



Unions, Immigrants are the Targets

Labor's Recession Racism

Immediately after the March federal election the capitalist media and politicians re-opened the racist "immigration debate." These are code words for an orchestrated campaign to slash immigration and stir up racism against immigrants, particularly Asians, scapegoating them for Australian capitalism's economic crisis. Sure enough, in late June, Hawke and new Immigration Minister Gerry Hand announced a ten percent cut in the projected intake of 140,000 immigrants next year, with the largest cut to family reunion programs. Ominously a new second-class category of temporary residency status was created for the 20,000 Chinese students granted a temporary amnesty after the Tiananmen massacre. This status, with indeterminate access to social security and regular reviews of the "human rights" record of their home country with an eye to sending them back, is to be extended to all refugees.

This round was kicked off by maverick Labor Senator Walsh, who blamed immigration for worsening Australia's massive balance of payments deficit, arguing

that the "government have allowed policy to be hijacked by so-called ethnic leaders." Walsh revealed that the issue is already opening up deep chasms within the Labor Party as the economy spirals into recession. NSW Labor leader Bob Carr chimed in, railing against the effects of immigration on Sydney's hospitals, schools, housing and services—as if it was immigrants who had taken the axe to social welfare, education and health, and not the government, overseen by Walsh himself as Finance Minister. And it was corporate cowboys like Bond and Elliott, not Asian immigrants, who racked up most of the \$120 billion plus foreign debt.

As the recession bites, the bosses want to accelerate "micro-economic reform," meaning union-busting and more spending cutbacks. They worry that the Hawke government is too beholden to the unions and various pressure groups—greens, feminists, Walsh's "ethnic mafia"—and lacks the backbone for tough decisions. The ALP's Accord with the ACTU bureaucracy remains its ace card in suppressing working class

resistance. But the union tops are having increasing difficulty policing their restive ranks—witness recent setbacks for Kelty's bureaucratic union amalgamations—and sharpening class tensions threaten to shatter the Accord. For the bosses, the bureaucrats and the government, a big dose of racist scapegoating is just the thing to divide the workers, shore up the Accord and force another three years of sacrifice on the working class.

This time it is leading Laborites making the running where previously it was Tories like Howard and Stone, and before them Ruxton and Blainey. Of course, they piously disavow any racist intent and couch their arguments in "economic rationalist" terms. This fake "debate" should fool no one—there is a bourgeois consensus to maintain in substance the racial exclusionism upon which White Australia capitalism was founded, even though in overt form it had to be abandoned. Yesterday's apostle of "liberal tolerance" is today's hard-nosed reactionary. When a desperate

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Nelson Mandela in America

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

The following article, reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 504, 15 June 1990), vividly portrays the hypocrisy of the celebratory welcome given to Nelson Mandela by U.S. imperialism's rulers. Equally hypocritical is the echo resounding from the Hawke government, ally of de Klerk's South Africa and junior lackey of U.S. imperialism, which administers its own vicious apartheid over Australia's Aboriginal population.

Across the U.S., hundreds of thousands of people will turn out to enthusiastically greet Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, who arrives in New York on June 20, the first stop on his ten-day American tour. The man who during his 27 years' imprisonment was the symbol of the fight against apartheid slavery has also inspired black people in America, who see in the oppression of their South African brothers a mirror of their own. At the same time, some of the most powerful oppressors and exploiters of black people will join in a hypocritical celebration of "freedom" while the South African masses and minorities in the U.S. bear the deadly weight of racial oppression.

Mandela will get the red carpet treatment at the White House, staunch

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No "Power Sharing" with the Randlords!



Steve Hilton-Barber/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

Power of black labour can smash apartheid. Above: Militant black unionists in Johannesburg protest anti-labour laws, October 1989.

Noah Wolkenstein



Workers Vanguard

1955-1990

It is with shock and deep grief that we announce the death of our comrade Noah Wolkenstein. Noah served as production manager of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist* and department head of the composition crew up until October 1988. He died on 23 April by his own hand. Noah was 34 years old, a member of the Bay Area Spartacist League and a full member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee at the time of his death.

This tragedy touches every comrade and section of the International Communist League, in particular the comrades in New York who knew him in his painstaking and brilliant political work on the production side of our press, but also many comrades from other SL/U.S. locals and ICL sections. During his years as *WV* comp chief Noah also took responsibility for setting up press production systems and training comrades in Britain, Canada, France and elsewhere. During February and March of this year, comrade Noah was in Germany to establish the basic technical framework for our press there. He accomplished this task with the determination which was characteristic of him.

Noah joined the party in 1975. His older sister Rachel was recruited in 1973, following a fusion between the Spartacist League and the Buffalo Marxist Caucus. Noah's older brother Seth joined the party in 1974.

Noah's parents, Gloria and Ed Wolkenstein, have reached out to us through their own grief to bear witness to the strength of Noah's communist convictions and the satisfaction he drew from his crucial work for our party during these fifteen years. Our hearts go out to his parents, his other sister, Naomi, and the other members of the family.

In deference to Noah's expressed wish that no memorials be held, private informal gatherings have been held for his comrades to remember him. He will be remembered always and best through our determination to carry forward the struggle for the communist ideals to which he devoted all his energy and intelligence during the too brief time we had together.

ALP Racism...

(continued from page 1)

Andrew Peacock attacked the proposed Japanese-funded Multi-Function Polis during the election campaign, he was jumped upon by the media, and by none harder than *Australian* columnist, Paul Kelly. Two months later (28 May) Kelly favourably quoted "founding father" Alfred Deakin: "the unity of Australia means nothing if it does not imply a united race" and wrote: "The White Australia policy, though not its rhetoric, was the correct approach for Australia to adopt in 1901 just as its abolition was correct and overdue by the late 1960s." For their part, various Green groups have taken the logic of their politics to the reactionary-utopian and nationalist conclusion of an "environmentally sound" White Australia. Thus Australian Democrat Senator John Coulter opposed increased immigration because it will "stress" the "fragile environment." This in an entire continent with barely 17 million inhabitants!

For Workers Action to Smash Racist Attacks!

The state is scapegoating immigrants in the midst of an economic downturn to

justify wholesale attacks on racial minorities. For example:

- A new crackdown on so-called "illegal" immigrants, including deportations, under the new Immigration regulations.

- A cruel attempt to cut off the pensions of spouses of immigrant pensioners who return to certain countries. This meant that Greek and Turkish pensioners, after a lifetime of sweat and toil, could not afford to return to their birthplace because these countries have no reciprocal pension agreements with Australia. Only large joint protests by Turkish and Greek immigrants forced the government to beat a partial retreat.

- The WA Labor government was considering banning inter-country adoptions except in cases where prospective parents "are of the same broad ethnic and cultural background." Pam Duffy of the Australians Aiding Children Adoption Agency, in a letter to the *Australian* (30 April), pointed to the naked racism underlying the proposal when she asked "What are the next steps? Ban mixed marriages? Separate housing areas for each race?" Due to a public outcry the plan has been scotched, for now.

The racist "debate" in parliament and the press means bashings and murders on the streets. In Perth last year Chinese taxi driver Peter Tan was the victim of an

overtly racist murder. His German-born wife Traudl is still fighting the WA court's decision letting her husband's killer off on the lesser verdict of manslaughter. Three Chinese students were killed last year in highly dubious successive hit-and-run accidents near their college in Melbourne. Though small, fascist groups like the Perth Australian Nationalist Movement and National Action have been emboldened by the racist climate of the Hawke years. Aborigines daily confront racist cop terror aimed at enforcing their exclusion to the fringes of society. The recent shooting by the NSW police Tactical Response Group of an innocent Sydney man, Darren Brennan, recalled the murder last year of an Aboriginal man, David Gundy by the SWOS squad. Brennan, who is white, was lucky to survive, and NSW Premier Greiner had to apologise for a "monumental screw-up" and promised a paltry \$50,000. But David Gundy's sister-in-law Sandra Gundy noted bitterly: "When a black man gets shot, and killed, there is nothing—not even an apology" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June). The power of the organised working class can and must be mobilised to stop racist terror and crush the minuscule fascist groups in the egg.

The trade unions must organise, defend and mobilise immigrant workers, especially newer arrivals from Asia, the Near East and Latin America who are concentrated in the worst and lowest-paid jobs. Much of this country was built and its wealth accumulated through the sweat of immigrant workers. From the Builders Labourers Federation to the Melbourne tramway workers, many of the most militant struggles of recent decades were waged by heavily immigrant sections of the working class. Factory fodder in times of boom, immigrants are now increasingly driven into the ranks of the unemployed. A recent study found an unemployment rate of over 20 percent for Asian-born people. Immigrant women and unskilled workers, especially those not speaking English, have suffered most under Hawke's Accord, and will be at the

forefront of a class-struggle upsurge against it. This multi-racial working class can defend itself only by throwing off the shackles of Arbitration, which binds it to the bosses' state, and waging hard class struggle. There need to be massive wage rises to make up for inflation, and a fight for jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! The fight to defend workers unions, wages and conditions also means fighting against the racist protectionism of the union bureaucracy, opposing all the necessarily racist immigration laws of Australian capitalism, and fighting for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers. It means forging a multi-racial revolutionary workers party through splitting the working class base of the ALP away from its reactionary leadership. Such a party will be thoroughly internationalist, understanding with Liebknecht that, "The Main Enemy is at Home," defending the gains of the Russian and Vietnamese Revolutions and forging solidarity with the workers and peasants of Asia.

Indentured Slave Labour in Darwin

The union bureaucracy's role as capitalism's racist cop was highlighted in early April with the exposure of the Darwin

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Australasian

SPARTACIST



For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

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To Our Readers

Inflation, combined with Hawke/Keating's vicious capitalist austerity, is biting hard at the real incomes of all working people, no less so for workers parties. Due to big rises in mailing and printing costs we have reluctantly been forced to increase the prices of all our publications. With this issue *Australasian Spartacist* goes to 50 cents a copy and \$5.00 for a six-issue subscription. *Workers Vanguard*, paper of the Spartacist League/U.S., goes to 50 cents an issue and \$15.00 for an airmail sub. Despite the rises, you still can't buy a left-wing paper for less.

International Campaign to Save Black Journalist

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

"Don't tell me about the 'valley of the shadow of death'. I live there."

—Mumia Abu-Jamal,
Huntingdon death row.

In solitary confinement in Pennsylvania, USA's Huntingdon state prison, Mumia Abu-Jamal awaits the electric chair. He is a death row political prisoner today because he has defied the racist, capitalist order. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, outspoken MOVE supporter, and a journalist called the "voice of the voiceless" for his championing the rights of the oppressed, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for 21 years. Because he is a militant, still resisting the racist system which is trying to kill him, the state is readying the lynch rope for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia's history reflects that of a generation of black militants from the civil rights movement through the Reagan years. At the age of 13, Jamal was first beaten and arrested for protesting a rally for Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace, held in the white racist bastion of Mayor Frank Rizzo's South Philadelphia. At 14, Jamal was co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party; as he recalled, this experience "charged my pen with a distinctive anti-authoritarian, and anti-establishment character that survives to this day."

A widely acclaimed journalist since 1970, Jamal broadcast on national radio networks, interviewing Julius Erving, Bob Marley, Puerto Rican independence fighters and others, and was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists in 1980. Jamal is a well-known supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organisation (a back-to-nature commune), itself the target of a murderous vendetta unleashed by Rizzo's cops. In 1978 Jamal covered Rizzo's campaign against MOVE, including the siege of the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops. In 1985, this vendetta culminated in Mayor Wilson Goode's hideous bombing of MOVE, which left eleven, including five children, dead.

On 5 November 1988 in Philadelphia, a labour/black anti-Klan rally triumphantly occupied Independence Mall, site of a threatened skinhead/Klan march. The Partisan Defence Committee/U.S.' work in building the "Stop the KKK!" mobilisation led to a massive outpouring of opposition to the race-terrorists from union members, civil rights activists, community groups and others, which successfully stopped the KKK/skinheads from daring to appear. Mumia Abu-Jamal sent a taped message to the rally in his hometown: "It's time folk de-hood the Klan and take a close look at what's beneath," he said, describing "the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can exploit the many." "Around the Klan demonstration no doubt stand the squadron of cops whose sole assignment is to protect the Klan if they were to appear," Jamal continued; "It is fitting that one agency of the state, the cops, are assigned to protect another agent, the Klan. For make no mistake, the KKK serves the interests of the ruling class who must divide to rule.... Far more deadly racists sit in black robes, send blacks, Hispanics and poor into prisons where the state plays slavemaster."



No credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal, U.S. black journalist, ex-Black Panther, "voice of the voiceless," political prisoner on death row.

Abolish the U.S. Death Penalty!

On 9 December 1981 the cops tried to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalised with a bleeding stomach wound, arrested and framed up on charges of killing a cop. At his trial he was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution's request. Witnesses gave conflicting testimony. Although Mumia requested it, the cop who arrested him wasn't allowed to testify. At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued that Jamal be condemned to death simply for his political history and beliefs, claiming that Jamal's prior membership in the Black Panther Party and a 12-year-old quotation that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" proved that he was a committed cop-killer!

The prosecution claimed Jamal would

get "appeal after appeal after appeal," trying to hoodwink the jury into thinking the death sentence would never be carried out. On February 1, 1990 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's petition to re-argue his appeal. A petition for review to the U.S. Supreme Court has been filed. Last year Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson declared, "Mumia's trial was a farce.... It was clear to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs.... An innocent man has been sentenced to die." Jamal's appeal was supported by an *amici curiae* (friend of the court) brief from the American Civil Liberties Union and National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about. It exposes not only the barbarity and arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but the inherent racism in its

application. As Jamal writes, "The death penalty in America is a symbol, a ritual, a relic of a time of total dominance, of one people, by another. Therein lies its attractiveness in the U.S., and in the apartheid regime in South Africa" ("Pull the Hood Off the Hangman," *Workers Vanguard* No. 477, 12 May 1989). In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master.

In 1987 the U.S. Supreme Court admitted that while there is a discrepancy in the death penalty sentences depending on the race of the victim (convicted killers of whites are still 4.3 times more likely to get the death penalty than killers of blacks), basically it didn't matter! Black life is held cheap by the USA's rulers. Today, one out of every two people on death row in the U.S. is black or Hispanic, four times their proportion in the population as a whole; two-thirds of those with Jamal in death row in Pennsylvania are black.

The Partisan Defence Committee has undertaken a massive campaign to save Jamal's life and to abolish the racist death penalty. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

The urgency of the fight to save Jamal's life, and the hundreds of prisoners on death row around the U.S., was underlined on March 5, when the U.S. Supreme Court announced new grounds for denying federal appeals in many death row cases. Now the American states are gearing up their killing machines again.

Over 20,000 people around the world have signed petitions demanding Jamal not be executed, including California Congressman Ronald Dellums; actor Edward Asner; South African poet Dennis Brutus, Helmut Angula, SWAPO; and Dr Jim Cairns in Australia. The Fireman and Deckhands Union along with branches of the NSW Teachers Federation are amongst those in Australia which are on record demanding that Jamal not die. Community radio stations in both Melbourne and Sydney, including Sydney Aboriginal program, Radio Redfern have prominently featured the case. Important international support has come from Agipa Press in Germany, and reports on Jamal's case have appeared in France, Belgium and Germany, including a major piece in the West German paper *taz*.

