

Suharto's "New Order" Victimises East Timorese, Trade Unionists

Indonesian Troops Out of East Timor! Australia Hands Off!

The anniversary of the November 1991 Dili Massacre, when Indonesian troops fired on 3,000 participants in a march in the East Timor capital—killing over 200—coincided with the gathering in Jakarta of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) summit. As the U.S. imperialists, their Australian junior partners, the Japanese imperialists and the ASEAN countries as well as representatives of the Chinese deformed workers state gathered to talk trade, world headlines were made by the courageous act of defiance against Suharto's "New Order" regime by young East Timorese demonstrators. In Dili, thousands of demonstrators took to the streets to demand an end to Jakarta's military rule and the release of the imprisoned leader of the Timorese nationalist Fretilin, Xanana Gusmao. Some were shot to death; the exact numbers of those killed are not known. In Jakarta, some 29 protesters scaled the fence of the U.S. embassy and occupied the embassy grounds to highlight their opposition to the nearly two decades of Jakarta's brutal occupation of and war against the people of East Timor.

On the eve of the APEC meetings, the Jakarta regime had sentenced trade unionists of the banned SBSI (Indonesia Workers Welfare Union) to prison terms in retaliation for the massive Medan strike struggles last April. The Medan strikes were perhaps the largest workers

mobilisations in Indonesia since 1965.

As the SBSI leaders were being locked up, security forces remained deployed in the Medan factories and the state-controlled SPSI "union" issued a no-strike call for the duration of the APEC meetings. Thus the Jakarta regime sought to ensure domestic social "stability." But the youthful East Timorese protesters in Dili and Jakarta, at great risk to themselves, seized the occasion of the APEC summit to protest Indonesian occupation of East Timor. (See Partisan Defence Committee letter of protest, page six.)

Along with famine, disease and forced "Indonesianisation" re-settlement schemes, Jakarta's war against the East Timorese resistance movement has exacted a death toll exceeding 200,000—one third of the population. What is required is protest action centred on the increasingly combative Indonesian proletariat and backed by their class brothers and sisters in Australia and throughout the region: *Indonesian Troops Get Out of East Timor! Australian Imperialism Hands Off! Release all those detained in Jakarta and Dili following the demonstrations!*

Class-based solidarity action can only be forged in
continued on page 6



ASp photo
Melbourne, 15 October: Spartacist contingent at protest demonstration over East Timor.

25 Million Walk Out Against Austerity



La Stampa

General Strike Rocks Italy

MILANO—Twenty-five million people joined the nationwide general strike on October 14. More than 3 million, possibly 5 million, protested in the streets of 97 cities. This massive strike was the largest in decades, perhaps the largest since the immediate postwar period. Eighty percent participated around the

country, 90 percent in industry and the public sector, almost 100 percent in the "red belt" of central Italy. Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi had doubted that the strike would be general; speaking before 200,000 in the Piazza San Carlo in the Northern industrial bastion of Torino, home of Fiat, a leader of the CISL union

federation declared, "This was not a general strike, it was a total strike." Even in the South, in Catania and Palermo (Sicily), the walkout was complete.

This massively successful display of proletarian power was preceded by weeks of explosive and largely spontaneous workers protest strikes by hundreds of

thousands against the government's pension-slashing austerity budget. From Berlusconi, who had gone off on a junket to Moscow in order to be out of the country on the 14th, came the arrogant response that "not one, not ten, not 100 general strikes can change the budget."

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Heroic Defenders of Red October Revolution

All Honour to Richard Sorge & Ozaki Hotsumi!



from Spartacist Japan **スパルタキスト** ㊦ — see page 7

Hands Off the International Socialists!

Free South Korean Leftists, Trade Unionists!

Seizing on the imperialists' onslaught of threats against the North Korean deformed workers state, in recent months the Kim Young Sam government in South Korea has sharply escalated its police-state crackdown on the left and workers movement. Hundreds of militant trade unionists were arrested during a strike wave this summer, as thousands of riot cops repeatedly charged into workers' rallies and stormed union offices. At the same time, the regime launched a witchhunt against pro-reunification student groups, arresting at least 300 leftist activists and placing 90 leaders of Hanchongnyon (National Federation of University Student Councils) on its "most wanted" list.

Now the Seoul regime has widened its anti-left crackdown, arresting 23 supporters of the International Socialists (IS) in mid-October under the draconian National Security Law. Dozens of others are being sought or are under investigation. Among those imprisoned was socialist publisher Choi Il Bung, a founder of the Korean IS, who was released from prison only last December following an earlier arrest (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *Workers Vanguard* [WV] No. 574, 23 April 1993). The IS is politically aligned with Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party and the Australian International Socialist Organisation. Notably, unlike many of the student leftists rounded up over the summer, who were denounced as sympathetic to the North, the "third camp" Cliffites are virulently hostile to North Korea and refuse to defend it against imperialism and counterrevolution.

The National Security Law, which is so severe that even Washington calls for its modification or repeal, has been used repeatedly to try to smash leftist organisations. In May 1992, this law was used to go after the Socialist Workers League (SWL), reportedly the largest socialist group in South Korea, for "seeking a proletariat revolution" (*Korea Times*, 16 May 1992). SWL leader Paek Tae Woong and 39 other activists were arrested, and several months earlier, poet Park Ki Pyong had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in organising the SWL. In January 1992, labour militants were seized on suspicion of trying to organise a workers party (see "Mobilize Against Anti-Labor Repression in Mexico, South Korea," *WV* No. 545, 21 February 1992).

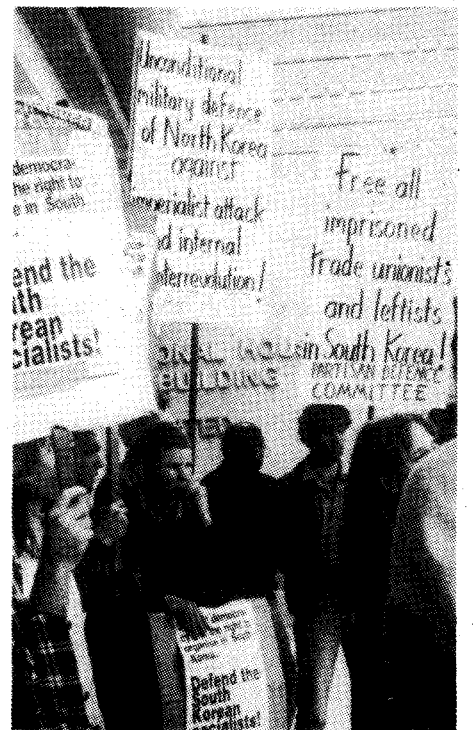
The recent arrests fully demonstrate that South Korea remains a police state, despite the "democratic" pretensions of Kim Young Sam, a bourgeois oppositionist to the former military dictatorship who was put in office two years ago as a civilian "alternative" to direct military rule. Leftists and trade unionists internationally must demand the release of the imprisoned Korean leftists and trade unionists!

