensed by this attack on the right to strike, the miners, at mass meetings on 16 June, voted by a ten-to-one majority to strike from 27 June,

in defiance of Labor's Arbitration holy cow.

In 1949, the country depended on coal for power generation and, with stockpiles low in mid-winter, the strike immediately had a tremendous impact, especially in the key coal-mining state of New South Wales. Industry and public transport shut down and unemployment quickly reached the half million mark (out of a total population of only eight million), though some layoffs were deliberate provocations. Ten thousand steelworkers were locked out in Newcastle and Wollongong and soup kitchens appeared in industrial areas for the first time since the Depression.

From the outset Chifley, declaring that it was "boots and all," met the strike with a combination of state repression and a propaganda offensive against the "communist conspiracy." Emergency legislation was rushed through parliament making it a crime for unions registered with the Arbitration Commission to raise funds for the miners. When CPA-led unions like the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) and Ironworkers (FIA) responded by hiding their funds, the Arbitration Court jailed eight key union leaders for "contempt," including CPA



Strikebreakers in khaki on their way to coalfields. Chifley's use of troops was decisive to breaking strike.

RAILWAYMEN— DON'T HANDLE ARMY COAL!

THE single result from handling coal mined by the Army will be the defeat — not of the miners — BUT OF YOUR OWN AND EVERY OTHER TRADE UNION.

No single union can stand alone against the onslaught of the State, with its armed forces, police, propaganda and Courts of "Law."
But "Boots Off" threats by Governments, Press and Big Business will become anemic mouthings if met by the unflinching steadiness of brother unions standing together in a solid, united front.

THIS MUST BE REMEMBERED

Handling of Army coal will not only play into the hands of those who hate true labor most — BUT WILL DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN RAILWAYMEN AND MINERS to the detriment of the whole Trade Union Movement.
RAILWORKERS — it is in your hands. Victory for the miners means victory for the Australian workers.
DEFEAT means jailings, political hatred, regimentation, subjugation, violence, thought control and THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS.
REMEMBER — coal is black in more than color today.

RAILWAYMEN —

Win this fight for the working-class — for Australia — FOR YOURSELVES!

DON'T HANDLE ARMY COAL!

Authorised by R. Hamilton, Kyle House, Macquarie Place, Sydney.
Revolving Print, 31 East Street, Perth, W.A.

Miners' leadership called on railworkers to black coal, but did not organise pickets to enforce it.

members Idris Williams, Bill Parkinson and Jock King of the Miners Federation, Jim Healy and Ted Roach of the WWF and Jack McPhillips of the FIA. Though left-wing unions continued, often illegally, to support the strike financially, the CPA leadership never called for solidarity strike action despite the jailing of the legendary Healy, a calculated state provocation. This refusal to broaden the strike front doomed the miners to isolation and eventual defeat.

LABOR: "COMMUNISTS TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS"

In contrast the government went on an all-out anti-communist

offensive. Twenty-three CPA Central Committee members were summoned by the Arbitration Court for grilling about party funds and two weeks into the strike, fifty cops staged a police-state-style raid on CPA headquarters, Marx House in Sydney, seizing its files and records. The Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, threatened the CPA at a mass meeting in the Sydney Domain, "If it was up to me, into a concentration camp they would go," and raved:

"This is not a strike for the redress of grievances, for more money or better conditions. It is a communist conspiracy. It is the greatest act of political skulduggery that has ever been perpetrated on the people of Australia and it will smash the Communist Party. And the miners had better be careful, or it will smash their federation"

— quoted in Phillip Deery, ed, Labour in Conflict
— The 1949 Coal Strike

The ALP sent its MPs to the coalfields with this red-baiting campaign, telling the miners to return to work and submit their claims to Arbitration. Everywhere the miners howled them down, recognising that red-baiting serves the bosses. But with economic hardship hitting home and the bulk of the union bureaucracy backing Chifley, the Laborites had more success outside the coalfields. On 15 July the right-wing NSW branch leadership of the Railways Union defied its national leadership and "authorised" its members to transport stockpiled coal to the power stations. Although the miners stood firm their leadership did not attempt to mobilise mass picketing to stop this strikebreaking, further sealing their isolation.

The blow which finally broke the miners' resolve was Chifley's announcement on 26 July that the army would be used to mine coal in open-cut mines. The miners replied that you can't mine coal with bayonets and the government well knew that troops would never be able to produce more than a fraction of normal output. Indeed, they left the mines a shambles when the strike ended. But when several thousand troops began work on 1 August, it was a dramatic demonstration of the government's determination to break the strike at all costs. ALPers in the miners leadership, basing themselves on the newer and less militant pits, and capitalising on the miners' isolation, began white-anting the miners' solidarity and pushing a back-to-work movement. Ten days later mass meetings of miners voted down a CPA-supported leadership resolution to stay out by a three-to-one majority, returning to work on 15 August empty handed. By this point, the majority of miners, seeing no prospect of broadening the strike front, believed the strike was lost and voted to go back to preserve the union intact.

Fighting a war on Communism, the bourgeoisie was determined to decisively break union power and provoked the miners into a defensive strike. A revolutionary leadership, realising this and knowing that the miners could not hope to win alone, would have sought to broaden the strike. Solidarity strikes by the waterfront



"You were a communist and you ratted," militant miners at West Wallsend shouted at ALP Senator Donald Grant, protected by cops. In WWI, Grant had been one of the twelve Industrial Workers of the World leaders jailed on frame-up arson charges.

and rail unions (then CPA-led) to stop the movement of coal and also against the draconian jailing of their leaders, as well as strike action by unions in the steel and power industries which depended on coal, would have been crucial. Mass pickets were necessary, especially flying pickets to bring out the ranks of the other unions against the treachery of their Laborite leaderships. It was vital to split the ALP's mass base away from the treacherous pro-capitalist tops. Strike committees needed to be formed, with a new, class struggle leadership at their head, to coordinate and deepen the struggle. To defeat the naked force of the state, the strike had to be transformed into a general strike.

A revolutionary party would have sought to draw in broad layers of the oppressed through raising a transitional program. For example, fighting for a sliding scale of wages and hours to ensure the right to employment and decent living conditions for all against the government's austerity program. Key to this would be demands aimed at the specially oppressed, organising the unorganised. Amongst these would be full citizenship rights for new immigrants who were treated like concentration camp victims in government camps. And for equal pay and equal rights to address the special oppression of women, thrown out of factories en masse as soldiers returned, and whose standing in society was so low they weren't even allowed in

bars. Solidarity with Aboriginal stockhands who were striking for equal wages would concretely demonstrate an internationalist commitment to the Asian masses. A revolutionary party would fight for working class action in defence of revolutionary struggles in Asia and for defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Through its principled opposition to all forms of class collaborationism, in particular to the ALP, and in struggle to establish itself as the "tribune of all the oppressed," a revolutionary party would have been in position to mobilise broad sectors in opposition to the ALP's broadside against the miners. Trotsky's transitional program, that of the Fourth International, alone provided the basis for organising for the conquest of power to build a socialist society.

The CPA was no revolutionary party. Its decades-long adaptation to White Australia and nationalist blindness to the needs of the especially oppressed, and its fundamental loyalty to the ALP as the mass reformist party of the working class paved the road for defeat of the miners' strike and the years of reaction which followed.

COLD WAR WITCHHUNTING

We Trotskyists insist that defence of the USSR means class struggle at home and there is probably no better demonstration of the truth of this than the 1949 coal strike, which was provoked by the bourgeoisie under the dic-

tates of Cold War. The opening shots of Cold War I were the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, barbaric demonstrations of US power to the USSR, which had defeated Nazi barbarism and occupied Eastern Europe, and by 1949 the Cold War was in full swing. Stalin betrayed revolutionary opportunities in the western half of Europe but, under the pressure of the imperialist Cold War, overturned capitalist rule in the eastern half. Fearing the spread of revolution out of the ashes of the war, the imperialist victors embarked on the policy of "containment" of the "red menace" — the post-war reconstruction of Western Europe (NATO, the Marshall Plan) and Japan as anti-Soviet bulwarks, combined with vicious McCarthyite witch-hunting of the Communist "enemy within" at home.

