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### **Twenty years after the Whitlam sacking**

The twentieth anniversary of the Whitlam sacking will be remembered by millions of workers and ALP supporters. Most will remember with nostalgia, with rose coloured glasses, a Government which appeared to care for people. Others will remember the heroics of workers who walked off the job, down tools and marched with anger against what they knew was a totally unjustified act. There was mass sentiment for a general strike.

The Whitlam sacking was a turning point in the degeneration of reformism in this country. It exposed the inability of the reformists to defend their own democratically elected government against a guilded popinjay ( the governor general), totally unelected and appointed to dismiss governments who defy the dictates of the system. It also exposed that radical reforms were not on the agenda in this country. Ever since the coup Labor has been going backwards, making concession after concession to pander to the bankers and the bosses. Bob Hawke makes the biggest transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich than any government since the second world war, and the bosses still complain.

The sacking of Whitlam was no accident. It took place on the onset of a massive economic crisis. Whilst Whitlam was not responsible for this crisis neither did he have any answers. Under Whitlam unemployment increased from two hundred thousand to six hundred thousand. There was also massive inflation. This at one stage reached over twenty percent. Whitlam's "solution" was to oppose wage rises. Of course he opposed any fight back against unemployment when massive car plants such as Leylands in Waterloo closed down and threw thousands out the gate. Whitlam actually paid Leylands to fold. The workers received peanuts in redundancy pay.

It was Whitlam who began the cutbacks in social welfare. The Hayden Budget of 1975 was the first to cutback on welfare since the second world war.

What Whitlam began, Fraser continued. After the sacking there were more cutbacks and more factories closed. Workers throughout the seventies maintained their rage. It was on the back of this militancy that Hawke road to power. Hawke was also successful because the stalinists in the metal industry had no answers except curtail militancy and crawl to a government in the hope that Labor would implement interventionist' policies. What the stalinists hoped would be an "historic intervention" — the Prices and Incomes Accord — has turned out to be an historic capitulation. It has meant that unions policed militants who sought to go beyond the minimal amount of militancy

permitted. It meant that unions were captive of the system and therefore its prisoner. This has facilitated the extreme right offensive against the unions, Of course, the Accord has been a useful tool and the bosses don't want to chuck it away too early. There has been a division within the ruling class ranks over whether to smash working class organisation outright or alternatively grind it out of existence. The latter is only supported so long as the working class is continuing to pay for the economic crisis sufficiently. When Keating is unable to appease the bosses Howard, or perhaps someone even further to the right will be ready to continue the job and smash all semblance of working class organisation outright.

The lesson of the sacking of Whitlam is this. The only way Whitlam could have saved his neck was to mobilise workers for a general strike linked to factory committees, the formation of workers militia for a republic. This republic could only have been achieved by smashing the forces behind Kerr and Fraser, the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. The struggle for a republic was therefore linked to a revolutionary form of government — a workers and small farmers government. It was also linked to the creation of a revolutionary communist party committed to fight these forces. This, of course didn't happen. The far left were either irrelevant or alternatively merely the left wing of Labor. Revolutionary demands were required but these had to be linked to the political issues raised by the coup. The left either raised revolutionary demands in the abstract or worse mobilised workers behind the banner of Gough despite some revolutionary sounding rhetoric. As a result, the reformists maintained control over the mass movement and demobilised it.

This demobilisation took a long time. In July 1976 Hawke responded to pressure to call a general strike over Medibank, the popular health scheme sabotaged by Fraser. Hawke made sure this strike wouldn't go anywhere in order to demobilise workers by showing that "political strikes didn't work. Playing a key role in tying the workers to the reformists was the Communist Party of Australia. This "independent " stalinist party has made itself redundant through the collapse of stalinism and also through its failure to put forward any alternative to reformism.