On 2 November in both Sydney and Melbourne, comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia attended ISO-called



ASp photos

Spartacists join 17 November Sydney protest against brutal South Korean regime initiated by Young Koreans United (above); at right, SL contingent at 2 November ISO-called demonstration in Melbourne.



protests to defend their victimised comrades in South Korea. Our placards and chants included the following: Drop the charges against Choi Il Bung and all arrested supporters of the South Korean IS! Free all imprisoned trade unionists and leftists in South Korea! Unconditional military defence of North Korea against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution! Korea: For revolutionary reunification! For socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North! We addressed the small gathering in Melbourne, reading the Partisan Defence Committee letter printed below.

(backed by the jackal lackeys of U.S. imperialism—Keating's ALP government), Kim Young Sam's police state carried out vicious attacks on labour activists, and against students for alleged pro-North sympathies. Since coming to office his regime has swelled the country's prison population with trade unionists and dissidents, and carried out attacks on striking workers and students that would be envied by Park Chung Hee, Roh Tae Woo and the rest of the

previous South Korean dictators propped up by U.S. arms.

We demand that all charges be dropped against Choi Il Bung and the other arrested supporters of the International Socialists. Free all imprisoned trade unionists and leftists!
Very truly yours,

Neil Florimell

cc: International Socialist Organisation
Korean Youth Movement

Ambassador of South Korea
113 Empire Circuit
Yarralumla ACT 2600
27 October 1994

Dear Mr Ambassador,

We are writing to protest the arrests of at least 23 socialists and union activists, including Choi Il Bung and other supporters of the International Socialists. We demand they be immediately released and all charges be dropped.

Choi Il Bung is no stranger to Korean prisons. Last December he was released after a year in prison for publishing Marxist and other political books available in countries around the world. He and the others recently arrested are charged with "forming an organisation benefitting the enemy" under the National Security Law. The "enemy" of the South Korean government is anyone who asserts that the workers who created the country's wealth are more than just slaves to the *chaebols*.

Former "dissident" Kim Young Sam learned well his lessons from the military dictatorships he claimed to oppose. Over the past months, as the United States rattled its sabres at the North

La Trobe Uni: Students Rally Against Anti-Gay Bigots

MELBOURNE—On 22 September, over 70 demonstrators rallied at La Trobe University against harassment of gay students by violent anti-homosexual bigots. Two weeks prior to the demonstration, on Gay Pride Day at La Trobe Uni, a mob of some fifteen rednecks and Christian fundamentalists attacked gay celebrants—pushing people, throwing fruit and eggs at them, burning their T-shirts and hurling verbal abuse. A contingent from the Spartacist League joined the 22 September demonstration, demanding full democratic rights for homosexuals and state out of the bedroom, calling for trade-union action to fight against police/bigot attacks on gays and opposing illusions in the Keating ALP government. When several egg-throwing "yobboes" tried to intimidate the demonstrators, Spartacist supporters joined other militants in chasing away these scum.

The events at La Trobe Uni come in the context of a rise in anti-homosexual attacks—on and off the campuses. As *Australasian Spartacist* reported in our last issue, "Official discrimination and police violence against homosexuals, 'gay bashing' on the streets and the unleashing of vile anti-gay bigotry is on the rise in Keating's Australia." Last August, while Tasmania's barbaric anti-gay, anti-sex laws grabbed headlines internationally, police in Melbourne carried out a Gestapo-like raid against the patrons of the Commerce Club, frequented by gay men and lesbians. Some 463 people were subjected to group strip searches, physical attack and abusive

anti-homosexual vitriol; eight were arrested. (See coverage in *ASp* No. 154, Spring 1994.)

At the same time, sinister outfits such as the so-called "Ordinary Heterosexual Males" at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) have recently stood candidates in student elections. This anti-woman, anti-gay and inevitably racist filth has also surfaced in groups such as "Men Against Dykes" (MAD) at the University of South Australia and the "White Heterosexual Australian Males" (WHAM) at La Trobe Uni. At UNSW, the lesbian services officer and student vice-president, Lyndell Carter, was the object of physical violence and anti-gay graffiti. At La Trobe, women's officer Jackie Lynch described the attack on Gay Pride Day: "They started to yell that we were all going to hell and AIDS was God's punishment for homosexuals.... Some of the men in the group kept saying to the women, 'You don't know your place in society'" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1994).

The organisers of the 22 September protest at La Trobe Uni—primarily members of the radical-liberal Left Alliance—put forward a strategy of life-stylist "gay pride" as the way to combat anti-gay attacks. Thus, demonstrators were organised in a "hug against homophobia" and encouraged to get down to Abba's *Dancing Queen*. We're all for hugging and dancing, but that's not going to stop a mob of vicious redneck losers from assaulting gay people. Left Alliance also preached reliance on the capitalist state

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**Australasian
SPARTACIST**

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

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We print below the Spartacist League reply to coverage in the *Koori Mail* over the march last September to commemorate John Pat—one of the many Aboriginal victims of racist police terror—killed in 1983.

The original article which appeared in the *Koori Mail*'s 5 October issue is reproduced in full below. As well we have taken up the defence of "out-of-uniform" cops being present at this march contained in a letter to the *Koori Mail* (2 November) by Ray Jackson for and on behalf of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee. That letter is partially reproduced graphically here.

2 December 1994

To the Editor:

An article entitled "Militants hijack Pat march—again" appeared in your 5 October issue under the signature of Anita Heiss. While refusing to name said "militants" for reasons best known to herself, Heiss' article in fact refers to us, the communists of the Spartacist League.

In September 1983, John Pat—16 years old—was murdered by five off-duty police in Western Australia. In May of the next year an all-white jury handed down a complete acquittal of the cops. Militant Aborigines in Wollongong organised jointly with the Spartacist League to build the first demonstration in the country protesting this racist atrocity. Around the demands "Vengeance for John Pat! Jail the Killer Cops!" the demonstration brought together representatives of Aboriginal communities not only from Wollongong but also Nowra on the NSW South Coast, Campbelltown, Mount Druitt, and Redfern, along with trade unionists and students, including from Tranby College.

The acquittal of the cops in the John Pat case signalled an avalanche of black deaths in custody. Presumably there were many marching at the John Pat demonstration this year who consider themselves to be militant in opposition to the racist state terror which continues to take the lives of so many Aboriginal people and who know that the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Black Deaths in Custody was a whitewash of the police and coroners' verdicts in every one of the 99 cases brought before it. For our part, we warned from the beginning that the Royal Commission would not and could not bring about justice. An instrument of the very capitalist state which is responsible for the murderous attacks on Aboriginal people, the Commission had as its task the cover-up of the crimes of that state. In fact, Heiss herself admits that "there have been 60 more deaths nationally of Aboriginal people in custody since May 1989, when the Royal Commission stopped investigating new cases."

Heiss writes of our contingent at the John Pat march: "Their loud expressions about the Cuban revolution, Tasmanian



Asp photo

Sydney, 24 September: Spartacist contingent calls for class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights at John Pat march.