It was the Labor government which began the Cold War witch-hunt in Australia. The major vehicle was the Industrial Groups, set up under ALP aegis to "fight the communists cell for cell" in the unions and in fact run by the secretive and sinister Catholic "Movement" of BA Santamaria, which worked hand-in-hand with the newly formed ASIO secret police and the CIA. By 1949 a Group led by ex-Trotskyist renegade Laurie Short was on the verge of taking over the CPA bastion, the FIA, aided by court-controlled union ballots and jailings of FIA officials.

The bourgeoisie needed to break the power of the CPA in the unions. In 1945, after growing rapidly in the reflected glory of the Red Army's victories, CPA membership peaked at around 23,000 and it dominated that year's ACTU congress. In a country where the bourgeoisie distrusted even the ALP, with its occasional socialist rhetoric for the benefit of its working class base, the CPA's proclaimed loyalty to the Soviet Union made it a treacherous "internal fifth column." In 1945-49 CPA-led waterfront unions banned Dutch shipping in support of Indonesian independence. For all the loyal pro-imperialist intentions of the trade union bureaucracy which led them, these bans provided genuine assistance to the Indonesian independence struggle, and by interfering in the conduct of Australian foreign policy they were an intolerable infringement on the

Continued on page fourteen

John Fairfax & Sons Ltd



Strikebreakers Chifley (right) and Evatt. Miners' leader, JH King is led handcuffed from jail to face Arbitration Court for another charge of contempt.



David North...

Continued from page seven

1966 conference of Healy's International Committee argued:

"... the petty-bourgeois peasantry under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October. That is why we are led to define states such as these as deformed workers states. And the experience since the Second World War properly understood, offers not a basis for revisionist turning away from the perspective and necessity of revolutionary working-class power, but rather it is a great vindication of Marxian theory and conclusions under new and not previously expected circumstances."

— "Spartacist Statement to International Conference," *Spartacist* No 6, June-July 1966

The Healyites' opposition to the SWP over the Cuban Revolution had little to do with fighting the Pabloist liquidation of Trotskyism. In fact Healy's line was that the Fourth International had been rebuilt, the International Committee was it, and Pabloism was simply proto-Stalinism. In contrast the Spartacist delegation to Healy's 1966 IC conference argued that the actual reconstruction of the Fourth International could only be achieved through completely rooting out this revisionism: "Up to now, we have not done very well, in our opinion, in smashing the Pabloites; the impact of events alone, no matter how favorable objectively or devastating to revisionist doctrines, will not do the job." As we pointed out: "The 'orthodox' movement has still to face up to the new theoretical problems which rendered it susceptible to Pabloism in 1943-50 and gave rise to a ragged, partial split in 1952-54." This was borne out in the Healyites' embrace of various "Third World" Stalinists like Ho Chi Minh and Mao's "Cultural Revolution."

For daring to raise our political differences openly in 1966, we were denounced by Healy

as petty-bourgeois American chauvinists, and expelled for refusing to confess to the charge. False confessions were a matter of "discipline" in the political cult of the megalomaniac Gerry Healy, the man whose shoes David North is desperate to fill. Almost two decades later Healy himself was ousted amidst lurid charges of moral turpitude leveled by his former lieutenants. In an interview "On the 1966 Split" in *Spartacist* (No 36-37, Winter 1985-86) covering the subsequent rather spectacular implosion of Healy's British Workers Revolutionary Party, comrade James Robertson commented:

"... we have some stuff to say now, because we were the principled people the whole way. And I would suggest that

Leon Trotsky in Mexican exile. His last political battle was against petty-bourgeois faction that abandoned defense of Soviet Union.



Patfinder Press

the main reason is not some morality associated with Americans versus English persons, but that over a long period of time, through many fights, through one tendency after another, we stood concretely for the defense of the Soviet Union, against imperialism, and against the damn Russian bureaucracy. That has in fact been our political compass, and it also generates a certain cultural superstructure and a certain morality."

THE "PRINCIPLES" OF POLITICAL BANDITS

The Healyites had no such compass. Despite their inverted Pabloism over Cuba, denying that a social revolution ever took place, Healy's International Committee had a perfectly Pabloite tailist line toward the Vietnamese Stalinists and went on to herald Mao's "Cultural Revolution." It was their support to the mythical "Arab Revolution" in 1967 that provided the theoretical prep-

aration for their various forays across the class line, some of which have come home to haunt them. And it was under the cover of "anti-Stalinism" that the Healyites hailed the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist regime.

While they lined their pockets with Arab gold and availed themselves of the forces of the bourgeois state against leftist political opponents, the Healyites would still invoke Leninist "orthodoxy" when it suited their purposes. Last year saw North screaming foul at the SWP for using the capitalist courts against the workers movement, to wit suing the Workers League for costs in North's years-long court suit against the SWP (see "David North and the Law," *Workers Vanguard* No 430, 12 June

1987). More recently, witness the 1988 "Election Manifesto" of the Workers League's candidates for president and vice president. The call to "establish the political independence of the American working class from the capitalist class" is rather remarkable from an organization which continues to drag leftists through the bosses' courts.

The WL's election manifesto also demands that "The working class must defend the Soviet Union." But repeatedly over the past two decades North's Workers League has taken the side of virulently anti-Soviet forces — with Khomeini's mullahs in Iran, with the CIA's company union Solidarnosc in Poland, with US imperialism's Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan. To cover for their anti-Sovietism the WL has invented a global conspiracy between Washington and Moscow. Or rather, they borrowed it from Pierre Lambert, Healy's one-time bloc partner, who regularly vituperates against a "counterrevolutionary Holy Alliance, sealed at Yalta," supposedly uniting the White House and the Kremlin. They just leave out the Cold War, and for a reason.

"Down with Imperialism and Stalinism! Unite Soviet and American Workers" was the front-page headline of a "Workers League Political Committee Statement" in the 27 May *Bulletin*. This slogan, equating the bureaucratic misleaders of the degenerated/deformed workers states with the capitalist class enemy, comes straight out of Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. "Long live the struggle of the youth against the Stalinist bureaucracy and imperialism!" was the clarion call for the Lambertistes' 1971 Essen Conference. The OCI's Stalinophobia led it straight into the camp of the most rightwing

Cold War social democrats. For example, several dozen of the OCI's members, including Lambert himself, served as paid functionaries of the French social-democratic union Force Ouvriere, which has been linked to the notorious CIA operative Irving Brown going back to 1947.

Applied to the US the Northites' resurrection of this slogan leads straight to the State Department "socialism" of Norman Thomas and Max Shachtman in his later years. The *Bulletin* writes that "Gorbachev's policies of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) are the road to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the transformation of Stalinist bureaucrats into capitalists." Evidently, for the Northites, no counterrevolution to overthrow the remaining gains of the October Revolution would be required, just a cold transformation of the Soviet degenerated workers state into a capitalist state imposed from the top. As Trotsky argued, this is to run the film of reformism in reverse, positing a peaceful transition from a workers state to capitalism.

The Northites' "analysis" of where Gorbachev's Russia is going is unmitigated Third Campism, which parenthetically is a quintessential expression of petty-bourgeois American chauvinism — the charge which Healy came up with and North continues to trumpet against the Spartacist League. North's view is reality seen through the prism and under the pressure of US imperialism. As Trotsky argued against Shachtman and Burnham in "A Petty-Bourgeois Opposition in the Socialist Workers Party":

"A vulgar petty-bourgeois radical is similar to a liberal 'progressive' in that he takes the USSR as a whole, failing to understand its internal contradictions and dynamics. When Stalin concluded an alliance with Hitler, invaded Poland, and now Finland, the vulgar radicals triumphed; the identity of the methods of Stalinism and fascism was proved! They found themselves in difficulties however when the new authorities invited the population to expropriate the landowners and capitalists — they had not foreseen this possibility at all!"