We urge our readers to join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Come to the protest meeting on 12 July, or send messages of support. Write to Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, to demand: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!" The PDC has available tapes of Jamal speaking from prison, copies of the powerful columns he continues to write from death row, and bundles of its newsletter *Class Struggle Defense Notes*, which you can order to bring Jamal's case to the attention of your community, union or campus group. To contribute to this urgent case, earmark cheques "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," and write to the Partisan Defence Committee at PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney, NSW, 2000.

Adapted from *Women and Revolution* No. 37, Spring 1990

SYDNEY RALLY

7.30pm Thursday, 12 July 1990
Tom Mann Theatre, Council Room,
136-140 Chalmers Street,
SURRY HILLS

Sponsored by the Partisan Defence Committee
PO Box Q217 QVB, Sydney NSW 2000. Phone: 281 2181

Stalinism in Terminal Crisis

SPA Withering on the Vine

In the space of six months last year the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed one by one. Gorbachev is introducing elements of capitalist exploitation into the USSR, while the Soviet Union fractures along national fault lines. The staid, Brezhnevite Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) is profoundly distressed, and embittered with the Gorbachev leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For instance, a *Guardian* editorial (18 April) sharply rebuked Moscow for its agreement to the capitalist reunification of Germany:

"The stand for a neutral Germany has now been dropped and is replaced by a proposal, which can only be described as idiotic, that a reunited Germany should be a member of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

"The unpleasant fact is that the Warsaw Pact has all but disintegrated as a result of the collapse of socialist governments in eastern Europe....

"These retreats (can one speak of a new appeasement policy?), arise from naive illusions about imperialism and its objectives both in Europe and elsewhere....

"The present course of events represents an enormous victory for political reaction. The borders of imperialism are going to be moved right back to the western territories of the Soviet Union as they were in 1939. The sacrifices of the Soviet people and many others in the struggle against fascism are being thrown away."

Few have more "illusions in imperialism" than the SPA, which is deeply wedded to the Stalinist pipedream of

"peaceful coexistence with imperialism." They supported every capitulation by Gorbachev: the INF treaty, the treacherous withdrawal from Afghanistan, the strong-arming of Vietnam to abandon Cambodia, threatening the social gains of the already beleaguered Vietnamese and Cambodian people, to name a few. The SPA has no solution to the current crisis, but to yearn for the Brezhnev era, when "... the Party's position was unchallenged and even in stagnation there was a certain stability—and the shops were not empty" (*Guardian*, 14 February).

Stalinists in Search of a "Strong Hand"

With the rise of Gorbachev the SPA turned to the so-called "hardline" Stalinists—Honecker in East Germany, Castro. Their response to the incipient political revolution in China last year, brutally terminated by the Deng regime in the massacre at Tiananmen Square, was to support the Chinese bureaucracy. They claimed the savage bloodbath started on 4 June was all "Western media hype" and joined the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in branding the protesting workers and students as "counterrevolutionaries." Suppression of the working class, even bloody massacre, in the name of "stability"—ie, preserving the bureaucracy's hold on power—is

reassuringly familiar for the SPA leadership, which loyally supported the crushing of the Hungarian workers political revolution in 1956 and the 1968 Prague Spring.

Only months after the upheaval in China popular protest brought down Honecker. A message to his short-lived successor, Egon Krenz (*Guardian*, 25 October 1989), thanked Honecker for his "firm, principled stand" and wished him more years to "continue this work." Days later, with popular approval, Honecker was put under house arrest, and it was

left-wing Greek community has had to digest the latest betrayal of the Communist Party of Greece, the KKE. Having supported the social-democratic PASOK government for eight years, when Papan-dreou fell the KKE went into coalition with the rightist New Democracy, the party of the colonels in Greece! The SPA has a bleak future: likely fading into oblivion as a Stalinist relic, haemorrhaging into the ALP as it goes.

For the SPA the words "proletarian internationalism" have never been more than two words on paper. Over Eastern Europe they are reduced to impotent wringing of hands. SPA General Secretary Peter Symon commented: "There is not much that anyone in Australia can do about these events" (*Guardian*, 28 March). The Stalinists can't do anything because they identify socialism with the bankrupt, disintegrating bureaucracies. As one Canadian CPer commented, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany



1956 Hungarian workers political revolution. Australian Stalinists supported its crushing.

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revealed that he had wanted the demonstrators shot.

The SPA is withering on the Stalinist vine, starved of vital political nutrients as the Soviet regime visibly collapses from the top down. Other Western Stalinist parties have seized the opportunity to resolve once and for all the contradiction between their loyalty to Moscow and to their own bourgeoisies. The Italian CP recently voted to drop "Communist" from their name and the Canadian CP leadership is proposing to do the same, definitively making the break to social democracy, at its forthcoming party conference. Even the old line CPUSA, which the SPA holds in high regard, is being riven by mutual backbiting and recriminations, with a substantial proportion of the younger, especially black cadres wanting to escape the confines of a Stalinist rest home to get into black Democratic Party politics.

The SPA is a little different because a series of earlier splits, similar to those taking place in other Stalinist parties today, have reduced it to a small outfit without any trade union influence to sell to the bourgeoisie. It emerged as the loyal pro-Moscow faction when the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) went over to social democracy in 1971, centrally in opposition to the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. It suffered a further, traumatic loss of cadres and influence within the mainstream Laborite left when their conservative trade union bureaucrats split in 1983 under the impact of Cold War II, later to found the Association for Communist Unity (ACU).

To the extent the tired old SPA maintained any spark of life at all it came from its close relations with the immigrant Stalinist milieus. Now, with the terminal crisis of Stalinism internationally, even that life support is being shut down. The Middle Eastern groups, in particular the Turks, are in turmoil, and the sizeable

(SpAD) "are probably the only organised revolutionaries in Germany right now" (see *Workers Vanguard*, No. 503, 1 June). All the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), including the Spartacist League/Australia, have been actively supporting the work of our German comrades of the SpAD, including by raising funds. The SpAD uniquely campaigned in the March East German elections on the unequivocal basis of "No to capitalist reunification!" and now are organising under the program "For class struggle against capitalist pillage!" Today only we Trotskyists fight for a communist world with an internationally planned economy, through proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states and socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world. And only we fight to build the indispensable instrument for achieving these ends: a world party of socialist revolution.

International Stalinist Unity Charade

On the weekend of 16-17 March the SPA hosted a seminar titled "The Future of Socialism," which brought together the SPA, the pro-Moscow New Zealand Socialist Unity Party and the ACU. Also attending was CPUSA old-timer, George Meyers. The SPA has taken up the call of CPUSA leader, Gus Hall, for a "world meeting of Marxist-Leninist parties." Probably the CPUSA was instrumental in bringing together the SPA and ACU in the hope of putting together something more resembling a party in Australia to be part of its projected "international" of Stalinist diehards.

About its only success was that the SPA and ACU managed (just barely) to sit in the same room with each other for the weekend. Even by Stalinist standards

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German Spartacists: Letter to Polish Workers

In May of this year the rail workers strike in northern Poland shook up the country, groaning under the capitalist austerity program imposed by the pro-capitalist government led by Solidarność. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), published in Polish and German a letter to Polish workers (printed below). Several thousand copies of this leaflet have been distributed, in the Baltic port city of Szczecin and to a national meeting of the OPZZ trade unions in Warsaw.

Polish Workers:

You are today confronted from within by the capitalist restoration now taking place and by the danger of renewed imperialist domination from without. Solidarność is driving the working people into starvation in order to get rid of unprofitable enterprises and sell the remainder to the Western banks. Meanwhile German imperialism drives toward the creation of a Fourth Reich, looking hungrily at the Oder-Neisse border and beyond.

You are facing desperate struggles to defend your jobs and livelihoods, to defend your families and your children's future. Major strikes have begun on the railways, while in the mining areas of Slask [Silesia] and elsewhere bitter strikes have already been waged. But in order to triumph over the forces arrayed against you, the Polish workers will have to go beyond purely economic demands. This requires not only a determination to fight but also a political understanding of the events leading to the present situation and a political program based on the true interests of the international working class.

Eight or nine years ago many of you supported Solidarność, seeing in it an alternative to the economic mismanagement and stifling bureaucracy of Stalinist rule. Three times—in 1956, 1970 and 1976—the working people in Poland rose up against the bureaucracy's mismanagement. But 1980-81 was a different matter. The central leadership around Lech Walesa were from the outset hardened anti-Communist nationalists whose policies were determined not by the needs of the workers but by Pope John Paul Wojtyła's Vatican and by Ronald Reagan's White House: the red flags of the working class were replaced by Pilsudski's eagle and cross, the singing of the *Internationale* by the hymns of priests.

At its first congress in September 1981 Solidarność adopted a course aimed at the conquest of power, consolidating around a program that demanded "free trade unions" and "free elections," refused even to mention socialism and called for putting an end to the planned economy. In reality this meant the "free market" of naked, ruthless capitalist exploitation. From afar we warned that Solidarność was a "company union for the CIA and bankers" and we organized an urgent international propaganda campaign around the call: Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!

Now Solidarność has taken over the reins of government. What has this brought you? You are being forced to suffer the kind of economic "shock treatment" usually carried out by Latin American juntas. You are being bled white by the Frankfurt bankers, by Wall Street and by the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund, which oversees the deliberate impoverishment and starvation of millions in the Third

List do polskich robotników

Robotnicy polscy!

Z jednej strony, stoi dziś przed wami wewnętrzna groźba powrotu do kapitalizmu, który już w Polsce zaczął operować, a od zewnętrznej grozi wam opóźnienie przez Imperializm. Solidarność chce się porwać niezrównoważonych przedsiębiorstw niemieckich, na drodze

Czekają was ciężkie przyszłości waszych i zaczęły się terrory ekonomiczne. Żądają polityczny oparty o

SPARTAKIST

5 June 1990

Ważne i zabezpieczenie plicach, # na kolejach i sięgać ponad wszystko się stało i program

World to ensure an unbroken flow of interest payments.

Walesa says it's time to give capitalism a chance in Poland. But capitalism already had its chance in Poland, and its restoration is bringing back all the backwardness and chauvinism of the dark, pogrom-plagued past. Openly anti-Semitic agitation is rampant. Women are being exposed to a sharp escalation of reactionary and religious bigotry, their right to abortion endangered. The aged,

sides—or it can be the impetus for powerful united working-class struggles. The key to resolving this question is a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

By promoting anti-Soviet nationalism and the breakup of the Warsaw Pact, Solidarność has assisted in creating the conditions for a Fourth Reich. Six hundred thousand Soviet soldiers died liberating Poland from Nazi slavery; they must not have died in vain! Now the for-

class struggle against your common capitalist and imperialist enemies, in the fight for a United Socialist States of Europe based on the rule of workers councils.

Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back. Stalinism as an ideology is dead, buried and unmourned in Poland. Social Democracy has been a willing tool of capitalist imperialism since August 1914 (when it voted for credits for the imperialist war). And many self-styled Trotskyists have exposed themselves as social democrats by their years-long glorification of Solidarność, even echoing such rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Semitic elements as the KPN in calling for the smashing of the Warsaw Pact. In 1983, pseudo-Trotskyist theoretician Ernest Mandel hailed the Solidar-

Railway workers in Szczecin strike against Solidarność regime's economic "shock treatment." Sign (lower right) reads: "Strike Occupation."



Spartakist Photos

the weak, the unemployed are being forced to beg for a bit of food at soup kitchens.

Now you are threatened with being turned into vassals by German imperialism in its drive for a Fourth Reich. Your co-workers who have gone to Germany to work have already gotten a sense of what this means. In West Germany, Polish refugees and immigrants are being imprisoned or deported in Night and Fog operations reminiscent of the SS. In the East, Polish workers are being scapegoated as "speculators" for the imperialist campaign of economic destabilization and the sellout of the planned economy by the ex-Stalinist plant managers.

That, too, is an expression of capitalist counterrevolution, one which goes hand in hand with German capital's campaign for *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR. This means horrendous unemployment and devastation of social services for all workers in the DDR, while workers in West Germany face assaults on their living standards in order to finance the expansion of German capital. This can either be a recipe for vicious internecine feuding among different sectors of the working people—a losing battle for all

ces of counterrevolution are seeking to overturn the historic gains of the collectivized economies—albeit gains imposed from above with Stalinist bureaucratic measures—throughout Eastern Europe. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratism, conciliation of nationalism and capitulation to imperialist counterrevolution internationally (in a fruitless search for "peaceful coexistence") prepared the ground for these reactionary movements, whose development has been sharply accelerated by the Gorbachev regime's "market reforms." This is what the lie of building "socialism in one country" has led to. Now the homeland of the October Revolution is itself in mortal danger.

Polish workers: instead of looking to Pilsudski and nationalism, revive the tradition of *proletarian internationalism* personified by your greatest revolutionary figure, Rosa Luxemburg. A Jewish woman from Lublin educated in Warsaw, Rosa Luxemburg dedicated her life to forging the unity of the Polish, Russian and German working class. She fought every expression of nationalism, chauvinism, reformism and bureaucratic complacency. Today you must unite with the workers of Germany and the Soviet Union to reforge revolutionary unity in

ność leadership as the "best socialists in the world." But the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy rests on the defence, not the destruction, of the collectivized property forms in the bureaucratically deformed workers states.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is the only party to have clearly and unambiguously fought against capitalist *Anschluss* of the DDR through its candidacy in the March 18 Volkskammer elections and over the past few months. We struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism and national oppression, whether against Poles and other immigrant workers in Germany or against Jews and people of German descent in Poland. Only the Trotskyists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin—the fight to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution through socialist revolutions throughout the capitalist world. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International.

26 May 1990

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

supporters of the white-supremacist Pretoria regime, and chat with President Bush, former head of the CIA which engineered his 1962 arrest. He will address a joint session of Congress—which talks of “sanctions” against South Africa while bankrolling the Salvadoran death squad regime to the tune of a million dollars a day. In NYC there will be a ticker tape parade down lower Broadway, where the ANC leader will doubtless meet with the captains of industry and the lords of high finance. He will pose with Mayor Dinkins, and there will be an enormous outpouring in Harlem organized by the “popular front” (including many labor leaders) which elected the black Democrat and now seeks to bask in Mandela’s popularity while imposing anti-worker cutbacks which hit minorities hardest.

Mandela’s message will be for a non-existent “negotiated solution” in South Africa, which means *blacks will pay*. His trip grows out of the talks between the ANC and the de Klerk regime in early May, which came on the heels of the cop massacre in Sebokeng township, where 14 black protesters were mowed down and hundreds injured in March. The apartheid rulers, hard hit by six years of black revolt and economic losses, try to salvage their class rule by removing some of the most glaring segregationist legislation, partially lifting the state of emergency and releasing a few score political prisoners, while countless thousands remain in jail. A peaceful resolution of the conflicting interests of the multinational corporations and capitalist politicians who rule South Africa and the oppressed majority—including blacks, coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians—is impossible.