John Pat Commemorative March

Reply to the Koori Mail

anti-gay laws and ideas of a revolutionary workers party may well be issues of concern to Australian people, but they are not part of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee's charter." We strongly oppose the Watch Committee's appeal to the state to "implement the findings" of the Royal Commission whitewash. Against such hat-in-hand appeals, retailed by the entire fake left, we call for a *class-struggle* fight for Aboriginal rights, mobilising the social power of the organised working class. We recognise that such a struggle entails a political fight against the Laborite trade-union misleaders who serve to tie the working class to the bosses and their state through nationalism, racist protectionism and the Arbitration system; it is necessary to forge a revolutionary leadership.

The first great strike of Aboriginal workers in the Pilbara in 1945 was supported by a large range of trade unions; Don McLeod, who was not Aboriginal, was jailed along with two Aboriginal strike leaders, then freed after Aboriginal people led a march on the jail. More recently, when Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley was sacked in Townsville in February of 1993, the entire union at the site struck in his defence and won his reinstatement. In May of that year, a Spartacist League-initiated action broke

a racist ban at the Student Prince Hotel in Sydney which had refused service to a number of Aboriginal people. The solid core of trade unionists who joined in that action, along with students and members of the Redfern community, was key to its success. These examples point the way to a fighting class alternative to the defeatism of Heiss, who wants only "a brief moment of remembrance," and to those who seek to pressure the Labor government for "justice."

While marching together in protest against on-going racist state terror, the competing strategies in the fight for Aboriginal rights should be openly debated. At last year's John Pat march, this was in fact the case. We spoke from the platform at Redfern Park and put forward our revolutionary program; others put forward their politics. This year, the Labor Party graced the platform while an unsuccessful attempt was made earlier to silence us, the communists, who oppose the ALP lackeys of "White Australia" capitalism. That is the political heart of the matter.

Having presided over escalating racist terror and having shafted Aboriginal land rights at the behest of the mining bosses, pastoralists and states'-rights yahoos, Keating is now aiding the U.S. imperialist invasion of Haiti, sending a contingent of

Australian cops to do their bit in the suppression of the Haitian black masses. The U.S. invasion of Haiti is as well a dagger pointed at the Cuban deformed workers state. Among the many gains of the Cuban revolution was the elimination of the racist oppression of black Cubans and it was a Cuban expeditionary force which provided key military aid to Angola against the South African apartheid army's incursions against that black African country.

The same rampaging Victorian cops who recently shot to death an Aboriginal woman, Colleen Richman, only months ago terrorised the gay patrons of the Commerce Club in Melbourne in a Gestapo-like operation in which people were forced to strip in a degrading "search," were struck by the cops and subjected to abusive verbal anti-homosexual filth. The same cops are used to break workers picket lines, to attack student protests and immigrant events such as the Arabic Day Carnival in Sydney a year ago.

The connections are clear. It would in fact be a powerful statement of struggle against racist injustice if in demanding vengeance for John Pat and the other Aboriginal victims of murderous police terror, multi-racial contingents of trade unionists, immigrant workers, homosexuals and youth marched together against the common enemy: the capitalist system and its Labor lieutenants. Such a mobilisation would of course "alienate" the pro-capitalist ALP tops to no end.

Ray Jackson, writing on behalf of the Watch Committee, takes issue with Heiss' article in a letter printed in the *Koori Mail* of 2 November. Jackson writes: "Militants or outsiders (to use her words) made up only a very noisy minority and the committee does not have the power to stop these elements from marching.... Out-of-uniform police and custodial officers also marched. Should they also be told to remove themselves?" What are cops doing there in the first place! Cops do not belong *anywhere* within the left and workers movement, full stop. They are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed, *paid thugs for the racist capitalist class*.

We are militant opponents of all forms of racial oppression, and proud of it; we are certainly no "outsiders" in the fight for Aboriginal rights. It is our belief that vengeance for John Pat and all the victims of racist cop murder will only come once this rotting racist system is destroyed through victorious workers revolution. We seek to build an *internationalist*, racially-integrated party dedicated to fighting all manifestations of special oppression—racial, sexual, national—on the road to that revolution. We conclude by asking the readers of the *Koori Mail*: who benefits from a policy of red-baiting attacks on militants and rolling out the red carpet not only for the ALP but indeed for the cops themselves?

Janelle Tuluan
for the Spartacist League



Asp photo

Spartacists and militant Aborigines demonstrate together in Sydney, 1 June 1984, against racist cop murder of John Pat (above). *Koori Mail* coverage of 1994 John Pat march (right).

Koori Mail

March report outrage

To the Editor
It was with a sense of outrage and puzzlement that our committee read the article by Anita Heiss 'Militants Hijack Pat March - Again' (*Koori Mail*, October

Militants hijack Pat march — again

Anita Heiss attended the annual John Pat commemorative march in Sydney on September 24. This is her view of what happened.

For those who attend every year, it was noticeable that numbers at this year's John Pat march had declined substantially.

For Kooris and supporters who participated, the cries along George Street, Sydney, demanded justice for the Koori families who have lost a relative in custody.

There have been 60 more deaths nationally of Aboriginal people in custody since May 1989, when the Royal Commission stopped investigating new cases. Nineteen of these have occurred in NSW.

During the rally, demands for justice and for reasons why black deaths still occur were sadly drowned out by militants who hijacked, yet again, a day dedicated to remembering those murdered. Those 'outsiders' in the march showed a blatant

disrespect for our people and our concerns about black deaths in custody.

Their presence served only to confuse the issue of which we tried to raise community awareness. Their loud expressions about the Cuban revolution, Tasmanian anti-gay laws and ideas of a revolutionary workers party may well be issues of concern to Australian people, but they are not part of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee's charter.

I feel that the involvement of these characters took from us any level of credibility that we have gained through hard work and perseverance.

In what was to be a brief moment of remembrance for John Pat and other Aboriginal people who have died in custody, it became more of a battle of who could yell the loudest, between the 'real' supporters of Aboriginal people and those who saw an opportunity to plug their own cause.

only attended last year's march that the numbers were equal to,

while we respect her right to have he does not speak on behalf of

up only a very noisy minority stop these elements from march-

this group in an effort to defuse

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ained in one group, shouted no 30 minutes after arriving at the

y well organised and very effec- ice for that 62 families nationally 5 families respectively, are still

of the Royal Commission's rec- ublic attention is the sole purpose screams the loudest.

RAY JACKSON

For and on behalf of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee

Killer Cops Rampage in Victoria

MELBOURNE—On the morning of Friday, 23 September, Colleen Richman—a 41-year-old Aboriginal woman—was shot to death by police in Melbourne. Colleen Richman was the eighth person killed by the Victorian cops this year; of the 32 people shot dead by police in the last six years, 22 have been victims of the rampaging Victorian force.

Colleen Richman approached the Hanover Welfare Services building in St Kilda, reportedly in a distressed state and carrying a tiny tomahawk. A police squad car turned up. As Colleen attempted to leave the scene, she was shot at five times by the cops; one bullet entered through her side, three bullets entered through her back. She died instantly. Her body lay where it fell for five hours; the police made no attempt to contact Colleen's relatives.