Whitlam lost the 1977 election also by a landslide. This gave Labor the message — they only will be permitted to govern with Liberal policies. Hayden, who replaced Whitlam as leader played a significant role in coopting the trade union bureaucracy into supporting an incomes policy. Hayden made too many concessions to the unions for the bosses liking. But he was important for them in paving the way for Bob Hawke. Bob Hawke had played a lone game. He had consistently opposed strike action in defence of Whitlam and Medibank. This made him popular with the bosses but unpopular with workers and even the trade union bureaucracy. Hayden was needed to bridge the two so Labor could govern — on the bosses terms. Neville Wran in New South Wales also showed in action how Labor could govern and be totally subservient to the system.

Today Labor is seen as cynical monetarist, right wing though perhaps a bit more bearable than the Liberals. Those who hold their nose and vote Labor today remember Whitlam as Labor's enlightened past. This nostalgia ties many middle class people and many workers to a reactionary party. Whitlam represents the hope that things could be better. Unfortunately the record does not match the image. Especially when it is seen in the context of what was expected of reformists at the time. Even Billy McMahon was offering a health scheme. Medibank though better than alternatives offered in Australia, was inferior to the free health scheme New Zealand had at the time. Whitlam wanted some control over foreign monopolies. But he didn't want to challenge their control over the

economy What minor gains were offered to black people were hampered by a racist white bureaucracy.

On other issues Whitlam was right wing. He supported US Bases on Australian soil. His opposition to the Vietnam war as belated, It was only after it was clear that the allies were losing, and supporting withdrawal wouldn't interfere with the US alliance that Whitlam took an overt anti Vietnam War stand.

The sacking of Whitlam raised the question of the republic. For revolutionaries the republic is the most progressive form of bourgeois dictatorship. The fact that Australia has reactionary political superstructure namely the Queen, governor general, two sets of government, state and federal, and two houses (the senate and House of Representatives) is no accident. Economically Australia is a colony. It is a rich colony with a small mini-imperialist domain in the Pacific. But nevertheless it is a colony. The constitution is deliberately rigged so no government will be able to legally tamper with imperialist control.

Today Keating is talking republic and his call has bipartisan support. If the republic is achieved it would only be because the imperialists realise that no party Labor or Liberal offers any threat to imperialist domination. Keating raises the issue because he realises that he must be appearing to keep the faith — while he attacks unions, wages and conditions government spending, social welfare and the unemployed. Keating's cutbacks have been immense. We doubt that Keating will deliver his promised republic even with his consistent grovelling to the bosses and their system.

Gough Whitlam was a very minimalist reformer who stood for modernising capitalism, offering a few token reforms to buy off workers so they would remain subservient. Within the ALP he stood on the right . He blocked with reactionary Groupers and smashed the consistent reformist Victorian Executive who had consistently opposed the Vietnam War. Gough Whitlam supported a neocolonialist strategy in S E Asia and the Pacific. In his bid for "strong independent states" in this region he backed the reactionary Suharto Junta of Indonesia and the ruling elite of PNG.

The explosive, potentially revolutionary, upsurge by the working class in response to the November 11 sacking has made him a bit of a martyr. Our exposure of Whitlam's real right wing record is important not just for clearing up one of the myths of history. It is important in the fight against reformism today.

### **Whitlam Legacy: Timor**

Australians are consistently bombarded with news about the brutality of Indonesian troops in Indonesia. It is also blatantly clear that the Keating Labor Government has been a key apologist for Indonesia. This includes the brutality of their acts such as the Dill massacre. Gareth Evans has been a key apologist. Australia has now a very vested interest in Indonesia's victory. The Timor Sea has been divided so both Indonesia and Australia share the benefit of the vast under the sea oil reserves The Timorese are to receive only what Indonesia permits them. This means nothing. If the Timorese led by Fretilin win the war this 'agreement' could be in jeopardy. We hope so. It is the Timorese people who deserve the benefit of these rich natural resources and not the imperialists nor the Indonesian junta.