The imperialists are courting Mandela for they see in him the black leader whose unique authority as an anti-apartheid fighter is necessary to convince South African blacks to submit to a deal with the oppressive racist state. But despite these treacherous schemes, there will be no such “power sharing.” The apartheid regime, whose wealth is based on the superexploitation of the black laboring majority, is necessarily at odds with the most minimal level of formal democracy. De Klerk’s “reforms” cannot even include the simple demand of “one man, one vote” (keystone of the American civil rights fight against Jim Crow segregation) in a country with 28 million blacks and 5 million whites, let alone address economic equality, where white income is across the board *twelve times* higher than that of blacks.

The London *Financial Times* (11 June) bluntly laid out the purpose of de Klerk’s negotiations: to “interrupt the process of radicalisation among blacks.” But despite the conciliation of their leaders, who are now backing away from even the “moderate” demands of the Freedom Charter, South African blacks know their liberation can only be achieved through a far-reaching social revolution which smashes the apartheid state. The fight to forge a racially integrated Bolshevik party that can lead the struggle for a black-centered workers government, drawing as well on the coloured and Indian populations, and growing numbers of whites who do not want to live their lives in a racist garrison state, is the task of the hour.

Massacre in Welkom—South Africa in Microcosm

Last February we headlined, “Mandela Released—Black South Africa Jubilant, Defiant” (*Workers Vanguard* No. 496, 23 February). We predicted an upsurge of struggle among the black masses, who saw Mandela’s freedom as heralding their own, as well as an acute crisis of expectations: “The smell of rebellion is in the air,” we wrote. Since then, revolt has spread through the rural bantustans, urban townships have exploded with

protest and a strike wave continues (the government calculates that the number of workdays lost to strikes in the first quarter of 1990 is four times that of the same period last year).

Nowhere is this spirit more evident than in Welkom, Transvaal, a gold mining town 150 miles southwest of Johannesburg. The Welkom mine produces 27 percent of South Africa’s gold, and both the mine and the town are owned by the so-called “progressive” capitalists of Anglo American Corporation. About 58,000 well-off whites live in comfortable neighborhoods with manicured lawns. Thousands of desperately poor black miners are jammed 21 to a room in the Saint Helena Mine hostel, and on the other side of town 138,000 blacks live in shanties along dirt roads in Thabong township. Last month, tensions in Welkom reached the flash point.

It began with the ANC leader’s release last February. “As soon as they showed Mandela on the TV, then this started,” one white shaft steward complained. The black miners began to wear ANC T-shirts, militant slogans were found scrawled on tunnel walls. They particularly objected to the segregated changing rooms and the preference given to whites in the process of “hoisting.” This meant whites were the last to go down and first to come up, spending two to three hours less underground. As black workers began to organize, the far right in Welkom formed vigilante groups organized by the Blanke Veiligheidswag (White Security Guard). This fascistic outfit began “night patrols” on the streets of Welkom that meant carrying out attacks on black pedestrians.

Workers Vanguard, like so many informative foreign periodicals of a radical Marxist character, has been banned in South Africa.

On May 16, 31 black miners were dismissed by Anglo American for “disobeying rules,” such as by wearing ANC garb. That afternoon, the fired black miners and a few of their union brothers approached company officials outside Shaft Number One. White security cops opened fire with rubber bullets and a 9mm pistol, wounding 18. In the clash which followed, two white mine managers were stabbed to death. Scores of blacks were arrested. On Sunday, May 20, there was a protest meeting in the black township of Thabong. About 1,000 miners and 500 youth formed a procession after the meeting and attempted to march into Welkom. Police opened fire on the procession, killing 11 blacks and injuring 90.

South Africa’s two most prominent leaders of black unions, National Union of Miners (NUM) president Cyril Ramaphosa and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) secretary general Jay Naidoo, arrived in Welkom



Superexploited black gold miners are key to producing the wealth of the Apartheid state. Black workers must fight for their own class power.



ANC leader Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu at Robben Island prison yard, 1966. Mandela subjected to 27 years imprisonment by Apartheid rulers.

and issued a conciliatory statement over the “regrettable” stabbing. But at funerals for the white managers there was a column of vehicles adorned with the swastika-like flag of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Such paramilitary and fascistic groups have been growing, in reaction to de Klerk’s talk of “power sharing” with the ANC. On May 26, Conservative Party leader Treuernicht gathered more than 50,000 right-wingers and neo-Nazis from the AWB for a racist rally at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria.

Welkom is one of the premier mines of the Anglo American Corporation, which owns 70 percent of the country’s mining capital and has been known for its “far-sighted” approach to South African capitalism. The company recently ran a full-page ad in the London *Financial Times* to ask “Do We Sometimes Wish We Hadn’t Fought To Have Black Trade Unions Recognised?” “Life has not always been easy since then,” they sigh with paternalism worthy of a latter-day Cecil Rhodes, particularly when “our gold and coal mines” are struck. But they sought to bring in unions “for very sound commercial, as well as moral, reasons.” Anglo American’s commercial interests were clear: to set up a collaborationist labor bureaucracy to prevent an outbreak of revolutionary worker agitation.

Part of this strategy has been Anglo’s attempts to co-opt the NUM, not least with its “employees shareholding” in a joint fund. This draws the union into direct collaboration with finance capital. The ad explains that these “verligte” (enlightened) tycoons understand there will be no class peace until blacks have political rights. Anglo chairman Gavin Relly (since retired) was the leading capitalist to venture to Lusaka for “secret” talks with the ANC, which led to two years of “negotiations” and the freeing of

Mandela. Now once again, Anglo and Relly are trying to mold the shape of a “post-apartheid South Africa,” orchestrating a late May meeting at Johannesburg’s Carlton Hotel of 350 leading bankers and industrialists with a high-level delegation from the African National Congress.

At his first press conference after being released, Mandela caused consternation in corporate boardrooms by reaffirming the ANC’s call (in its 1955 Freedom Charter) for nationalization of South Africa’s mines and redistribution of the wealth. But in a joint news conference with Gavin Relly at the Carlton, Mandela backed off from this pledge:

“I would like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form.”

—London *Independent*, 24 May

While Mandela was appealing for “co-operation of the corporate sector,” Relly said they agreed on a “mixed economy,” and that “one shouldn’t jump about and get frightened just because people see the word ‘nationalisation.’” For his part, Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party has been quoted as saying that redistribution of wealth does *not* mean “sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.”

Imperialist Sanctions: Who Do They Serve?

Mandela is using his tours of West Europe and the U.S. to appeal to the imperialist chiefs to maintain “sanctions” against South Africa. “Sanctions must continue to be applied until the whole structure of apartheid is brought down,” he said (*New York Times*, 27 May).

We have pointed out how grotesque it is to call on American rulers, who dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and turned Vietnam into a moonscape, who block effective school integration in the U.S. and whose program for ghetto poverty amounts to genocide, to pressure their South African junior partners to...fight racism. We noted that calls for “disinvestment” were at best an empty moralistic gesture, that when multinational corporations began withdrawing productive assets it was to protect their profits and, except when a revolutionary overthrow is directly posed, this would serve to *weaken* the black unions, the organizational embodiment of the proletarian power that can bring down apartheid capitalism. “So divestment has become good business. But it is *not* good for South Africa’s black workers,” we summed up (*Workers Vanguard* No. 434, 7 August 1987).

The Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) was unique in telling the truth about the liberal divestment movement when it was highly unpopular to do so. But forces in COSATU have begun

questioning the policy of divestment and sanctions. COSATU's 1987 congress criticized selective sanctions, which "cause serious regional unemployment." The following year the Chemical Workers Industrial Union demanded that 41 foreign-controlled companies negotiate so that divestment not be at the workers' expense. And last year, the CWIU struck nine Mobil Oil installations against plans to "divest" by selling out to the South African mining conglomerate Gencor, while the Metalworkers union struck Goodyear over the company's sellout to South Africa's Consol.

A recent article on "Financial Sanctions and the Future of South Africa," by Paul Trehwela in *Searchlight South Africa* (February 1990), published in London, incisively analyzes the cause and effect of imperialist sanctions. Trehwela writes that while in the 1960s and 1970s the ANC called mainly for international consumer, sports and cultural boycotts, today "the decisive practical role in the sanctions campaign now lies with world financial capital." He notes that at the height of the 1985 township revolt, U.S. financial capital—following the lead of Chase Manhattan Bank—imposed financial sanctions on South Africa, blocking new credits and demanding repayment of back loans. Since 1985 some \$15 billion in foreign debt was repaid by South Africa, while another \$10 billion left the country in capital flight. He observes:

"The action of the banks in July-August 1985, setting in motion the sole effective process of economic sanctions so far, was a measure by capital in its own defence against a future threatened loss.... What the banks require are political changes in South Africa that can assure them of future safety for their investments, and a safe field for future investment."

Trehwela notes that the present sanctions policy was designed by state tech-

Defend Kerry Browning!

In October and November, 1988, anti-apartheid activist Kerry Browning and her husband, PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) representative Maxwell Nemadzivhanani had their Canberra workplaces and home raided and were subjected to massive searches by ACT cops who carted off some 30 bags of material including photographs and documents. Doing the dirty work of the South African embassy, the Hawke Labor government then framed them up for the firebombings of South African and US diplomatic cars. Browning faced ten charges with potential sentences of 15 years to life, was slapped with a whopping \$10,000 bond and placed under virtual house arrest by a curfew from 10pm to 6am. The two charges against Nemadzivhanani were later dropped, and he has been posted as PAC representative to Nigeria. (His original posting as chief observer to the UN was made impossible by the U.S.

denial of a visa.) The PAC denied any involvement in illegal activities in Australia. Nemadzivhanani told *Australasian Spartacist* (No. 129, Summer 1988/1989): "We see Australia as siding entirely with the enemies of our people and directly pandering to the interests of the US and the South Africans."

ASIO led the investigation against Browning and Nemadzivhanani, placing listening devices in their bedroom and around their house, bugging their phones, searching garbage and videotaping all movement in and out of their home. The whole vindictive and racist witchhunt against these anti-apartheid activists reveals the utter hypocrisy of Hawke's occasional anti-apartheid platitudes. His government, which administers its own form of apartheid, is the ally of de Klerk's regime and one of U.S. imperialism's most craven Cold War lackeys.

Browning, who wishes to join her husband with their two young children, remains under curfew and is still battling the frame-up. For a time Browning's Legal Aid was cut off and she faces huge legal costs. On May 25, ACT Chief Magistrate Cahill dropped the six major charges of firebombings on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence that Browning was at the scene. Four charges of being knowingly concerned with the firebombings remain along with one charge that Browning wrote a letter threatening the US ambassador—charges she denies. Browning has appealed for a "No Bill" to the Attorney-General and the Director of Public Prosecutions who have the power to overturn the case. Drop all the charges against Kerry Browning now! For massive compensation!

Send protest messages to the Attorney-General, House of Representatives, Parliament House, ACT, 2600. Send copies and donations to the Coalition Against Apartheid, P.O. Box A691, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

the USSR into the US sphere of interest. Its guiding policy in international affairs has in the last resort become that of the IMF and the US banks, the real authors of 'financial sanctions'. In aligning themselves with this politics, the leaders of Cosatu, and in particular Mayekiso, have become the means of transmission of the politics of the banks within the proletariat."

Through collaboration with the banks in the question of sanctions, and such schemes as the Anglo American employee shareholder plan and retirement fund, whose first chairman is NUM secretary Cyril Ramaphosa (who called off the 1988 mine workers strike), these are all measures that bring the black unions

ANC, in apartheid South Africa there is very little middle ground. De Klerk's National Party is losing votes as white reactionaries dig in, arming themselves to defend their swimming pools, ranch houses and farms built on the toil of black labor. Moreover, it is far from clear that the maximum concessions by the Nationalist government can meet the minimum demands of the ANC if either side is to retain any support on its respective side of the yawning chasm that separates the oppressed black majority from the layer of white oppressors, far smaller but big enough to wage a bloody fight to the death. And they will. The

is often misidentified as Trotskyism in South Africa. The revolutionary-democratic slogan of a constituent assembly is appropriate as the ANC prepares to abandon "one man, one vote" in practice, alleging the need to assuage white fears. But by itself this slogan does not go beyond the limits of bourgeois society. To overthrow the domination of the capitalists who have sucked fabulous wealth from superexploitation of the labor of South African blacks, to ensure equality and freedom for the oppressed masses and raise them out of poverty, it will take nothing less than proletarian revolution, with black workers in the vanguard.

Today the contradictions in South Africa are excruciating: the mood of demoralization following the exhaustion of the 1984-86 township revolts is past, the working class is insurgent as never before, yet never before has it been so politically dominated by the politics of class collaboration. A socialist revolution must be prepared and led by a genuinely communist party, forged in struggle against the reformism of the SACP and the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC. It must be a racially integrated party, which includes not only blacks but also coloureds and Indians as well as whites as comrades. It will be a Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, which says to black workers: the nationalists want you to pull the cart of capitalism as the apartheid rulers have forced you to with their *sjamboks* and bullets, but you have the power, you produced the wealth—take it, it's yours.

Smash apartheid—For workers revolution in South Africa!



Weekly Mail

White fascist paramilitary forces arming against any democratic concessions to the black majority.

nocrats of imperialist countries (notably Canada and Australia, the number three and four gold producers in the world after South Africa and the USSR). They were approved by meetings last year of the Commonwealth foreign ministers in Canberra and Commonwealth heads of government at Kuala Lumpur, and endorsed by the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and a delegation of COSATU headed by Metalworkers union leader Moses Mayekiso, "formerly a leader of the left wing of the unions." By looking to the banks as liberators, the ANC and its various allies and satellites are playing straight into the hands of the International Monetary Fund and the drive to "mass pauperization" of the Third World:

"The convergence of real practical bank sanctions and the agitation of the ANC for financial sanctions marks its co-optation into the political operations of world capital. Outside the environs of Mrs Thatcher, it is hard to discover who does not either support or threaten to support their extension. Congresses of bishops and the Trade Union Congress, the UN and the Communist Parties, radical leftists and the far-seeing right: all look to the agency of money-dealing capital to undo what money-dealing capital set in place at the founding of modern South Africa, in the period of Rhodes and Rothschild.

"Ultimately it is the future of the workers in South Africa that is under examination.... The ANC has passed from the patronage of

increasingly under the control of finance capital and of the capitalist state. The aim, as Trehwela indicates, is "to build up a trade union bureaucracy and a labour aristocracy among black workers, through which it hopes to control the class." Whether this is possible in South Africa today is another matter.

Black Workers Must Take the Power!

Trehwela holds that following the 1985 township revolt and subsequent growth of black trade unions, the existence of the apartheid regime has become "anomalous" to the banks. He assumes that a post-apartheid capitalist state is in gestation which will include an ANC presence in the government. This assumption is shared as well by a whole political spectrum, from de Klerk on the right through Gavin Relly to Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and leftists like Trehwela. At most this would mean that South Africa would become another Zimbabwe (where last week Mugabe's cops and army beat and tear-gassed striking schoolteachers and government workers). But this perspective is a conservative/liberal/reformist utopia. In fact, South Africa is barreling down the road to civil war.