On 30 September, relatives and friends of Colleen Richman, along with some 200 members of Melbourne's Aboriginal community, held a memorial service in St Kilda followed by a march to and rally at Catani Gardens. Lawyers for Colleen's family and the Aboriginal Legal Service have since taken the police to court in a civil action, charging them with murder. Long-time Police Association supremo Danny Walsh immediately went on radio to issue the threat that those who take the police to court "will regret it for the rest of their lives."

We say that Colleen Richman's family should get as much compensation as possible—millions would not be enough! Justice will come when the killer cops are tried by tribunals of their intended victims. There should not be one iota of faith in the capitalist courts. As the example of the Royal Commission white-wash over black deaths in custody testifies, the courts, "inquiries" and "commissions" are all about covering up the state's crimes and nothing to do with justice for the victims of racist cop terror (see reply to *Koori Mail*, page 3). What is required is the mobilisation of integrated working-class struggle on the road to smashing the racist capitalist state and establishing workers rule.

Colleen Richman's murder at the hands of the police cut short a life that had been brutalised from the start under White Australia capitalism. Her mother was an Aboriginal woman and her father of Afghan descent. Like her three brothers, Colleen was stolen from her mother at birth by the state. She was fostered to a white family in South Australia and only discovered her Aboriginality by accident at the age of 16. Over time she contacted her mother and other relatives. Becoming active in the struggle for Aboriginal rights, Colleen travelled to black events and demonstrations, including carrying the Aboriginal flag at the 20,000-strong black demonstration in Sydney protesting the Hawke Labor government's celebration of colonialism and racism at the 1988 "Bicentennial."

This is but one story among the untold many of those victimised by the policy of forced "assimilation." Begun in the 1930s, this policy was aimed at "disappearing" the Aboriginal people who had survived despite the concerted, conscious effort to exterminate them outright. With racist impudence, the rulers referred to the Aborigines as a "remnant people" and from the 1930s through the 1960s, hardly an Aboriginal family in the country escaped the sadistic, racist policy of state kidnapping and sending Aboriginal children to be reared with white families. Federal and state attorney generals have recently announced that the files on the "assimilation" era would finally be opened. (The Catholic Church in the Northern Territory—which like other churches was deeply complicit in the state's racist "assimilation" schemes

Avenge Colleen Richman!



Michael Rayner

Hundreds from Melbourne's Aboriginal community march to a rally at St. Kilda's Catani Gardens, 30 September, in protest against cop slaying of Colleen Richman.

—now claims that its files have gone missing due to "computer breakdown.")

Colleen Richman has joined the long, grim list of Aboriginal people killed by the cops or prison screws, among them: John Pat, Robert Walker, Charlie Michael, David Gundy, Daniel Yock. Her death, too, exposes as a lie Keating's media hype—largely for international consumption as he charts a course for "enmeshing" in Asia—about "reconciliation." Racist terror continues to be a bedrock of Australian jackal imperialism.

We communists stand for a class-struggle fight for the rights of all the exploited and oppressed. We fight for complete legal equality—including in the realm of land rights; we fight for jobs for all and equal wages; we fight for massive health and education programs to address the oppression of the Aboriginal people on the reserves, in the wretched "fringes" and inner cities; we fight to mobilise the power of the integrated workers movement against the state terror which continues to reign against Aborigines. We fight to build a multi-racial vanguard party to lead the proletarian revolution that will put an end to the system of private property and capitalist exploitation. Such a party will be, in V.I. Lenin's words, a tribune of the people, targeting every instance of the racial and national oppression endemic to capitalism. The inauguration of the era of socialist development can ensure the all-sided voluntary integration of indigenous and Native peoples on the basis of the fullest equality and will meet the special needs created by centuries of injustice and oppression.

"Strong State" Repression and Capitalist Decay

You don't have to be an Aborigine to be murdered by the cops. Of the eight victims of police killing in Victoria this year, four had a history of mental illness and were in crisis when they were shot. Take the case of the young man, Edward Hulsman, shot to death in February in the Elwood neighbourhood of Melbourne. The ABC's 7:30 Report replayed the police tapes: the desperate parents attempted to explain to police HQ that their son was ill—he was screaming and apparently mutilating himself with a razor. Then the tapes record the cops

storming the family's flat, followed by an almost instantaneous fusillade of gun shots. The screaming stops. The tapes next capture the despair of the parents as they realise that their son has been gunned down like a dog.

These police killings are no "aberrations" but rather part of a calculated unleashing of deadly force against the population. The backdrop is the all-out assault on social services, trade unions and the standard of living of the working people as a whole. After several massive working-class demonstrations and strikes in the wake of Kennett's election, "left" Laborite John Halfpenny's Trades Hall Council has done everything in its power to demobilise and demoralise the organised working class; calling off all mobilisations, they put out the word: vote Labor next time around. This criminal passivity and parliamentary cretinism has led to further social reaction—not least escalating fascist provocations (see "Cops Protect Fascists in Melbourne," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 153, Winter 1994).

The cops' killing spree in Victoria has coincided with generalised "strong state" repression against the working people and minorities, which began under Labor and has been extended with a vengeance by Kennett, with the acquiescence of Halfpenny & Co. Last December, baton-wielding police charged picketers at Richmond Secondary College, beating many bloody. Mounted police brutally charged student demonstrators protesting proposed VSU legislation last April in Melbourne. In August police carried out a Gestapo-like operation against hundreds of gay men and lesbian patrons of Melbourne's Commerce Club.

Believing themselves free of the spectre of communism in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, internationally the imperialist-capitalists are hell-bent on cutting social spending, jacking up the rate of exploitation of the working people, "disciplining" the trade unions, escalating anti-immigrant, anti-woman, anti-minority attacks. Thus, for the capitalist ruling class here, including its Labor hirelings and the likes of Kennett, there is no point in spending money on public education when a huge chunk of working class youth is destined for permanent

unemployment or at best temporary, low-wage "Mac jobs."

Ditto for spending on public health services. "De-institutionalisation" of mentally or physically impaired people was pioneered by the Cain/Kirner Labor government and sold as a "humanitarian alternative" to locking people up in grim 19th century bluestone fortresses. In reality, the goal was to save money and in the process to break a public-sector union. And to keep the working class and poor in line as they are further ground down, the hired thugs of the bosses are on the front lines of brutal repression against social struggle and vulnerable sections of the population. Vicious anti-union austerity and mounting state terror has taken place under the federal Labor government: we need a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government!

Laborite Reformists and the Cops

For Marxists, it is ABC that the racist, strike-breaking cops are the deadly enemies of the workers movement and all the oppressed. The capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class; the cops comprise one of the armed bodies of men whose job it is to protect capitalist property. However, this elementary truth is anathema to the reformist fake left who worship at the altar of Laborism. Groups such as the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Militant (linked with the British Militant Labour group of Peter Taaffe) propagate the view that the cops are but "workers in uniform," perhaps in need of "sensitivity training" under "community control."