-- LD Trotsky,

In Defence of Marxism

Healy and North also charged the Spartacist League with being "agents" of Joseph Hansen because we were among the first to protest Healy's despicable "Security and the Fourth International" slanders. In protest demonstrations outside Workers League meetings we defended Hansen as "an honest revisionist." That's more than we can say for North and his gang who have grievously crossed the class line so many times that who, what or where they are is forever a subject for debate.

We waged a relentless political struggle against Hansen's anti-Trotskyist revisionism. Healy could never have done so because it would mean confronting his own politics. So he "explained" the SWP's degeneration by slandering Hansen as a government agent who was hired to infiltrate and destroy the SWP. Yet here is

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

When Healy's WRP/IC spectacularly blew up in 1985, special issue of *Spartacist* explored political roots: two decades of cynical political banditry. To receive a copy, send \$1.50 to Spartacist ANZ Publishing Company, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW 2001

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 36-37 ENGLISH EDITION WINTER 1985-86 ONE DOLLAR/75 PENCE

HEALYISM IMPLODES

— With —

Documents and Interviews on the WRP's Buried History

The Far Left: 1900-1920

British Communism Aborted

See Page 64

Application for Membership

From Healyism to Trotskyism

We print below an application for membership in the Spartacist League (SL) by comrade James A, edited for space reasons.

Dear Comrades,

After being in contact with the Spartacist League for over a year and an active supporter for some months, I am in agreement with the program of the SL believing it to be that of revolutionary Trotskyism and apply for membership as such, being willing to submit to the discipline of the party. I was a member of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) for about six months and the Communist League (CL) for about a year and I feel that this should be confronted.

My first contact with the SLL was when I was sold a subscription to Workers News by one of their members who was selling door-to-door. At the time my perspective was basically Laborite though I was becoming increasingly disillusioned by the Labor Party's various betrayals (SEQEB, BLF, etc) and was interested in what the SLL had to say. A few months later I was invited to a public meeting. After the meeting it was put to me that I should apply for membership. After considering it for a few seconds I agreed and was handed an application form on the spot and filled it out there. A few weeks later two members of the branch I was to join got in contact with me and after about an hour's discussion I was invited to a branch meeting the next week.

Internal life in the SLL mainly

consisted of paper sales (usually door knocks) and political discussion generally kept to weekly affirmations of "Security and the Fourth International" though occasionally we were able to discuss other subjects. On one such occasion, during an informal discussion I mentioned how hypocritical it was for the bourgeois press to be supporting the mullahs in Afghanistan when these so-called "freedom fighters" were executing schoolteachers for educating women. Only to be told that we support them on the grounds that it was a struggle for self-determination.

With the expulsion of Healy many things began to change so I decided to stay on and see what happened. Two distinct tendencies developed. One (the majority) who, while admitting that certain mistakes were made, refused to admit that the SLL was responsible in any way, claiming that "we were in political short pants at the time," and tried to lay the blame solely at the feet of the British section. The minority took the position that the SLL followed the line of Healy in supporting the execution of 21 Iraqi Communists and taking money from Libya in exchange for political favours, and were just as responsible as those left in the WRP and a factional struggle was formed along these lines. During this time I learned a lot about the politics and betrayals of the SLL and discovered that the SLL had printed the Bell of Saigon, and was convinced that the SLL had as much

to answer for as anyone. Another example was when, during a discussion on the Young Socialists' constitution, a long-time SLL member pointed out that the constitution said they had to defend the oppressed, and exclaimed: "Oh no, does this mean we have to defend homosexuals now?"

This fight was cut short when the majority put forward a resolution stating that membership in the SLL be conditional on recognition of the ICFI as the world party of socialist revolution, and members refusing to sign such a statement would be expelled. The minority took the line that the authority of the ICFI had to be built and would refuse to sign on that basis. I supported the minority on the grounds that a leadership that got to where it was by toadying to Gerry Healy and then refused to take responsibility for its past could not lay claim to any such authority. When this resolution was passed the minority split and told me that they would be forming another party and invited me to join them.

The CL did take on some political questions. They denounced Healy's agent-baiting "Security and the Fourth International" and came to the conclusion that Cuba is a deformed workers state (the SLL still claim Cuba to be bourgeois) but on many others their position was not to have one. This became something of an absurdity.

Eventually it was decided that we should try to get some sort of program together. During one of

the meetings a number of positions were put forward for debate, one of which was on Afghanistan, calling on the Red Army to withdraw stating that it was up to Afghan Trotskyists to make a revolution. The only criticism of this was that it was too ultimatumistic and we shouldn't be telling the Red Army what to do. I didn't find out if this position was adopted as we broke for lunch before we could further discuss it. During lunch I decided to leave and that was the last I saw of the CL.

After a few months of being politically inactive I started to re-read a few things by Lenin and Trotsky and started to get interested in communism again. I decided to contact the SL. It was about this time that the Labor Government announced its plans to scrap the dole for under-18-year-olds and I was so angry that I could no longer vote for the people who did it, so I was pretty impressed to find that the SL's line was no vote to Labor back in 1983.

What most impressed me was the way in which the SL were able to explain the degeneration of the Healyites and the Fourth International in general, pointing to the SLL's anti-Sovietism and the CL's unwillingness to break with it. Also very important was the general wish that contacts be thoroughly educated in the politics of the SL as opposed to groups like the SLL, SWP and IS who sign on members with very little education or discussion at all.

In ending this letter I would like to say that I am looking forward to taking part in the building of the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution along the programmatic lines of Trotskyism/Leninism.

James A.

North peddling Hansen's "counter-revolutionary through and through" line. Any of the WL leader's acolytes who accept the demented logic of his "Security" scam ought to be asking some nervous questions. How did it happen? Did Hansen secretly recruit North? And who will the next "great leader" be?

Consider the fate of North's former liders maximos. Yesterday's self-declared "founder-leader" Gerry Healy is today's KGB agent, according to the Bulletin. In North's eyes, every one of Healy's lieutenants (except North himself, of course) has become a demoralized renegade — from Banda to Cliff Slaughter, the longtime "theoretical" mouthpiece for Healyite crimes, who now admits that the "Security" slanders were a fraud. And let's not forget Tim Wohlforth, Healy's former hapless American toady, who warmed the seat North now occupies at the head of the Workers League. Wohlforth was axed amidst allegations of CIA connections through the family of his girlfriend Nancy Fields. Actually, to say he was axed is unfair to the real character of Wohlforth — he even voted for his own expulsion. Truly the son of "the god that failed," in 1981 Wohlforth resurfaced in the pages of New Left Review in the role of saved-again social democrat denouncing Soviet totalitarianism.

Stalin never claimed that all

the Bolshevik Central Committee at the time of the October Revolution were counterrevolutionary spies and traitors. Exempted were Lenin, a few who died early and a couple who lucked out and died a natural death at old age. David North, the new boy of the IC leadership, declares that every well-known leader of the British Healyites (SLL/WRP), and not least the leading American satellite, Wohlforth, are degenerate if not deeply flawed or downright wrong from the beginning. Thus North claims that he is the legitimate heir to what? At least Stalin, by hiding Lenin's break with him, could claim the great Lenin. Moreover, Stalin could cite himself as an "Old Bolshevik." But North, until the final implosion of the WRP, was a self-confessed toady to the "great" Gerry Healy and the heir to Tim Wohlforth.

Only someone who wanted to be "the Leader," no matter of what, would be so desperate to claim the heritage of authentic Healyism. To any rational elements in North's WL and IC we can only say: Your organization is rotten through and through and to the core! North is attempting to secure his position at the head of an organization with a heritage of corrupt links with various murderous Arab colonels and sheiks. That this is not a suitable vehicle for the socialist liberation of mankind is a vast understatement.■

Trotsky...

Continued from page three

The Soviet people in the search for the truth about their own history will rediscover the courageous Left Oppositionists, whose commitment to international socialist revolution armed them for irreconcilable battle against Stalin's destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party and program. As an eyewitness at the prison camp of Vorkuta reported, when the Trotskyists were shot during the bloody spring of 1938, "As they marched away, the condemned sang the 'Internationale,' joined by the voices of hundreds of prisoners remaining in camp."