While "verligte" capitalists and imperialists would like to strike a deal with the

idea that apartheid, that is to say capitalist rule based on white supremacy, will pass peacefully into history is absurd.

In the period since the Mandela de Klerk Cape Town talks, COSATU has pushed to get in on the negotiations. "We're meeting ministers almost every day," glowed one NUM official, and Ramaphosa referred to blood-drenched top cop Adriaan Vlok as "our minister" when they met in Welkom. The Pan-Africanists oppose negotiations, but their slogan of "one settler, one bullet" is simply a call to drive whites out of a black nationalist-ruled capitalist South Africa. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) also criticizes the ANC negotiations with the de Klerk regime and talks of building a "mass-based people's organization with a socialist orientation" (*Socialist Action*, June 1990). But its advocacy of "Black Consciousness philosophy" denies the central role of the black African proletariat capable of leading also the oppressed, coloured and Indian masses as well as those whites who accept a racially integrated, egalitarian South Africa.

Allied with AZAPO is the Cape Action League, whose youth group recently published a document calling for a constituent assembly rather than a negotiated settlement. CAL is led by Neville Alexander, whose latter-day Menshevism

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—How the Communist Party Betrayed—

The Post-War Strike Wave in Japan

The Nineteenth National Conference of the Spartacist League/Australia in April was enriched by the attendance of delegates from the Spartacist Group/Japan. Reprinted below is an edited version of an educational presentation given by an SG/J delegate.

Modern Japan began in 1868, with the Meiji Restoration. Trotsky pointed out this was not a bourgeois revolution, but a bureaucratic attempt to buy off such a revolution. It was a compromise and assimilation with old feudal elements. Our slogan is for a Workers Republic in Japan. Many of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution were not fulfilled. Of course, today Japan is hardly a third world country. It's no longer a weak sister of the capitalist nations, it's quite a powerful imperialist power. But there are many vestiges of feudalism, especially and centrally we believe, the woman question.

The economic weakness of pre-war Japan was very pronounced. In the thirties Trotsky mentioned that over 50 per cent of the industry was textile, and he noted that imperialist wars are fought with metal not cloth. The working class existed in horrible feudal conditions. You were locked in the company dorm and you left when you retired thirty years later.

In July 1933, in an article called "Japan Heads for Disaster," Trotsky wrote:

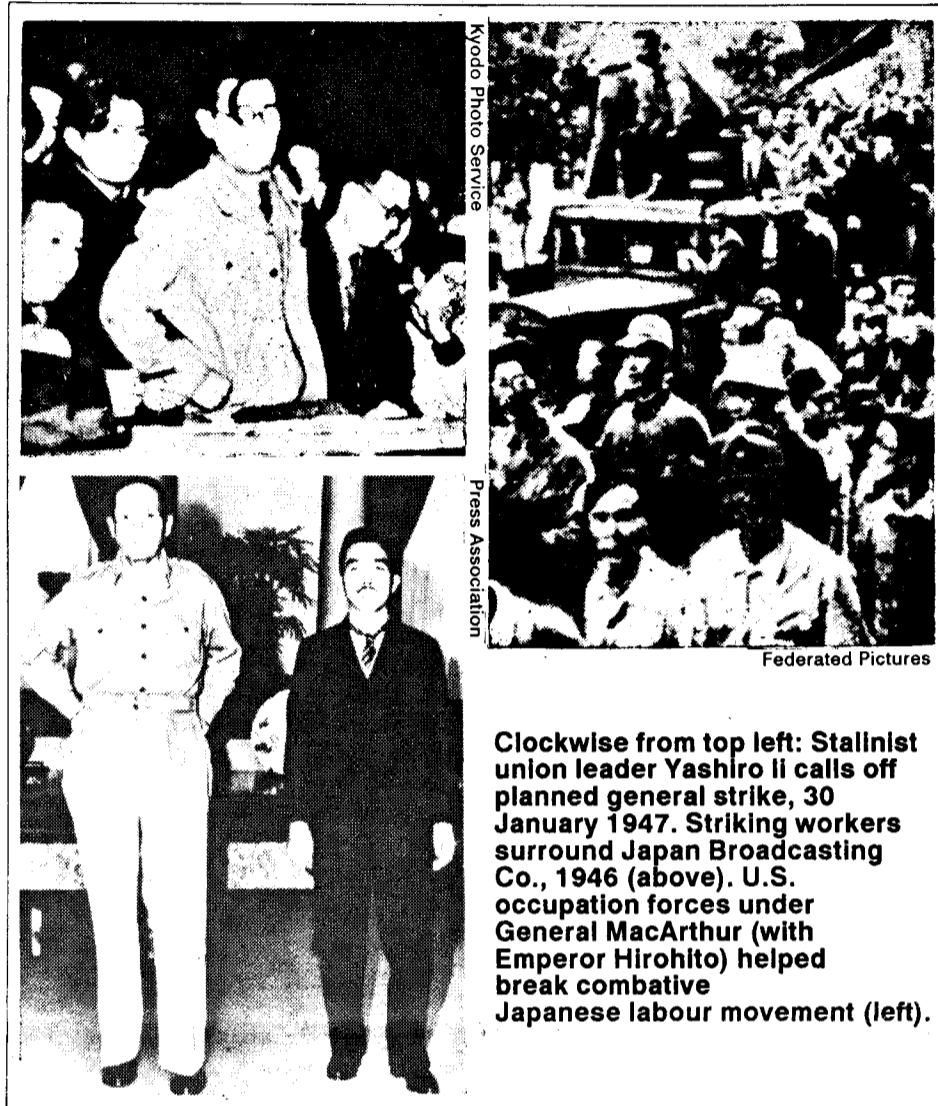
"Racing to achieve practical results with modern technology—especially military technology—Japan remained ideologically in the depths of the Middle Ages. The hasty mixture of Edison with Confucius has left its mark on all of Japanese culture."

Japan developed pretty late so working class activity really began around the beginning of the twentieth century. Japanese social democracy came from America and the main organisers of the labour movement then were business unionists and Christian missionaries. So the ideological rooting of the Japanese proletariat was pretty right wing. There tended to be a split in the social democratic forces in Japan much earlier than most countries. And this is pretty natural. It took place over the 1905 Russo-Japanese War over support, or not, of the war. An important trend for both of our countries was led by Kotoku Shusui, a leader of the social democracy in Japan who went to the U.S. in 1906. He was horrified to discover the intense yellow-peril racism of American social democracy. So basically the pre-World War I Japanese left divided between social democracy and syndicalism, which emerged in reaction to social democracy's capitulation to the Russo-Japanese war and the immigration question. The Japanese Communist Party got their founding cadres from the syndicalists.

JCP — Saddled with a Bukharinite Program

Now we're all familiar with the real sharp split in the workers movement in 1914 and leading up to the Russian Revolution, and the tremendous increase of workers activity after World War I inspired by the Russian Revolution. The Japanese Communist Party was founded in 1922 and a real number was done on them by Bukharin. The founding program and the subsequent program in 1927 was very clearly for two-stage revolution and a two-class party — a "workers and farmers party."

Trotsky wrote an interesting article called "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?", published in *Challenge of the*



Clockwise from top left: Stalinist union leader Yashiro II calls off planned general strike, 30 January 1947. Striking workers surround Japan Broadcasting Co., 1946 (above). U.S. occupation forces under General MacArthur (with Emperor Hirohito) helped break combative Japanese labour movement (left).

Left Opposition 1928-1929, denouncing the Stalinist program of a two-class party in Japan. He explains:

"The press of the International gives hardly any news of the real revolutionary work of the Japanese Communists, of the illegal work, the building of the organisation, of the party's proclamations, etc. On the other hand we learn almost every week of new steps by a new committee for the reorganisation of the left workers and peasants party in the direction of a union with the left wing of the centrist workers and peasants party which in turn approaches the left wing of the right party, and so on without end. What has Bolshevism to do with this? What can Marx and Lenin have in common with this obscene trafficking?"

State repression of the Japanese left existed from its formation until the end of World War II. Vicious, complete state repression. For example, in 1923, 50 per cent of the Japanese Communist Party was arrested. It really picked up after 1928 with the first election where all men could vote. On March 15, 1928, for example, there was a nation-wide round-up of leftists with over 1200 people arrested. The JCP was of course the main target. In 1932 the Comintern had basically lost contact with Japan. Comrades have asked me "What about the popular front period in Japan?" Well, I think the only place that they could have pulled off a popular front was in jail because that is where everybody was. There was no-one to have a popular front with. Repression really got stepped up after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and strikes kept going down, down, down. In 1940, strikes were zero and by 1941 virtually every organisation that had not sworn loyalty to the emperor and the Manchuria invasion was in jail.

What about the Left Opposition in Japan? A guy by the name of Fukumoto actually had some pretty good criticisms

of the JCP. He thought that bourgeois rule was consolidated in 1883 which is the first attempt at liberal democracy in Japan. He said that Japan was now an imperialist power. And he was critical of the JCP's manoeuvring with the labour/farmer party stuff. He was called to Moscow and he recanted. And that's it. He was basically dumped in 1927 by the Comintern.

Another opposition, the Rono-ha group, left the JCP in 1927 polemicising against the Stalinist conception of two-stage revolution. But amazingly, from the right. Their position was that the Meiji Restoration was a complete bourgeois revolution. This was an excuse not to fight on the questions of the emperor system, the minorities, women's oppression. Actually this bought the Rono-ha group ten more years of legal activity when the JCP got slammed in 1931. The Rono-ha tendency is now the leadership

of the left-wing of social democracy.

A letter to Trotsky in 1932 from the American Trotskyist, Arnie Swabeck, talks about how they'd made contact with four Japanese comrades in 1932. We don't know their fate. But Swabeck reports that *My Life* was translated into Japanese in 1932 and 6,000 copies were sold. So there were attempts to forge some kind of Trotskyist group in Japan. Nothing came out of it which survived World War II. It's a real handicap for the Japanese proletariat that these issues were not fought out then, and really are only being fought out today with us.

Japan's Heroic Workers Take on the Bourgeoisie

The post-World War II strike wave was really important in Japan. Against the racist and chauvinist Laborites here, against the American trade-union bureaucrats that are just the most rotten, racist protectionists, who scream and yell about how the Japanese workers don't fight, they have company unions, they bow to the boss, they aren't human beings, you wind them up and they work. Bullshit! The Japanese working class has a very important tradition of struggle and in 1947 there was a pre-revolutionary situation. It was betrayed by the Communist Party. War is the mother of revolution, especially in the defeated countries. Japan is no exception from the laws of class struggle.

First of all you had the American occupation led by "dugout Doug" MacArthur. Once he got his hotel back in Manila he took the army to Japan. Basically the occupation forces wanted to build a "democratic Japan" and they wanted to create a labour movement like the American labour movement. They had all kinds of labour laws and arbitration boards, ready to harness the Japanese working class with all the mechanisms of play-by-the-bosses-rules. They said "sure, organise unions, make them pro-capitalist, that's all." The Japanese bourgeoisie was a lot more insightful. First of all they were drinking champagne because they were going to be occupied by the Americans not the Russians. There's a very funny story: when this was up in the air, as the Red Army was smashing the Japanese army in Manchuria, some of the bourgeoisie were buying books by Lenin and getting ready for possible "Okay, ah, comrade Lenin, welcome to Japan."

The Japanese bourgeoisie had basically three main goals during this period.



Tokyo, May Day 1953—demonstrators demand U.S. troops out of Japan.

One was to preserve the emperor system and all the vestiges of feudalism—keep women bowing when the boss comes to work, keep the Koreans in their place, the Burakumin in their caste status. They also wanted to free themselves from wartime economic constraints. Because of the weakness of Japanese capital you had a highly state-regulated economy run by the military during the war. And the Japanese bourgeoisie were really chafing under this. They were interested in profits. Thirdly, they wanted to prevent a workers revolution. Because they knew what was going to happen.

The working class in 1945 was very young. Most of their fathers, uncles and older brothers had been taken off by the army. So let's go through the working class parties. First the Trojan horse of counterrevolution, the social democracy. During the war labour was harnessed into a pro-war, pro-government organisation called Sampo, that rivalled something that the Nazis did during World War II. The social democrats became the leaders of Sampo during the war, to support their own bourgeoisie. At the end of World War II they were pretty discredited. But through this pro-war organisation they were able to keep control of the more conservative layers of the working class and actually launched their own labour federation. They all gave a banzai cheer to the emperor at their founding conference in 1945. We must never let the working class forget this — that's social democracy. These people doing the banzai cheer for the emperor system are not going to liberate women in Japan! And of

wanted to organise the "lovable Communist Party" that was going to lead the workers in a democratic revolution to overthrow the emperor and MacArthur was going to support them — crazy! In fact some JCP leaders worked with members of the occupation to draft labour legislation and helped with all the arbitration boards and commissions. But the rank and file weren't going to go along with this so easily.

Miners Break Racial Divisions and Lead the Way

The first major strike of this period was a coal miners strike in the autumn and winter of 1945. The conditions in the mines were probably the roughest of any place in the working class. What's interesting is that Korean miners were a very important component. They were brought from Korea in 1910 and a whole layer were sent into the mines under virtual slave labour conditions. They were augmented by Chinese POWs from Mao's army. The Chinese POWs began to organise unions. The Korean miners blocked with them. The Korean and Chinese miners began raising demands, initiating some strikes protesting the brutal conditions. They waged a couple of strikes in Hokkaido, the northern island, and the American military was sent to suppress them.

So here's the first example in 1945 of the American bourgeoisie using its troops against workers in Japan. They tried to deport as many of the Chinese and Korean miners as possible as a way to

Ethan Hoffman



Women employees bow to boss at typical Tokyo reception. Japan is prominent among advanced capitalist societies for gross male chauvinism.

course they wanted to prevent the communist organisation of the working class — clear aims of social democracy — just like Germany.

The Communist Party is a bit more interesting. They were released from jail, part of the liberal, New Deal democratisation. They had tremendous authority: having fought their bourgeoisie they had enormous respect amongst the working class. They organised an industrial union federation called Sanbetsu and the goal was to organise real, militant, class-struggle unions along industrial lines — so the membership thought. Turns out that wasn't the case from the top. The rank-and-file leaders of the JCP were organising unions so fast the leadership couldn't keep track of them and they were leading strikes while party leaders were trying to end them — very contradictory. The 1945 JCP convention re-established their program for two-stage revolution. Their line was that the American army was an army of liberators. MacArthur! — he's despised by the American working class. He's the coward who sent soldiers against disabled WWI veterans in a demonstration in the U.S., and this guy is the "father of Japanese democracy" — this is the idea of the JCP.

A central JCP leader, Nosaka, wanted to change the image of the JCP. He

break the resistance of the coal miners strike. Then they tried to pit the Japanese miners, along race lines, against the Chinese, against Koreans. Well, the Japanese miners told their bourgeoisie to go to hell and joined the Korean and Chinese miners. And that launched the post-WWII strike wave. The miners won a tremendous victory, they organised an industrial union that extended the length of Japan. It's important that it broke through the racial minority question, forging solidarity between Japanese, Korean and Chinese miners. That's a tradition that we certainly want to be part of and extend again today.