In this regard, the Militant group stands out as particularly craven. The following are excerpts of an article entitled "The police: A class approach" published in the November issue of the *Militant* here:

"Some would argue that the police are essentially hostile to the interests of the working class and therefore should be treated as the enemy. However, we have to take into account the make up of the police ranks. In the main they are members of the working class, often making the choice of a job with the force rather than facing unemployment. Indeed, in terms of pay and conditions, it is an attractive option for some workers....

"The workers' movement must never forget that the police, particularly the senior officers, are under the sway of the capitalists. At the same time every opportunity must be taken to approach rank and file officers to question their deployment against the labour movement and community campaigns."

As Aboriginal people and others are being shot to death left, right and centre—and in the aftermath of their own comrades being beaten and arrested at Richmond Secondary College—Militant waxes eloquent about tactics toward the "rank-and-file" cops!

The *Militant* tome continues: "A further strategy that needs to be developed is to call for democratic control of the police.... [W]e recognise the fact that although most workers have concerns about the police, many would not at this stage accept demands for their abolition. They would however, support the view that the working class, through elected committees, should have control over their operations."

Marx and Lenin understood quite the opposite. The 1872 introduction to the *Communist Manifesto* read in part: "One thing especially was proved by the [Paris] Commune, viz., that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes.'" The mis-named Militant's position also stands counterposed to the entirety of Lenin's seminal *State and Revolution*, written in 1917, only months

Jamal...

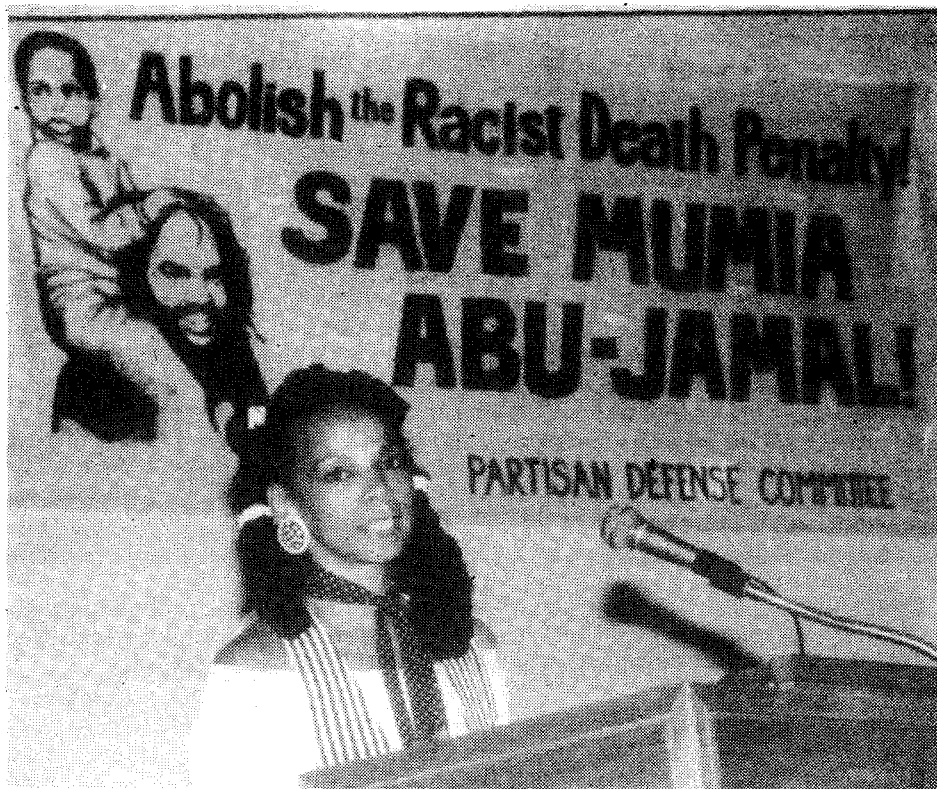
(continued from page 16)

the Powelton Village MOVE home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop during the police assault and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, Jamal was shot in the chest and railroaded to death row.

Framed for the shooting of a Philadelphia police officer, at his 1982 trial the prosecutor repeatedly and pointedly went after Jamal's political views and prior membership in the Black Panther Party. Mumia has now spent twelve years on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison.

Capital punishment is front and centre in American politics this election year. Talk show host Phil Donahue wants to broadcast a live execution. Racist TV/radio "shock jock" Howard Stern is running for governor of New York for the express purpose of bringing the death penalty back to the Empire State. Feeding off the crime hysteria drummed up in Washington and the media, Democrats and Republicans have found a common theme: "Kill 'em all and let god sort 'em out."

The urgency of the speak-out for Jamal was magnified the following week when the Pennsylvania House of Representatives voted to override Governor Casey's veto of a bill ordering executions. An American Civil Liberties Union official stated that if the bill were to go into effect, "nearly 100 executions would be scheduled in Pennsylvania over the next six months." The bill's sponsor, Rep. Michael McGeehan, said of Jamal that he was "specifically interested in this case. We're going to see him die." On June 14 the state Senate fell two votes short of an override. But Casey has already signed more death warrants than the four previous governors combined. As the Pennsylvania gubernatorial race



Workers Vanguard

Wadiya Abu-Jamal, Mumia's wife, addresses New York rally, 3 June 1994.

heated up, the FOP was pushing to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

Join the Campaign!

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has drawn support from around the world. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labour (CGT), the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada, Section 10 of the Mexican teachers union SNTE, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Mumia's cause.

The Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and Equal Justice have actively publicised Jamal's case. In Germany, AGIPA Press has publicised Jamal's case and raised thousands of

dollars for the legal defence. Among those who have taken a stand for Jamal are: singer Harry Belafonte, South African poet Dennis Brutus, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Chicago alderman Danny Davis, Congressmen Ron Dellums, John Lewis, Bobby Rush and Maxine Waters, authors E.L. Doctorow, Piri Thomas and Howard Fast, actors Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg and Sabrina le Beauf, Rev. Joseph Lowery, Pennsylvania State Representative David P. Richardson Jr., and State Senators Chaka Fattah and Roxanne Jones.

The multiracial U.S. labour movement has the power to stop the killing machine. Among unions which have taken a stand for Jamal are: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); ILWU Local 10, San Francisco; ILWU Warehouse Local 6, San Francisco; Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific, Maritime Division of the ILWU, Seattle; Amalgamated Transit

Union Local 308, Chicago; Hospital and Health Care Workers Union, SEIU Local 250, San Francisco; National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200, Pasadena; and Bay Area Typographers Union Local 21, San Francisco. Also fighting to save Mumia are many individual trade unionists, including Charles Volante, president, RWDSU Local 1010 (Philadelphia), and Cleveland Robinson, founding member and national vice president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

International protest is also key to staying the executioner's hand. The racist state authorities must be made to know that opponents of the death penalty and defenders of black rights around the world are demanding that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! The U.S. Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League and its fraternal defence organisations throughout the world have brought the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal to international attention. We urge readers to join the fight to free Jamal and contact the PDC.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, of the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, can and must become the focus of the fight against the racist death penalty. Raise your voice and organise, in your unions, community and youth groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. Join the campaign! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty! ■

Join the campaign! Get involved!