Twenty years ago, East Timor enjoyed one brief month of independence. On December 6 1975 Indonesian troops occupied. They have been there ever since. The Indonesian invasion was well and truly expected. Indonesia invaded knowing full well that Australia would do nothing to assist the Timorese. In fact one of the first acts of Whitlam, after his election 1972, was to visit Jakarta and ensure President Suharto of Australia's full support. Whitlam made his view clear that he did not think that an independent East Timor was viable.

This was not some arrogant oversight on his part. Opposition to Timorese independence was part of philosophy. He believed in large "viable" nations for the benefit of imperialist stability. Some have suggested that Whitlam did not think small nations could govern themselves, On the contrary Whitlam knew that they could. He feared that they might rock the apple cart and interfere with superexploitation. He consciously supported a strong Indonesia, a prison house of nations. East Timor might have set a precedent. It might have stimulated other movements for secession throughout Indonesia.

Therefore for the sake of stability an independent Timor was not to be allowed. Whitlam's Labor government did not directly invade Timor. But Indonesia was encouraged that Australia would not interfere with their invasion. Whitlam's "neutrality" facilitated the invasion.

The sacking of Whitlam meant nothing. Fraser helped the Indonesians just like Whitlam did. They made sure that Fretilin's radio transmitters were closed down. The Whitlam philosophy became Fraser's and then became Hawke and Keating's. Well we hope that exposure of Indonesia explodes in their faces.

When Indonesia invaded the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Australian workers acted. They took industrial action against Indonesia. This action was not continued for various reasons. Firstly, the solidarity group CIET only saw working class action as a component of the popular front. But also, the degeneration of their leadership, reformist and stalinist, meant the abandonment of Timor.

The total surrender to Hawke through the Prices and Incomes Accord meant total surrender to a government in alliance with Indonesia. Therefore WWF and Seamen's Union leadership, Unwilling to rock thin boat, refuse to act in defence of Timor The struggle for workers action is linked to the struggle for revolutionary leadership. It is only the working class who can be effective in defending Timor

. Middle class peace crawls as offered by the Democratic Socialist Daily and their youth group, Resistance, iii alliance with Greens and Australian Democrats must sell out as they are ultimately tied to the same capitalist system who has an interest in Indonesia and therefore selling out Timor. A workers movement in defence of Timor with a programme of direct action, as opposed to crawling to governments must be built without delay.

### **Whitlam legacy: PNG and Bougainville.**

Twenty years after formal independence Papua New Guinea is a total mess. It faces a massive foreign debt. Most of what the World Bank calls 'excess spending' has gone not on welfare but into the pockets of an elite gang of bureaucrats. Corruption is massive. PNG is a police state. Expatriate coffee plantation owners drive small farmers off their land. They go to the cities only to find no jobs and state repression.

The bureaucratic elite, are of course working hand in glove with the imperialists. The Ok Tedi mine on the Fly River is such a scandal that even Channel Nine's notorious Sixty Minutes thinks its a scandal. The miners get virtually nothing, yet the Australian company BHP is permitted to rip off billions of dollars worth of ore. The pollution of the Fly River deprives local farmers of their livelihood, Of course all this is justified in the name of the economy. Well ordinary Papuans or Nuiginians are destined to get nothing for all this sacrifice.

The bureaucratic elite that run PNG is a product of the Whitlam Government. Whitlam believed in independence. But he believed in independence on imperialism's terms. He promoted the PANGU Pati. This party began as being radical. But during the seventies it became clear that in reality it stood for selling out the rights of national minorities, tying the trade union movement to the capitalist state and defending Australian corporations such as WA Carpenter and Burns Philp. These two companies had a monopoly strangle hold on the economy of Port Moresby.

In the trade union and workers movement a radical party was developing— the Socialist Workers Party. The coincidence of name with the US Trotskyist grouping is not accidental. -I hey wanted to identify with the militancy of Trotskyism. 1 hey had a close relationship with the Communist Party of Australia when the CPA promoted workers control. They thought the CPA campaign was revolutionary. Despite deficiencies they were the highest expression of class consciousness within the PNG working class and therefore a threat to PANGU. PANGU made sure their union organiser on the waterfront were isolated and smashed.