In the cities the pace of organisation of the Japanese working class was mind-boggling. In August 1945 there were very few unions that survived the war. Just under five million workers were organised between 1945 and the beginning of 1947. I believe a lot of the rank and file members of the JCP played a very big role in this work. During this time Japanese production was totally gone, the country was devastated. The workers were starving, so going on strike wasn't always the best tactic. The bourgeoisie wanted the workers to go on strike. They were engaging in capitalist sabotage, holding back critical reserves, waiting for a better economic time to resume production.



March 1990: Militant railworker unionists rally at Tokyo station to protest bosses' victimisations and job reductions—carried out since privatisation of Japan National Railway.

The Japanese workers fought this period of class struggle on half rations. A very courageous army. What they did involved what's now called "production control struggles." The real fight was to resume production. The question was which class would do it.

The workers began taking over mines, taking over railroads, taking over their shops and trying to resume production. This was a real school of how to organise production in their own hands. At the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which is one of the major bourgeois newspapers in Tokyo, the workers took over the Ed Board! And began putting out *pro-union* articles. It would be like running "Victory to the Red Army" in the *New York Times*. The bourgeoisie was going nuts. One of my favourite examples is the Keisei railway line, a very important railway connecting the inside of Tokyo (it now runs out to Narita airport) to the outside of the city where people were going in droves to get food to bring back to eat at night. To shut that down would have been a real attack against the people of Tokyo. The workers were very smart — they launched a production control strike. They took over the railways, but for the first three days they ran them free and won the enormous support of the population of Tokyo. They took out unsafe trains and actually increased efficiency on the railway line.

The American occupation was getting a little nervous. On May Day 1946, two million workers marched in Japan, supposedly the largest May Day of any place in the capitalist world. The government was gearing up for a major showdown. There was a kind of faction fight within the bourgeoisie. The hard line was led by Yoshida, the prime minister during this period, who said — smash the working

class, just smash the working class. And there was a group of liberals from the University of Tokyo economics department who said, look if we want a stable capitalist regime we've got to take the strategic sectors of the working class, and pay them good money, and keep them happy or we're in trouble. At this time, auto, steel, these major industries, were barely working, and the heavy industrial proletariat was on the sidelines because production was so low. But the professors at the university were looking ahead — we have to revive this section of industry and when we do, we'd better be ready. So the government banned production control struggles.

The emperor, I think most comrades know, came on radio in August 1945 and said we must surrender, and later MacArthur made the emperor explain on air that he was not divine. What's not well-known is that the emperor also got on the radio, in May 1946, and told the workers they should respect private property. There's a link to the emperor system.

Stalinist Leaders Bow to MacArthur

A layer of the working class began defying the bans on taking over plants. The Japanese government began repressive moves. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* editorial board was taken back by force. Cops backed up by American military police stormed the office and threw the JCP out. The JCP was going through a period of crisis because this was not the "democratic revolution," this was a pre-revolutionary situation. Many of the workers began marching in demonstrations demanding down with the Yoshida government. The JCP was saying

continued on page 15

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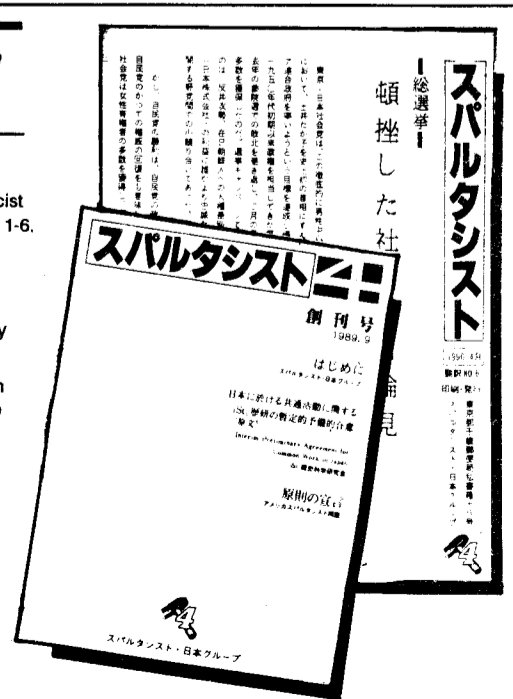
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East Europe ...

(continued from page 16)

privilege that the miners, "in grimy work clothes and helmets, their faces blackened by soot," went after "well-dressed professors, students, photographers, reporters, mothers with children and girls walking their dogs." American author William McPherson was quoted as saying, "It was like the end of civilization." This was echoed by the *Financial Times* (18 June), which complained that in ransacking opposition parties' offices, "The miners destroyed all their computers, phones and fax machines." *Le Monde* (17 June) wrote an analytical article on "Workers Militias and 'Fascist-Communism'."

Aside from a handful of articles, the Western media barely reported the rightist rampage of the 13th. The *Times* editorialized that the National Salvation Front responded to "peaceful demonstrators" with "Tiananmen-like ferocity," although the death toll was six. For Iliescu to call the University Square protesters "fascist rebels," they wrote, is "sheer effrontery." Yet even the "sophisticated" anti-Communists of *Le Monde* observed that "The 'golans' (hooligans) who occupied University Square" were "among the most violent and the most determined" of the regime's opponents, and reported that crowds applauded the miners. The *Washington Post* (20 June) noted the "surprising fact" that "few Romanians" opposed the government's decision to end the "pro-democracy sit-in."

As for the "effrontery" of calling the protesters fascists, an article by Paul Hocken in the social-democratic *In These Times* (6 June) is compelled to note that "The democracy movement has several troubling features," among them "the new emphasis on nationalist-religious values" and a "hate psychology" that has led to violent attacks against Romania's Hungarian minority. Hocken, who is no friend of the Salvation Front regime, reports that "roughly half the students in Bucharest express sympathy with the neo-fascist organization Vatra Romeneasca" which espouses "a crude xenophobic nationalism aimed at the ethnic Hungarians." "Perhaps most alarming is the strength of the ultraright in the student movement's top leadership," he continues. "Student League President Marion Munteanu and newspaper editor Sorin Dragan...embrace unabashed nationalist views," Dragan being "a monarchist and active Vatra Romeneasca member."

East Europe: The Old Crap Returns

For the moment, the Romanian workers' action has checked the rightist thrust. But all across East Europe, such reactionary scum are surfacing. In East Berlin's Alexanderplatz, skinheads and neo-Nazis giving the stiff-armed salute publicly celebrated Hitler's birthday on April 21. In early May a mob of 400 attacked Mozambican workers in the Lichtenberg quarter of East Berlin, shouting "Foreigners out, Niggers out." In Hungary, the once-Jewish Hungarian MTK soccer team is greeted with screams of "No goals for the Jews. Dirty Jews. To the gas chambers." In Yugoslavia, recent elections in Croatia were won by the right-wing nationalist Croatian Democratic Union, funded in part by contributions from émigré Usta-shi fascists, who ruled Croatia during World War II as bloodthirsty puppets of Nazi Germany.

As capitalist ideologues hail the "death of Communism" in East Europe, the arrival of pro-capitalist "democracy" there has raised all the old nationalist, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist murderous scum which dominated the region before the victory of the Red Army in 1945. For over 40 years Western imperialism, its

social-democratic agents and the Vatican have dreamed and plotted the overthrow of "godless, totalitarian Communism" in East Europe and the return to a capitalist, "Christian" order. With the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracies from East Germany to Yugoslavia and the new regimes' rush to re-establish "free market" economics, they're starting to get what they want—and it's pretty ugly.

Thus just as Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika has fueled bloody nationalist strife in the Soviet Transcaucasia, we are seeing the beginnings of similar developments in East Europe. In Romania, where Ceausescu's downfall was triggered by protests over the oppression of the large Hungarian minority in Transylvania, today fascists whip up xenophobia and Romanian nationalism. In late March, six people were killed by pitchfork- and ax-wielding Romanian mobs who attacked Hungarians demonstrating for language rights. The nationalist strife in Transylvania naturally provoked a reaction in Hungary, contributing to the unexpected victory of the nationalist Democratic Forum in April elections. One can easily envision war between "democratic" Hungary and "democratic" Romania.

Zionist leaders from around the world spent the early days of May in West Berlin debating the extent of the danger of the new wave of anti-Semitism and asking each other why the old nightmare is coming again. The answer is simple. The push to capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe has both intensified the nationalisms which have plagued the region since the last century, and allowed the filth that the Stalinist regimes failed to clean out to boil to the surface once more.

The Stalinist regimes in East Europe could put a lid on some of the reactionary filth that historically plagued the region but could not lay the material basis for eliminating it. Economic autarky, bureaucratic commandism, nationalism, the appeasement of imperialism, wholesale falsification of history, suppression of the independent political life of the working class—these have been hallmarks of the Stalinist Soviet and East European regimes. As the young Karl Marx wrote, two years before *The Communist Manifesto*: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive."

Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism

In East Germany every week Jewish gravestones and buildings associated with Jewish activities are defaced with anti-Semitic filth, including the recent desecration of the grave of playwright Bertolt Brecht with the words "Jews

Out." Brecht wasn't Jewish, but he sure hated anti-Semites and fascists. As he wrote after World War II of the Hitlerite brown plague, "The womb is still fecund from which that crawled forth." In Poland, where only 4,400 remain of a prewar Jewish population of 3.5 million, the Jewish State Theater in Warsaw has been defaced with the slogan "Jews to the Ovens. Jews for Soap." And in the Soviet Union, where Gorbachev's perestroika has intensified all national antagonisms, the black-shirted fascists of Pamyat are openly calling for pogroms.

This filthy spawn of the "democratization" of the Soviet bloc has become so ugly and dangerous that even major capitalist media feel compelled to report on it. *Newsweek* (7 May) devoted a seven-page spread to the subject, noting: "The old specter returns: Anti-Semitism, the offspring of unbridled religion and nationalism, is working the fringes of the new politics in the Soviet Union and East Europe." The rise of clerical-nationalism is but ideological expression of the drive toward capitalist coun-



Anti-Semitic desecration of tomb of German Communist playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht.

terrevolution. Behind the foul-mouthed thugs plotting pogroms in East Berlin and Budapest beer halls are the ever-so-civilized bankers of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt.

Anti-Semitism is fueled not only by backward-looking ideologies but also by economic insecurity. Even the CIA now projects the "transition to a market economy" in East Europe will result in millions of unemployed amid the wholesale dismantling of social security programs. Szymon Szurmiej, head of the Jewish State Theater in Poland, points out: "When the economic situation becomes difficult, those who play the political game seek an escape valve and the Jew is an escape valve."

East European anti-Semites have taken up the old Hitler refrain of a "Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy." The *Newsweek* article presents a semi-

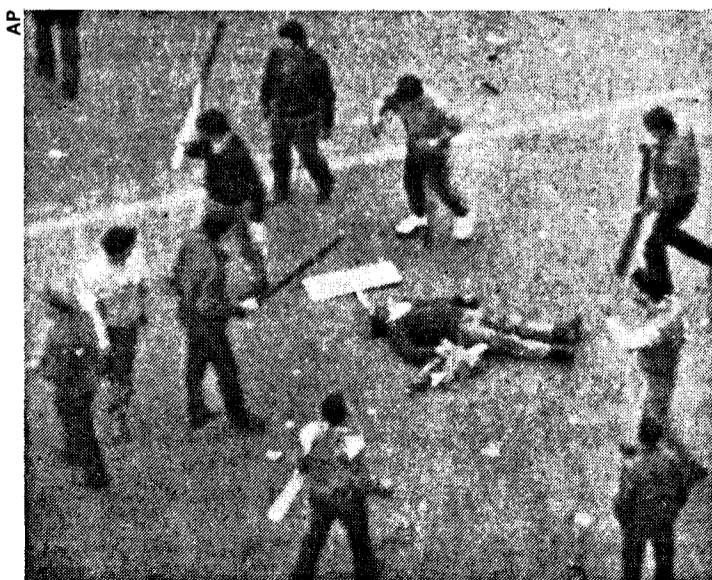
justification for this: "To the degree that Jews helped introduce Communist rule in Eastern Europe, anti-Communists will resent them." In the early postwar years, Jewish Communists did play a significant role in the new East European regimes since they were passionately hostile to the old order of the eagle and cross in Poland, Arrow Cross in Hungary and Iron Guard in Romania.

However, in the early 1950s Stalin launched a savage anti-Semitic campaign in both Russia (the Kremlin "doctors plot") and East Europe. Prominent East European Jews (for example, Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia, Ana Pauker in Romania, Gabor Peter in Hungary, Paul Merker in East Germany) were made the victims of show trials as agents of "Zionism and imperialism." The era of "liberal" Stalinism which opened up in 1956 led to the rise of "national Communists," especially in Poland, at the expense of Jewish members of the bureaucracy. By the 1970s few Jews held positions of power in Gierek's Poland, Husak's Czechoslovakia or Kadar's Hungary. But as the new anti-Communist regimes push to "purify" their countries for "democratic" capitalist exploitation, Jews and reds have become easy scapegoats.

This amalgam of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism is not a new device. Many Jews suffering the vicious pogroms of the tsarist Black Hundreds found in Bolshevik internationalism a way to fight both anti-Semitism and the capitalist system which perpetuated it. Some of the outstanding Bolshevik leaders—Trotsky, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Zinoviev, just to name a few—who played a leading role in the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the fight to forge the Leninist Third International were Jewish. During the 1920s-30s the deeply oppressed Jews of East Europe flocked into the Communist and other left-wing parties. As the brilliant Jewish Marxist Abram Leon, who was killed in Auschwitz, wrote in 1938 in his book *The Jewish Question*:

"The ruling classes persecute with special sadism the Jewish intellectuals and workers, who have supplied a host of fighters to the revolutionary movement. To isolate the Jews completely from the sources of culture and science has become a vital necessity for the decaying system which persecutes them. The ridiculous legend of 'Jewish-Marxism' is nothing but a caricature of the bonds that actually exist between socialism and the Jewish masses."

Leon wrote this at a time when the East European Jewish communities were strongholds of the left, and Jews in West Europe and the United States were generally well left of center politically. The rise of Zionist Israel combined with decades of Stalinist oppression has shifted to the right the political center of gravity of the Jewish community, East and West. But for the fascists, clerical-nationalists and other reactionary scum running around East Europe, the equation of Jew and red is still very



Body of a man killed when Romanian nationalists attacked Hungarian minority in Transylvania last March (above). Anti-Hungarian agitation is spearheaded by fascistic Vatra Romeneasca, descendants of Romanian Iron Guard in the 1930s (right).





ПРАВДА
5 January 1990

МИТИНГ в Трептов-парке

КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА
5 January 1990

Mass demonstration against fascist provocations at Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin last January was featured in Pravda and Soviet Army newspaper Red Star, which showed banner of Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands calling for defence of the Soviet Union.

much alive. Thus capitalist counter-revolution will bring anti-Semitic pogroms as well as impoverishment of the working class.