The Partisan Defence Committee 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.

A \$10 contribution to the PDC entitles you to receive the publication of the US Partisan Defense Committee, *Class Struggle Defense Notes*, for one year.

Call us on (02) 281 2181 or write to us: PDC, PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 2000. An injury to one is an injury to all!

before the Bolshevik-led October Revolution. As Lenin wrote:

"Imperialism...has demonstrated with particular force an extraordinary strengthening of the 'state machine' and an unprecedented growth of its bureaucratic and military apparatus, in connection with the intensification of repression against the proletariat both in the monarchical and in the freest, republican countries.

"World history is now undoubtedly leading, on an incomparably larger scale than in 1852, to the 'concentration of all the forces' of the proletarian revolution on the 'destruction' of the state machine."

In the Spartacist pamphlet entitled *Militant Labour's touching faith in the capitalist state* we noted that "in their grotesque insistence that capitalism's racist cops are 'workers in uniform', they sum up the difference between their reformist perspectives and our fight for socialist revolution." The Militant tendency spent 40 long years deeply ensclosed within the British Labour Party and the effort to stay in the BLP at all costs led them to evolve a set of positions which would be palatable to the Labour left. From their refusal to call openly for British troops out of Northern Ireland to their position of "workers sanctions" against Argentina during the Falklands war, Militant has abjectly capitulated to British imperialism.

Militant's reformist betrayals are hardly isolated to the British Isles; grotesquely Taaffe's South African co-thinkers wrote in *Congress Militant* (April 1993):

"Hence Marxism is in favour of universal conscription for military training... A soldier or a policeman who is a comrade must work hard, so that when he talks his fellow members will listen and he will get unity to paralyse the whole system."

In favour of universal conscription into the apartheid (now neo-apartheid)

army? A cop in the South African state who is a "comrade"? One who should "work hard"—i.e., beat more viciously or shoot straighter? The bottom line for these ultra-reformists has been and remains to make the capitalist state "more accountable to the labour movement," to be supplemented by introducing an enabling bill into the bourgeois parliament to nationalise banks and industry—with compensation on the basis of "proven need"! (See also "Letter to the Militant Tendency", page 15).

The monopoly of armed force is a major weapon in the rulers' arsenal. One of the progressive measures taken by the then-revolutionary bourgeoisie going back to the time of Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army (and to be sure a short-lived experiment) was the arming of the population. Today, even where this right is supposedly enshrined in law, for instance in the U.S., it is acknowledged in the breach in those states like New York where gun control legislation makes it virtually impossible for most honest working people to own and/or carry firearms. This makes for an unarmed population at the mercy of the cops, fascists and criminals. We say: No to gun control laws!

Lenin noted that the proletariat who does not know the use of arms is a self-willed slave. But for social-democratic reformists who seek to pressure the existing state apparatus, the right of the citizenry to bear arms is utterly beside the point; in Militant's case it does not even raise the call for this right and accepts the capitalist state's control over weapons with gun licensing.

In Victoria, the latest campaign by the state to disarm the population has centred on the arrest and subsequent fining of two Victorian building-industry

union organisers of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU), Alan Web and Fabio Stradijot, for possession of firearms. The building industry is notorious for the bosses' use of armed goons to intimidate the workforce, but CFMEU National Secretary John Sutton has launched an investigation of the union's own organisers! The precedent that the bosses, their state and the union-bureaucrat lackeys are aiming to set here is deadly dangerous; we say: drop the charges now!

The CFMEU tops' treachery is a striking example of the trade-union bureaucracy's subservience before the bosses' state, its arbitration courts and Accords.

A key element in the struggle for a revolutionary leadership of the working class is the fight for the complete independence of the unions from the bourgeois state: *smash Arbitration!*

A multi-racial Leninist vanguard party—splitting the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops of the ALP—is required to lead the struggle for workers revolution, necessarily smashing root and branch the racist, bourgeois state. Against the reformists' touching faith in the bourgeois state, we in the Spartacist League look to the experience and program of Lenin and Trotsky in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat, the overthrow of the decaying capitalist system. ■

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This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organisation in Britain.

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Spartacist Pamphlet

Militant Labour's touching faith in the capitalist state



Original: 1984, heroic British miners battle strike-breaking cops.

Includes *Gauche révolutionnaire/Jeunes communistes révolutionnaires* pamphlet, *The International and the State*, with reply by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

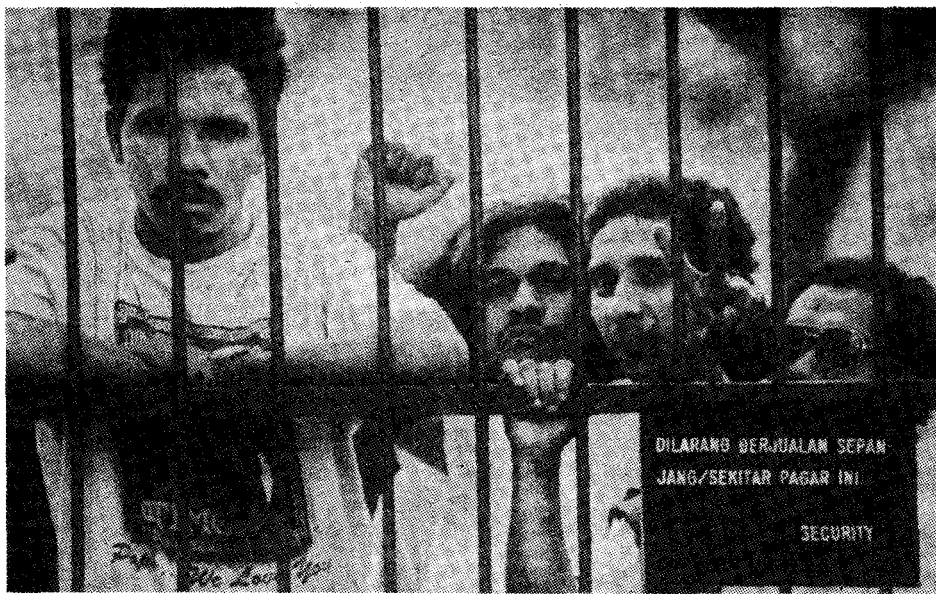
East Timor...

(continued from page 1)

opposition to the Australian imperialist ruling class and its Labor Party lackeys as well as its allies in Jakarta. A spate of rallies and demonstrations held throughout Australia in October and November underlined the gulf between such a perspective and that of wretched Laborite/reformist "left" outfits such as the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). Spartacist contingents marched with placards which included the demands: "Indonesian troops out of East Timor! White Australian imperialism hands off!"; "Indonesian workers revolution will avenge the 1965 anti-communist massacre! Forge a Trotskyist party!" as well as calls in defence of the victimised SBSI leaders, for the military victory of Fretilin and to break with the Australian Labor Party and forge an integrated, revolutionary party.

