

Australasian

# SPARTACIST



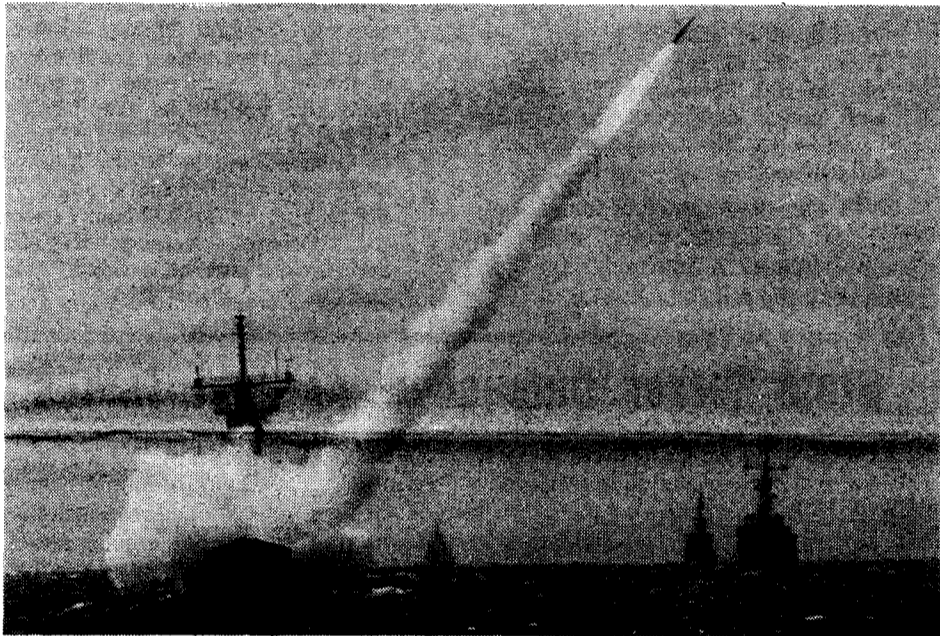
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**Smash US/Australian Anti-Soviet War Axis!**

## Hawke: Reagan's Deputy Sheriff in the South Pacific



HMAS Darwin: Hawke takes aim at Vietnam, South East Asia and Pacific peoples.

Kevin McGooblin/US Navy

The "Soviet threat" in the Pacific has always been a favourite theme of Cold War hysteria but this has intensified in recent months. The media, military "experts" and capitalist politicians of both government and opposition have really worked themselves into a lather over "Libyan terrorists," Red submarines and "spy ships" bristling with electronic intelligence gear beneath their fishing nets that supposedly infest the South Pacific. In reality, the Cold War Hawke government is aggressively pushing for a greater role as Reagan's regional "deputy sheriff" and is engaged in an ambitious military build-up. Moreover, the deep political crisis in Washington, coming on top of mounting regional instability most dramatically in the Philippines, has the rulers of mini-imperialist Australia, bastion of reaction and slavish US lackey, very scared. Hawke's easy victories against the working class at home, such

as the smashing of the BLF, have fed his appetite to heat up the war drive in the region. For proletarian internationalists, Hawke's class enemies abroad are our allies - the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states, the workers and peasants of Asia, the oppressed peoples of the Pacific.

In January, tiny Vanuatu signed a one-year agreement with the Soviet Union allowing Soviet trawlers to fish for tuna within its 200-mile economic zone and call at its ports, for a payment of \$US1.5 million. Its "non-aligned" policy including diplomatic recognition of Libya, Cuba, Nicaragua and the USSR and support to the Kanaks in New Caledonia does not make Vanuatu the "Pacific Cuba" of Cold War delusions. Foreign Minister Sela Molisa assured the US the deal with the Russians was "purely commercial," adding "this is the first time we have received a fair price for our

Continued on page five

## Gorbachev's Pipe Dream: Peace with Imperialism

**Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!**

The Tower Commission report officially told the American people what was always perfectly clear to everyone who had eyes to see, that Ronald Reagan is a moron and a liar. The victims of this vicious regime - workers who've had their unions gutted and broken, the black and Hispanic poor who've seen their children starved by the racist cutbacks - are now witnessing the sight of Reagan twisting slowly in the wind. But gloating over the downfall of the teflon president is not enough. Hard class struggle can turn this country around, galvanizing the sympathy of the ghetto poor and unemployed, farmers driven into bankruptcy, and all the intended victims of Ed Meese's thought and sex police. *Now is the time to strike back, not*

only against the crippled Reagan government but the whole racist capitalist system.

Instead, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev holds out his hand to the rabid warmonger Reagan as a partner in securing "world peace." *Business Week* (16 March) breathed a sigh of relief: "Just as the Iran-contra scandal was laying waste to the Reagan Presidency, the leader of the 'evil empire' held out the promise of an arms-control breakthrough on medium-range weapons in Europe." Administration hardliner Kenneth Adelman crowed that the latest Soviet offer "shows that the Russians have not given up on President Reagan." Not only has Gorbachev not given up

Continued on page four



Turnley/Newsweek

As Pentagon's first-strike missiles target USSR, Reagan and Gorbachev meet at Reykjavik last October.

# Protest Hits Lankan Butcher Athulathmudali

MELBOURNE: On 21 February around 350 Tamil people, joined by a contingent of a dozen supporters of the Spartacist League demonstrated outside St Hilary's Church, Kew, against Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka's Minister for National Security. The Sri Lankan regime of JR Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) has carried out years of murderous terror against the minority Tamil population, increasingly accompanied by repression against unionists and leftists. For a couple of hours this spirited rally kept up a series of chants against the butcher Athulathmudali.

Ostensibly here on a "private" visit, Athulathmudali had come to visit his accomplices in RJ Hawke's Australian regime, junior partners in Reagan's anti-Soviet war alliance. The Melbourne *Sun* carried articles and interviews praising the "moderation" of this butcher. Jayewardene

offers to the imperialists the strategic deep-water harbour of Trincomalee for US warships in their hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Tamils joined in our chant: "Down with JR's UNP. No US base at Trincomalee!" As our placards put it: "Defence of Vietnam and the Soviet Union begins in Trincomalee, Diego Garcia and Alice Springs!", "No US base at Trincomalee! US bases out of Australia!"

It is a stinging indictment of Hawke's kept Laborite "left", and their fundamental commitment to racist Australia and the anti-Soviet war drive, that the Spartacist League was the only non-Tamil organisation to join this important protest aside from a couple of salesmen of the Northite *Workers News* skulking round early on. In recognition of our principled stand and appreciation that there are leftists in this country who are not "White Australian

Melbourne: Spartacists and Tamils protest Lankan butcher Athulathmudali.



socialists", the Tamils applauded us for several minutes when we arrived at the site. We sold 88 pieces of literature and 18 *Australasian Spartacist* subscriptions. A telegram sent to the British Immigration Minister by the SL/ANZ was read to the demonstration:

"Outraged at attempt to expel 58 Tamil political refugees at Heathrow on 18th February. JR's armies and police daily butcher Tamils in Sri Lanka. We demand immediate full political asylum!"

Calling for the defence of the sacked Magnum Garments union militants (see box below), a Spartacist speaker addressing the rally concluded:

"The program of nationalism leads only to deepening communalism and fratricide. What can bring down JR's brutal regime and prevent communalist terror is island-wide class struggle. The perspective of internationalist class struggle in defence of the Tamils and, all the exploited and oppressed shows the way forward. Women workers, from the downtrodden Tamil women of the tea plantations to the mainly Sinhalese women in the factories such as the Magnum garment factory in Colombo will be in the forefront of victorious proletarian struggle. . . . For the right of Tamil Eelam! Forward to a Socialist Federation of Eelam and Lanka, part of a South Asian Socialist Federation!"

## THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PACIFIC

During its Fourth Congress the revolutionary Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky noted that "imperialist rivalry . . . has become so intense that a new world war, this time in the Pacific, is inevitable unless international revolution forestalls it," and issued the following directives to its sympathising sections in the Pacific:



TROTSKY



LENIN

"The task facing the Communist Parties of the colonial and semi-colonial countries bordering on the Pacific is to organise an intense propaganda campaign that will make the approaching danger clear to the masses, will call them to an active struggle for national liberation and will insist on an orientation to Soviet Russia as the bastion of all the oppressed and exploited masses.

"In view of the coming danger, the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries — America, Japan, Britain, Australia and Canada — must not merely issue propaganda against the war, but must do everything possible to eliminate the factors that disorganise the workers movement in their countries and make it easier for the capitalists to exploit national and racial antagonisms. . . .

"The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct a vigorous campaign against restrictive immigration laws and must explain to the proletarian masses in these countries that such laws, by inflaming racial hatred, will rebound on them in the long run. . . .

"The capitalists' intention to take the offensive can be properly dealt with in only one way — the immigrant workers must join the ranks of the existing trade unions of white workers. Simultaneously, the demand must be raised that the coloured workers' pay should be brought up to the same level as the white workers' pay. Such a move on the part of the Communist Parties will expose the intentions of the capitalists and at the same time graphically demonstrate to the coloured workers that the international proletariat has no racial prejudice."

— "Theses on the Eastern Question," adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International (December 1922)

## State Terror Unleashed Against Tamils

27 APRIL — As we go to press the Sri Lankan army has mounted a sustained air and sea bombardment of the northern Jaffna peninsula, stronghold of Tamil guerrillas fighting for a national homeland ("Eelam"). The government makes no secret that its carpet-bombing offensive is aimed at a bloodbath of the civilian Tamil population, directing the military "to ignore the presence of civilians" (The *Australian*, 23 April). Down with bloody state terror against the Tamil North!

JR Jayewardene's declared intention to turn the Jaffna region into a "free-fire zone" comes in the midst of a Tamil guerrilla offensive against the isolated army bases in the north. The official pretext was the atrocities against civilians, culminating in the 21 April bomb blast in the capital Colombo in which possibly as many as 200 civilians were slaughtered. JR immediately

blamed "Tamil terrorists" although as yet none of the Tamil nationalist guerrilla groups have claimed responsibility. However, they all countenance attacks on innocent civilians such as the 1985 massacre in Anuradhapura. Marxists condemn acts of indiscriminate terrorism which can only serve the ruling class and JR's bonapartist regime.

Sri Lanka is descending daily into savage communal civil war. Tamils in the largely Sinhalese south face the danger of bloody pogroms on the order of 1983 when hundreds were slaughtered by government-inspired chauvinist mobs. Against the maelstrom of communalist terror and state terror, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/Lanka fight for revolutionary class struggle across national and ethnic lines. For a federated workers republic of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

## Over \$1000 Raised for Sacked Lankan Strike Leaders!

In our last issue we called for support to four founding members of the union at Magnum Garments Factory in Colombo, Sri Lanka. These women had been sacked for leading a struggle in defence of bonuses, one of the gains won during their long strike in 1984 (see *Australasian Spartacist* No 119). Our fund drive to aid these four militant women in the long and difficult struggle to win back their jobs received an enthusiastic response and just over \$1000 (20,000 rupees) has been collected.

The bulk of the contributions came from trade unionist friends and supporters of the Spartacist League. We received a fine response from students at Sydney and Melbourne Universities where many small donations added up to nearly \$100. At Melbourne University clubs

ranging from the Power Lifters to the Debating Society donated money, while the reformist Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist clubs refused to give a cent. At International Women's Day marches in Melbourne and Sydney we collected \$55, and over \$20 was collected from members of the Tamil community in Melbourne following a demonstration against the Lankan National Security Minister Athulathmudali.

Fighting against the bosses in Jayewardene's brutally repressive Sri Lanka takes enormous courage and funds are necessary if these women are to win their struggle. We thank our readers and supporters. This fund drive represents a small but significant act of international class solidarity with oppressed and exploited women workers in Lanka. ■

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## “Fightback” Fraud

# Labor's Squeezed Lemons

The “National Left Fightback Conference” held in Melbourne over Easter with much public fanfare and bourgeois media attention was the latest in a series of “left unity” extravaganzas which have been going on for at least three years now. And evidently it was no more successful than any of its predecessors. Only 500 attended, probably most of them members of the participating organisations, and the weekend finished without any agreed “organisational structure” for unity. It was organised by as improbable a bunch of political losers and desperadoes as you’ll ever find — the anti-Trotskyist, pro-Ustashi Socialist Workers Party (SWP); the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) and Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (CPA[ML]) respectively; and the Labor Party Socialist Leftovers of Bill Hartley, Joan Coxsedge, and George Crawford — who were simply relieved that they managed to get through the four days without tearing each other to bits.