The Trotskyists do not look to

the bureaucracy, but to the Soviet workers to restore the Bolshevik leaders to their rightful place in history. Soviet democracy will only be restored through proletarian political revolution which will oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy in fighting to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution throughout the world. As Trotsky wrote at the height of the Moscow Trials: "Revolution will unlock all the secret compartments, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise memorials to the victims of wantonness, and cover with eternal infamy the names of the executioners" ("The Beginning of the End," June 1937). Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

— Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No 456, 1 July 1988

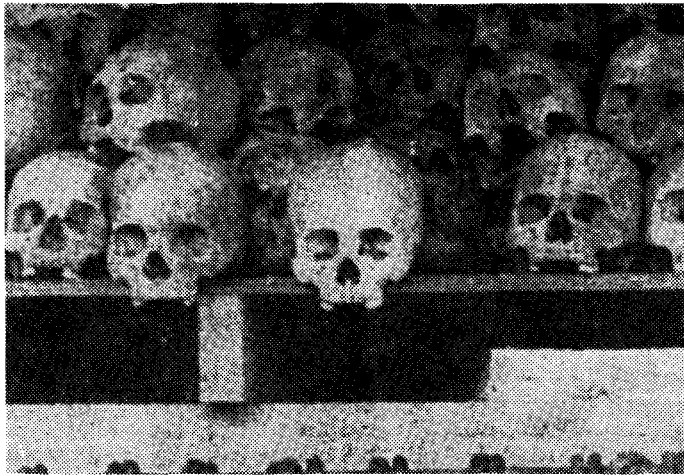
JUST OUT!

A reprint in pamphlet form of three articles from Workers Vanguard, analysing the economic situation in the East European deformed workers states in the context of perestroika and counterposing the Trotskyist program for centralised economic planning based on workers democracy. Also includes "The Bukarin Dossier."

\$1.50 (32 pages)

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





Mass murderers Pol Pot (left) and Ieng Sary (right). Mounds of skulls in Pol Potist extermination camp.

Kampuchea...

Continued from page one

murderous Khmer contras and their imperialist paymasters. All the Western talk of a "coalition government" and "free elections" is a transparent cover for their real design — to force a bloody capitalist counterrevolution against the terribly weak PRK bureaucratically deformed workers state. This could only mean a terrible new reign of terror for the Kampuchean people and, given the military and political weakness of the contras, direct imperialist military intervention doubtless in the guise of a "peace-keeping force," which the Japanese government has already offered to finance.

But that is not all. Not only are the nations of Indochina a geographic and in part economic unit but the Kampuchean border is less than fifty miles from the heart of Ho Chi Minh City. The imperialists are rubbing their hands with glee at the prospect of massively tightening the military/economic squeeze on Vietnam, already one of the poorest countries on earth, in order to wreak bloody vengeance against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, whose historic defeat of US and Australian imperialism in 1975 marked the end of the "American Century." And wherever there's a whiff of counterrevolution, there is the pope — in a symbolic act in June, the Vatican canonised 117 Vietnamese priests killed last century in anti-colonial uprisings. The Hanoi regime must know that the possibility of counterrevolution in Kampuchea opened up by too rapid a military withdrawal potentially poses a mortal threat to the Vietnamese workers state itself.

GORBACHEV UNDERMINES DEFENCE OF USSR

The Gorbachev leadership, in pursuit of the profound illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, is leaning on its toughest ally, Vietnam. For what? Even bourgeois commentators accept that there is one thing that all Kampucheans agree on. The Vietnamese army must stay in Kampuchea until the threat of the return of the Pol Pot gang and their Sihanoukist front-men is obliterated. To do that against the sinister US/Chinese Stalinist alliance, Vietnam and the PRK need massive Soviet-bloc aid. The Soviet working class has a direct interest in demanding that they get it, for it was the decades-long heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism that bought precious time for the USSR to achieve

nuclear parity with the US. And it is the Soviet nuclear shield that stays the hand of the war-crazy imperialists. The Vietnamese should get whatever they need to complete their internationalist mission and clean up the Khmer reactionaries for good.

In putting the squeeze on Hanoi, the Kremlin is angling to improve relations with China as well as appease imperialism. Next on the agenda is a Soviet-Chinese meeting in late August to discuss



Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Kampuchea. The Deng regime has long demanded Kampuchea as the price for the normalisation of relations with Moscow. Peking's alliance with US imperialism predates the Vietnamese intervention against Pol Pot but it has been drawn in blood against Vietnam ever since. The invasion of Vietnam in 1979 was a bloody disaster for the Chinese army but they have maintained the pressure ever since, reflecting the frustrated chauvinist appetite of the Chinese bureaucracy to dominate Indochina like the Han Chinese empires of old. The Chinese Stalinists' alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Union, accompanied domestically by policies of "market socialism" which fuel pro-capitalist forces, is ultimately suicidal. If US imperi-

alism were ever to prevail over the USSR then the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution would be in deadly peril.

In confronting the US drive to war against the Soviet Union, anti-imperialist unity from Moscow to Hanoi to Peking is necessary. In 1982, at the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the international Spartacist tendency addressed this question:

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... A generous gesture explicitly motivated: 'Well, it looks like the US is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess. So you have a grievance; whether it's just or unjust is immaterial to us at this point, within the framework of practicality just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you.' That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.

"Next, clean up Afghanistan."
— "Reagan, Begin and Hitler,"
Workers Vanguard no 308,
25 June 1982.

Instead Gorbachev is abandoning Afghanistan, opening the way for a bloodbath of Afghan leftists and women, and putting the squeeze on Vietnam to pull out of Kampuchea, which could be equally disastrous. The Kremlin is simultaneously appeasing the US and attempting to improve relations with Peking within the context of the Deng regime's ongoing alliance with imperialism. This "new thinking" can only undermine the defence of the Soviet

The "Cocktail Party." Front row, left to right: Khieu Samphan, Sihanouk's son, Prince Ranaridh, Son Sann, Hun Sen, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Vietnam's Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach.



Union. Real communist unity against imperialism requires nothing less than proletarian political revolution to sweep aside the parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic castes in Peking and Moscow on the basis of a rebirth of Leninism — the program of Trotskyism.

HAIL THE RECONSTRUCTION OF KAMPUCHEA!

In January 1979 the Vietnamese army in a typically brilliant campaign liberated the Kampuchean people from Pol Pot's deathgrip. The Vietnamese and their Kampuchean allies of the Salvation Front — surviving Kampuchean communists who had led desperate revolts in the eastern provinces against Pol Pot in 1978 — found an utterly devastated land and people, a veritable hell on earth, littered with corpses. Urban areas, including Phnom Penh, were depopulated ruins. Factories, schools and hospitals no longer existed. Even currency and markets had been abolished. The staple rice crop failed and famine stalked the land as the surviving population searched for lost relatives.

Pol Pot's murderous horror had helped bring the Khmer nation to the point of extinction but the mass murder had begun long before — by the US imperialists and their allies including Australia. For Washington their aerial onslaught against Cambodia and its people was a "side-show" to their decades-long effort to crush the Vietnamese Revolution. For four years after 1969, the US airforce, directed by Nixon and Kissinger, dropped the conventional equivalent of 150 atomic bombs of the Hiroshima type (or 100 tons of explosives for every person in Cambodia) on the countryside, wrecking the primitive rural economy and social fabric and killing hundreds of thousands of peasants. Now Reagan and Hawke have the nerve to lead a "crusade" against Vietnam in the name of Kampuchean "independence."

It was the US bombing, above all, that ensured the ascendancy of the xenophobic Pol Pot clique within the Kampuchean Communist movement, creating the conditions for the bizarre and utopian peasant autarky of "Democratic Kampuchea." Returning from their studies in Paris after the end of the war against French colonialism in 1954, Pol Pot and Co steadily took over the Kampuchean party from the veterans of the Vietnamese-allied Issarak guerrilla struggle, by murder and whipping up anti-Vietnamese chauvinism. For this purpose, Pol



Social and economic reconstruction in Kampuchea: Phnom Penh in 1979 after overthrow of Pol Pot (left) and today (right).