PANGU also clamped down on national minorities such as the Tolai people, the Free Papua Movement, the movement for autonomy on the 'Trobriand Islands and of course, the people of Bougainville. PANGU initially supported the independence movement of West Papua and its liberation fighters known as OPM. Any principled support for the West Papuans has been thrown out the window.

Gough Whitlam (lid riot believe small nations were viable, well neither did PANGU. Bougainville declared itself independent fifteen days before Papua New Guinea, It was not recognised either by Whitlam or by PANGU. PANGU and every PNG Government has consistently policed the Bougainville for the benefit of Conzinc Riotinto exploiters. They have ensured that workers remain tow paid and that local farmers only receive minimal compensation for their destroyed land and fishing.

Bougainville has from the beginning been a national conflict. Therefore the stakes are much higher. The struggle for the Bougainville challenges that creaky edifice known as Papua New Guinea, If Bougainville goes free, the rulers fear that other national groupings might through down the gauntlet and demand their national rights also. This might threaten the ruling elite, It might also threaten imperialist domination. From the point of view of the Australian ruling class, other imperialists, and PANGU, Bougainville must be stopped. Australia is backing the PNG Government to the hilt.

Recently peace talks were conducted in Cairns. These led nowhere. In no way will the PNG Government or the Australians recognise an independent Bougainville. The BRA didn't sell out. So the war goes on. People are still dicing because of the blockade preventing medicines from reaching Bougainville people. Bougainvilleans are being killed from helicopter raids and mortar bombs made

in St Mary's Sydney. The war on Bougainville is Australia's hidden war. Unfortunately only a few leftists are breaking the silence.

All this bloody mess is a legacy of Gough Whitlam. Whitlam wanted a strong New Guinea to serve imperialism so he trampled over national rights and promoted a local reactionary elite. It's not so much that Whitlam did not believe in the ability of national minorities to govern themselves. He distrusted their loyalty to imperialism. Yes the Bougainville people would, if independent, tear up the rip-off contract offered by CRA. Good on them. All this shows that imperialism doesn't solve the national question. We communists believe in national unity of nationalities within PNG. But national unity to be meaningful must be voluntary. Whitlam's shotgun PNG has only postponed national uprisings. It hasn't stopped them.

RED will continually remind the left and workers movement in Australia that as Australia is at war we have responsibilities — to mobilise working people for Australia's defeat. More people have died and will die from Australia's war in Bougainville than from French nuclear tests in the Pacific. Irrespective of public opinion Bougainville must be our priority for mobilising the working class of this country.

### **Western Australian trade union blockade**

On October 18 key unions in Western Australia stopped work for one day. Public transport, hospitals (who banned elective surgery), schools, planes and the Bunbury power station stopped work. Other industries were hit due to strikes by the transport unions. This we are assured is just the beginning. We hope so. Jenny George, ACTU leader has promised interstate solidarity. A campaign of continued action is promised in the power industry.

The anger of Western Australian unions is totally justified. Effective unionism is under threat in Western Australia. The legislation threatens compulsory secret ballots, Each ballot must carry a legal warning about the possible legal consequence of a strike. Unions must not be under both Federal and state awards. There are no penalties for bosses who lock out. But workers who go on an "illegal" strike face \$1000 fine. The legislation restricts funding to the Labor Party, or for that matter any other political party any particular union may wish to affiliate to.

The strike action is opposed by State Labor outright. Paul Keating says that whilst he does not support the strike action, he blames the Court Government for provoking it. Unionists are angry with State Labor. The Miscellaneous Workers Union has threatened to disaffiliate. This we truly support. Why pay dues to an organisation which refuses to support your right to fight for your existence? We support the right of unions to affiliate to political parties. In fact it is a step forward when they identify with the need for political change. When unions affiliate to a revolutionary party. It would mean that instead of fighting for their own sectional interest . they support fighting for the class as a whole. Such an affiliation would mean a challenge to both the bureaucratic structure and the bureaucratic privilege of leaders.