McCarthyism Comes to East Europe

East Europe today is experiencing a rip-roaring anti-Communist witchhunt: not only "are you now or have you ever been..." but also what about your brother, sister, mother, father...and your father's father. The former mayor of East Berlin cannot even get a job because of his Communist past. In Czechoslovakia, land of the "velvet revolution," Prague prosecutor Tomas Sokol called for outlawing the Communist Party, which he equates with fascism, while the politically influential Catholic priest Vaclav Mali called Communists "a mafia in the background." They are worried that the CP in Czechoslovakia retains substantial working-class support and won 13 percent of the vote in June 9 elections.

From Poland to Slovakia to Croatia, the resurgent Catholic church under Pope John Paul Wojtyla of Cracow is seeking to establish a neo-medieval "Christian order" in Europe. The "democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe has to a large extent been spearheaded by former dissident Stalinist intellectuals turned Western-style social democrats or bourgeois liberals. But now these people are coming under attack from clerical-nationalist forces to their right. Thus Jan Sabata, who was expelled from the Czechoslovak CP after Soviet tanks put an end to the 1968 Prague Spring, was recently the target of howling right-wing mobs in the Moravian capital of Brno. "Primitive, nearly fascist sentiments exist throughout our republic," Sabata exclaimed.

Redbaiting of former Communists dominated the recent elections in Hungary. The Free Democrats are staunchly pro-Western intellectuals clamoring for a "free market" economy, foreign capital investment and membership in the European Common Market. But a number of leading Free Democrats are former leftists of Jewish descent. Against them the Democratic Forum resorted to virulent nationalist-fascist appeals. In January, Forum supporter and well-known writer Istvan Czurka proclaimed on radio, "Hungarians, awake!" as he lashed out at the "dwarfish minority" he claimed was trying to control the country. "Hungarians, awake!" was the main slogan of the fascist Arrow Cross in the 1920s-30s. Many Free Democratic election posters were smeared with the Star of David and the Arrow Cross.

Redbaiting was also prominent in elections in Romania, where the nightmarish reign of Nicolae Ceausescu was overthrown by a popular revolt last December that was supported by the military high command. The tyrant, a cross between Josef Stalin and Count Dracula, was quickly executed by his generals. In his place the National Salvation Front was established, led by former Stalinist apparatchiks like Ion Iliescu who had run afoul of the megalomaniac Ceausescu and his family. But while Iliescu & Co. declared their attachment to Western-style social democracy, the right-wing National Christian Democratic Peasants Party (a haven for the prewar fascists of the Iron Guard) and National Liberal Party attacked Front leaders as crypto-Communists.

As it turned out, the Salvation Front won a landslide victory, with the Liberals and Peasants combined polling less than 10 percent of the vote. And when the frustrated ultrarightists tried to set the stage for a coup with their rampage, while the army and police stood by passively, the workers responded enthusiastically to Iliescu's call for help. What accounts for this massive setback for the right in Romania, breaking the pattern in other East European countries?

The Front won wide popularity by quickly turning on the heat and lights, and increasing food supplies. This substantially raised living standards from the enforced misery of the Ceausescu regime, which drained Romania's wealth to pay off loans from Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. The miners, far from being Ceausescu supporters, were the first to rebel, with a strike in the Jiu Valley in 1977 which was brutally repressed. Iliescu doubled their wages and cut the workweek to four days. Writing on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* (19 June), Daniel Nelson of the Carnegie Endowment noted:

"Industrial workers, including miners, are one stratum in which Mr. Iliescu enjoys unwavering support. His Communist past doesn't bother most workers, but the fear of unemployment does—and the Front has gained workers' allegiance by guaranteeing a slow economic transition toward a market economy."

But Romania's ex-CP rulers now find themselves in a dilemma. The *London Guardian* (15 June) noted: "By unleashing violent workers onto the streets of the capital, Mr Iliescu has essentially tied his future to a policy which precludes any economic reform. No restructuring of the national economy can take place without closing unprofitable factories, but this is now out of the question." And with all the hauteur of capitalists talking disdainfully of "mob rule," the *Paris Liberation* of the same date put it

bluntly from a capitalist viewpoint: "By playing to 'the street' too often, the Romanian regime is exposing itself to a severe turnabout when the social crisis erupts which many experts consider inevitable."

The workers and collective farmers of Romania are well aware of the violent oppression wreaked by the fascist Iron Guard regime of the 1930s which the anti-Communists in University Square look to with fondness. But the toilers of East Europe cannot maintain their economic security by supporting politicians who promise Western-style social democracy—the soft-core version of counter-revolution. Whether fast or slow, the introduction of market-oriented reforms, leading toward the restoration of capitalism, will be at the workers' expense.



Abram Leon (above), murdered by the Nazis in Auschwitz. Christian Rakovsky, head of Bolshevik government in the Ukraine, killed in Stalin's purges.



Novosti Press

What's desperately needed are genuinely communist parties committed to *defending socialized property* based on the perspective of international proletarian revolution, including in the imperialist centers of West Europe, North America and Japan.

For Communist Internationalism!

In East Germany, when the fascists first struck against the Soviet war memorial in East Berlin, there was also a powerful response by the working class. After our comrades of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (now the Spartakist Workers Party) called to stop the Nazis with workers united-front action on January 3, the then-ruling Stalinist SED took up the call and 250,000 came out to Treptow Park to show their solidarity with the Red Army which crushed the Hitler regime. This was shown (including a picture prominently featuring the

Soviet-defensist banner of the TLD) on the front page of the Soviet Army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star).

But in the aftermath, as the bourgeoisie denounced the Treptow mobilization the Stalinist "reformers" recoiled from the wrath of the social democrats and their capitalist masters. And in that mobilization they all saw the spectre of political revolution and civil war. The same may be happening now in Romania, as Prime Minister Petr Roman apologizes for the "excesses" of the miners.

The drive toward capitalist restoration in East Europe is unleashing the most violent, primitive nationalist passions in order to prevent united working-class struggle. Make no mistake—capitalism will not be restored in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union by a charming bunch of playwrights voted in peacefully on sunny Sunday afternoons. Christian Rakovsky, co-leader of the International Left Opposition with Trotsky, pointed to the danger in 1929 that the thoroughgoing Stalinization of the Soviet Communist Party would allow the class enemy to break "into our Soviet fortress under the false, hypocritical and base flag of bourgeois democracy, to lay the road thereby for unrestrained fascism."

What is needed to fight capitalist counterrevolution and the all-sided reaction it engenders is above all to forge genuinely communist (Leninist-Trotskyist) parties. The Bolshevik Party was built and triumphed in implacable struggle against all forms of nationalism. The founder of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, and the first chairman of the All-Russian Supreme Soviet, Yakov Sverdlov, were Jews. The founder of the Cheka (political police), Felix Dzerzhinsky, was a Pole, and his chief lieutenants, Martin Latsis and Yakov Peters, were Latvians. Stalin was a Georgian and Lenin was Russian. The first head of the Bolshevik government in the Ukraine, Rakovsky, was a Bulgarian by birth who led the Romanian socialists in the decade before WWI.

Capitalist restoration is a bloody

business, and the shock troops of counterrevolution have begun openly mobilizing. Should the proletariat, misled and atomized by the Stalinists for decades, fail to assert its class power to oppose and defeat counterrevolution, the resulting governments will not be stable parliamentary democracies but fascist dictatorships forged through crushing the deformed workers states and the workers organizations. These regimes will very likely be in direct continuity with those that slaughtered 6 million Jews and 20 million Soviet citizens. And fierce competition for the spoils of East Europe could be a trip wire for a third imperialist world war. The counterrevolutionary danger looming in East Europe and the Soviet Union must be fought and crushed. It is the task of the Trotskyists to lead the workers and peasants in the struggle to sweep away all the old crap forever.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 505, 29 June 1990.

Strikes, Mass Protests Rock South Korea

From Our Reporter's Notebook

MAY 16—It is two weeks since the massive battles in Ulsan where 10,000 riot cops stormed Hyundai shipyard to crush a three-day-old occupation by 20,000 workers. Mass militant protests came on the heels of this provocation. Last week 100,000 protesters clashed with police across the country in the largest, most militant anti-government protests since those in 1987 which followed dictator Chun Doo Hwan's anointment of Roh Tae-woo, a long-time crony and fellow general, to succeed him as president.

Fed also by soaring rents and the recent absorption of opposition parties into the ruling Democratic Liberal Party, anti-government protests only threaten to escalate as the tenth anniversary of the Kwangju massacre approaches. Hundreds were massacred by troops in May 1980 when the people of this southern city rose up against the military regime. The massacre is a hot issue because it exposes the continuity between the current "reform" regime and the string of overt military dictatorships which preceded it. While opposition leader Kim Dae-jung whines that the government has not yet "come clean" over the massacre, his party sits in the sham parliament lending credence to the regime's democratic pretensions.

The police have been placed on maximum alert for the next 12 days to crush commemorative rallies. In the last two days two students have been seriously injured in street battles with the cops in Kwangju. Scattered on the ground at every subway exit in Seoul city are hundreds of roughly-printed leaflets. People pause for a second and stuff one in their pockets. Out front of the U.S. Information Service building workers are sweeping up heaps of broken glass. It appears that the protesters who torched it one week ago returned earlier today. With over 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea to prop up their client regime and menace the North Korean deformed workers state the demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops is heard everywhere.

MAY 18—Today is the Kwangju anniversary. In pouring rain 400 people rally at a major campus in Seoul listening to speeches and singing rousing songs. The students here are keen to talk to foreign communists. In the city there are riot cops everywhere. Half a dozen occupy every subway exit, searching people and demanding IDs of others. The city is sewn up tight. Over 4000 are arrested at bus terminals and subway exits. We wait two hours but no rally materialises, so we head home.

Arriving at Ulchiro 3-ga, the station is full of tear gas. People are crying and a hawker is doing a hot trade selling cotton masks. Outside is a moonscape. The road is littered with rocks. Darth Vader-type cops everywhere and a cloud of tear gas. From the other side of a line of cops chanting can be heard. Taking refuge in an alley we suddenly find ourselves caught in a stampede as the cops let loose a barrage of gas. Everywhere we run into a wall of cops. Darkness, tear gas clouds



Striking Hyundai auto workers, Ulsan, May 19. Proletariat spearheads struggle against Roh police-state regime.

and tears in the eyes make it hard to see anything. While this massive cop presence was largely able to contain demonstrations in Seoul and elsewhere, 100,000 massed in Kwangju city.

MAY 19—Auto workers at Hyundai's Ulsan plant are meeting. Hyundai workers have been in the bourgeoisie's cross-hairs since their stunning victory in 1987, winning an independent union and 20% pay rises each year since then. The Roh regime is desperate to stem the rising tide of working class organisation and militancy spearheaded by Hyundai workers as the economy goes into a tail spin. The enormous trade deficit with Japan continues to grow and the last few months have seen the reversal of long-term trade surpluses with major trading partners. All 27,000 Hyundai auto workers have been on strike for four days for a 129-point claim, including a 42-hour week and a large pay rise. From the outset the government threatened police action but when their leaders propose a compromise deal at this meeting workers boo and shout that there will be no return until arrested members are released. (The shipyard sit-in was sparked by the jailing of union leaders over a 109-day strike last year.) The strikers decide to stay out.

The road between the auto plant and the shipyard shows what a company town Ulsan is: schools, a college, a supermarket and workers' "apartments"

everywhere, all owned by Hyundai. They even own the hospital and the beach! At the shipyard (the largest in the world) there is no sign of tension but very little sign of work. "Normal production" has still not resumed since the cop attack on the sit-in.

Arriving in Kwangju the tension is palpable. Earlier in the day students from across the country had outwitted 73 police roadblocks to attend a 20,000 strong National Council of Student Representatives rally demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops and unity with workers to topple Roh Tae-woo. Riot police attacked the rally and for the second day running Kwangju city was turned into a battleground.

MAY 20—The outlawed National Council of Labor Unions (Chonnohyop) has vowed to hold a mass rally at Chosun University here in Kwangju today. Everywhere people march with banners and chant. A speaker is delivering a rousing oration to a crowd that is swelling as more contingents march in. Suddenly the campus is attacked by 1500 cops. Tear gas everywhere.

Protesters are hurling missiles at cops on the road below, driving them back to the main gate. For over an hour a mass of cops hold the main gate, firing tear gas at hundreds of students and workers—men and women—who reply with rocks and molotovs. The press later reported that

ASp photos



Kwangju, May 20: Anti-regime protests meet massive repression (above); Outlawed Chonnohyop union federation rallies against government (right).



125 were arrested and the 5000-strong rally aborted by the cop attack.

For the last two days tens of thousands of protesters and riot cops have fought for control of the streets. Today is no different. There is no traffic. Rocks litter the roads. On every street a line of cops. Scores of people suddenly emerge from an alley, chant and then throw rocks at the cops. The cops fire tear gas and charge. The protesters dissolve and then more spring out from the alleys behind the cops. This pattern goes on almost endlessly, here and there massed protesters making a determined stand against a line of cops. At one point the gas makes my eyes totally shut. A couple of blocks away police fire M16s to disperse 800 protesters laying siege to a police station. Today 83 cops and over 200 protesters are injured.

MAY 21—Discussion with students at a major campus in Seoul suggests that while everyone is for reunification of Korea the left don't have much conception of how this is to come about. Many students seem to have illusions in tyrannical, dynastic Kim Il Sung, based on the perception the Stalinist bureaucracy in the North is for reunification while the South Korean bourgeoisie are not. The Southern capitalists hate North Korea, because it embodies a social revolution, albeit very deformed. The bourgeoisie are a more than willing tool of U.S. and Japanese imperialisms' plans to reunify Korea through bloody capitalist counter-revolution in the North and the annihilation of genuine unions in the South. The only progressive solution can take place through workers revolution against capitalism in the South and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the North.

One could not but be overwhelmed by the combativity of the South Korean proletariat and their allies in the face of the massive repression we witnessed. The reality sharply exposes the lie of the "docile Asian worker" pushed by the racist protectionist union bureaucracy in Australia and in fact sets an example for the embattled Australian proletariat politically shackled by Laborism.

Today the imperialist world crows about the supposed "death of communism" but their best example of capitalist economic superiority in recent years is now in tatters. The South Korean regime pleads to a restive population that even Gorbachev has "seen the light" but the working class, whose exploitation is unsurpassed in the industrial world, are buying none of it. With mass protests and class war brewing across the country the situation cries out for a revolutionary leadership that can galvanise this mass combativity behind a program for proletarian revolution. And such a struggle would ignite class struggle throughout East Asia, sparking political revolution against the ossified Stalinist regime in the North and rousing the Chinese working class against the butchers of Beijing. ■

ALP Racism...

(continued from page 2)

Trade Development Zone. With the agreement of the federal and Northern Territory governments and the ACTU, a Hong Kong jeans manufacturing company, Hengyang Pty Ltd, brought some 74 mainly female workers to Australia, indentured to the Guangdong External Manpower Services Corporation in the People's Republic of China (PRC). These workers were paid a tenth of the wages of Australian workers and subjected to 60, 70 and 80 hour work weeks. Unions and union organisers were banned. Housed in overcrowded flats with strict curfews, they were banned from forming relationships with local workers and compelled to have abortions if they fell pregnant.