Pot demagogically exploited the betrayal of the Cambodian Issarak at the 1954 Geneva conference, betrayals forced upon the Viet Minh by their Soviet and Chinese Stalinist allies, most of all Zhou En-lai. Though they controlled large areas of the country, the Issarak delegates were excluded from the conference, their forces denied even a regroupment zone and finally completely disarmed. Of the thousand or so Khmer communist cadre evacuated to Hanoi in 1954, only 30-40 remain alive. Most were murdered by Pol Pot after returning to Cambodia after 1970, alongside all other communists who fell foul of Pol Pot's murderous paranoia, many in the ghastly torture chambers of Tuol Sleng prison. Pol Pot killed the real Khmer communists, then committed genocide!

When the peasant-based Khmer Rouge guerrilla army entered Phnom Penh in April 1975, it smashed the ramshackle US-backed capitalist state. But, violently opposed to any alliance with the victorious Vietnamese Revolution, the dominant Pol Pot clique instead shut the country off from the world and carried out the brutal, total and immediate depopulation of the cities. At a stroke, this not only shattered capitalist property relations but any rational economic base for the regime and thus any constraints on the ruling clique. Most of the economic infrastructure of a modern society that existed was abandoned or destroyed; the educated strata and small working class necessary to operate it were deported to become rural slave labour. Furthermore the regime alienated its original peasant base through measures like communal eating, which destroyed family life, and collectivisation of peasants' property down to the pots and pans. Endemic mass starvation and accompanying mass terror produced violent instability and a widening spiral of purges within the regime. In desperation, the ultra-chauvinist Pol Pot clique, harking back to the mediaeval glories of Angkor and harbouring megalomaniacal dreams of reconquering "Kampuchea Krom" — for centuries part of southern Vietnam — recklessly picked a fight they couldn't win with Vietnam. By the time the nightmare was over, at least one million and perhaps as many as two million had died.

In 1979, we said that history would decide whether or not the Vietnamese occupiers in Kampuchea would be seen as national oppressors or liberators. The verdict has long been in on that ques-

tion. Kampuchea, although still a desperately poor country, has made a remarkable recovery. Phnom Penh, then a ghost town, is now a bustling city of 800,000 people. The critical rice harvest has gone up from 538,000 tonnes in 1979 to nearly two million tonnes in 1986. The always tiny industrial base has been largely revived with aid from the Soviet bloc and Vietnam and a small layer of trained health, education, technical and administrative personnel — a strata which was either wiped out or fled to the West — has been recreated mainly through scholarships to the Soviet Union.

Politically the Popular Revolutionary Party of Heng Samrin and Hun Sen has grown to have over 20,000 full members and nearly 50,000 candidate members, reaching into all regions of the country. The Phnom Penh army is increasingly effective and provides reasonable security throughout most of the country, as even the bourgeois pro-ASEAN Far Eastern Economic Review affirmed recently: "the security situation in Kampuchea is essentially under control" (25 February, 1988). Over the past three years the Vietnamese have been able to almost halve the size of their army. In spite of incredible difficulties, a real, albeit modest, economic and social reconstruction of Kampuchea has begun. The Kampuchean people now have a future! It needs to be understood that Vietnam, itself struggling with the legacy of 40 years of imperialist devastation, has made great military and economic sacrifices in aiding the Kampuchean people, maintaining the fourth largest army in the world, mainly along the northern border to ward off the Chinese.

Since 1979 the strategy of the US, Australia, ASEAN and China has been to "bleed Vietnam white" through military pressure and a total economic blockade of Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Khmer contras exist only through Western and Chinese aid and thanks to their Thai bolt-holes. They live off a "refugee" population in Thailand which is artificially sustained by large-scale Western "humanitarian" handouts and are in effect political hostages ruled by gangster terror. The Western imperialists have banned all governmental aid from reaching the 7.5 million people actually living in Kampuchea in order to tighten the screws further on Vietnam.

As the diplomatic manoeuvring is stepped up, the military pressure against Indochina continues. The Thai military, armed by the

US and China and frustrated at the military impotence of their Khmer allies and agents, fought and lost a border war with tiny Laos from August 1987 to February this year, attempting a naked land-grab operation along the poorly defined frontier. In March this year China launched an offensive against the Vietnamese presence in the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, sinking three Vietnamese cargo ships. According to Hanoi seventy Vietnamese seamen were missing after the attack. While the far-flung Spratlys are little more than a collection of rocks whose ownership is disputed by virtually every country in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese occupy the largest of these islets. There are unconfirmed reports of oil deposits but the real significance of the Spratlys is their strategic position almost halfway between the huge US bases in the Philippines and the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, and astride Japan's vital trade routes with the oil-fields of the Middle East and with Europe.

**DEFEND VIETNAM!
DOWN WITH HAWKE/HAYDEN!**

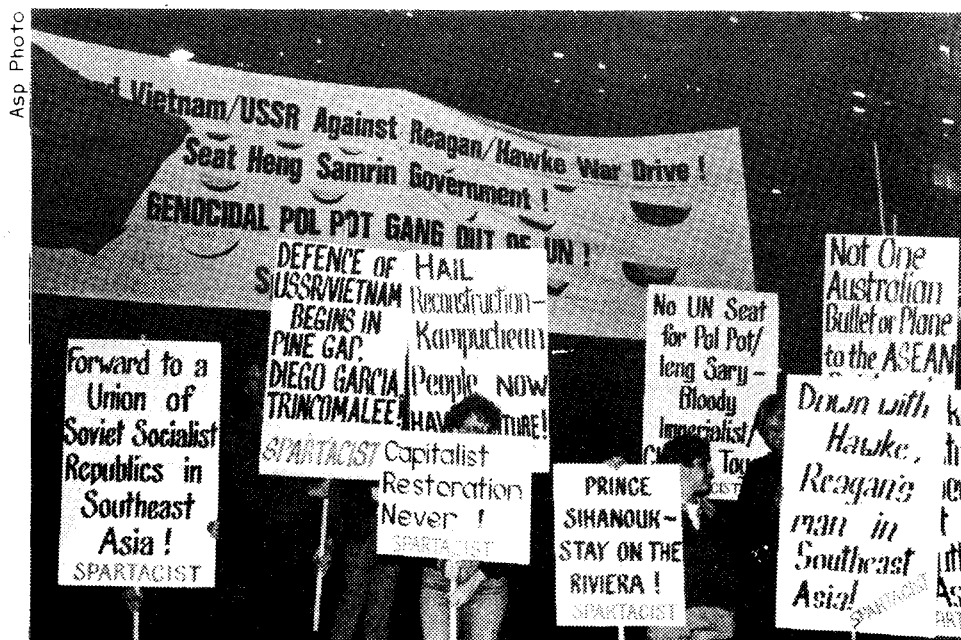
Australia under Hawke has been a gung-ho participant in the relentless US/China/ASEAN drive against Vietnam. On taking office Hawke/Hayden as one of their first acts reversed Labor's pledge of economic aid to Vietnam. This was the signal that Hawke was Reagan's man in Southeast Asia. Since then, Canberra has consistently given political and financial support to the Khmer contras while attempting to distance itself diplomatically from the notorious Pol Pot. In his various forays through Southeast Asia and Indochina, Hayden's brief has been clear — to get the Vietnamese

army out of Kampuchea and above all the Soviets out of the Cam Ranh Bay naval base. Now Hayden crows that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal vindicates his "peace" diplomacy. The Soviet presence is vital for the defence of Vietnam and provides a real, albeit small, counter to Washington's nuclear war plans against Vietnam and the USSR, in which the US bases at Subic and Clark in the Philippines as well as the closely interconnected US bases in Australia, such as North West Cape and Pine Gap, play a vital role. It is the retention of those US bases in Aquino's deeply unstable Philippines which is now the main foreign policy preoccupation of the Hawke government.

The Spartacist League has insisted that it is the duty of the left and labour movement to defend Vietnam through hard class struggle against our own racist capitalist class. For instance, when Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (now CCP party leader) visited Australia soon after Hawke's election during a period when China was bombarding Vietnam's northern provinces we held a spirited rally outside his state banquet in Sydney chanting; "Zhao/Hawke/Reagan — Hands off Vietnam!" and "Smash ANZUS/ASEAN — Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" Amongst our placards was one proclaiming: "Stalinism undermines the Workers States!"