A conference statement claimed that unity around an “agreed range of policies” is the road to “struggle against the big business offensive.” But the only struggle these reformists are interested in is the upcoming federal elections. As Hartley told a Resistance meeting at Melbourne University on 2 April: “For the struggle to be effective it must mean pressure on the government.... The only thing it will respond to is electoral pressure ... a new force to change the electoral map.” “Fightback” is a fraud, an attempt to divert mass hatred of the Hawke government into safe parliamentary channels of pressure on the ALP. As a Spartacist speaker responded to Hartley: “It’s not a fightback at all, it’s a ‘talkback,’ and what we need is some hard class struggle, not more parliamentary cretinism.” What unites these reformists, huddling together for protection from the bourgeois state, is their hostility to class struggle and revolutionary Marxism, represented today only in the program of the Spartacist League.

Chief promoter of the “unity” racket is Jim Percy’s SWP, which makes a supreme virtue out of the most unbridled opportunism. Their partners have simply been frozen out of their niches in the union and ALP bureaucracy by the sharp rightward shift of Cold War II. The SWP’s “new party” conference in January, devoted to wooing its old rival the Communist Party (CPA), exhibited all the cynicism and despair of this decaying milieu. The SWP proposed to form a “new party” including the CPA, assorted greens, feminists, etc, without the slightest programmatic agreement. Jim Percy made clear what they don’t want: “it may be more effective to choose a name other than the traditional Socialist, Communist Workers or Revolutionary” so that “the many unconscious socialists” won’t be frightened away (*Direct Action*, 17 December 1986)!

A Spartacist sympathiser who attended this conference and has since joined the Spartacist League wrote:

“For me the public meeting was a lesson in how the rottenness of the SWP has spread among its membership from the leaders right down to the young rank and file.... Nationalist sentiment was rampant from speaker Darco Perusco assuring his audience



Laborite electoralist circus: from left, Neil McLean (CPA[ML]), Alan Miller (SPA), Crawford, Coxsedge, Pat Brewer (SWP), Hartley.

his APRA (Progressive Republican Association) members of Italian origin were now all proud Australians, to Max Taylor advocating a left-wing platform of nationalism and making ‘jokes’ about the new party being called National Socialist.”

While Taylor warned of the Soviet “threat,” Perusco urged them not to alienate monarchists!

With a frankness rare among reformists, Percy encapsulated the SWP’s program in a cynical remark to its January conference: “You can’t build a revolutionary party that’s not under the control of the ruling class one way or another in this country.” So they sell their services to the bourgeoisie for the best price they can get. But first they must thoroughly prove their undivided loyalty to Australian

capitalism, hence the SWP’s vicious hostility to revolutionary Marxism. Thus when Spartacist salesmen suggested the name “Democratic Labor Party” for the “new party,” one SWPer hissed that they may call it the “We Hate the Spartacists Party.”

### “Unity” with the Ustashi

Those who want unity with the SWP must swallow its sinister allies in the “left wing” Ustashi into the bargain. Beginning in 1982 with the wooing of the pro-Ustasha Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), the SWP has now adopted the “Croatian Socialist Party” of SWP member Jure Lasic as the current postbox for its corrupt connection to the reactionary nationalist milieu, which glorifies the mass mur-

dering Croatian puppets of Hitler’s Third Reich, and carries out anti-Yugoslav terrorist outrages internationally. The SWP has gotten away with it to an extent in Australia because the rest of the reformist “left” has decided to cover it up in the interests of “unity.” But it’s a different matter in Eastern Europe. Denis Freney of the CPA, in a talk at the Sydney Marxist Summer School in January this year, related how when the Builders Laborers Federation (BLF), doubtless at the SWP’s prompting, accredited none other than Lasic as its delegate to the Soviet-aligned World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) congress in East Berlin last September, the WFTU told this provocateur to get lost. There the memory of Auschwitz (and its Croatian counterpart Jasenovac), and the 20 million Soviet war dead, permits no relaxation of anti-fascist vigilance. In contrast, the Australian Stalinists of the SPA have for five years remained silent on this scandal. The crime of the SWP’s attempt to smuggle fascists into the workers movement is compounded by the endorsement their partners in “unity” have given it with their silence.

### Anti-Soviets and “White Australia” Socialists

A genuine programmatic unity of the reformist left was achieved over

Continued on page nine

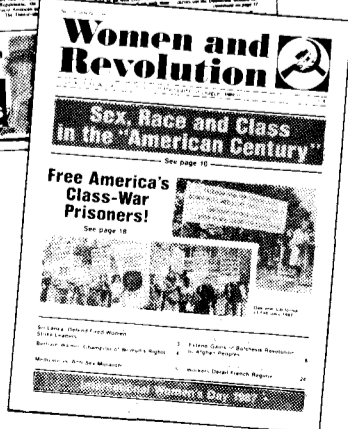
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# Gorbachev ■■■

Continued from page one

on Reagan, he has given in to him. The latest Soviet "arms control" proposal is the *very same* one Reagan made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, a first-strike weapon eight minutes flying time from Moscow.

Washington's so-called "zero option" was so one-sidedly advantageous to NATO forces, it was designed to be rejected by Moscow. And the Russians did reject it, then. They pointed out the "zero option," while calling for the removal of almost 500 Soviet missiles in exchange for a promise not to deploy US Pershing and cruise missiles, did not touch the British and French missiles targeted at their cities, nor did it affect US submarine-launched missiles in European waters. At the Reykjavik summit the Soviets insisted that a "Euromissile" deal depended on limiting Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme; now they have dropped even that condition. One of the US negotiators who first proposed the "zero option," Spurgeon Keeny, says the latest Soviet offer "is a far better deal than anyone would have prophesied" (*New York Times*, 4 March).

But all these negotiating moves, the endless offers and counteroffers at Geneva or Reykjavik, in no way reduce the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind. "Arms control" is a hoax which in fact serves to stimulate the development of new weapons systems. The NATO powers will not give up or limit any weapons unless they can be replaced by comparable or more effective ones. The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever weapons it considers necessary without being encumbered by "arms control" agreements with its implacable imperialist enemy.

Look at the 1972 SALT I treaty, which the Kremlin bureaucracy holds up as a model "arms control" agreement. Visiting the US not long after this treaty was signed, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev declared: "The quarter-century period of the Cold War is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West." Superficially, the SALT agreement froze the number of missiles on both sides. However, Nixon/Kissinger insisted on exempting the number of warheads which could be placed on a missile. In the decade following the SALT I treaty, the Pentagon simply multiplied the number of warheads per missile, increasing its nuclear arsenal to the tune of three a day! So much for arms control and detente.

## America's Main Export: Counterrevolution

Rabid warmonger Richard Pipes, formerly Soviet "expert" for Reagan's National Security Council, recently wrote: "Even a good [missile] deal would be a mistake, for the root of the problem is not nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 10 October 1986). No, the root of the matter is revolution and counterrevolution. Pipes makes no secret of his goal to overthrow the collectivized economy of the Soviet Union — the product of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution — and restore "free market" capitalism. However, the Soviet Union is too strong militarily and the loyalty of its people too deep for Western imperialism to risk a direct assault. Instead the strategy is to attack on the periphery of Soviet power. In the 1950s John Foster Dulles called this "rollback." Today it's



CIA-armed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read (left). At right: Soviet soldiers in Kabul. Hail Red Army in Afghanistan — Extend Social Gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan Peoples!

called the "Reagan doctrine" for exporting counterrevolution.

But the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union is bipartisan, including the Democrats as well as the Republicans. "Arms control" honcho Adelman summed up the immediate aims of the "Reagan doctrine": force Moscow to end "the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the continuation of military support of regimes in Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua" (*Washington Post*, 13 November 1986). In other words, the arms race is being used as a means of pressure on Russia to surrender Afghanistan to the CIA-armed Islamic fanatics, abandon the heroic Vietnamese people who inflicted upon American imperialism the greatest defeat in its history, let the racist butchers in South Africa take over Angola, and cut off support to Sandinista Nicaragua against Reagan's contras.

For the imperialists, a key test of Gorbachev's "desire for peace" is his willingness to abandon Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, to "freedom fighters" who shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read. Gorbachev has called the war in Afghanistan a "bleeding wound" and repeatedly declared his intention to withdraw all Soviet troops in a relatively short time. Perhaps the Afghan army — trained by the Russians and bolstered by popular support for land to the tiller and other democratic measures — can mop up the *mujahedin* scum by itself. But there appears to be an increasing danger that the new Soviet leadership will sell out Afghanistan for the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. After a meeting with Gorbachev last month, Henry Kissinger wrote:

"I had arrived in Moscow persuaded that the Soviet Union would never permit the overthrow of a regime established by Soviet power... I am no longer so sure. Our Soviet hosts emphasized their desire for total withdrawal. They also affirmed the goal of a government of national reconciliation that would include representatives of the guerrilla groups."

— *Newsweek*, 2 March

Der Spiegel



Gorbachev (left) addresses glitterati at "no nuke" extravaganza in Moscow. Participants included actor Kris Kristofferson (right), star of demented anti-Soviet soap opera *Amerika*.



Haqiqat Engelah Saver

We Trotskyists say: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan — Extend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan peoples!

## Gorbachev, Sakharov and the Glitterati

The Kremlin bureaucracy has preached and tried to practice "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism ever since Stalin, with his reactionary, nationalist theory of "socialism in one country." And the Gorbachev regime has played this theme over and over. Addressing the assembled celebrities at the "no nuke" extravaganza in Moscow last month, the new Soviet leader declared:

"Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavours to improve our country."

— *Moscow News*, 1 March

For the last decade, US imperialism has tried to browbeat, threaten or trick the Soviet Union into retreating from the international scene. No wonder this statement was greeted by Washington.

While Gorbachev certainly hasn't given up on Reagan, he is also appealing to out-of-office Western politicians, capitalists and media stars (the "glitterati"). His effort to sponsor a global popular front for "peace" was launched in mid-February with a "Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity." There were 250 businessmen, 215 clergymen, hundreds of scientists and a slew of retired NATO generals. Returning the compliment, retired high-ranking military officers in the USSR have formed a new group, Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament.

For a few days this winter Moscow was the "in" place to be for the jet set. Former Canadian prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, leading West German Social Democrat Egon Bahr, liberal American economist John

Kenneth Galbraith rubbed elbows with Norman Mailer, Claudia Cardinale and Yoko Ono. Actor Kris Kristofferson, fresh from starring in the vile anti-Soviet soap opera *Amerika*, was there, too. The atmosphere was that of a political rock festival. David Aaron, a former high official in the Carter administration, wanted to get into a crowded session featuring Andrei Sakharov. When he pulled strings in order to hear in person the Soviet dissident, an aide to Gary Hart quipped his efforts had all the dignity of trying to get backstage at a Rolling Stones concert.

Aside from Gorbachev, the other superstar at this "peace" confab was Sakharov, a man who had urged the US to deploy the MX missile (an acknowledged first-strike weapon) and to economically blackmail the Soviet Union into withdrawing from Afghanistan. Before releasing Sakharov from comfortable internal exile in Gorky last December, Gorbachev may have managed to turn him from his patrons in Washington. At the Moscow conference Sakharov spoke out against Reagan's "Star Wars" and applauded the new Soviet leader. However, he also spoke for Soviet collaboration with imperialism to maintain the global status quo:

"There must be a settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of compromise and restoration of stability wherever it has been disrupted. Support for destabilizing and extremist forces and all terrorist groups should be ended."

— *Time*, 16 March

"Terrorist groups" are what Reagan and his racist allies call national liberation movements around the world. The white supremacist rulers of South Africa label the African National Congress a "terrorist group"; the Zionists say the same of the Palestine Liberation Organization. To its credit, the Soviet Union has provided arms for the ANC and PLO. Sakharov's talk of "regional stability" means abandoning South African blacks and Palestinian Arabs in order to restore the stability of two of the most murderous, racist states on earth.

Sakharov's latest pronouncements wouldn't be all that important except they converge with Gorbachev's line. In his biography of the new Soviet leader, liberal Soviet dissident Zhores Medvedev notes that the Brezhnev regime played up its international successes, from the US defeat in Vietnam to aiding nationalist regimes in Africa and revolutionary movements in Latin America. By contrast, Medvedev writes approvingly: "if Gorbachev's foreign policy intentions are to be judged by the new Party programme, there will be less ideological expansion of the USSR in future, compared to what was promised in previous programmes.... The programme promises solidarity and cooperation with the 'Newly-Free Countries,' but no new substantive help" (*Gorbachev* [1986]).