The Hong Kong capitalists wanted a "Made in Australia" label to allow access to the heavily protected U.S. jeans market. The provincial Northern Territory establishment wanted to develop a manufacturing industry, based on second-class, superexploited Asian workers. The facts only came to the surface when a courageous employee escaped to Melbourne, with the help of the local Chinese community, and spilled the beans.

One Hengyang worker interviewed anonymously told of a lecture by an official of the Chinese labour agency: "we were told we are the slaves and they are the capitalists." The upheaval in China last year, heralding workers political revolution, and brutally crushed by the Stalinist bureaucrats, was impelled by the



Immigrant workers helped build this country. Above, a shipload of mainly southern European immigrants arriving during post-war immigration wave. They were consigned to the hardest, most dangerous and lowest paid jobs.

seamen in the coastal trade which built the Seamen's Union. These unions consciously rejected the organisation of all workers across race lines, to the point of breaking strikes by Chinese workers, instead forging a racist consensus with the dominant wing of the weak colonial bourgeoisie. After the shattering of this consensus in the great strikes of the early 1890s, the union leaders founded the ALP. This was not merely a defeatist

the 1930s because it took on and defeated the "British Preference" policy of the Australian Workers Union tops directed against the large Italian immigrant work force. And Australian imperialism's dirty losing war against heroic Vietnam brought about working class action, in particular by the maritime unions, in solidarity with this Asian social revolution.

White Australia Policy 1990 Style

When Hawke, in a replay of his hypocritical grandstanding over the Tiananmen Square massacre last year, announced that 20,000 students from the People's Republic of China who came here prior to June 4 last year would be allowed to seek permanent residency, he simultaneously pledged to expel 224 Cambodian refugees who had arrived in three boats since November.

The PRC and other Asian students are exposed to a vicious government-endorsed money-spinning racket. They are charged exorbitant rates for tertiary education and as much as \$3500 for six-month English language courses run by often sub-standard colleges which have sprung up to exploit this lucrative "export" business.

But the Cambodians, according to Hawke, are economic rather than political refugees — a particularly vicious piece of double talk since many are fleeing the threat of the murderous contra alliance of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, Son Sann and Sihanouk, backed by Australia, the U.S. and China. The Hun Sen government with Vietnamese assistance has been attempting to rebuild the country in the face of imperialist economic boycott and the contra guerrilla attacks. The Cambodian refugees are currently languishing in ultra-secret immigration prisons in Sydney and Mel-



Militant and heavily immigrant car workers' strikes in 1973 and 1981 (left) at Ford Broadmeadows challenged Laborite bureaucracy and Arbitration's stranglehold on workers struggle.

ASp photo

vicious inequalities and hardships spawned by the bureaucracy's nationalist policies of "building socialism by capitalist methods." The Chinese working people need a revolutionary party based on the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky to save the historic gains of the 1949 revolution through a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic caste that undermines them.

The Trade Zone workers must be unionised, given award wages and conditions, plus back pay, with the right to remain with full citizenship rights. Already Hengyang is pleading poor to avoid paying full wages. Predictably the union tops (both left and right), under cover of "concern" for the Hengyang workers, are in fact scapegoating them and demanding their return to China lest they take away "Australian" jobs. This racist line was echoed by the pro-Accord Communist Party of Australia (CPA) whose paper *Tribune* (30 May) excused the ACTU tops and suggested that recruitment into the zone take place amongst surplus Australian clothing trades workers instead.

Racist exclusion of "cheap Asian labour" was the historic question that above all shaped Australian Laborism late last century. Not only did unions exclude non-whites, some were actually built in struggles to drive them out—for example, the 1878 strike against Chinese

rejection of class struggle for parliamentarism, but a determination to rebuild and strengthen chauvinist national unity, tightly shackling the working class to the state via Arbitration. This produced the reactionary, "bought-off" mentality of Laborism—the belief that the Australian workers' share of their master's wealth depended on tariff walls and the White Australia Policy. But the hold of Laborism on the working class can be broken. The Communist Party built a mass base in the North Queensland cane fields in

Spartacist Forum

For Class Struggle Unity With Japanese and Korean Workers!

Speaker recently returned from Japan and South Korea

For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!

SYDNEY: 7.30 pm, THURSDAY, 16th AUGUST

Tom Mann Theatre Council Room, 136-140 Chalmers Street, Surry Hills

From the exhibition Mondri Diversi by FILEF

bourne, with the most recent 79 arrivals dumped in a prison camp 50 kilometres south of Darwin.

In the 1970s, the U.S. had to twist the Fraser government's arm to take in a limited number of anti-communist Vietnamese refugees. In 1976 the government set up what official Australian immigration circles call the "South East Asian sieve," helping establish camps of first asylum in countries like Malaysia and Indonesia where refugees could be screened before being considered for Australia. Now there are holes in the "sieve" with the Indonesian government announcing it will push on refugee boats bound for Australia. So the Hawke government is taking a tough line on the Cambodians from the outset. The fascistic torturers and killers who escaped their just desserts in Vietnam after 1975 were considered genuine refugees; those who today flee the desperate poverty caused by imperialist blockade and war are not. We demand—those who manage to make it here should be able to stay—no deportations!

Third Wave—Anti-Japanese Popular Front

Australian capitalism is deeply contradicted by the rise of Japan as the dominant imperialist power in this region. One consequence has been the coalescence of a racist anti-Japanese popular front between White Australia reactionaries like Ruxton and the Laborite nationalist "left," over protectionism, Japanese investment and the Multi-Function Polis. *The Third Wave*, a recently published book by CPA member Abe David and left nationalist economist Ted Wheelwright, identifies Japan as Australia's main enemy, hysterically claiming that Australia is being taken over by a new wave of Asian investment, which is turning it into a "neo-colony," destroying "democracy" and lowering living standards. The book is being pushed by the "left" union bureaucracy like the Building Workers and AMWU, as well as the CPA and Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), whose Japan-bashing jingoism is a pledge of loyalty to the White Australia ruling class. Naturally, the anti-semitic League of Rights, National Action and talk-back racist Ron Casey have joined the chorus of applause.

The Third Wave is a trashy and jingoistic ideological tome disguised as economic analysis. It alibis Australian jackal imperialism and nurtures anti-Japanese racism. Its real appeal, lost on the fake-left critics of the book like the anti-Soviet Socialist Labour League (SLL) and International Socialist Organisation (ISO), is to the nativist and populist foundations of Australian Laborism. The ISO and SLL are no less Laborite and wholeheartedly supported Hawke's reelection this year. They denounce Wheelwright/David's racism but are wedded to the myth that the ALP can be pressured to the left, with the SLL demanding that its left wing establish a workers government, no less.

A proletarian revolution is the only guarantee that the Australian working people will play a role in an international socialist division of labour for the benefit of all humanity. At the time of the last racist immigration "debate" we wrote (*Australasian Spartacist*, No. 128, October/November 1988):

"White Australia capitalism mirrors the racist states of Apartheid South Africa and Zionist Israel, except that its 'blacks/Arabs' are the masses of Asia and separated from it by hundreds of miles of ocean. All the attempts to maintain Australia as a privileged white outpost in conflict with the surrounding region are not only reactionary but historically doomed. Geographic and economic reality dictate that one day the population will be many times larger, and of mainly Asian descent. The only progressive way this can happen is through socialist revolution to expropriate the White Australia bourgeoisie."

For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■



New York Times

Aided and Abetted by ASIS CIA's Hit List for 1965 Indonesian Massacre

Half a Million Communists Were Slaughtered

In October 1965 the Indonesian army under General Suharto launched a mass slaughter campaign designed to physically exterminate the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), then the third-largest Communist Party in the world with up to 3 million members and another 14 million supporters. In the reign of terror which ensued some 500,000 Communists were butchered.

This was the year that the U.S. massively escalated its military intervention into Vietnam in the name of "fighting Communism," and it was obvious then to anyone who read between the lines of the *New York Times* that the CIA also had a hand in the Indonesian slaughter. Now in the Reagan/Bush era the CIA criminals feel brazen enough to openly brag about their crimes.

An article by Kathy Kadane of the States News Service reports on interviews with these killers, who describe in detail how they compiled and turned over a death list of thousands of names for the Indonesian army and then coldbloodedly "checked off the names of those who had been killed" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 May).

"It really was a big help to the army," boasted Robert J. Martens, who headed the U.S. embassy group of State Department and CIA officers in Jakarta who spent two years compiling the list. "They probably killed a lot of people, and I probably have a lot of blood on my hands, but that's not all bad."

Former deputy CIA station chief Joseph Lazarsky noted, "We were getting a good account in Jakarta of who was being picked up. The army had a 'shooting list' of about 4,000 or 5,000 people," but the list evidently got a lot bigger. And thousands were herded into "detention centres" because, Lazarsky says, they "didn't have enough goon squads to zap them all."

Howard Federspiel, another State Department "expert" at the time, says matter-of-factly, "No one cared, as long as they were Communists, that they were being butchered." And so the CIA helped carry out, in the words of their own 1968 report, "one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century."

The Australian government and its foreign intelligence agency ASIS was complicit with the CIA in this slaughter,

lending whatever aid they could. Alarmed by the rapid growth of the PKI in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Australian imperialism repeatedly urged its U.S. big brother to act against Sukarno and the communists. In 1958, it was up to its neck in the ill-fated CIA-sponsored "Outer Islands Rebellion," providing a base of support for the CIA-supplied rebels and sending two naval vessels to the area.

The book, *Oyster—The Story of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service* (1989) by Brian Toohey and William Pinwill details ASIS' role in the 1965 bloodbath:

"The nature of ASIS-CIA cooperation ranged from exchanges of top-level intelligence, both formal and informal, to assist-

government was ousted with the help of the CIA), said in 1973: "we did what we had to do and you'd better be glad we did because if we hadn't Asia would be a different place today" (quoted in *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia*, ed Malcolm Caldwell). Living in deadly fear of revolutionary struggles in the Asian region to its north, the white racist Australian ruling class has always been willing to help out with imperialist dirty work—from the Korean and Vietnam counter-revolutionary wars, to the CIA-backed coups in Indonesia 1965 and Cambodia 1970. And not only in Asia—ASIS agents in Chile worked with the CIA to overthrow the Allende government in 1973, in which 30,000 workers and leftists were

ASp photo

1971 Congressional testimony that over 20,000 alleged Viet Cong were assassinated under the Phoenix "program" in its first two and a half years.

American imperialism had gotten involved in Vietnam in an attempt to stem the tide of peasant-based revolutions which threatened to sweep Asia like "falling dominoes." We noted then:

"The central aim of American imperialism in Southeast Asia—the containment and isolation of China—had already been achieved with the massacre of the Indonesian Communists in 1965, especially in the context of the Sino-Soviet split. A large section of the U.S. ruling class would now like to see an end to the Vietnam War through negotiation...."

—"Johnson Goes, Imperialism Remains!" *Spartacist Supplement*, May 1968

But despite pressure from the bourgeois "doves," President Johnson continued to escalate the war, only to lose it on the battlefield to the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers.

The imperialists lost Vietnam, but now they're on a counteroffensive as the Stalinist regimes collapse in Eastern Europe. Many of the very same murderers are still in top posts of the U.S. government. Company man Martens, for instance, is now a "consultant" for the State Department. And these are the guys who want to bring "democracy" to East Europe!

While the criminals now boast of their crimes, they also uneasily recognise that the Indonesian workers and peasants will rise again. Thus CIA operative Harry Goldberg, sent to Jakarta after the coup under AFL-CIO cover to set up bogus "unions," told U.S. writer David Ransom:

"It was a terrible holocaust, but they (the PKI) were too big, too extensive... much bigger than the amount of people who were executed and killed... there are still plenty of others, not to mention the very conscious spirit of revenge, which is a living force and will continue to live, and in my opinion will at some time create another explosion."

—quoted in Denis Freney, *The CIA's Australian Connection*

Likewise, Suharto and his bloodstained clique know they are sitting on a social volcano. But only victorious proletarian revolution can put an end to the capitalist system which breeds mass misery and mass bloodletting.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 503, 1 June 1990



Spartacist League-initiated picket in December 1987 demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists. Partisan Defence Committee in March of this year called for urgent international working class protest to save PKI leaders Satar Suryanto, Yohanes Surono, Simon Soleiman and Norbertus Rohayan from execution.

ance in providing 'deep cover' for American operatives, and possibly more active participation in Sukarno's downfall. One CIA man who operated outside the embassy in Indonesia has told the authors how ASIS created a cover for him as 'an Aussie sea captain.' On a more dangerous level, Canberra allowed American paramilitary operatives to make clandestine flights from Australia into Indonesia. On one occasion a CIA officer under commercial cover in Australia was hospitalised in Canberra to recover from wounds inflicted during an Indonesian mission."

U.S. ambassador to Indonesia in 1965, Marshall Green (later ambassador to Australia in 1975 when the Whitlam

slaughtered—the blueprint for which was labelled "Plan Jakarta."

Former CIA director William Colby now crawls out of the woodwork to proudly boast that the action in Indonesia was comparable to the CIA's "Phoenix" mass assassination program in Vietnam, one of the dirty secrets of that dirty war. Colby complains that in the post-Watergate period he was "kicked around for" this crime. In Vietnam, too, they compiled lists so that they could send out teams to "shoot them," he admits with obscene pride. Colby himself admitted in

SPA...

(continued from page 4)

the ACU are a wretched bunch of self-serving trade union hacks who would sell out their grandmothers if they thought it would gain them more influence with the bosses' state. The ACU-dominated Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU) was the crucial component in Hawke's smashing of the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) in 1986. Their loyalty to the class-collaborationist Accord has brought them cosy sinecures and unprecedented influence—BWIU national secretary, Tom McDonald, for instance, has the ear of Keating—which they seek to preserve by policing the working class for Hawke and the bosses.

Furthermore the ACU already has its own "left unity" agenda in the New Left Party (hardly new, barely left and not a party), comprising various disaffected Laborites and the remnants of the soon-to-fold CPA. At its founding conference in June delegates sang their theme song to the tune of the socialist anthem *The Red Flag*: "It's pink and red, green, white and blue; it's black and yellow, purple too." Enough said.

Both groups studiously sought to avoid discussion of the USSR and Eastern Europe, since the ACU are fairly enthusiastic supporters of Gorbachev's line. But their efforts to restrict discussion to the "safer" territory of domestic politics was disastrous. The first session, in a workshop by ACUer and Seamen's Union

general secretary, Pat Geraghty, produced sharp exchanges between ACU and SPA spokesmen, provoked in good part by the intervention of the Trotskyists. Spartacist League speakers, including one comrade recently returned from Germany, raised discussion on the historic events in East Europe, noting in particular that the decades of bureaucratic abuse, economic mismanagement and concessions to imperialism had their theoretical justification in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the other hallmark of which is popular front betrayal abroad. SL speakers attacked the domestic expression of this—subservience to the ALP, and in particular the ACU's support for the class collaborationist Accord and union-busting.