Class-struggle defence of Vietnam is all the more urgent because Australia has become the second most important haven, after the US itself, for the Vietnamese fascistic leftovers from the Saigon puppet regime. Admitted to White Australia as the anti-communist exception to the racist

Continued on page fifteen



Spartacist League demo in Sydney, September 1983, demanding "Genocidal Pol Pot Gang out of UN!"

Miners' Strike ...

Continued from page nine

prerogatives of bourgeois state power. This action awakened the worst fears of the bourgeoisie — Asian revolution infecting their own wage slaves. It was an excruciating problem for the ALP, party of White Australia par excellence, viewed by the US as a bunch of "pinkos" and governing for a ruling class anxious to prove to the US that Australia was a reliable base for war on Communism in Asia. One week before the miners strike, CPA general secretary Lance Sharkey was sentenced to three years jail for treason for stating that, "If in pursuit of aggressors, the Soviet troops came to Australia, the Australian working class would welcome them in the way they were welcomed by the people of Europe" (Merritt and Curthoys, eds, Australia's First Cold War, Vol 1).

XENOPHOBIA FUSED WITH ANTI-COMMUNISM

In 1949 in Asia communist-led guerrilla wars were underway in Vietnam, Malaya and the Philippines, and in China Mao's communist-led peasant armies were about to defeat Chiang Kai-shek. The victory of the Chinese social revolution struck terror into the Australian ruling class, fusing its long-held "yellow peril" racist xenophobia with Cold War anti-communism into deadly fear of revolution in Asia. "We have twenty-five years at most to populate this country before the yellow races are down upon us" screamed Arthur Calwell (Curthoys and Merritt). At war's end the Australian ruling class was in the process of switching its historical dependence for protection from Britain to the US. Terrified about the US reconstruction of Japan, Foreign Minister Evatt was pressing the US for treaty guarantees, which led to the signing of ANZUS in 1951.

The revolutionary turmoil in Asia which the ruling class so feared provided enormous opportunity for an internationalist leadership to link the struggles of the Asian masses with their own against their common imperialist enemy, then in the process of establishing itself as the southern border guard of the US Pacific empire. But with the degeneration of the Communist International under Stalin the CPA had long since gone over to social chauvinism and class collaborationism.

Like the CPs in all the Allied countries it followed Stalin's "democratic war against fascism" line, loyally serving its "own" imperialist government by policing the working class, preventing and even breaking strikes in the interests of the "war effort." Wedded to defence of the Australian capitalist state, it shared the ideology of its ruling class, promoting anti-Japanese, anti-Asian racism. Tribune (16 August 1945) ran a vile racist cartoon celebrating the atom bombing of Japan.

CPA: FROM WWII STRIKE-BREAKERS TO "LIQUIDATING REFORMISM"

Conventional Cold War "wisdom" has it that the CPA cynically ordered the strike to provoke a confrontation with the ALP government, regardless of the miners' interests. The recent ABC TV mini-series, "The True Believers," promoted this myth, deifying Chifley and portraying CPA CC member Edgar Ross, then editor of the union paper, Common Cause, in McCarthyite caricature, as a cynical red manipulator who wanted to "start the revolution now." But the truth is the CPA had profound reformist illusions in the ALP. They told the miners that a "short, decisive struggle" would secure a quick victory, believing the Labor government would "settle this within a week," in Idris Williams' words. True to reformist form, the CPA leadership at the last minute got cold feet and tried to avert the strike. As ALP Senator James Ormonde, the PR officer for the Joint Coal Board, sneeringly commented:

"They stirred up all the heat and agitation, and they would advance to the second last ditch. Not the last."

— Kylie Tennant, Evatt, 1970

The CPA feared a confrontation the very nature of which would bring it into open battle with the state. In a letter to the Sydney Morning Herald (2 July 1988) Ross (now a Socialist Party member) reiterated that: "Far from inspiring the strike, the top leaders of the Communist Party were concerned with its implications and advised against it." He added that Sharkey wanted to give the bosses' Arbitration courts one more try but that the miners would have none of it.

Under the growing pressure of Cold War and the impact of the 1945-47 strike wave the CPA began talking out of the left side of their mouths. In March-April 1948 a hard-fought CP-led rail strike in

Queensland was able to win some economic gains in the face of vicious repression by the state ALP government. The CPA took this as the signal for what Sharkey called a "bolder stand in the trade unions," thinking this was their chance to win away a chunk of Labor's working-class mass base. Sharkey told the Central Committee in February 1949 (quoted in Deery):

"we simply go out and tell the working class that we are the party of the working class — not the reformists, those atom bomb warriors who are going to press buttons thousands of miles away and blow up the workers' Soviet Union.... In the coming period our aim is to liquidate reformism as the decisive party in the working class movement."



Edward McCormick

Jim Healy, WWF General Secretary (right), jailed by Chifley in 1949, with Dan Singh (left), Indian Seamen's leader, addressing wharfies and Indian seamen during 1945-49 bans in support of Indonesian independence.

This was an abrupt change in rhetoric from the CPA, but not in appetite. The Stalinist parties had long since become what Trotsky described as "Mensheviks of the second mobilisation." They lived with the contradiction of being loyal not simply to Moscow, but to their own bourgeoisies. Pathetically, the CPA's grandest vision was of transforming themselves into a mass party of reformist parliamentary pressure on the capitalist state, like the French and Italian Stalinists. Because of their subservience to the counter-revolutionary diplomatic policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Stalinist parties were capable of crimes which the social democrats often did not have the cohesion to carry out. During the war, the CPA was the most rabid scabherding force in the labour movement, preventing and busting strikes, most notably the 1945 Trotskyist-led Balmain Ironworkers strike. The authority of the October Revolution became in the hands of the Stalinists a powerful tool of class treason.

LABOR ENTRENCHED COLD WAR REACTION

The Chifley regime paid the price for smashing the strike four months later, when much of the working class stayed home in disgust and the resulting electoral debacle put Labor in the wilderness for 23 years. Thousands of ALP members quit and entire branches and districts were thrown out in the wake of the strike. With the defeat of the strike came the Menzies years of Cold War reaction, combined with growing prosperity in the wake of the Korean war. These were the

years of Menzies' narrowly defeated 1951 attempt to ban the CPA, of ANZUS and the establishment of the US bases, and of Australian lackey imperialism's willing participation in every dirty counterrevolutionary war in Asia from Korea to Malaya to Borneo to Vietnam. The solid racist conservatism of Cold War I finally cracked when the class struggle opened up somewhat with the 1969 mass strike against the jailing of Maoist union leader, Clarrie O'Shea, and with opposition to Australia's dirty war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Initially the Stalinists claimed "victory" in 1949 because workers had learned "invaluable lessons on the true role of Labor governments" (JD Blake, quoted in Deery). However, in later years

memoirs of CPA leaders such as Blake, Ross and Ralph Gibson have joined ex-CPA historians like Robin Gollan and Alastair Davidson in a constant refrain that the strike was an adventure and the CPA's "ultra-left sectarianism" toward the ALP at least contributed to its defeat, a capitulation to the "red plot" hysteria. Their "lesson" — never, ever, try to take on the Labor Party in open battle. Since 1949 it's been a downhill slide for the CPA, to its present condition of anti-Soviet dissolution into social democracy.

Though it was heavily defeated, the 1949 miners strike stands out as a desperate defensive struggle against Cold War regimentation of the working class which laid the basis for the 1955 ALP split. That at least they did fight stands in contrast to the present ALP "left" Miners Federation tops, who are determined to hold back strike action no matter how many jobs are destroyed. They well know a national miners strike would spell the death knell of Hawke, whose Cold War II union-busting is no "betrayal of Labor principles" but makes him a worthy successor to Chifley, Curtin and all their loathsome ilk. If they are to fight today, miners need to know why the 1949 strike lost, and how it could have been won. The decisive ingredient for victory missing in 1949 was the leadership of a revolutionary internationalist party capable of exploiting the crisis to split the ALP's working class base from its leadership and break the Cold War isolation of the miners. That meant a Trotskyist party, forged to be the general staff of socialist revolution. ■

Subscribe!