Not all Soviet actions abroad in the name of "socialist solidarity" serve

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the cause of social progress and national justice. In particular, we strongly condemn the Kremlin's support to Ethiopia's Haile Miriam Mengistu, a left-talking Idi Amin who has crushed the nascent workers movement, exterminated an entire generation of radical intellectuals and committed genocidal terror against the Eritreans and other national minorities. But the NATO capitals are not much concerned about the Moscow-Addis Ababa connection. The imperialists are concerned about stopping the limited Soviet support to revolutionary and national liberation struggles from Southeast Asia to Central America.

### The Spectre of Trotskyism

Gorbachev's "peace offensive" is not a cynical ploy to gain the favor of Western public opinion, nor is it motivated simply by a desire to free up economic resources now expended on the arms race. The Soviet bureaucracy is genuinely frightened of nuclear war, and rightly so. They also reflect the mass sentiment of the people of the Soviet Union in a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. But there is also a sense among elements in the Soviet officialdom, intelligentsia and working people that appeasement, capitulating to the "Reagan doctrine," or allowing US imperialism to isolate and starve heroic Vietnam and take over Afghanistan are *not* the road to peace. In a broadcast from Moscow last month TV talk-show host Phil Donahue had a wide-ranging discussion with scores of Soviet youth on god, Communism, nuclear war — and couldn't get a single one to condemn Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as unjust.

Gorbachev sees Trotskyism behind any opposition to his headlong drive for "peaceful coexistence" with Reagan. At the Communist Party congress in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary wars" as a "Trotskyite" heresy and went on: "Today, too, we

are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New Times*, 10 March 1986). The wars now being fought by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea, the Soviet army in Afghanistan, the Cubans in Angola and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are resistance to the export of *counterrevolution*. There probably are people in the Soviet hierarchy who are less willing than Gorbachev to sell out Vietnam or Afghanistan for the sake of better relations with Washington. However, the answer to Gorbachev's version of "peaceful coexistence" is not support to more hardline elements in the Kremlin, who will betray and weaken the defense of the Soviet Union in other ways.

The answer is the organization of the workers of the world by an international revolutionary party to overthrow the war-driven capitalist system. And here the spectre of Trotskyism really does haunt the Soviet bureaucracy. Witness a revealing article by one Nikolai Vasetski in the Moscow-based *America Latina* (No 3, 1986) which polemicizes against an article in *Workers Vanguard* ("Carter/Reagan Nuclear War Fever," *WV* No 264, 19 September 1980):

"On the cardinal question of the day — defense of the USSR against imperialist aggression — the Trotskyists of the United States consider that Trotskyism is distinguished both from petty-bourgeois pacifism as well as reformism and centrism, because it recognizes the fact that the 'Euro-missiles' are aimed at the Soviet Union.

"But after recognizing this obvious fact, they draw the following conclusion: in order to defend the USSR it is necessary to carry out a permanent world revolution. The American Trotskyists are against all disarmament that isn't undertaken by the workers themselves. In their press organ they say that 'the possible destruction of the world by the missiles and other components of the imperialist war machine can only be averted by the

worldwide victory of the working class'....

"Disarmament' Trotskyist-style is a fig leaf to cover very different objectives for the Trotskyist leaders: to present Trotskyism as the far left pole of the antiwar movement (opposed to the supposedly reformist program of the Communists) in order to attract those workers whose class consciousness doesn't suffice to quickly understand the Trotskyist ideology."

It is perhaps no accident that a Stalinist polemic which admits that Trotskyism can attract revolutionary-minded workers appears in a publication directed at Latin America. For in



Spartacists protest ABC's Cold War mega-series *Amerika* in Washington, DC, February 15.

this part of the world hatred for Yankee imperialism runs very deep and is near universal. "Peaceful coexistence" with Washington means Pinochet's torture chambers, Central American death squads and Citibank sucking the lifeblood of the workers and peasants. At the same time, a victory for US imperialism in its "backyard" would spur on the war

drive against the Soviet Union. Truly, as we have proclaimed, "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" And a socialist revolution in Latin America would send massive shock waves to the imperialist colossus to the North, panicking Wall Street and electrifying the millions of Hispanic workers in America's factories and farms.

While Reagan is on the rocks, the thermonuclear-armed ruling class he represents is still in the saddle. The fate of the homeland of the October Revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed and toiling masses, and the very survival of humanity are inseparably bound to working-class revolution in the dominant imperialist countries, above all the United States. World revolution is no utopia but the only reality which can disarm the Pentagon. Lenin himself authored the plank of the 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which denounced "disarmament under capitalism" as a "reactionary philistine illusion of the petty-bourgeois democrats," calling instead for "arming the proletariat and achieving victory over the capitalists "both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars."

What Trotsky wrote in 1940, when Stalin was trying to appease Nazi Germany, retains its full force today as imperialism is preparing a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union:

"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle.... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brainchild of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 424, 20 March 1987

## Hawke...

Continued from page one

fish" (*Pacific Islands Monthly*, April 1987) — a striking contrast to the brazen disregard for the island states' sovereignty by the buccaneering US tuna boats. But any Soviet presence in the South Pacific is anathema to Australia's rulers, who greeted the fishing deal with dire warnings to the island states of Soviet "spying" and "subversion" following in the trawlers' wake.

Australian imperialism is the policeman of the South Pacific, where alongside New Zealand it can be a "great power" lording it over their tiny neo-colonies, condemning them to a future as impoverished, economically unviable island slums. The Hawke Labor government has tightly locked Australia into US global anti-Soviet war plans and backed Reagan to the hilt in every Cold War flashpoint from the KAL-007 war provocation to Grenada to the bombing of Libya. As Reagan's loyal anti-Soviet lackey, Hawke's Australia is entrusted with keeping the Russians out of its South Pacific backyard. The vast Pacific ocean depths are a key theatre of Cold War II. US nuclear-armed submarines like the Trident II, for which the Americans are building a new base in their colony Palau in Micronesia, are one of the main components of US plans for a nuclear first strike. Their success depends on not only the pinpoint accuracy of their missiles, but also on their being able to evade detection and pursuit by Soviet submarines. The Soviet navy in the Pacific, though far from matching the massive US war build-up under Reagan, nonetheless helps stay the hand of the

imperialist madmen from unleashing nuclear World War III. We defend the rights of the island states to conclude agreements with whoever they like against racist bullying by the arrogant minor-league imperialists in Canberra and Wellington, and the right of the Soviets to fish on the high seas, but the stakes for the international working class are much higher — above all defence of the historic gains of the Russian Revolution.

### Hawke — Pacific Bully Boy

The Australian Labor government wants as much of the Cold War action as they can get, reasoning that the more useful a US lackey they are, the better the deal they get from big brother. Thus the furore about "terrorism," a keynote theme of Cold War II, emanating of course from the imperialists' favourite "Soviet surrogate," Libya, which is establishing an embassy in Vanuatu soon and reportedly is training a small number of Vanuatians and Kanak separatists from New Caledonia in paramilitary techniques. Hawke, a fervent supporter of the Zionist terrorists who rule Israel and gung-ho for bombing civilians in Tripoli last year, frothed against Libya: "They embrace the tactic of terror." In the murderous language of his Zionist friends he continued: "I say quite deliberately that any countries in this region that enter into dealings with them are making a very grave mistake." (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April) This is a direct threat by the chief of the racist Australian state to these tiny islands that if they take Libya's aid he will invade them like Reagan did with Grenada, or bomb their capitals as with Tripoli. We

say: Down with Hawke! Australian imperialism — Hands Off the Pacific!

### No Glasnost with Reagan's Lackey

Last year Mikhail Gorbachev signalled at Vladivostok that the USSR would be paying increasing attention to the Pacific, and in March Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited Australia to try some "glasnost" (openness) in this corner of the American empire. It exposed the futility of Stalinist illusions in "peaceful coexistence." Hawke and Hayden turned the visit into an exercise in anti-Soviet grandstanding. Of course various anti-Soviet scum, including East European "Captive Nations" fascists, Zionists and Vietnamese contras, staged small demonstrations of marginal importance, except that their propaganda themes — Afghanistan, Jewish dissidents, the Soviet presence in the Pacific — were those taken up by Hawke and Hayden. A provocative confrontation staged by a Zionist who just happened to "slip through" the guard at Fairbairn air base received a blaze of publicity. Hayden thought the visit proved how important Australia was, but when he got to Jakarta Shevardnadze denounced Australian "feudal thinking, a sort of colonial mania" in the South Pacific.

### The "Threats from the North"

For the rulers of imperialist White Australia, the whole region seems to be falling apart. New Zealand's ban on US nuclear warships had led to the ANZUS alliance being put on ice. Now, as their chance nears to get rid of the Lange government in the impending elections, and revive ANZUS, the "New Zealand

disease" seems it might spread to Fiji where the newly elected coalition government is committed to banning nuclear warships. The largest and most viable of the island nations, Fiji is an archetypal Australian neo-colony, and Canberra is undoubtedly pulling out all stops to "persuade" the new government to stay at its Cold War post. In its Pacific neo-colonies, Australian imperialism behaves with a racist brutality that the Aboriginal population has felt the full brunt of for 200 years.

Hawke's fears are not confined to the South Pacific. There is Indonesia, about which there is "increased speculation in Canberra's high defence circles," says the well-connected Peter Hastings (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March) and "some resentment" that the US has agreed to supply the Indonesian navy with the deadly Harpoon missile, instead of restricting it to "old and valued allies." Since the 1965 anti-communist massacre, Indonesia has been a regional pillar of reaction, but the aging Suharto sits nervously atop a social volcano and Canberra is worried about what is to follow. The pre-revolutionary situation in the Philippines with its unchecked leftist insurgency threatens the US bases there, strategic cornerstone of imperialism in the region, and raises the spectre of a new Vietnam.

For Vietnam is seen as the regional vortex of all these "threats." The capitalist propaganda machine has been cranking itself up over US satellite photos showing Cam Ranh Bay and all the Soviet Bears and Badgers and Floggers and Foxtrots lined up at its piers and runways. Whether or not it really is Cam

# For an American Workers Revolution!

## Watergate - Reaganate

The American ruling class has concluded that Ronald Reagan may continue to reign as president, but he can no longer rule. The Tower Commission, originally appointed to "investigate" the operations of a runaway National Security Council, came back with a damning report that in diplomatic language indicted the entire administration. "Chaos" had descended on the White House, the president "didn't understand" what was going on in the Iran/contra affair, the "legal underpinning" for the arms shipments to Teheran via Israel was "at best highly questionable," and the whole "private" contra supply operation run out of the NSC was an elaborate attempt to get around a Congressional prohibition. Above all, the Reaganauts' schemes, each more bizarre than the next, failed miserably. The Commission ludicrously called the whole business an "aberration." But all wings of the bourgeoisie agree that drastic measures have to be taken to clean up the mess.

The United States, which proclaims itself leader of the "Free World," has been made a laughingstock, and ever since the scandal broke, paralysis has set in. European imperialist allies refer to the "black hole in Washington." Under the headline "Wanted: a Leader," the *Los Angeles Times* (13 February) editorialized on behalf of the American bourgeois establishment: "Someone needs to seize control of the White House, and there is just one person who can do it: Ronald Reagan." But Reagan evidently can't, and that puts US rulers in a dilemma. On CBS' *Face the Nation* news program, former Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie spoke for all three panel members, saying they were "appalled by the absence of the kind of alertness and vigilance to his job and to these policies that one expects of a president." Muskie's devastating conclusion: "We do not regard him as a mental case, but we regard him as a person who didn't do his job."

There is an acute political crisis at the pinnacle of US capitalism, which could quickly spread through the imperialist alliance. Yet capitalism will not fall by itself, and there are other programs to "solve" the crisis. General Haig has declared his candidacy for president, saying if he is elected "nobody, but nobody, will ever ask you who is in charge" in the White House (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1 March)! And while Reagan's contras are still spreading death and destruction around the globe, the racist terrorists carry out their bloody terror at home — from lynch mobs in Howard Beach, Queens and Forsyth County, Georgia to night-riding firebombers in Marquette Park, Chicago. But there have also been substantial countermobilizations to KKK terror, including in such unlikely places as Louisville, Kentucky and Maryland's Eastern Shore. With the government in turmoil, now is the time for the working class and oppressed to bring down Reagan through sharp class struggle!