Mr Howard is only a partial supporter of the legislation. No doubt he finds it to be a bit embarrassing. The bosses in this country have been very pleased with the Keating agenda. They do want to take the process even further. than Keating is prepared to go. A Howard Government on its slated program is their preferred option. They don't want to smash the unions directly. Rather they want to

grind them out of existence. Of course they want to take advantage of their ability to contain workers struggle in the meantime. It is possible that Howard is simply lying, and that he would introduce nasty legislation. Irrespective of his real aim, the last thing he wants is a climate of fear which Keating will use to reconsolidate support. He hopes that fire economy will do the talking. He banks on i opposition to continued inflation. Keating has no answers. So, he figures, the middle ground will go to the alternative and vote Liberal. Of course his measures to fight inflation will mean continued attack on the union movement.

It is no accident that the vanguard of their anti-union crusade should come from Western Australia. Western Australia , along with Queensland are the two states where the ruling class want consensus the least. The economy of Western Australia is predominately dominated by mining. Mining is predominately owned by foreign capital. It does not need as much labour as manufacturing. These multinationals, with billions of dollars to be made ripping off minerals do not need consensus. This could threaten their massive profits. The result has been right wing government. The “Labor” Government of Brian Burke was totally subservient also. Labor’s opposition to strike action on the state level is in no way accidental. They realise that to form a bourgeois state government they will have to be totally subordinated to the system. They ted that they can treat their trade union base with total contempt. Unfortunately they know that with the trade union leaderships they will be allowed to get away with it. A programme of action to bring down the Court Government is needed. ‘The trade union bureaucracy will sell out. So workers must form factory committees to take control of their struggle. A factory committee is a democratic; version of the trade union on the shop floor, It is open to all workers of any political persuasion.

A political struggle requires a political party. Workers must be shown that the sellout by the WA state Labor Party is no accident. They must be shown that a struggle for their own right to organise requires a break from reformism. A revolutionary party must be built on the shop floor for workers to draw the political conclusions required

Jenny George is right when she points out the Australia wide consequences of the Western Australian legislation. She is right when she talks about this need for action. It is doubtful though that this action will be forthcoming. And if action does happen it is doubtful whether this will be effective. Mass meetings must be called now to discuss the implications of the legislation for workers throughout Australia. These meetings should endorse a programme of action against the Western Australian Government. Irrespective of what he pronounces as his strategy, Howard will .be heartened if there is a ruling class victory in the West and accelerate the bosses offensive. Unionists in the West are fighting for unionism not just in their own state but for all Australian unionists.

### **Maori self-determination and class struggle in New Zealand**

The spectre of Maori radicalism is haunting New Zealand. There is currently talk of transferring the Waitangi Day celebration to Wellington to make it safe from Maori radicals. Waitangi Day is where New Zealand commemorates that reactionary deal between the Crown and Maori Chiefs known as the Treaty of Waitangi. This signing took place one hundred fitly four years ago. Maoris have every right to be angry. The Crown has honoured virtually nothing of what it “agreed to. Virtually all the land has been cynically expropriated by Pakeha settlers. Of course the formal agreement was unfair. But Maoris have not even got the unfair agreement they signed. We hope Waitangi Day is continually disrupted not merely by Maoris — but the organised working class as well.

Mrs Windsor, known as Queen Elizabeth the Second has recently visited New Zealand. She solemnly apologised to the Maori Chiefs on behalf of the British Crown for violations of Waitangi. This apology was by no means symbolic. The Queen knows she has to apologise to maintain authority. She knows full well the reactionary role that chiefs can play. After all in Fiji the tribal Chiefs backed military strong man Colonel Rimbuka whose coup overthrew the left leaning Dr Bavandra. The Rimbuka dictatorship was viciously antiunion. In South Africa Zulu chiefs are behind the Inkatha Freedom Movement who stretched out their hand in friendship to Afrikaner fascists. She knows that 'tribal loyalty' and the authority of the Chiefs could be a factor in conservatising Maori proletarians. She therefore makes peace with Maori loyalty.