Australasian

SPARTACIST



NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

STATE _____ POSTCODE _____ PHONE _____

Australasian Spartacist — 6 issues (1 Year) for \$3

(includes Spartacist)

overseas rates:

surface mail — \$3 for 6 issues

airmail — \$7 for 6 issues

Women & Revolution — 4 issues for \$5

Workers Vanguard — 24 issues for \$10

Workers Hammer — 10 issues for \$6

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

Kampuchea...

Continued from page thirteen

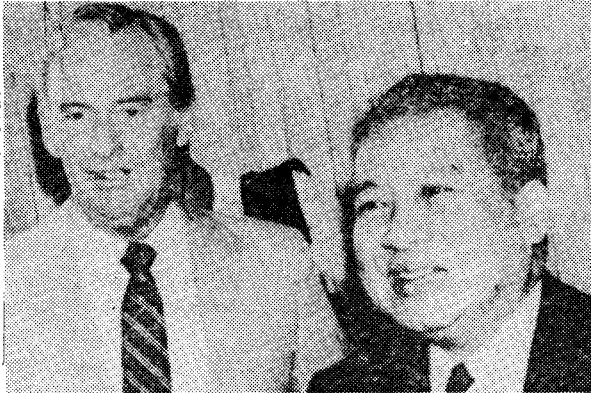
rule, the contras use Australia as a base for funding and recruiting for terrorist action against Vietnam. Australian-resident mercenaries were amongst those killed and captured when a 150-strong band was wiped out by the Laotian and Vietnamese armies in Laos during an attempted raid on Vietnam late last year. Canberra hushed up this affair but this activity could not happen without the knowledge and sanction of the government. For the white racist Australian bourgeoisie the war against the Vietnamese revolution has not stopped.

Much of the left, typified by the pro-Soviet Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, affect a paper "solidarity with Vietnam." But when the local Vietnamese fascists rampaged around the country in 1985 against left events celebrating the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon, they all took a dive. Now they hail in advance the Vietnamese withdrawal in the name of Gorbachev's "peace offensive." The future of the Kampuchean people, exposed anew to the CIA gangs on the Thai border, bothers these reformists not at all.

As for the political bandits of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Nick Beams and Mike Head, for a time they actually printed a local Vietnamese fascist organ, the Bell of Saigon, which in 1985 was inciting the rampaging contras to "kill communists." To this day the SLL defends this class treason as a "commercial" arrangement. Having for a period proclaimed

the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party to be objectively anti-Stalinist revolutionaries, Beams would now have his membership believe that the Soviet and Vietnamese party leaderships are out-and-out "pro-capitalist!" The SLL posits a cold, linear transformation of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states into capitalist states, imposed from the top. This is both stupid and

Australian Financial Review



Hayden, about to become the queen's man in Canberra, with Cambodian royalty in exile, Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

completely third-campist yet it does reflect the SLL's refusal to defend the workers states in the concrete.

FOR A GENUINE SOVIET FEDERATION OF INDOCHINA!

For poverty stricken Vietnam, fending off the counterrevolutionary alliance directed against it is an enormous economic burden. The new Vietnamese leadership under party chief Nguyen Van Linh has reacted to the emergence of the Gorbachev leadership in Moscow by adopting its own policy of glasnost and perestroika, called "doi moi." Faced with rapid population growth, economic isolation and with an economy based largely on urban and rural petty commodity production, Vietnam's experiment with "market social-

ism" appears to have been something of a disaster with inflation running at 700 per cent per annum. In June Hanoi announced that up to three million people in the northern provinces were facing famine and appealed internationally for food aid — without success. The imperialists and the Chinese Stalinists see in this growing economic crisis only an occasion for increasing the pressure on Vietnam. The working

class and the oppressed of the world owe a debt to the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Down with the imperialist economic blockade of the Vietnamese people!

The Hanoi regime is blinded by its own nationalist/Stalinist world-view. For the leadership the only solution to the country's isolation is to attempt to conciliate the ASEAN rulers rather than seek salvation in the extension of the revolution through the Southeast Asian neo-colonies. In particular, Hanoi is seeking an anti-China bloc with the Indonesian military, the butchers of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965. Hanoi has denounced the leftist insurgents in the Philippines as "Maoists," ostentatiously signalling its willingness to strike a deal

with the US lackey Aquino regime, which at present sits atop a social volcano. But successful social revolution in this strategic Southeast Asian nation would shatter the imperialist front directed against the Vietnamese people.

Whatever the bureaucratic deformations of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, their desperate poverty is overwhelmingly the legacy of four decades of imperialist war. Socialised property relations lay the material basis for rapid reconstruction, but there can be no significant improvement without massively increased Soviet-bloc aid. However the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union is not only nationalist, but under Gorbachev is increasingly turning inward. The plight of the Indochinese peoples can be solved only with a revolutionary internationalist perspective, within the political/economic framework of a genuine Soviet federation of Indochina. Ultimately, not only in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, but also in China, the construction of socialism requires proletarian revolution in the advanced West — the US, Japan and Australia. In particular, the Japanese proletariat in power could render immense material/technical aid to the rapid socialist transformation of Indochina. The precondition for socialist revolution in the capitalist West, as well as for proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states of the East, is the building of internationalist, Trotskyist parties forged in the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Bury the Accord...

Continued from page sixteen

Through June and July, the right-wing NSW Labor Council organised a series of token one-day strikes so angry unionists could blow off steam. Tens of thousands of workers turned out to demonstrate against NSW Liberal Premier Greiner's draconian anti-union legislation (most of which was adopted holus bolus from the preceding Labor Unsworth government), and for the ACTU's miserable six percent wage rise, in reality a real wage cut. In Melbourne, a shop stewards' rally on 16 June called by new left Trades Hall Council Secretary, John Halfpenny, to demand the six percent now turned into an angry demonstration. Workers stormed the Arbitration Commission, denouncing it, the wage case, and roundly abusing Kelty. In early July, a transport maintenance workers week-long strike was crowned by a one-day strike of half a million public service, building and metalworkers bringing Melbourne to a near standstill. Unnerved by the angry 16 June demonstration, Halfpenny's Trades Hall refused to call meetings or rallies during the strike. The ACTU, which had been threatening a national general strike, then called off all actions — a pledge to the government and bosses that industrial peace could be bought with a six percent rise.

The union tops are trying to keep the working class below boil-

ing point. It's making even the likes of John Maher, right-wing leader of the Shop, Distributive and Allied Employees Association plead to Hawke, "we demand that you assist us in our predicament, otherwise we can't guarantee our continued support for yourself or your government because our membership will not continue to support us" (Australian, 30 June). Following the election of Halfpenny (notorious for his role as best man to "Mr Fix-it" Hawke in selling out the 1977 Latrobe Valley power workers strike), the Victorian branch of the Federated Clerks Union, run by the NCC since the fifties, elected an ALP-left leadership. The Miners Federation itself repeatedly threatens to break its ties with the ALP, claiming that relations are at an all-time low since 1949.

Halfpenny's left posturing doesn't augur a period of union gains: it's a division of labour amongst capitalism's "labour lieutenants," with the militant-talking lefts to more effectively police the restive working class. But the rise of the left fakers has thrilled the various reformist outfits like the Communist Party, Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party, who all dutifully lined up behind the six percent campaign. As for the Socialist Labour League (SLL), they've lately disappeared their long-standing, absurd, Laborite campaign for the ALP lefts to "expel the Hawke/Keating right wing and form a workers government." They've also disappeared last

year's call for a national miners strike from their most recent line article on the miners (Workers News, 24 June). For all their vague calls for a new leadership with a "socialist program" the SLL has fallen into line with Maitland, who says the miners shouldn't struggle. All these small-time Laborites serve to further the delusion that the lefts diverge in program from the rights. Well, there's a fundamental political congruence here, a dirty yellow streak that runs from Hawke to Maher to Halfpenny to the SWP and the SLL: anti-Sovietism. For example, they vie to be the best supporters of reactionary Solidarnosc in Poland, Reagan and the Pope's "free trade union," which stands for counterrevolution and capitalist restoration.