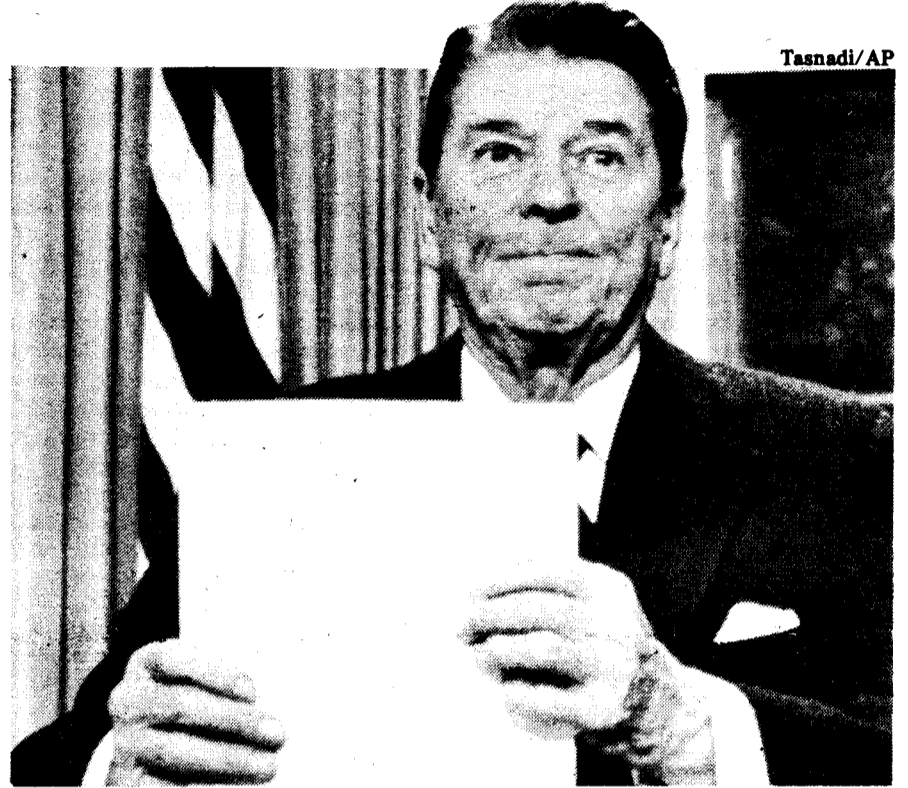
### Changing of the Guard

The day after the Tower report was issued, Don Regan was unceremoniously fired as White House chief of

## Imperial Presidency in Crisis



Tricky Dick run out of town. Now it's bedtime for Bonzo.



Tasnadi/AP

staff, informed of the event by a TV announcement of his successor. Regan, who had imperiously insisted on "micromanaging" everything in the White House, was variously referred to as "prime minister" and "the real president." But in trying to get Ronald Reagan out there reading his lines, Regan committed the cardinal sin of running afoul of Nancy Reagan. The First Lady who would be empress had insisted on keeping the president sealed off from the press, even trying to cancel the annual State of the Union speech. She cited medical reasons, and with a 76-year-old Reagan who's obviously not in touch she may have a point. But that doesn't help the imperialist bourgeoisie, which needs a functioning government. And one thing nobody proposes to do is to turn the store over to George Bush.

The appointment of "moderate" Republican former Senator Howard Baker as Regan's replacement was widely greeted with a sigh of relief by mainstream politicians. For a while it had looked like no one would take the job. But the *Wall Street Journal* (2 March), reflecting the forebodings of conservatives generally, was distraught over the "Baker regency," fearing that it could "effectively end the Reagan Doctrine," the 28 percent maximum tax rate and Star Wars, thus endangering their president's "place in history." Baker was to be the great conciliator, who would orchestrate the cameo appearances of the Great Communicator. But the first day on the job he put his foot in his mouth referring to Nancy Reagan as a "dragon."

Regan follows former CIA chief Casey, former National Security Adviser Poindexter and Lieutenant Colonel North. Already, Navy secretary John Lehman, deputy defense secretary Nestor Sanchez and White House propaganda boss Pat Buchanan headed for the door while they could still walk out. Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams will be "gone by summer," it's reported, and dozens of other high and middle-level adminis-

tration officials are emptying their desk drawers. And in order to avoid a "Gatesgate" donnybrook with Congress, the White House nominee to head the CIA withdrew. As you can imagine, it's no easy job to find replacements: the only man they could find for Buchanan's job turns out to have been a member of a Nazi youth group. Meanwhile, North's secretary Fawn Hall is decidedly no Rosemary Woods; after vowing not to shred-and-tell, she's now talking to the special prosecutor in exchange for immunity from prosecution.

As the US administration unravels, the turbulence in Washington is sending shock waves through the US "Free World" allies and surrogates. The split in the Nicaraguan contras reflects divisions between the State Department and the CIA... and the fact that the Sandinistas have won. "After this [Tower] report it's all over," says a US official. "We need to start thinking about evacuating the contras" (*Time*, 9 March). In Britain, arch-Reaganite Maggie Thatcher, herself increasingly unpopular, is on the verge of calling elections. The French government is paralyzed in uneasy "cohabitation," with a rightist premier and "socialist" president, battered by mass student protests and then a month-long rail strike that threatened to turn into a general walkout of labor. And Washington's chief NATO ally West Germany is torn between wanting an arms deal with Soviet leader Gorbachev and fears that an agreement to eliminate

medium range missiles could lead to a US pullout from Europe.

As the American political superstructure totters, the falling debris can't help but shake the economic house of cards on Wall Street. This administration, after all, is more closely identified with Big Money than any other in decades. And while the stock market has been soaring, it could quickly plummet — looking curiously like Reagan's ratings in the opinion polls. Swindling is rampant: the Boesky and "Yuppie Five" insider trading scams have been tracked to the top levels of the most prestigious brokerage houses. Billions are going into junk bonds as takeovers drive out productive investment. Added to the mammoth US budget deficit and Latin American bank debt, this spells a disaster waiting to happen. Any financial shock could bring it all tumbling down. *Time* (9 March) warned that because of the mountain of debt, "in the event of recession... the resulting bankruptcies and attendant hardships would probably be more severe than during any downturn in recent memory."

### Demise of the "Reagan Doctrine"

"If this report had been written by Robert Ludlum, it would make the fiction best seller list overnight. It's a report about a President out of touch and a President out of control." That was one Congressman's reaction to the



Washington Post

Reagan with contra bosses and North.

# Reagan/North's Australian Connection

Tower Commission's report. When Iran/Contragate first broke, Reagan had called up to thank his "American hero" Oliver North, remarking that the story would make a great film. But in 300-plus pages the Tower report lays out the script for a Laurel and Hardy comedy of errors. Cakes, bibles, pistols, planeloads of missiles listed as oil drilling equipment: the latest revelation was a scheme to ransom a hostage with \$300,000 in chemically treated bills that would disintegrate after a couple of days! That one flopped, too. And while McFarlane/Poindexter/North are quoted disparaging the ayatollahs, the net result is that Khomeini has managed to bring down the Great Satan.

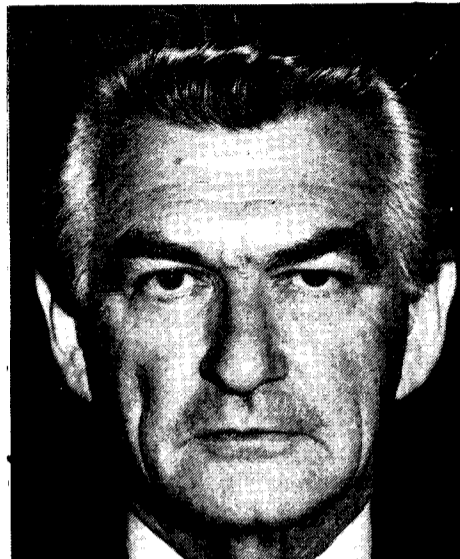
On whether he had authorized the first Israeli delivery of antitank missiles to Iran, Reagan first told the Commission he agreed with former NSC head McFarlane that he had approved it; then (on chief of staff Reagan's orders) he denied he had okayed the shipment, and finally he sent a letter saying: "I don't remember — period." Reagan's one attempt to defend himself in public was to ask an audience, who could remember what they were doing on August 8, 1985. This has spawned a new adult trivial pursuit. When the *Los Angeles Times* (1 March) asked musician Frank Zappa what he was doing, he replied facetiously: "I was head of the National Security Council arranging to have arms shipped to Pakistan and Angola and diverting funds through a Swiss bank account in order to shamelessly spend it on the campaigns of my favourite Republicans."

But that whole controversy is beside the point. On 17 January 1986 Reagan signed a secret finding approving arms sales to Iran and ordering the affair kept secret from Congress. And on the contra aid diversion, North writes in a 16 May 1986 memo: "the President obviously knows why he has been meeting with several select people to thank them for their support for Project Democracy in [Central America]." As the PROF computer messages and scores of memoranda show, North reported everything to his chiefs McFarlane and then Poindexter, Reagan sat in on virtually every NSC meeting, Shultz and Weinberger knew what they wanted to know and Reagan knew all (whether or not he forgot it). Who's surprised? Reagan was pushing covert action and vowing to overthrow radical-nationalist Sandinista Nicaragua from the start. It was all blatantly illegal, but worse than that in the eyes of the Tower Commission and the American bourgeoisie, it was "clumsily and amateurishly" carried out, and it failed.

"Project Democracy," (PRODEM), was the code name for the covert program funneling arms and guns to CIA-backed anti-Communist forces around the world, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan and Cambodia. Tens of millions of dollars were raised from rake-offs on Iran arms sales, contributions from kings and sultans, tax-deductible donations from Texas right-wingers, profits from drugrunning, etc. With some creative accounting these funds were not only used to finance the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries, despite the Boland Amendment which for a time banned "direct and indirect" US military aid to the contras; but also to lobby Congress and defeat anti-contra Congressmen in the '84 elections. In the course of it, a lowly colonel put the arm on King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, threatened President Arias of Costa Rica to cut off US aid, ordered the US ambassador to Costa Rica to organise a united contra "Southern Front," and much, much more.

As the White House ran its private

Continued on page eight



Business Review Weekly



Sydney Morning Herald

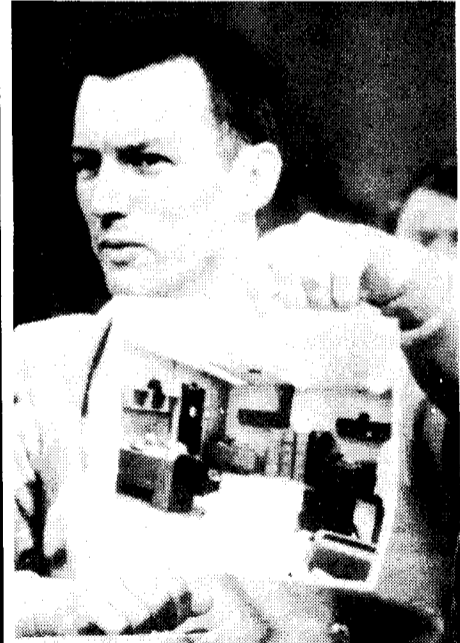


The National Times

From left, CIA-endorsed prime minister, Nugan Hand associate General Secord, North's man Ted Shackley.

The collapse of the US Imperial Presidency leaves a war-hungry US ruling class looking for a leader and a horde of anti-Soviet war allies high, dry and deeply worried. Hawke is no exception; he has been Reagan's man from the start. Contragate has become a potential powderkeg for the US ruling class, lifting a corner of their world-wide network of "unofficial" counterrevolution. US investigations into clandestine operations which ran riot under Reagan have dredged up names of key figures involved in the CIA-orchestrated overthrow of the Whitlam government in 1975, and the

Time



Christopher Boyce: witnessed CIA destabilisation of Whitlam government. Workers owe him a debt of gratitude! Free Christopher Boyce!

notorious Nugan Hand bank. These include some of Oliver North's operatives like Ted Shackley, Thomas Clines, Richard Secord and Rafael Quintero, whose activities reveal a sinister web of subversion involving ASIO and reaching into the ALP and union bureaucracy right up to Hawke himself. Reagan's crisis could well become Hawke's crisis too.