There certainly has been an upsurge of Maori militancy including significant occupations. Class Struggle publication of the Trotskyist group Communist Workers Group reports one of these occupations as follows:

"The torching of Takahue School on Thursday September 22 has brought to the forefront Maori frustration with the rip-off deals being pushed on to them by the Governments kupapa. Prime candidate for sell-out of the week award has to be Mata Rata. Hand in glove with the Government he ran roughshod over the Takahue claim by pushing for a long term lease for the Takahue School from the Department of Land and Survey Information to the newly formed 'Takahue Community Land Trust. Rata had come up with an imaginary community which consisted of a few local families, who, according to his logic deserved access to the school oval and above the rightful owners T e Paaiu a Hopu of Ngati Kahn."

'In response to Rata's sell-out, the Paatu Hapu occupied the school on March 29 this year in the wake of the occupation of Pakaitore. They did so in order to claim the land that was rightfully theirs. Their occupation lasted 176days,"

This occupation, they explain comes on top of the occupation at Glen Innes. The betrayal of Mat Rata is significant. Rata was the leader of the most significant Maori proletarian expression — Mana Matahaki. Mana Matahaki has been described as Moon nationalist. More accurate would be to describe it as Maori reformist; it represented a significant breakaway from Labour by Maoris who realised the racist nature of that party. Of course they did not go all the way and what occurred was a Maori variant of reformism. The treachery of which was shown when Manu Matuhaki became part at the class collaborationist block known as Alliance. The common demands of Alliance do not in any way deal with the Moon question even on a democratic level. Of course there is no challenging the racist New Zealand state that would rock the apple cart. Once Mata Matahaki had liquidated there could be no talk of critical support. However, before that, critical support could have been an appropriate tactic. It revolutionary communists drew out the appropriate lessons, Maori Proletarians must learn that what is required is riot just an organisational break from Labour but a break from the system — revolutionary politics. Critical support may have also been an important weapon in the fight against white racism. Pakeha workers must learn that the future lies with the Maori proletariat and not with the British Crown. Of course if revolutionary or even left centrist candidates should they would get priority.

Mat Rata once even talked about soviets. He betrayed politically by supporting liquidating into the Alliance. Now he is betraying Maori struggles. Important lessons can be learned.

The Maori question is a fundamental question for the New Zealand revolution. It is both a national question and a class question. White workers (Pakehas) must recognise the racist character of the New Zealand state. They must recognise the national rights of Maori people. Maori workers must learn that petty bourgeois leaders cannot be trusted. In this struggle they will transcend nationalism and act as the vanguard of all proletarians for a socialist Aotearoa — provided there is the intervention of revolutionary leadership. Nationalism will only break down if chauvinism is broken down. Pakeha workers must reject the racist state. Recognising Maori national rights is vital for the united Pakeha Maori and Polynesian proletarian revolution which will liberate Aotearoa New Zealand from capitalism

### **Former Yugoslavia: bloodshed goes on despite 'peace talks'**

The counterrevolution in Yugoslavia has created a nationalist bloody mess. On the one hand there are the Serbs who contain the remnants of the previous bureaucracy, who have become more malignantly nationalist. These bureaucrats have merged with fascism in their political ideology. On the other there are the Croats whose nationalism has a fascist heritage. Elections have just been completed in Croatia and Tudjman was re-elected. Croats still rally behind the fascist banner. Under Tito the national question wasn't completely resolved. Serbs were nationally advantaged. This gave Croatian fascists a rallying point. This virulent form of nationalism did not become redundant in Croatia. So after the counterrevolution, it raises its ugly head. We must stress that not all Croats, nor even Croatian nationalists are fascist.