FOR WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE!

The union movement in Australia has always been shackled by the institutions of the bosses state such as Arbitration. Under Hawke, this subordination has increased dramatically, with the active encouragement of the union tops, left and right, as shown from the Accord to the smashing of the BLF to the Australia Reconstructed scheme. What Leon Trotsky, leader of the Russian Revolution and the Fourth International, wrote in Mexico in 1940 is sharply true of Australia today:

"In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of

democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They can no longer be anarchistic, ie, ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

— LD Trotsky,

"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

With nearly every major strike action leading directly to a confrontation with the government and the state, as well as the labour bureaucracy, a class-struggle leadership is desperately necessary. The fight to oust the labour traitors is linked to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the lifeblood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust. ■



Miners Under the Gun - For a National Coal Strike!

Bury the ALP/ACTU Accord!

"The next battle is in coal," proclaimed Dr Ian Story recently in a meeting of the HR Nicholls Society, "where the companies will be fighting to get seven-day-a-week production and drastic reductions in shift loadings" (Common Cause, 29 June). This is no secret New Right conspiracy but the open agenda of the bosses and the Hawke government with the collusion of their lackeys in the ACTU. More than 3500 jobs have been lost in coal in the past year, with another 3000 slated to go, and conditions have been traded away, increasing production from 95 to 104 million tonnes this year. In mid-June, the Queensland coal bosses applied to the Coal Tribunal for coal production 363 days a year, on eight to nine hour shifts. They want to roll back conditions to 1916, when a hard-fought miners' strike won the eight-hour day, five-day working week.

With this knife to their throats, Queensland miners downed tools and appealed to fellow miners around the country to implement the national strike which has been threatened for over a year. The 30,000 miners struck for up to two weeks before Miners Federation leader John Maitland got a return to work promising ... more talk with the mine owners. Two weeks later, on 8 July, coal miners again went out in a week-long national strike, when the NSW mine owners joined the Queensland bosses' application to the Coal Tribunal.

The only strategy proposed by the snivelling Miners Federation tops is pressuring the government to set up a "Joint Coal Authority" which would supposedly force better prices out of the Japanese coal importers. It's reactionary and utopian. The Australian government cannot dictate prices to the international market: buyers will simply go elsewhere. This protectionist poison, which projects Japan as the main enemy, feeds reactionary White Australia racism, and coalesces with the current furore against Asian immigration. It lets the rapacious Australian bourgeoisie off the hook, making the workers responsible for their masters' profits and serving to keep a chauvinist straitjacket on class struggle.

The vulnerable Australian economy stays more or less afloat only with coal and agricultural produce which provide the major export income, a huge quarter of

which services the interest on the massive foreign debt. For the Australian capitalists the way out is "restructuring" the economy: starting with coal and transport (centrally the waterfront), to drive up the rate of exploitation and break union power. Hawke and Keating boast to the IMF and their Wall Street and Tokyo creditors that they have already slashed unit labour costs by at least ten percent. The miners' enemies are the bosses and the Hawke

Everything the working class has won of value has been achieved by mobilising its ranks in hard-fought class struggle — on picket lines, in occupations. The bosses are winning because the power of labour, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear.

The provocative union busting of the coal bosses must be met with a national miners strike. To win, all mines must be shut down solid, with mass picket lines that

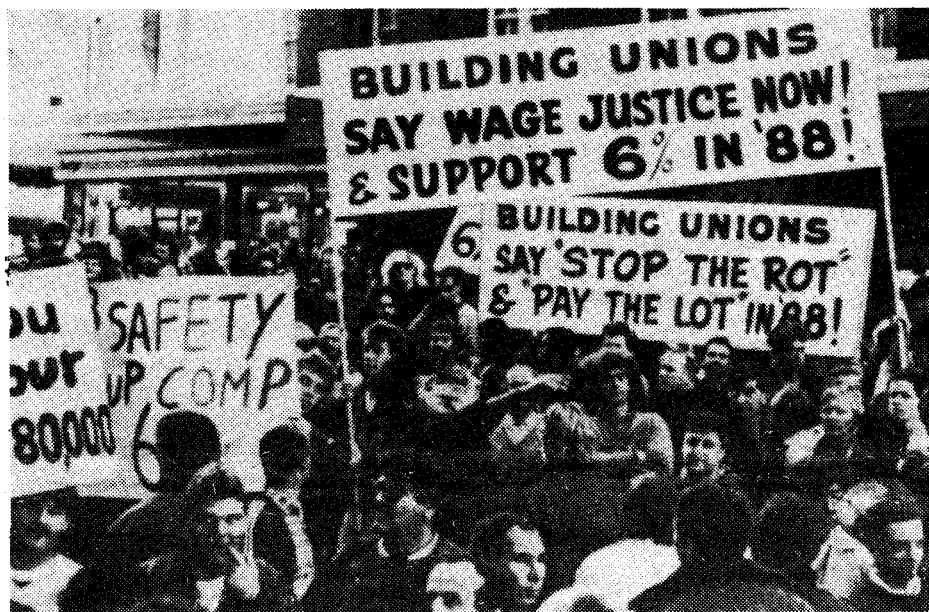
mined national strike can lead a class-struggle battle and win one for a change, putting a halt to the union busting and avenging defeats from SEQEB to the Peko Wallsend iron ore miners to the BLF. Raising a program of transitional demands — massive wage rises, a sliding scale of wages and hours to spread the available work around, for safety on the job and education and training for youth — would make it possible to mobilise workers in a 100 percent class struggle offensive. There's plenty of working-class opposition to living in heir-impatient Keating's banana republic. A battle in the coal fields would be explosive. We wrote almost a year ago:

"The miners are uniquely placed to lead a fight which would galvanise broad layers of this society — unionists, blacks, gays, women, who have suffered four years of Hawke's grinding austerity, union busting and vicious attacks on minorities — in action which could smash the capitalist 'consensus' and even topple Hawke's Cold War regime."

— Australasian Spartacist
no 122, September/
October 1987

Miners must absorb the lessons of the 1984-85 British miners strike, and especially of their own 1949 strike (see article page eight). First amongst these is that a strike in this strategic industry can expect to be met by a combination of the full repressive power of the state and its Laborite union misleaders. To fight the imperialist drive to roll back working class gains internationally — from the historic conquests of the Russian Revolution, to hard-won working conditions at home — the proletariat needs to fight for its own state power. And for that it's urgently necessary to construct a revolutionary workers party, ie, a Trotskyist party.

Continued on page fifteen



Union tops called token one-day strikes. Tens of thousands of angry workers turned out to demonstrate, 8 June, Sydney.

government: their allies are the working class, at home and abroad. The coal and iron ore produced by Australian miners fuels the steel and auto plants of Japan and South Korea, whose workers are ruthlessly exploited by their capitalists. In Karl Marx's immortal words, the workers of the world must unite! The solution lies not in salvaging capitalism, but in its overthrow internationally, and the construction of a planned, international socialist economy.

The bosses and the Hawke government have long since declared all-sided class war — against the Soviet Union, the peoples of the Pacific and their own working class. So far, on the home front they've won every time. From lefts like Maitland to the Hawke clones, Kelty and Crean in the ACTU, the labour bureaucracy are working overtime to ensure that the battle is not joined by the power of the working class in struggle, but derailed into the state's Arbitration courts and tribunals. No decisive gain of labour was ever won in a court room or by a government law!

really mean don't cross. A hard-fought strike would smash through the craft-union and regional divisions fostered by the union tops and the bosses and be the basis for welding together in struggle one powerful industrial union of mineworkers. Elected strike committees would be needed to plan and organise the strike and defend it against sabotage by the union tops. It would need to be quickly spread to other key unions. Central are the waterfront and transport unions which are next in line and must be called on to black all scab coal and join the strike.

The bourgeoisie is crowing that the miners are isolated. But the embattled miners in a deter-



Halfpenny (left) and Kelty: labour lieutenants of capitalism.

1949 Coal Strike... page 8