A US Senate Enquiry into "Reagan-gate" is currently reviewing the report of a 1983 Australian Commonwealth-New South Wales Joint Task Force on Drug Trafficking, delving into the Nugan Hand bank and revealing connections with Shackley, Secord, Clines and Quintero. The Nugan Hand partnership began in the early 1970s, and at its height spanned 13 countries with a staff thick with high-ranking

military and intelligence personnel. It was the bastard child of the defeat of US and Australian imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, where most of these butchers and spooks first got together. Hand, an American, worked under top CIA man William Colby in the hideous Phoenix Project, which brutally murdered 60,000 suspected communist Vietnamese. He was later seconded to the CIA's Air America operation in Laos, exporting the huge opium crops of the Meo hill tribes to finance the secret Vang Pao army. In charge were Shackley and his offsiders Clines and Quintero, all destined to work for both Nugan Hand and Colonel North. At that time North himself was one of Shackley's subordinates. The other name to crop up in both enquiries is US Airforce General Secord, then head of "Special Operations" in Laos.

## Australia: Staging Ground for Counterrevolution

The communist victories in Indochina drove these scum back to where they came from and shut down their opium supply permanently. But the regroupment had already begun, and Sydney, a leading financial centre cocooned in a stable imperialist state, was an ideal base. Starting a few years before the end of the war, Nugan and Hand ran a multi-million dollar business as a CIA paymaster and arms dealer, handling jobs like the 1975 shipment of 3,000 heavy infantry weapons and 10 million rounds of ammunition to the white supremacist regime in Rhodesia.

After 1975 they rushed to fill the gap in the heroin market, developing a brisk trade through Thailand. Nugan Hand's number three man in this period was Bernie Houghton, another "ex" CIA man with extensive military contacts including to Secord. His ASIO security clearance and immigration A-Stamp, issued on the personal recommendation of a senior ASIO official, facilitated his frequent "business trips" aboard USAF aircraft on trans-Pacific supply runs to Pine Gap.

These fragments which surfaced after Nugan's mysterious death and the collapse of his bank in early 1980, shed light on the day-to-day working relationship between this sinister CIA operation and the ALP right-wing machine in NSW — for example the millions of dollars deposited in the Bank by ALP-run inner-Sydney councils. A top Hawke man, Senator

Sibraa, testified to having met Nugan on at least two occasions at ALP fundraising dinners (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 1985). They also point to CIA operations reaching out from the secret US bases in Australia. The bases are strategic components of the US first strike nuclear network targeting Vietnam and the Soviet Union. They must be driven out: Defence of the USSR/Vietnam begins in Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape!

## The CIA and the Fall of Whitlam

The most dramatic demonstration of CIA manipulation in Australia was the overthrow of Whitlam's Labor government in 1975. Despite the strictly circumscribed nature of his reforms, Whitlam (despised by Nixon and the CIA as a "pinko") was subjected to a fierce propaganda campaign to destabilise the government which included the Khemlani "Loan Scandal," set up with a CIA-backed arms firm posing as a prospective creditor. Directing the charade was the ultra-secret Task Force 157, linked to the CIA via Shackley and including Nugan Hand associate Edwin Wilson and probably Hand himself.

The crunch came when Whitlam drew attention to the links of Richard Lee Stallings (the CIA man who established Pine Gap) to then Country Party leader Doug Anthony. This set alarm bells ringing in CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, leading to the famous cable written by Shackley, then chief of the CIA's East Asia Division, to ASIO on 8 November 1975: "If this problem cannot be solved they (the CIA) do not see how our mutually beneficial relationships are going to continue." Three days later Governor-General Kerr — "our man Kerr" to the CIA — sacked Whitlam and appointed Malcolm Fraser prime minister. CIA involvement in the "Kerr coup" was highlighted in the 1977 trial of Christopher Boyce, who worked in a high security US communications centre in 1975, handling messages to and from Pine Gap. Boyce is currently serving a massive 40-year jail term for having passed on secret information to the Soviets. The workers of Australia and the world owe him a debt of gratitude — we demand: Free Christopher Boyce!

What followed the sacking of Whitlam was a massive outburst

Continued on page ten

# Watergate . . .

Continued from page seven

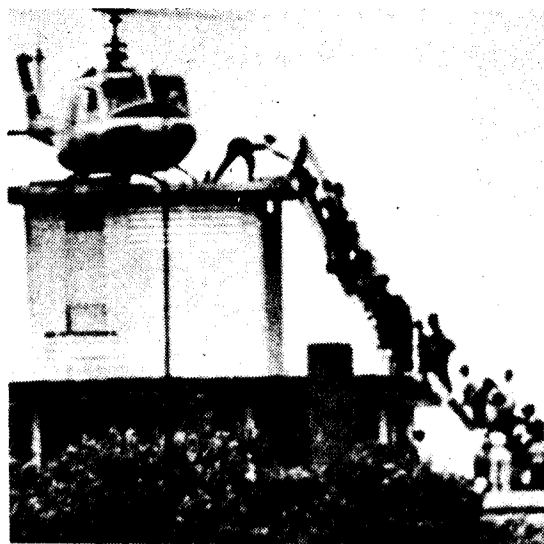
wars, lying to Congress and hiding much of the facts from the Cabinet as well, the *New York Times* (2 March) concluded: "Frustrations with democracy, it seems, led President Reagan to turn his National Security Council into a secret government." Former NSC head McFarlane said at one point to North: "If the world only knew how many times you have kept a semblance of integrity and gumption to US policy they would make you Secretary of State. But they can't know and would complain if they did — such is the state of democracy in the late 20th century." The Reaganauts set out to slam the Soviet "Evil Empire" up against the wall, roll back the Nicaraguan Revolution, restore the "American Century" and "avenge Vietnam." They were going to "save democracy" from the State Department, the Pentagon, Congress and the American people.

But the "Reagan Doctrine" didn't work, because the contra scum are *losers* — they have been smashed on the battlefield in Nicaragua. US imperialism got its ass kicked in Indochina, and most Americans don't want to see the body bags coming home in another mad Third World military adventure to put a gang of rapists and murderers in power. So six years into the abortive "Reagan revolution" the Sandinistas are still there, and Gorbachev has a lot more credibility than the liar in the White House. In fact, over Iran/Contragate the American Congress would like a little *glasnost* (openness) itself. The Tower Commission talked to every living past president and virtually every living former vice president, secretary of state, war secretary, CIA head and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Its modulated but devastating conclusions, therefore, represent the consensus of the US bourgeoisie.

## Bonapartism and Democracy

"The President is the ultimate decision maker in national security. . . . We could not long endure exercise of Executive power by committee. A strong Executive with the flexibility to conduct foreign and diplomatic affairs is an essential feature of our form of government," intoned Senator John Tower in presenting the Commission's report. Make the NSC responsible to Congress? No way, they say. A ban on NSC "operational roles"? The trouble with Iran/Contragate in their eyes is that it gave covert action a bad name. The US ruling class wants a strong executive. Their problem is that "effective" presidents have been hard to come by in recent years. Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan were all elected with overwhelming majorities, and all were disgraced or driven from office. So once again, as at the time of Watergate, US rulers are talking of a crisis of the imperial presidency.

The presidency has always represented institutional bonapartism, a power rising above the elected lawmakers. The American Revolution was, after all, a *bourgeois* revolution, and not the most radical at that. The "founding fathers" took care to construct a government that would enable the executive branch or the courts, as bastions of property, to nullify laws enacted by a popularly elected legislature. A second, upper house of Congress, the Senate, was originally non-elected and intended to give veto power to the much less populous Southern states — i.e., to the slave-owners. The American constitutional



Two, three, many defeats for US Imperialism! Saigon, 1975 (left); Reagan's dogs of war shot down, Nicaragua, 1986



Carlos Duran

historian Charles Beard describes these so-called "checks and balances" as "a government endowed with certain positive powers, but so constructed as to break the force of majority rule and prevent invasions of the property rights of minorities" (Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* [1913]).

The executive branch has been the principal arm of US imperialism in the continual exercise of every kind of mass rapine, butchery and war. Woodrow Wilson engineered America's entry into World War I by concealing that the passenger ship *Lusitania*, sunk by German submarines, was carrying munitions to the British. Franklin Roosevelt prepared the way for World War II with his secret "destroyer deal" to arm England and by pushing Japan to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Truman A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not to defeat Japan but to send a warning to the Soviet Union, whose Red Army had won the war against Nazi Germany. World War II was the last war Congress ever formally declared. Truman sent troops to Korea as a "police action" and LBJ fabricated a bogus attack on US ships to get the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Along the way, the CIA has overthrown a dozen or more elected governments, from Iran to Central America.

The schemes cooked up by Ollie North are no more bizarre than the CIA attempts to kill Fidel Castro, including poisoned cigars and biological agents to make his beard fall out. But the CIA's *gusanos* were smashed at the Bay of Pigs. Above all, the heroic peasants and workers of Vietnam decisively defeated US imperialism, triumphing over superior military force and putting an end to the

The sole article of impeachment concerned the Watergate cover-up — i.e., Nixon's crimes against the bourgeoisie. And then a dirty deal was patched up with Ford, the unelected vice president, to let the criminal butcher off with a pardon.

Democrat Jimmy Carter began the "moral rearmament" of US imperialism, through his "human rights" crusade directed at the Soviet Union. And then came the "Reagan revolution" which was supposed to "roll back Communism" for real, not merely by beefing up the Pentagon arsenal, but by mobilizing the American masses in a *popular* crusade against the "Evil Empire." Yet Reagan barely got to first base. A passing enthusiasm for the racist rape of tiny black Grenada (where the 82nd Airborne had its hands full with a few hundred middle-aged Cuban construction workers) could barely divert attention from the fiasco of 241 Marines blown up in Beirut. The increasingly frenzied covert operations orchestrated from the White House were a futile attempt to cover up the administration's failure. And now they have brought Reagan's demise.

## Impeachment Is Not Enough! For Workers Revolution!

With the ruling class in disarray, the possibility is posed for the working people and oppressed of this country to break politically from the Democrats and Republicans, to forge a class-struggle workers party that can sweep away the lying, murdering, incompetent criminals who are driving America to ruin while oppressing the peoples of the world. But as the spectre of a new Watergate loomed, various reformists raised the call for *impeaching* the president. Communist



Solidarity Day 1981 (above); Spartacist League at PATCO rally (right). "AFL-CIA" traitors knife class struggle, aid Reagan's anti-communist crusades.

"American Century." LBJ was driven from office by the Tet Offensive of 1968, which exposed the lie that victory was "around the corner." And it was the bombing of Cambodia, in the course of an increasingly unpopular, losing war, that led to the wiretaps on Washington officials and the Watergate plumbers job that brought down Nixon. He was never charged for his hideous crimes against the Indochinese masses, of course.

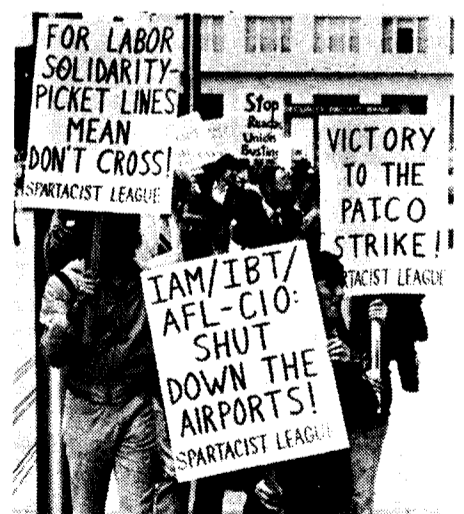
Party leader Gus Hall, trained in decades of donkey work for the Democrats, declared that the Iran/contragate affair was "grounds for impeachment," and urged the "new Democratic majority" in Congress to take this course (*People's Daily World*, 13 November 1986). So what would that bring? George Bush, former head of the CIA, representative of Texas oil interests and one of the more sinister elements in Washington.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a toxic waste dump of pseudo-Trotskyist grouplets, the ex-Maoist MLP and assorted New Leftovers held a demonstration at Oakland Airport, February 20 around the slogan "Oust Reagan-Bush!" Well, if the Republican president and vice president go, that puts the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, next in line! Not surprisingly, the ten slogans of the demonstration included no criticism of the Democrats, and it was endorsed by Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums. The main organizers were a clot of anti-Spartacist renegades around one Bob Mandel and the extended Mandel family; his former buddies of the "External Tendency" (now "Bolshevik Tendency") tailed along with this mini popular front. In contrast, 12 years ago, at the height of the Watergate crisis, the Spartacist League said:

"Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough! . . . The fight to remove Nixon must become a fight not to replace Nixon with Gerald Ford, but a fight to replace the rule of capital with a workers government!" [emphasis in original]

— "What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *Workers Vanguard* no 34, 7 December 1973

And what is one to make of the absurd demand raised by the Workers League (WL) of the dubious David North (no known relation to Oliver), for an AFL-CIO inquiry into the Iran/contragate affair? Lane Kirkland & Co are loyal lieutenants of American capitalism, who have proved their loyalty to the class enemy by fronting for CIA union-busting operations abroad and sabotaging strikes at home. From the beginning, the "AFL-CIA" tops have



maintained a conspicuous silence about this affair that has shaken the anti-labor Reagan government to its roots. The reason is not hard to find: the anti-communist labor fakers are getting more than moral encouragement from the network spawned by Oliver North.