The nationalism of the Serbs stems from a perverted degeneration of the philosophy of socialism in one country. This nationalism has been accentuated to the development of Serbian capitalism. With Yugoslavia turning back to reaction, old national antagonisms re-emerge. Between the main two protagonists are the minor nationalities and the Moslems. These are getting scapegoated and slaughtered. The United Nations helped pave the way for this. Like Gough Whitlam leaders of the UN didn't recognise the national question for small nations. The UN therefore promoted the Serbs and the Croats as the two "realistic nations"

All this is being used by the imperialists and their agency "United Nations" to parade as liberators. Serbia has been targeted. Indeed Serb military officers have been guilty of crimes against Moslems. But the UN intervention won't solve anything. Within the former Yugoslavia the beneficiaries have been Croats. They too have been guilty of racist attacks on Moslems. But there is no systematic allied warfare against them.

The nature of the current "peace talks" has been exposed by an attempt by the United States to impose on the Bosnians a clause in their constitution which prohibits, under any circumstances, the Bosnian Serb leader being elected to office. Should the clause be inserted he would be prohibited irrespective of public support. This is hardly democracy and Serbia, quite rightly, rejects the proposal. It exposes the talks as a cover for imperialism.

The UN intervention assists the counterrevolution which assists nationalist slaughter. Irrespective of who imperialist forces protect in the short term, they are sowing the seeds of nationalist slaughter. Moslems must be defended, but not under the banner of imperialist slaughter. In the former Yugoslavia workers militia must be formed on a non ethnic basis. It is only the working class who can be trusted on the national question — and make it redundant. Nationalism has been perpetuated by

stalinism. It has been exacerbated by counterrevolution and imperialism. The UN intervention is not part of the solution but part of the problem.

Communist Left stands for

1) revolutionary expropriation and not capitalist nationalisation. It is only the direct action of the working class who can fight the system and not the government of the ruling class, irrespective of which party Liberal or "Labor" administers the government. All nationalised industry should be defended from privatisation by placing it under workers control.

2) a revolutionary workers and small farmers government. The form of this government is not parliament but the organised working class. This government is a form of proletarian dictatorship. There is a fundamental distinction between small farmers and those who exploit workers. This distinction must be made by revolutionaries. Small farmers must be won over to the vanguard of the proletariat by showing them that they have more in common with wage slaves than blood sucking bankers.

3) a revolutionary party instead of a Labor Party. Labor was formed by the trade union by those who saw union interests being improved through parliament — unity with the capitalist state. At the turn of the century, when

capitalism entered its imperialist phase, Labor parties, in imperialist countries, blocked with imperialism against their fellow wage slaves in the colonies. Since then it has been more appropriate to classify them as social-imperialist. They have been notoriously racist and chauvinist. They have supported reactionary tariffs and protection. They have supported their "own" bourgeoisie in war time — including the slaughter of fellow workers. The logic of reformism is to support bosses' solutions to the crisis and attack trade unions and workers wages and conditions for the bosses' benefit.

5) opposition to stalinism which uses the banner of the Russian revolution and or that of a post capitalist state to reconcile workers with the national bourgeoisie using "communist" rhetoric. Stalinists are often the main agents for national plans to revamp capitalism. Acceptance of these plans ties workers to the capitalist nation state and divides workers from class comrades internationally. These "plans" and programmes ultimately, if not immediately make workers pay for capitalism's crisis. This strategy flows from the theoretical concept of Stalin called socialism in one country. This theory stands totally counterposed to the internationalism of the Bolsheviks. We reject both the more peaceful versions practised in imperialist countries and the revolutionary variant carried out in colonies — the national liberation front.

5) opposition to imperialist domination. Australia is both a colony and a mini-imperialist power. The Australian bourgeoisie have been given a small domain in the Pacific in exchange for British, US and Japanese economic and political domination. Communist Left opposes both Australian imperialist exploits in the Pacific and imperialist domination of Australia. This means not a reactionary! utopian struggle for national independence which argues implicitly or explicitly that Australia could be independent under capitalism but support for the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution (a republic). In Australia the bourgeois democratic revolution can only be completed

simultaneously with the proletarian revolution by the means of class struggle and not class collaborationist public opinion.