ACU leader Stan Sharkey responded

with a disgusting tirade, calling the pilots "a scabby bunch of conservatives" who got what they deserved. Shocked, a senior SPA leader, Harry Black, correctly noted that Hawke's military strikebreaking was an attack on the whole working class. But the SPA's "class struggle" opposition to the Accord is mostly in the pages of the *Guardian*. Where they have regained a foothold in the union bureaucracy, like the Sydney waterfront, they are indistinguishable from the ACU, selling thousands of jobs down the drain. And so it went—the "anti-Accord" SPA versus the ACU and the SUP, which if anything is even more closely bound to the New Zealand Labour government than the ACU is theirs, and is fighting to get an

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SPA...

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Accord, NZ-style. The only unity was against the Trotskyists, who provided a consistent, revolutionary working class program.

"White Australia" Stalinists

Feeling increasingly isolated under Hawke's Cold War Labor regime the SPA embarked on a series of fruitless "left unity" manoeuvres, each lacking both political integrity and intelligence, and fuelling internal dissent. Two years ago, after several years of utterly sub-reformist "joint work," the SPA and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) announced fusion plans. We noted then that reality would shatter such grossly unprincipled "unity," sooner rather than later. The SPA and SWP had polar opposite lines over the Tiananmen Square massacre and publicly attacked each other as misrepresenting the line of Gorbachev. Then, ever the weathervane of liberal imperialist opinion, the Socialist Workers Party quickly changed its name to Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and dropped the SPA like a hot potato.

This unity always indicated more about the depths to which the SPA could sink than the SWP/DSP, whose appetites to chase any political moving target are apparently limitless. As a veteran SPAer remarked to us once, "they seem to think the working class is just another movement." About all the SWP/DSP has consistently held to over the years is wretched "Aussie" nationalism and crass petty-bourgeois reformism, which did provide a political basis for unity with the SPA, and a liking for any and all dissidents within the Soviet bloc, which did not. Most recently they're into Gorby-chic and green politics. They adore Gorbachev because of his capitulations to imperialism, and never found it necessary to renounce their support of counter-revolutionary Polish Solidarność for example. Nor did they ever renounce their greatest infamy: the stench of corruption emanating from their efforts to bring a pro-Ustasha outfit, the HDP, into the workers movement (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 103, August/September 1983). And in the interest of "unity" the pathetic SPA maintained a complicit silence about this whole affair.

The SPA sees their task as working out "the Australian way forward" (*Guardian*, 28 March). Inevitably this translates as Laborism—basically the idea that the working class should be regulated by the bosses' state because bosses and workers share a common national interest—and chauvinism, because the bosses' interest is in keeping this a bastion of white privilege in Asia. For revolutionaries the strategic task is to build a revolutionary party through *splitting the ALP*, pitting the working class base against the bourgeois tops. Conjuncturally the SPA is attacking the Labor government. But then, who on the left isn't? In reality the SPA is cravenly Laborite. As always, they called for a return of the Labor government in the last election, albeit via the back door, by voting for the bourgeois Democrats or various greens and directing preferences to the ALP.

Their maximum program is a government of "People's Unity," ie, a coalition of bosses, workers, petty-bourgeoisie, just about everyone really, except the "foreign multinationals." This program means defeats and bloody betrayal, from Spain in the late 1930s to Indonesia in 1965. In its fruitless search for popularity the SPA has inevitably adopted national chauvinism. They joined the anti-Japan popular front in the elections over opposition to the as-yet non-existent Multi-Function Polis, joining a spectrum stretching from the League of Rights and the Liberals to themselves and the Maoists. Being Stalinists this is a well-trodden path—the CPA

hailed the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the time with a racist cartoon celebrating a "Jappy ending." Two years ago, when a racist furore developed over Japanese property purchases on the Gold Coast, the SPA joined in, wailing about "selling off the farm" to Japan (*Guardian*, 1 June 1988).

Any supporters of the SPA who still sincerely want to fight for communism need to join the Spartacist League. For only we Trotskyists carry the banner of workers revolution, fighting to link the struggles of the workers of all nations, understanding that revolutionary struggle by the Australian and especially Japanese workers against their bosses will ignite the working masses of all of Asia, attack imperialism at its heart, and inspire the Soviet workers to throw off the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and return the USSR to the road of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Japan...

(continued from page 9)

okay, we can agree with that demand—up with a left-centre coalition government. So the JCP's line was a brake on every development during this period.

It came to a head in February 1947, with a planned general strike. This is the great betrayal of the JCP. The social democrats were sprinting to get in front of this, so they could sell it out. Social democracy *joined* the general strike committee, with the CP, and they were trying to tone down the demands. Railworkers and government workers were the backbone of the general strike movement during this period. The American occupation banned the general strike. Immediately the social democrats pulled out, leaving the JCP. What were they going to do? If the general strike went ahead it would pose the question, which class would rule in Japan? Well, they sold out. Apparently Tokuda, the head of the JCP, was personally called in to MacArthur's office and told he should call the strike, and the JCP with their line of popular front, of support to MacArthur, of left-centre coalition, called off the strike. This was a real political defeat for the Japanese working class.

We've always said program is primary. In spite of the militancy of the Japanese working class, at the head were politics that could not lead a successful workers revolution. The Stalinists, despite the militancy of many of their members, were not a revolutionary party. This is a very important lesson to learn. The Japanese workers were disoriented, they were defeated politically, but they were not physically smashed—that would take a while. Now was the time for the social democrats to come roaring back. So you had your first version of a popular front government in Japan. MacArthur ordered elections in the spring of 1947. The working class was very disillusioned with the JCP and that showed up in the ballot box. The workers figured "well the JCP won't lead us, how about the Social Democrats?" So the Katayama government came into power, in a coalition with one of the major wings of the bourgeoisie, and their program was very clear. It was for wage freezes and reductions in wages and this while inflation was soaring. Basically they were trying to get the workers off the picket line, off the streets.

This bought the Japanese bourgeoisie very necessary time to recoup and prepare for the next offensive against labour.

Bourgeoisie Takes the Offensive

The popular front lasted about 10 months. They got kicked out of office over corruption scandals. The key thing is that the bourgeoisie regained their momentum, and they came out fighting with the "Dodge line." The Japanese have a system of lifetime employment, concentrated in the major industries—this existed somewhat during the pre-war period. So during this period, auto-workers were coming to work and had nothing to do: well, this is crazy, we have to throw these guys out of the plants—layoffs. So the next battles of the Japanese working class, defensive battles, were against the resurgence of Japanese capitalism, mainly fought around layoffs, and this was the whole "Dodge line," to introduce capitalist rationalisation, austerity. The purge of the JCP from the unions began. In 1949 it's estimated 10,000 JCPers lost their jobs. A new labour federation was founded in 1950 called Sohyo, to break up the CP's industrial labour federation. The first strike of this period was at Toyota over the question of layoffs, and the companies won.

A quick side note. At this point the Cominform issued a big criticism of the JCP around their line of support to MacArthur. This was the beginning of the Cold War. Stalin was pretty embarrassed that in Japan the party was praising MacArthur when they were getting ready to go to war in Korea. So this led to the JCP taking a big ultra-left tack, a lot of street confrontations etc.

The Korean War was a godsend for the Japanese bourgeoisie. They got their plants running again. The battle was to break the workers in basic industry. And the Nissan strike was *the* critical strike of the post-war period. This was furious class war. There were machine-gun nests set up at certain gates at the plant. Basically the entire bourgeoisie lined up behind Nissan, loaned them money, did everything they could to smash the working class. The strikers' leader, Masuda, was a syndicalist. He didn't have the politics to lead a victory. There was an industrial union in Isuzu, Toyota and Nissan. Masuda didn't pull the workers out at Toyota and Isuzu and they lost. The union at Nissan today was organised by scabs. It was founded in 1953 by a man by the name of Ichiro Shioji, organised from the company's finance department and the slogan was "if you love the union you love the company." They hired the *yakuza*, the underworld in Japan, and they got the workers in two sweeps. First they ran through the company dormitory and they threw out the union workers. These were pitched battles, the workers would fight back, but with the help of the *yakuza* the bosses managed to remove the union members from their housing. Then they opened up the plant to scabs. This was masterminded by Ichiro Shioji. Parenthetically, he was toured in the early 60s around the U.S. by Walter Reuther (Cold War social-democratic head of the American Auto Workers Union) as the example of a great Japanese labour leader.

By 1955 there was basically a capitalist stabilisation. The working class was defeated at Nissan in 1953. In 1955 the

various competing wings of the bourgeoisie merged into the party which we have today, Jiminto, or Liberal-Democratic Party. The right wing and left wing of the JSP got back together, the JCP held a convention and adopted the road of parliamentary reformism clearly, renouncing their errors of the ultra-left period, and the Shunto, or "spring offensive" was created. This is a kind of organising tool to get the workers harnessed under the leadership of the Socialist Party bureaucrats. Basically what they do is put forward "one union will lead the struggle this year," and they'll go on strike during the coffee break, and you have these big militant coffee break rallies, or the bureaucrats were threatening a really nasty lunch strike last year if they didn't fork over two per cent more. And the left in Japan really goes "oh, the Shunto, big struggle." The whole Shunto movement was based upon an historic defeat of the Japanese working class in 1953 at Nissan. And this shapes the labour movement today.

I want to finish on the Japanese New Left movement. It begins essentially in 1957. The students led this movement because the working class was on its way down in this period. There was a tremendous enthusiasm for Trotskyism after the Hungarian Revolution. And again, there was no Trotskyist party in Japan that could intersect this movement, like there was none in the 1945-47 period. So a very important generation we had no shot at.

A comrade gave a class in Tokyo about a week before we came. He put up a chart—how many New Left groups are there? 50? 100?—it's hard to keep track. I'll talk about Kuroda, who's a pretty important guy. He's pretty crazy ... but important for the tradition of ostensible Trotskyism in Japan. His main slogan was "Down with Stalinism, Down with imperialism!" What's missing is defence of the Soviet Union, and this marks in a critical way that the New Left was essentially state capitalist, in spite of the paper positions. This is where the two craziest, bizarre factions, Kakumaru and Chukaku-ha came from.

What's left from this period of the ostensible Trotskyists is the Japanese USec group, which is pretty weird, and the Fourth International group/Japan (FIJ), which is where our comrades come from. The FIJ have a position on the Russian Question—that the Soviet Union is a degenerated workers state and the rest of them are capitalist states. Of course this is bullshit, the FIJ are just straight out state-capitalist. They now say that defence of the Soviet Union is no longer a revolutionary slogan. Our comrades fought a very important fight. The main question was the Russian Question, and they came to the understanding that Vietnam, Cuba etc, were deformed workers states, and must be defended against imperialism. Our comrades fought their way into our international on Poland, Afghanistan and the Northern Islands, which is the Russian Question in Japan. We are the only group in Japan that defends the Soviets keeping the Northern Islands.

We're starting late, but re-read every now and then our Interim Preliminary Agreement (see *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88), our program for Japan, it is quite powerful. Comrade A will explain what we're doing to actually try and fight for that program in Japan today. There's probably a million things I've left out, but I'd like to close on one note. The Japanese workers have gone through their February under Stalinist leaders. We represent the program of the Japanese October. ■

Melbourne Class Series

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Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism Boil Up

East Europe: Reaction and Resistance



Right-wing mobs rampage in Romanian capital of Bucharest, June 13.



AP Photos

Romanian miners patrol Bucharest June 14, answering Iliescu's appeal to suppress rightist power bid.

Romanian Miners Suppress Counterrevolutionaries

Imperialist governments and the Western media howled with indignation when ten thousand miners descended on Bucharest, the capital of Romania, to deal with ultrarightists who had burned down police headquarters, invaded the Interior Ministry and sought to take over the central TV studios. "Romanian Miners Invade Bucharest" wailed the *New York Times* (15 June). "The Romanian revolution, if it ever took place, is certainly over," lamented *Le Monde* in Paris. The Foreign Office in London inveighed against "rent-a-mob coal miners." The U.S. State Department denounced "vigilante violence that departs from the commonly accepted norms of democracy," and cut off humanitarian aid for earthquake victims. Washington's "norms" would be to let anti-Communist riots prepare the way for a coup.

As bankrupt Stalinist regimes crumble throughout East Europe, the imperialists seek to create the impression of a steamroller heading toward capitalism against which resistance is futile. But in Poland in early June railway workers tied up freight and passenger traffic in a wildcat strike against brutal austerity policies which have produced mass unemployment and hunger. In Bulgaria, the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party won a majority in parliament in June elections. Reactionary forces had pinned great hopes on Romania, anticipating that the bloodshed during the December uprising could spark the violent anti-Communist pogroms needed to carry out capitalist restoration at one blow. But the Romanian workers repeatedly mobilized in response to government appeals (in January, February and again in June) when

they saw the threat of counterrevolution.

For seven weeks, right-wing students had occupied University Square in downtown Bucharest, the capital of Romania, declaring it a "neo-Communist free zone." They demanded that former members of the Communist Party, which ran the country until the overthrow of the brutal Ceausescu regime last December, be banned from office for ten years. This would have excluded virtually the entire National Salvation Front, which won more than two-thirds of the vote in mid-May elections. When ministers of the Front sought to negotiate with the protesters, the government emissaries were run out. The imperialist press lionized the protesters as paragons of "democracy," but they were widely despised by the working people of Romania as elitist ultra-nationalists.

On the early morning of Wednesday, June 13, police cleared University Square of protesters who had blocked traffic on one of Bucharest's main arteries. That afternoon several thousand students retook the square, setting fire to buses and police trucks. They then used these trucks to ram the front door of the police headquarters, and set the building ablaze along with a couple dozen vehicles around the building. In response, President Ion Iliescu called on the citizenry to fill the streets around government headquarters to "defend democracy." The *Washington Post* (14 June) reported that "many of the casualties were suffered in fighting outside the television station when factory workers rushed into the city to protect the government":

"Alarm bells were sounded in the factories. By 8:30 p.m. 1,000 workers arrived to liberate the television station, already occupied by the protesters. The workers then gathered in Victory Square. "Plumes of black smoke poured from the police headquarters.... The crowd ransacked the building, throwing documents and furniture from the windows, before setting it on fire. "Teenagers drove hijacked police vans into the front doors to break them down while the crowd cheered them on, chanting, 'The second revolution!' "The protesters also set fire to the Ministry of Interior and tried to penetrate the former Securitate [secret police] headquarters...."

Meanwhile, thousands of coal miners in the Jiu Valley had mobilized and after an overnight trip arrived in the capital before dawn on Thursday. They quickly took over University Square and, with most of the students gone after a night of rioting, seized anyone who looked suspicious. Some rightists were stripped of their clothes, others ran a gauntlet of punches, kicks and blows from rubber hoses before being hauled off to police stations. Meanwhile, typographers refused to print the opposition newspaper *Romania Libera*, and delegations of workers from around the country marched through the streets in columns. Speaking later at a stadium rally, President Ion Iliescu thanked the miners and said he hoped they would "maintain and develop this spirit of combativeness."

The imperialist press screamed bloody murder: the *New York Times* (15 June) reported with the genuine horror of class

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Jandke/Action Press

Fascist skinheads "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in East Berlin, April 21.