When Ronald Reagan proclaimed "Project Democracy" in 1982, it included a publicly funded arm, the National Endowment for Democracy

**Australasian Spartacist**



(NED). Prominent on the NED board of directors are AFL-CIO chief Kirkland, American Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker, Democrat Walter Mondale and right-wing union-buster Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. Of the \$18.5 million disbursed by the NED in 1985, some \$11.5 million went to the AFL-CIO and its Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), notorious for its role in CIA schemes to wreck militant labor unions around the world. Closely intertwined with the AFL-CIO's "free trade union" outfit is PRODEMCA, a "private" fundraising outfit heavily involved in Oliver North's scams. PRODEMCA has channeled NED dollars to the internal contra organ *La Prensa* in Nicaragua, paid for tours by journalists to contra bases in Honduras, and toured contra leaders in the US. It is now reported that PRODEMCA has received an undisclosed amount from Carl Channell, the Contragate PR man who received millions in rake-offs from Oliver North's Iranscam money.

A few short months after Reagan came to power, he busted the PATCO air controllers union. This top-paid, overwhelmingly white union was one of the very few labor groups to endorse Reagan, yet they saw their leaders led away in shackles like slaves in the antebellum South. This strikebreaking gave the green light to bosses around the country who went on a rampage of takeback union-busting, including the deliberate murder of strikers on the picket lines. But now the Reagan gang is on the run, and the workers and oppressed of America face a weak and isolated regime. Though *no one* in the bourgeoisie is talking impeachment, according to the polls fully a third of the US population think Reagan should "consider" resigning! Now is the time to hit back, while they're down. But that requires, first and foremost, a fight to dump the labor lieutenants of Reagan's counterrevolution and to forge a Trotskyist party that can link the seething anger of the ghetto with the social power of the factory.

And there's not a lot of time. The warships are still off Lebanon. The new National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci is reportedly considering plans for a naval quarantine of Nicaragua, and Reagan (who has predicted Armageddon in our time) still has his finger on the nuclear button. At home, Attorney General Meese demonstrates his appetites for a police state, trying to decree a federal death penalty while effectively abolishing the Miranda (suspects' rights) ruling. And COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" are not just a Watergate memory, as more than 50 break-ins have been recorded in offices of groups opposing US war moves in Central America. The basis is being laid for a bipartisan Reagan regency, with Congress brought into the show. But such a regime would be united on a platform for a rationally orchestrated anti-Soviet war drive, which spells union-busting, mass homelessness, hunger and racist terror at home.

A few days before the Tower Commission report was released, the lead article in *Time* magazine (2 March) began: "On the Day of Judgment, according to ancient religious tradition, all secrets will be revealed and all hidden sins bared.... Some aides went so far as to speculate that, depending on how Ronald Reagan and his lieutenants react, Feb. 26 could turn out to be a secular analogue of Judgment Day." Far from it. For the imperialists — who turned Vietnam into a moonscape, ordered the slaughter of tens of thousands of Central American peasants and wage war on labor and blacks at home — Judgment Day will come when a victorious socialist revolution sweeps away all the Watergaters and

Contragaters, the My Lai mass murderers and their rapacious capitalist masters. That's when we will finally open the books to find out the murderous secrets the Tower Commission *didn't* reveal.

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## Squeezed Lemons...

Continued from page three

Poland in 1980/81 when all of them (except the Moscow-line SPA which split over the issue and lost almost its entire trade union base) stampeded to the right to join Reagan, Hawke and the Pope in support of Solidarnosc's counterrevolutionary bid for power. And consequently this pathetic band of lost hopes has been prostrate before the Hawke government, which has brought the anti-Soviet war drive home with vicious anti-working class, racist, anti-woman, anti-gay reaction. Because we stand for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and its allies like Vietnam against imperialism, the Spartacist League has uniquely on the left been equipped to fight Cold War imperialist provocations from Libya to Central America to Indochina, and struggled against the key role of the Australian ruling class and its current ALP administration in the war drive — its military build-up, its imperialist designs on the South Pacific, the US war bases it hosts, the vicious attacks on the unions and minorities. Meanwhile, the "Fightback" coalition as a whole manifestly stands in the imperialist camp.

Hartley once said that anti-Sovietism is anti-working class. True enough. But he and his faction have been "left" fixtures in anti-Soviet social democracy for decades, and he would have been for decades more had Hawke not expelled him. The CPA(ML) is nothing but a discredited sect parroting whoever's currently on top in Peking in its anti-Soviet alliance with the US. The SWP have always been, and are now anti-Soviet social democrats. Lately however, they have taken to making pro-Soviet noises. But

actions speak louder than words. They marched with the Captive Nations over Poland, and have never changed their position of support to Solidarnosc's counterrevolution. They hailed Cory Aquino, who slaughters peasants in Manila to safeguard the US bases in the Philippines, strategic cornerstone of stability in the region surrounding White Australia. In 1985 they plunged headlong into the anti-Soviet, nationalist Nuclear Disarmament Party, only to see it shattered at the peak of electoral popularity precisely by the Cold War, the Russian question. They pretend that the central target of the Cold War is not the Soviet Union, and anyway, "the question of the USSR should no longer be a cause of division (except for the handful who hold the bizarre view that it is capitalist)" (*Direct Action*, 10 December 1986). The SWP's "pro-Sovietism" embraces the counterrevolutionary aspects of Stalinist reformism — two-stage revolution, popular frontism — which have led to crushing defeats for the working class from Spain to Indonesia to Chile. They even hail the Stalinists' murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945. Their admiration of Gorbachev extends only to his willingness to *concede* to imperialism, such as over his recent "zero option" concession to Reagan over medium range missiles in Europe, which if implemented would undermine defence of the Soviet workers state.

As for the SPA, pathetic remnant of the once-powerful Australian Stalinist party, we know Stalinists are forever on the lookout for a popular front, but with the Maoists and the Ustashi! It is testimony to their utter bankruptcy that the dim-witted SPA leadership of Symon, Miller & Co is dragging its membership through this foul anti-Soviet cesspool. Today it is only the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who defend the homeland of the October Revolution.

The reformist "left" campaigns for an "independent, non-aligned" foreign policy because they fear the interests of Australian imperialism (re Indonesia, or New Caledonia) are being sold out to please Uncle Sam. Their anti-Americanism is the nationalism of a petty-bourgeois layer frustrated at their weak, lackey bour-

geoisie, whose reactionary rule is founded on racial exclusion of Asians and the genocide of the Aborigines, and which can only survive by clinging to the skirts of US imperialism. The Laborites and Stalinists have long waved the Eureka flag. The SWP has taken it up more recently, but wholeheartedly — for example now defending the chauvinist poison of protectionism, which lines up Australian workers with their own bosses against the workers of Asia. The fight to implement the Marxist program of revolutionary internationalist unity with the workers and peasants of Asia in the Australian proletariat is a fight to the end against these "White Australia Socialists."

## Bring Down Hawke Through Hard Class Struggle!

Talk is cheap and laid on plentifully at these "left unity" events. In the test of real struggle, when the Hawke government slammed the BLF up against the wall and posed the choice point blank between hard class struggle and the destruction of the entire union, all these groups were united — in *opposition* to a class struggle fightback. Only the Spartacist League and its supporters in the BLF fought for mass picket lines and all-out industry-wide strike action. The Maoist BLF leadership abjectly capitulated, ordering the ranks to sign the government's scab contract. The SWP and SPA actively supported this betrayal, with an SWP member in Melbourne lining up with Gallagher to vote down a motion for a strike. Their "allies" Crawford and Coxedge upheld ALP discipline and voted for the BLF deregistration in parliament! Now all agree with Hawke that the class struggle is dead. Most recently, when the Federal Court slapped massive union-busting fines on the Plumbers Union, General Secretary Crawford, "Fightback" leading light, paid up meek as a lamb. Percy has even shelved the SWP's always purely verbal opposition to the Accord to entice the CPA into the "new party."

The whole "Fightback" fraud was organised under the rubric of "unity  
Continued on page ten

## SLL: Corrupt Laborite Running Dogs

On the outs with the "Fightback" bloc is the Socialist Labour League (SLL) of Nick Beams and Mike Head, though not because of any principled opposition. The SLL's latest campaign is their demand that the ALP "lefts" "expel the Hawke/Keating right-wing from the ALP" and, to boot, "form a workers government"! Who and where are these Labor "lefts"? Even the SLL isn't sure. When a Spartacist supporter confronted an SLLer in Sydney with the question she could only respond, "They're there, but they're hiding."

They certainly are. Right now you'd need a high-powered microscope to find the line between the ALP left and right factions. For over four years Hawke Labor has ground down the working class with wage-slashing and union-busting while taking every opportunity to proclaim itself Washington's regional enforcer in the anti-Soviet war drive. Hawke has bound the "lefts" ever tighter to himself, with all ALP factions backing the US/Australia military alliance and the US war bases, and helping carry out the dirty work from smashing the BLF to putting the screws on Lange's New Zealand. The SLL to the contrary, the difference between the ALP "left" and "right"

has never been over program, but is purely a division of labour. But then the SLL's organic Laborism is expressed precisely by the virulent anti-Sovietism they share with the ALP tops.

The notion that Social Security Minister Brian Howe, who spends his time slashing *billions* from the welfare budget, or Socialist Left machine man Gerry Hand and so on would ever launch a fight to split the party which gives them their fat perks of office is utterly fantastic. Calling upon them to form a workers government, ie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, exposes not the "lefts", who never claimed to stand for anything but a "reformed" White Australia capitalism, but the craven parliamentary cretinism of the SLL. Its political logic is liquidation into the ALP — at a time when many ALP left-wingers are quitting in disgust or being driven out.

While the ALP "lefts" are "hiding" the SLL is quite happy to do the donkey work for the "rights." For instance, they denounced the sacked SEQEB workers when they fielded an independent candidate against the ALP betrayers in the 1985 Redlands by-election in Queensland. And in the 1986 Rockdale by-election

in Sydney they campaigned for the election of the notorious CIA man, now Labor premier of NSW, Barrie Unsworth, while Labor's working class base deserted it in droves. Using the same "lesser evil" argument they use to justify voting Labor, the SLL backed the CIA puppet Cory Aquino who murders leftist peasants in the Philippines.

Beams' SLL is the product of the implosion of international Healyism in late 1985. A year earlier Healy had ordered his Australian followers to adopt the slogan "Bring down the Labor government," which they used simultaneously with the call to "Vote Labor"! This was the only thing Healy ever did that rankled the SLL. Beams and Co were up to their necks in every one of Healy's crimes against the working class, from hailing the murder of 21 Iraqi Communists to being on the payroll of various sordid Arab bourgeoisies. At one point, the SLL even funded their corrupt outfit by printing the fascist Vietnamese *Bell of Saigon*. Corruption, wild political zigzags expressing at best a tenuous grip on reality, overlaying a core of virulent anti-Sovietism and White Australia Laborism — these are the stock in trade of the dubious SLL. Beware! ■

## Squeezed Lemons...

Continued from page nine

the left" to fight "the New Right," with much of their discussion centring on how to fight the Bjelke-Petersen government's new anti-strike legislation. According to *The Guardian* (22 April) they are preparing a "substantive campaign." In short, an exact repetition of the SEQEB and BLF "campaigns," with their liberal moralist popular frontist meetings featuring church leaders, months-long petition campaigns, endless motions of support and tokenistic fundraising for victimised workers, all with the aim of pressuring the government to change its mind.

But it is only the organised power of the working class mobilised in the factories and on the streets that can fight the anti-union assaults. What made the penal provisions of the Arbitration Act a dead letter until recent years was the 1969 general strike over the jailing of Clarrie O'Shea. It is necessary to bring down Petersen and Hawke with hard class struggle!