In contrast, the Laborite left envisions East Timor "liberated" under the auspices of "democratic" Australian imperialism. Thus they alibi the jackal imperialist designs of their "own" rulers, who have an appetite to extend their influence within the Asia Pacific region. Both the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and DSP pushed petitions to the Labor government calling for "action" over East Timor. (The DSP, meanwhile, also hails the popular-frontist People's Democratic Union [PRD] in Indonesia which explicitly refuses to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.)

Endorsed by the DSP and a host of other fake-left outfits, the Dili commemoration demonstration in Sydney was explicit in its calls on the Australian government to withdraw recognition of



Courageous East Timorese youth occupy grounds of U.S. embassy on eve of APEC meeting to highlight their opposition to nearly two decades of Jakarta's brutal occupation and war against East Timor people.

Indonesia's occupation of East Timor; to recognise Fretilin, the UDT (Timorese Democratic Union) and CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance) and to "suspend all defence cooperation with the Suharto government until Indonesian troops are withdrawn from East Timor."

In their efforts to "pressure" Labor-run jackal Australian imperialism both the DSP and ISO have pushed the most egregious patriotic flag-waving. On 15 October in Melbourne the ISO passed out a leaflet advertising a forum entitled "Timor & Bougainville: Australia's Shame," with an *Australian flag* draped across the side. In Sydney on the same day, a DSP/Resistance speaker said that "East Timorese soldiers sacrificed their lives during World War II to prevent the Japanese invasion of Australia." This was reiterated at the 12 November Dili massacre commemoration march in Sydney,

where a spokesman for the Australia East Timor Association droned on that "Our history is linked with theirs. During World War II, 40,000 East Timorese civilians were killed by Japanese soldiers because they had saved the lives of many Australian commandos. And what thanks do they get today from our Australian government?... A betrayal of the East Timorese who couldn't do enough to help our armed forces back then in World War II." The RSL's Bruce Ruxton would be proud of this jingoism!

The Second World War in the Pacific, as in Europe, was a bloody imperialist war between rival powers for markets and colonies. In Australia the "war effort" was fuelled by barbaric anti-Japanese racism. We Trotskyists fought for revolutionary defeatism towards the rival imperialist combatants while unconditionally defending the Soviet degenerated workers state (see centrefold article "All Honour to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi"). The DSP and its ilk not only appeal to vile anti-Japanese imperialist sentiment going back to the Second World War, but today peddle the dangerous, chauvinist illusion that Australian government "pressure" on Indonesia over East Timor is the answer to the struggle of the East Timorese people against Indonesian military occupation.

It was left to the Spartacist League to take a stand against the depredations of Australian imperialism. Addressing the 15 October demonstration in Melbourne, a Spartacist speaker pointedly attacked the reformists' appeals to their "own" rulers: "Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bougainville: the racist White Australia rulers eagerly send military and police to partake in the colonialist butchery of the Third World masses." Our article

"Down with Suharto's 'New Order'—Workers to Power" (ASp No. 154, Spring 1994) was widely circulated and drew a class line against popular-frontist formations within Indonesia as well. We wrote:

"For the workers and oppressed of the Indonesian archipelago the situation cries out for the revolutionary overthrow not simply of the corrupt, repressive regime of the generals, but of all the local capitalists and landlords who in turn serve imperialism. This is the historic mission of the proletariat—leading the land-hungry toiling masses of the countryside, the women, the restive youth, the multitude of religious and ethnic minorities. Such a class solution will avenge the bloody 1965 defeat and provide an immense impulse to revolutionary struggle throughout Asia."

For its part, the Fretilin leadership has looked both to the former colonial masters in Portugal and to the blood-drenched U.S. imperialists. Grotesquely, in an open letter to Bill Clinton, Xanana Gusmao appealed directly to the legacy of Washington's Operation Desert Slaughter and subsequent bombings of Iraq by Clinton:

"We are profoundly grateful for the initiatives taken by your administration to remind Indonesia that cases of systematic violations of human rights in East Timor are unacceptable to the United States, which, in averting a second invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, has proved more than adequately to the world that it will not tolerate flagrant violations of international law."
—Age, 15 November 1994

Not only was the American CIA, along with the Australian secret service ASIS, up to its neck in the 1965 massacre of half a million communists, workers, peasants, ethnic Chinese and other minorities which paved the way for the present brutal Suharto regime, but it was Washington and the Whitlam government that gave the nod to Suharto's annexation of East Timor ten years later. This coincided with the decisive defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism on the battle fields of Vietnam; for the Pentagon and Canberra the petty-bourgeois Fretilin were communists about to launch a mini-Cuba on the doorstep of White Australia imperialism. Any faith in the "good auspices" of the U.S. embassy in Jakarta by the courageous East Timorese protesters—now in exile in Portugal—is tragically and utterly misplaced.

Here at "home," as we wrote in our last issue against those like the ISO and DSP who peddle illusions in the racist, union-busting Australian Labor government:

"In appealing to the 'democratic' pretensions of their 'own' bourgeoisie today, they not only betray the struggle for a proletarian solution throughout the Indonesian archipelago, but the fight to smash Australian jackal imperialism from within."

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

PDC Letter of Protest

Embassy of Indonesia
8 Darwin Ave., Yarralumla
Canberra ACT 2600

1 December 1994

Dear Sir/Madam,

On the eve of the Jakarta Asian Pacific Economic Co-operation summit, the "New Order" regime of President Suharto arrested and sentenced trade unionists to prison in retribution for the massive strike in April in Medan, Sumatra—an outpouring of workers struggle which may have been the largest since 1965. Among those victimised are Riswan Lubis, the secretary of the North Sumatra branch of the Sejahtera (SBSI) independent union "detained" for six months and sentenced to another eight months; Amosi Telaumbanua, local chairman of the SBSI, sentenced to 15 months in prison; Medan local branch secretary of the SBSI Hayati, a young woman sentenced to seven months in prison and national SBSI chairman Muchtar Pakpahan, who on 7 November was sentenced to three years in jail.

In its recent report on Indonesia, *Power and Impunity/Human rights under the New Order*, Amnesty International noted that more than 100 workers were detained in Medan: "as of early May 1994, at least 50 remained in police custody." According to this report, Amosi Telaumbanua, who had been arrested by the military on at least three previous occasions and tortured while in custody, had been seen by colleagues while under his current detention who said he had yet again been beaten.

We in the Partisan Defence Committee demand the immediate release and the dropping of all charges against Lubis, Telaumbanua, Hyati

and Pakpahan as well as all other trade unionists and Medan defendants being held today! For the workers right to organise!