6) opposition to all chauvinism and racism. Working class people have supported Australia's imperialist privileges in the Pacific and Asia. Ideologically this has meant supporting white workers at the expense of their class comrades of the coloured races. This has enabled bosses to divide workers internationally and ensure that white workers identify with the system. We oppose immigration controls which allow the state to control the movement of workers internationally a protect Australia for racist privilege. We oppose import controls and protection which mean jobs in Australia are fought for at the expense of workers overseas. We support a united revolutionary struggle between Australian workers and workers of Asia and the Pacific.

7) opposition to sexism Sexism plays a similar role ensuring that male workers refuse to recognise female workers. This permits them to be superexploited with the lowest possible wages. Communist Left supports socialisation of housework and child care to free women from the burden of household chores. We support a Communist women's movement. We oppose bourgeois feminism which confines struggle to within the system. Some variants consider that men are the enemy and not the system. Communist Left opposes the vicious repression of homosexuals and of homosexuality. Communist Left recognises that those with nothing to lose but their chains are the vanguard. Those who identify with imperialist privilege constitute not the proletariat but the labour aristocracy.

8) self-determination for oppressed nationalities. The Australian nation oppresses the Koori, Murri, Nyungah, Nungah, Tiwi and other national and tribal groupings known collectively as Australian Aboriginals. It also controls the Torres Strait Islands whose inhabitants are of Melanesian racial origin. Torres Strait islanders should have the right to either independence or alternatively, joining Papua New Guinea. All Australian interference in PNG must be totally opposed. All these groupings should be given the right to form their own nation. This principle applies internationally. All colonies and semicolonies must be freed.

9) for political class consciousness. Trade unions were formed as defensive organisations to fight for better wages and conditions, the value of workers labour power. Trade unions confine themselves to struggle within the system and cannot offer a programme to overthrow the system. Trade unions under imperialism have been integrated into the capitalist state. Communist Left intervenes within the trade union movement to fight for the hegemony of a political party. We do this firstly, because workers political consciousness affects their capacity to fight on the trade union level. Secondly we want to break unions from the capitalist state. Thirdly because we want to overthrow capitalism which requires political struggle. Shop committees represent a higher form of trade union organisation. Those who organise within the working class merely on the trade union level albeit more militant form (such as rank and file groups etc.) adapt to the dominant politics of the working class, reformism and chauvinism. We support militant unemployed unions.

10) a sliding scale of hours and wages. By reducing the working week continually and linking this to continual rises in the cost of living we fight for jobs on our terms. Bosses use unemployment to impoverish working class people. They use unemployment as a weapon to undermine wages and conditions. The sliding scale of hours and wages unites employed and unemployed to fight for jobs

on our terms. With a strong and unite working class the balance of forces is on our side so we can make the bosses pay.

10) defence of the post-capitalist states. Counterrevolution is on the rampage. The Soviet Union, established by the great October Revolution was a major historic gain of the working class to be defended despite the Stalin thermador regime. The Yeltsin counter-revolution was a carried out by those bureaucrats, who aspired to become capitalists and broke free from the constraints of bureaucracy and create an embryonic capitalist class. Although large sections of the economy remain nationalised the wheels of counter-revolution are in motion. China, Vietnam, Cuba and Nth Vietnam remain bureaucratically degenerate workers and peasants states. In these societies the peasantry act as a conducting medium for capitalist restoration within a society whose economy is predominately nationalised.

11) For a Fifth communist International. Only Trotskyism is consistently internationalist. We recognise the Fourth international of Leon Trotsky as the legitimate continuity of revolutionary Leninism. The Fourth International of Trotsky did not survive the Second World War as a revolutionary entity. Neither what's known as the United Secretariat nor the International Committee continue organisationally nor politically the tradition of Trotsky. They and other contending "Fourth Internationals are tainted with serious betrayals including capitulation to stalinism and bourgeois nationalism. Communism is not communism without internationalism. The formation of a Fifth International is a matter of urgency. Such an international will continue the programme and traditions of the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky.

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