### Break with Laborism! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Unleashing class struggle requires a fight to oust the policemen of Hawke reaction, the trade union bureaucrats. The "New Right's" successes have come courtesy of the ACTU tops. For example, it was the ACTU, under instructions from Hawke, which turned on the lights for Bjelke-Petersen in 1985 and ensured the SEQEB defeat. And the key enforcers of the government assault on the BLF were the so-called "left" bureaucrats, some of whom the "Fightback" crowd is trying to court.

There's got to be a fight against Laborism and all it stands for — Arbitration, craft unionism, parliamentarism, protectionism, racism, brutal male chauvinism, anti-communism — that ties the workers and oppressed to their exploiters. To accomplish this task it is urgently necessary to build a revolutionary workers party based on the program of Trotskyism. This is the purpose of the Spartacist League.

Support to the ALP now, however critical, is class treason. In 1983 the Spartacist League was alone on the left in refusing to vote for Hawke's Cold War consensus. With the Hawke government pretty hard to sell right now, the reformists are nevertheless lining up right on cue, using the bogey of Bjelke-Petersen and the "New Right" to get out the vote for three more years of Hawke.

Most of the groups in the "Fightback" swamp have been slavishly Labor-loyal since forever; why should anyone be fooled by their claims to have broken from the ALP? The SWP's recent anti-Labor rhetoric, its refusal lately to direct its preferences to Labor in by-elections, its recent talk of recommending that unions disaffiliate from the ALP, all is simply a tactical posture designed to capitalise on mass resentment at Hawke's ALP. The conference evidently featured some dispute over this, with *The Guardian* quoting Symon's criticism of "some ... who wanted to make the ALP the main enemy." Needless to say, the conference dutifully voted overwhelmingly to reject any notion of calling on unions to disaffiliate from the ALP.

For revolutionaries, the *main enemy is at home*, ie, our ruling class and whatever government it has chosen to administer its state. But these reformists accept all the fundamentals of nationalist Laborism. They are the

used-up, cast-off, squeezed-out lemons of the Laborite "left," consoling themselves with the mirage of "left unity." Those who want to fight against the bosses and their Labor hirelings for the socialist revolution, and who have found the parade of reformist has-beens at such gabfests as parochial and stupefyingly boring as we do need to turn their backs on them and come and talk to the Spartacist League, the only revolutionaries in town. ■

## Australian Connection...

Continued from page seven

of class anger which could have blown the whole sordid affair apart. Hawke as President of the ACTU in 1975 played a pivotal role in heading off the impending general strike, earning him the praise of the CIA who described him in its top secret *National Intelligence Daily* as the "best qualified" candidate to replace Whitlam as ALP leader (*National Times*, 2 March-3 April 1982). Today it is Hawke and Hayden alongside the US who are leaning on their New Zealand counterpart Lange. Lange's plan of the same old ANZUS minus the nuclear hardware seemed like a smart way of selling his government's austerity, but the anti-Soviet war drive doesn't tolerate exceptions. New Zealand was slammed with a freeze on military cooperation by both Australia and the US, backed by a de facto trade squeeze. More recently Lange was confronted with an attempted rerun of the "Loans Scandal", documented in the *New Zealand Monthly Review* (March 1987), involving his Maori affairs minister Koro Wetere and a CIA-connected company.

### The Best Labor Leaders Money Can Buy

The CIA devotes itself to promoting the most reactionary elements in the labour movement, undermining and splitting those considered not adequately servile. In practice this involves setting up of rival "free" trade unions in tandem with a clique of hand-picked front men, run through a network of international cover groups and "Labour Attaches." Hawke boasts friendships with two of the CIA's former Australian Labour Attaches: Edward McHale and Robert Walkinshaw — during his 1970 visit to the US Hawke stayed as a guest in Walkinshaw's home. The film *Allies* documents Hawke receiving the Labour Attache's endorsement at the 1969 ACTU Congress which put him at the pinnacle of the union bureaucracy.

The Australian arm of the CIA's "free" trade union operation is the rabidly anti-communist National Civic Council and the CIA-loyal NSW ALP machine. Hawke forced the re-affiliation of the four NCC-run unions to the Victorian ALP to pave the way for his union-busting austerity and anti-Soviet war drive, while in NSW they had never disaffiliated in the first place. The right wing NSW faction led by NSW Premier Unsworth and NSW Trades and Labour Council (TLC) secretary John MacBean and "numbers man" Graham Richardson form the front ranks of Hawke's power base within the ALP. While head of the NSW TLC, Unsworth recruited and granted "scholarships" for the CIA's notorious Harvard Business School. Both he and MacBean are graduates of this institution, a focal point for CIA cultivation of its labour lieutenants.

The clandestine dirty tricks merchants of the capitalist state can't be

beaten without a fight to smash the state. The ripples spreading from Contragate demonstrate both the stake workers of this region and the world have in an American revolution, and also the urgent need to build a Trotskyist party here, for workers revolution in Australia. This requires breaking the working class from the CIA-infested corpse of the social democracy. The Labor "lefts" tie workers to Hawke's Cold War government. Their occasional hobby horse of anti-Americanism expresses the nationalist desires of the bourgeoisie for a little more latitude. In sharp contrast revolutionary program begins with the understanding that the *main enemy is at home*. International workers revolution is the only way to bring the covert scum and their masters to justice. Smash the US/Australia war alliance! Down with Reagan's man Hawke! ■

## Hawke...

Continued from page five

Ranh Bay, unlike the photo of "Chernobyl" which turned out to be a burning factory in Italy, the Vietnamese workers state as the Soviet Union's key Asian ally remains the number one target of Australian imperialist xenophobia. When Hawke and Hayden brought up their nightmares about Cam Ranh Bay with Shevardnadze, he pointedly replied that the Soviet Union faced US bases in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Micronesia. In fact both Vietnam and the USSR are encircled by a ring of imperialist bases and client states, that include Diego Garcia and the US bases in Australia as well. The RAAF base at Butterworth in Malaysia puts its F/A-18s and F-111s well within striking range of Ho Chi Minh City. For revolutionaries, defence of the Soviet Union and Vietnam begins in struggle to drive out these war bases. The Vietnam syndrome in Australia parallels that in the US — the ruling class are restrained by fear of joining in another losing US war yet driven by a desire to avenge their defeat at the hands of an Asian social revolution. The Vietnamese Revolution was a great victory for the working class, especially in Australia where it put a crack in the white racist foundations of capitalism. The debt Australian revolutionaries owe to the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants will be repaid only with the Australian socialist revolution.

### Australian Imperialism: Scared and Vicious

The heightening of all their worst fears makes the Australian ruling class more vicious. They have been engaged in a comprehensive overhaul of their military strategy and forces in recent years. The Dobb report advocated "self reliance," a sharper focus on the region, within ANZUS of course. The recent Defence White Paper adopts many of Dobb's proposals but with a more aggressive posture, a widening of the arc of Australian militarism to serve US global war intentions. Instead of Dobb's "Fortress Australia," it's back to "forward defence," the doctrine under which they sent troops to Vietnam.

Some sense of the grandiose pretensions of this government and the military brass is conveyed by the White Paper's statement that Australia's "area of direct military interest covered about 10 per cent of the earth's surface" (*Pacific Defence Reporter*, April 1987) — with a population approaching sixteen million! To do that they'll need lots of military hardware and the Hawke government, already the biggest spender on "defence" since World War II, and the US' second biggest arms customer behind Saudi Arabia, is planning to lavish \$25 billion over the next decade or so on procuring new equipment. On top of yet more F/A-18 Hornets, they are planning a "two-ocean navy" with six new submarines, eight new frigates and new Seahawk helicopters; more airbases in northern Australia, Airborne Early Warning and Control systems; new helicopters for the army etc. Even a spy satellite and ground station — an "Aussie" Pine Gap the nationalist "left" should love.

Hawke hopes to finance his multi-billion dollar arms splurge, and cut the budget deficit at the same time, the same way his buddy Reagan tried to, through more and more savage cuts in workers living standards and government social services. Reformist "left" groups like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party are incapable of resisting Hawke's \$25 billion arms spree. They are "doves" on the US alliance because they think Australian imperialism pays too high a price for it, but closer to home they're "hawks." They want a more "independent" foreign policy, urging the bourgeoisie to stand up to the Indonesians over East Timor and Irian Jaya, and the French over New Caledonia. This fuels the current wave of anti-French nationalist chauvinism, which reflects both imperialist rivalries and the Australian bourgeoisie's distrust of France's reliability as a guardian of Pacific "stability." They remember the sudden French collapse in 1940 and that France too lost its war in Vietnam. But with the Soviets and their Libyan "surrogates" supposedly moving in, Hawke is now trying to mend fences with France.

### For Japanese-Australian Workers Unity!

The US wants to interlock the various anti-Soviet alliances in a Pacific version of NATO. "Japan and the United States are now clearly at one in their assessment of Moscow's new role in our region, and the concept of a north-south axis, linking Tokyo and Canberra, has now been raised to complement the East-West alignment enshrined in the ANZUS treaty," said Rupert Murdoch's *Australian* (10-11 January). The US also wants to militarise the ASEAN bloc, making it a true "soldier of the West in the East." But Canberra is deeply ambivalent about the resurgence of Japanese imperialism. When Japanese foreign minister Kuranari toured the island micro-states promising a so-called "Marshall Plan" of economic aid to keep out the Russians, Canberra's applause sounded more like one hand clapping. Shevardnadze tried to appeal to the historic fears of his imperialist hosts, warning of Japanese re-armament, but the Cold War Hawke gang didn't want to be reminded of this by the

### Spartacist Public Meeting

Smash US/Australian Anti-Soviet War Axis!

Hawke: Reagan's Deputy Sheriff  
in the South Pacific

7pm FRIDAY MAY 29

Room 5, 2nd Floor, YMCA, 5 Wentworth Ave, Sydney

For more details phone Spartacist League on 281-2181

Australasian Spartacist

Soviets. The problem of racist Australian imperialism is that its regional anti-Soviet allies are its historic Asian enemies.

Since the Chinese Revolution of 1949 Australian "yellow peril" racism has been subsumed within anti-communism, and Australian troops fought counter-revolutionary wars from Korea to Malaya to Borneo to Vietnam. However in the Second World War, the "threat from the north" was Japan, and it was fought on racialist lines, with a phoney veneer of "anti-fascism." Trotskyists took a revolutionary defeatist position in this inter-imperialist war over markets and colonies, while defending the USSR against German imperialism. After the war the deeply traumatised and vengeful Australian bourgeoisie demanded the Japanese emperor be hanged and would have liked the country ploughed over with salt that it might never rise again. They reluctantly acquiesced to US plans to rebuild Japan as an anti-Soviet bulwark in exchange for guarantees of protection under the ANZUS treaty. Australia's post-war prosperity was built heavily on its new trade relationship with Japan, for example, supplying much of the coal and iron ore for the steel that made the Toyotas and Nissans that routed their American and European competitors. Australian capitalism was able to carry a highly protected, uncompetitive and increasingly outmoded manufacturing industry in the boom period. But that's all been coming unstuck for quite a while now.

The fall in the prices of its principal exports has landed the Australian economy in real trouble, exposing its structural weakness. In just a few years the gross foreign debt has snowballed to over \$A100 billion, at 34 per cent of GDP, just behind Brazil. Not just through the record budget and trade deficits of Hawke's first three years, but also to fund a wild spree of stock market speculation and takeovers by the likes of Murdoch, Bond and Holmes aCourt. The



**Fijian workers demonstration, 1959. Australian imperialism lords over oppressed peoples of South Pacific.**

perialist slaughter. Declining Australian capitalism is in an economic blind alley. The only way out is the road of workers revolution, linking up with socialist revolution in Asia particularly its Japanese industrial powerhouse, to establish an internationally planned socialist division of labour.

#### **For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

The Australian ruling class are war crazy and historically they have turned to their ALP lieutenants to run their war efforts and their economic crises. They've gotten away with vicious union-busting, slashing austerity cutbacks and the most significant roll-back of hard-won union rights and conditions in decades at minimal political cost, thanks above all to the ACTU labour bureaucracy. In 1983 the ACTU consolidated around a hard anti-Soviet war axis in support of Hawke's hysteria over the KAL 007 US spy provocation. The Cold

is the Australian capitalist class, the Hawke government and its ACTU lieutenants. Strikes by the Victorian nurses and the Robe River iron miners show that there's plenty of will to struggle, what's missing is the leadership. A revolutionary workers party must be built in struggle to break the working class away from the treacherous ALP/ACTU bureaucracy. The legalist bureaucrats tie the working class to the courts and Arbitration tribunals, but the working class can't play by the bosses rules and win. The only way to defend the right to strike is to exercise it, enforce it with mass picket lines that shut down production, back it up with solidarity strikes. That will mean ripping up some court orders, stashing the union funds somewhere safe and relying only on the power of the working class. The only strike that's illegal is one that loses. Hands off the Plumbers Union! Defend the right to strike! Smash Bjelke-Petersen's anti-strike laws!

Hawke wants to extend the BLF treatment to the whole region, but this imperialist megalomaniac is overreaching himself in his mad anti-Soviet war drive. This vicious union-busting regime can be brought down, but to do so the Australian working class must make common cause with all Hawke's class enemies internationally - including the tremendously powerful Japanese working class, the oppressed peoples of the South Pacific and Southeast Asia, and the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states. The main enemy is at home! For a workers republic of Australia, part of socialist Asia! ■

## **Toomelah 21...**

**Continued from page twelve**

The township of Moree, where the extradition proceedings took place, is infamous for the racist murder of Cheeky McIntosh who was shot to death in 1982 by a gang of nightriding white thugs while the cops turned a blind eye. Thirty per cent of the population is Aboriginal, segregated in two settlements on either end of town. The unusually high percentage of the black population and the history of combating racism have made Moree the most important rural centre for blacks in New South Wales. The Freedom Rides of 1965, in which leftist students stood alongside blacks to fight for integration of swimming pools and shops, are vividly remembered as the last major force of change. This is an indictment of the utter indifference of the Australian trade un-

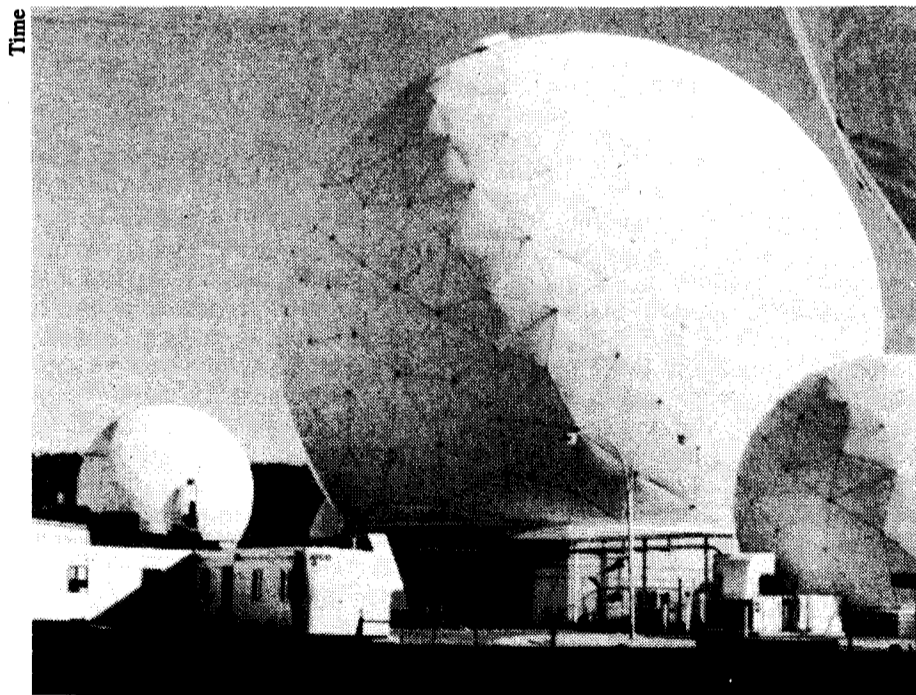
ion bureaucracy to the oppression of blacks. Emancipation will be brought to these non-unionised backwaters by the urban proletariat. This means a struggle to forge an internationalist revolutionary vanguard party which can break the hold of the racist Laborite bureaucrats and lead the working class as the tribune of all the oppressed in struggle for its own state power.

#### **For Revolutionary Integrationism!**

The Aboriginal Legal Service (ALS), which is defending the Toomelah blacks, argued against extradition on the grounds that Bjelke-Petersen's Queensland is unjust and oppressive. You bet! Not that there is justice in the Labor-ruled states where the majority of black deaths in state jails have been occurring. The extradition ruling has now been appealed to the Supreme Court. No extraditions! The Toomelah 21 must not become more "blacks deaths in custody" in the notorious Boggo Road jail. The ALS also adopted the defeatist argument that Aboriginals should not be extradited since under the constitution they were not recognised as citizens until 1967. Already the constitution, which protects no one's rights but those of the ruling class, accords Aboriginals second-class status. If the ALS argument were accepted, it would legally enshrine blacks as non-citizens with no rights. We communists fight for revolutionary integration - for full social equality for Aboriginals. The working class must unleash its social power to defend itself and its own, most especially the Aboriginal people. Labour/black/minority defence guards to crush racist terror in the spirit of the fine example of the Toomelah 21 are needed all around the country.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the sinister Socialist Labour League (SLL) first echoed the bourgeois hysteria over the Goondiwindi "riots," and the SLL continues to amnesty the bourgeois state, labelling the black murders in custody as "apparent suicides" (*Workers News*, 21 April). Now both have buried the case. For the Communist Party and Socialist Party the case doesn't even exist. Their attention has been drawn to the liberal Campaign to Defend Black Rights (CDBR), which the consummate opportunists of the SWP helped initiate and then dropped as a loser. The reformists all enthusiastically endorse the CDBR call for a Royal Commission. The SLL has a variation on the theme, calling for "a full Labor and trade union inquiry into the deaths." Notice the spelling of "Labor", meaning the ALP, governing party of the racist regime. In fact the Hawke government has decided to adopt an inquiry, as a cynical lever against Petersen's Queensland government. Even the bourgeois *Sydney Morning Herald* (15 April) wants one, for international consumption: "The official lethargy on the issue will be played up by countries that have an interest in maligning Australia."

A Royal Commission would be at best a whitewash, and could be used to witch-hunt the victims. There is deep anger at "black deaths in custody." But the reformists and liberals are engaged in a treacherous and dangerous attempt to tie blacks and all the oppressed to the same state which is carrying out the terror! We Trotskyists demand: Avenge blacks murdered at the hands of the state - jail the killer cops! The working class must draw a line against racist state terror - Defend the Toomelah 21! For a workers Australia, part of a socialist Asia, in which there will be justice and equality for blacks, women and all the oppressed! ■



**US Base at Pine Gap: key to Reagan/Hawke's anti-Soviet war plans.**

Australian dollar's precipitous fall, first set off by Hawke's flinch on MX missile tests in February 1985, has been a barometer of his economic and political problems, also serving as a protectionist device to throttle imports, drive prices up and living standards down. After the bruising its agricultural exports have received at the hands of US protectionist fever, now the prospect of all-out trade war between Japan and the US spells disaster for Australian imperialism.

In this rapidly developing situation, the protectionism whipped up by the labour bureaucrats is especially pernicious. Historically the twin pillars of White Australia have been anti-Asian immigration restrictions and high tariff barriers. For proletarian internationalists protectionism is deadly poison, lining the workers up against their Japanese class brothers in a trade war which could well, as it has before, lead to a new im-

War climate and Hawke's warmongering in the Pacific serve the bourgeoisie's all-sided war on the working class and oppressed. The smashing of the BLF last year was a watershed, a virtual declaration of open season on the unions. The right to strike is under attack, both from Bjelke-Petersen's new legislation in Queensland and from massive court-imposed fines on the Meatworkers and the Plumbers unions. The assault on workplace conditions ("restrictive work practices") including job safety is coupled to the Unsworth government's attack on workers compensation for injured workers. Hawke's ministers boast about how Labor has cut real living standards by ten per cent, seeking another term in office on the basis of having delivered the goods for their capitalist masters.

Hard class struggle is needed to roll back the capitalist offensive - the enemy

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**Defend the Toomelah 21!**

# Hawke's Cold War Regime Kills Blacks

Young Aboriginal John Pat was brutally murdered by cops in Western Australia on 28 September 1983. The killer cops were acquitted – a verdict which gave a green light for racist terror. Since then there has been an avalanche of deaths of young black men in the state's jails. Robert Walker was killed with a chokehold by cops in Western Australia on 28 August 1984. Then Charlie Michael, 9 October 1984; Dixon Green, 19 October 1985; Tony King, 31 October 1985; at least 21 since Hawke's Labor government came to power. Twelve Aboriginals have died in state jails in the last twelve months. Aboriginals are one percent of the population. If this were happening across the entire society there would be 1,200 deaths in custody per year! Six black youths have died in north Queensland jails in the past five months. All were thrown in jail on minor charges without a trial, all died by hanging, all outrageously called "suicide" without as much as an inquest. This is a systematic campaign of state execution.

White racist thugs are emboldened by the terror Aboriginals face from the cops. In the Queensland town of Goondiwindi in early January, a group of blacks from the Toomelah mission just over the border in New South Wales were beaten up by racists wielding iron bars. For the Toomelah blacks it was one racist atrocity too many. They went back into town the next day and taught the racists a lesson. As we said in "Goondiwindi: Apartheid Face of Hawke's Australia" (*Australasian Spartacist* no 119, February-March 1987), "As revolutionaries we salute and defend the action of the Toomelah blacks as a minimal act of self-defence – discriminate and effective

in execution." For avenging the racist atrocity (for which no one has been charged), the heroic Toomelah 21 met with a hysterical campaign in the bourgeois media. The Queensland cops issued warrants for arrest with 28 charges including riotous assembly for the Toomelah men, 16 of whom are now facing extradition to Queensland. The bourgeois state is carrying out an ostentatious legal enforcement of the racist status quo which has its measure in the murderous campaign of terror against Aboriginals under Hawke's Cold War regime.

#### Anti-Soviet War Drive Targets Blacks

Anti-Soviet war preparations abroad are accompanied by a grinding war against the organised working class and minorities at home. The Labor government's massive austerity program has hit the lowest rung of Australian society, the blacks, especially hard with near total unemployment, and cuts in welfare, health and education. Hawke and Holding are singing the tune of mining magnates Morgan and Carnegie who have long opposed land rights for Aboriginals, along with the ultra-reactionary League of Rights who label blacks a fifth column for "communist countries such as Vietnam, the Soviet Union" (*Bulletin*, 22 May 1984).

The government has declared open season on Aboriginals, now branding them as agents of "Libyan terrorism," the familiar deadly label for those in the cross hairs of imperialist anti-Soviet war frenzy. This because Michael Mansell, a legal advisor with the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre, attended a Libyan-sponsored World Centre against Zi-

**Aboriginals across Australia face day-to-day onslaught of murderous state terror.**



onism, Racism and Imperialism meeting in Tripoli and denounced the Australian government's treatment of Aboriginals. Hawke hailed Reagan's bombing of defenceless civilians in Tripoli, and is meting out a version of the same treatment to Aboriginals. Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Working class action must bring down Hawke!

The Spartacist League sent a team to the Moree/Toomelah area in northwest NSW to attend the extradition proceedings in solidarity with the Toomelah 21. Toomelah is beyond the bitumen road, along a track which is impassable during seasonal rains. It is without decent water supply, health care or amenities. Around 500 people are crowded into about 35 houses. There is no work. Well over half the population is under 15 years of age. The children must brave racist assaults to attend the high school at Goondiwindi. Youths cannot even get a game

with the local all-white football team. Originally a mission, then a government reserve under the command of a white boss, Toomelah is now administered by a Land Council and is a Land Rights claim. But this has not meant a substantial improvement in the lot of such Aboriginals, who are almost entirely reliant on the state and remain in miserable poverty. In the midst of the wealth of white Australia, blacks live in the "Third World." This is the apartheid face of Hawke's Australia. It is a situation crying out for socialist revolution, which alone can bring jobs for all, a decent standard of living, education, health care, and justice and equality. We sold *Australasian Spartacist* from house to house, receiving a warm response. Around Toomelah there was pride in the action which had been taken in Goondiwindi to enforce some basic justice.

**Continued on page eleven**



Sydney, 1 June 1984, Spartacists, Aboriginals demonstrate against cop murder of John Pat.

## International Solidarity Greetings

The following telegram was sent to the Moree Aboriginal Legal Service on 6 April as the extradition proceedings began against the Toomelah blacks. The defendants welcomed the International solidarity from the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/US.

New York, USA

International solidarity to heroic Goondiwindi 17. Australian apartheid deprives Aborigines of basic human rights and frames up victims of racist terror for exercising basic right of self-defence. World's workers must lead fight against racist and cop terror from Harlem to Soweto to Queensland. PDC demands no extraditions! Drop all charges immediately!

Partisan Defense Committee