On 13 November, thousands of East Timorese demonstrated on the streets of Dili and student protesters in Jakarta occupied the American Embassy in protest against the brutal Indonesian military rule in East Timor. Indonesian security forces made house-to-house searches and arrested scores of East Timorese protesters in Dili following the days of protest. It is not known how many were shot and killed by security forces during those demonstrations to date. Within Indonesia, perhaps some 250 people, mostly East Timorese youth, have been arrested. **We demand the immediate release of all those detained, arrested or held for "questioning" in Dili and Jakarta in the aftermath of the demonstrations against Indonesian rule in East Timor! Indonesian troops out of East Timor!**

As partisans of the struggle of the working class and oppressed, we know well that the regimes of "democratic" imperialism—from the jackal junior partners in Australia to their big brothers in the U.S.—will in no way stop the Jakarta regime's bloodletting against Indonesian workers and the East Timor people. The Indonesian workers and their allies internationally—from Sydney to Tokyo to Beijing—have that as their task. The recent round-up and imprisonment of trade-union militants and East Timorese is a blatant attempt to suppress the fight for elementary social justice throughout the archipelago and its occupied territories. Free the jailed trade unionists and East Timorese now!

Sincerely,

Glen Byram
for the Partisan Defence Committee



ASp photo

Spartacist contingent at 12 November Dili massacre commemoration march in Sydney.

Contact the Spartacist League!

Sydney: GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001 Phone: (02) 281 2181
Melbourne: GPO Box 2339, Melbourne Vic 3001 Phone: (03) 654 4315

Heroic Defenders of Red October Revolution

All Honour to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi!

On 21 November our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan participated in a meeting to commemorate the heroic work and subsequent martyrdom of Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi. Australasian Spartacist is proud to print below the first of two parts of the English-language version of the special Japanese Spartacist article produced for the event.

from Japanese Spartacist

I—INTRODUCTION

Fifty years ago, on 7 November 1944, heroic Soviet spies Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi were executed by Japanese imperialism for having violated the pre-war anti-Communist "Peace Preservation Law." But from 1935 until their arrest in 1941, the Sorge group provided massive amounts of vital information that materially contributed to the Red Army's eventual victory over Nazi Germany. One of their most spectacular achievements, the transmission to the USSR of the precise plans and date of the impending 22 June 1941 Nazi *Blitzkrieg* against the Soviet Union, was ignored by Stalin. The Japanese government, after Stalin refused to acknowledge Sorge's existence, issued execution orders for both Ozaki and Sorge. They were hanged, ironically, on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution that they died defending.

Ozaki is especially important to the Japanese working class because he was executed for "betraying" Japanese imperialism's war aims in the Pacific. Ozaki's revolutionary defeatist position against his own bourgeoisie and his defence of the USSR during World War II stand in the finest traditions of proletarian internationalism. The bourgeoisie's hatred of Ozaki, who by his defence of the USSR fought against the *kokutai*¹ is reflected within the Japanese left, who have historically distanced themselves from this case and refuse to even acknowledge, much less honour, Ozaki and Sorge. We honour Sorge and Ozaki as committed communists and patriots on *our* side of the class line, and seek to keep alive the memory of their courageous defence of the USSR. Sorge, Ozaki and their comrades, especially Miyagi Yotoku, stand in the heroic tradition of numerous Japanese working-class martyrs and heroes who stood up against this chauvinist and arrogant ruling class that today, once again, seeks to impose its imperialist domination on the working masses of Asia.

The Japanese bourgeoisie is still bitter that they lost the Pacific War. Under constant pressure, internationally from both imperialist rivals and victimised Asian countries, and domestically from conservative and right-wing opinion, the ruling class veers back and forth, one minute "apologising" for the "harm" they

caused and the next claiming they did no wrong. The Japanese proletariat's response should be to neither ask for nor accept an apology from this ruling class. We need a revolutionary workers party that will sweep the rapists of Nanjing (Nanking) into the dustbin of history, and extend proletarian internationalism and material aid to Japanese imperialism's victims, not under the exploitative and racist *hinomaru*² but under the red flag of a Japanese workers republic. Ozaki believed that for the proletariat the only "Co-Prosperity Sphere" would be international cooperation between the Soviet Union and proletarian revolutions in China and Japan. Sorge and Ozaki's keen political acumen was often skewed by their Stalinist politics, but in the titanic struggle that engulfed the world during World War II the proletariat had a side-defence of the USSR—and they courageously carried out this urgent task. This is why we honour these heroic defenders of the former USSR on the 50th anniversary of their execution.

The Sorge spy organisation's spectacular achievements have even been noted by bourgeois academics who marvel at their audacity, courage and unprecedented success, but are at a loss to explain how they could have accomplished what they did. Japanese and Western literati portray Sorge as a fanatical rogue and Ozaki as a disillusioned nationalist and patriot or, in the ultimate insult to Ozaki's integrity, a dupe. Nothing could be further from the truth. The members of the Sorge spy organisation were neither cops nor adventurers, the usual elements that comprise bourgeois spy agencies. The central core all accepted their assignments as dedicated communists, and their ideological commitment to the working class was the motor force driving their individual zeal and dedication that produced their collective successes. The Soviet Union, after its Stalinist degeneration in the mid-1920s, developed within its state apparatus and Comintern sections enormously contra-



Ozaki Hotsumi



Yamate Publishers

Ozaki Hotsumi (left) and Richard Sorge.

dictory elements that produced, on the one hand, the GPU killers who physically annihilated the leading cadres of Trotsky's Left Opposition and beheaded revolutionary opportunities like the proletarian opposition to the Spanish Popular Front in the 1930s. But on the other, it also generated a number of serious Bolsheviks, who were recruited to communism during Lenin's lifetime, but unfortunately neither understood nor assimilated the lessons of Trotsky's and the Left Opposition's fight against the Stalinist degeneration of the USSR. Many sought a haven from the Stalinisation of the Comintern in the Red Army's Fourth Department. As Leopold Trepper, leader of the USSR's European "Red Orchestra" intelligence units, wrote in his insightful autobiography, *The Great Game*, "By fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary." The Sorge spy group in Tokyo, whose key members were three Europeans and two Japanese, were of the same mettle. But the efforts of these subjective revolutionaries, which were shackled by the Stalinised Third International, could have only a mixed success.

II—SOVIET SPIES IN JAPAN

Richard Sorge, the group's leader, was born in Baku, Russia; his father was German and his mother Russian. Sorge's grand-uncle was Friedrich Adolf Sorge, a collaborator of Karl Marx who was secretary of the First International when it moved to New York in 1872 after the fall of the Paris Commune. Richard Sorge went to Berlin in 1906 and became a German army volunteer in 1914. He received the Iron Cross and was wounded three times, the third seriously, and while recovering was introduced to Marxism by a radical social democrat doctor and nurse. In 1918 Sorge was an active

participant in the Kiel sailors' mutiny. In Sugamo prison he later commented, "The World War of 1914-1918 had the most profound influence on my entire life. Even if I had never been motivated by other considerations, the World War alone would have been enough to make me a Communist." After the Russian Revolution, and his release from service, he joined the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1919. After the defeat of the 1923 revolution in Germany, Sorge was invited to Moscow in 1925 by German Comintern leaders who were impressed with his underground skills. He changed his party affiliation to the CPSU and began working for the Comintern, undertaking numerous clandestine assignments in Europe. In 1929 he began working directly for the Red Army's Fourth Department, the intelligence division, severed all ties with Comintern sections, and was sent to Shanghai where he first met Ozaki Hotsumi.

Max Clausen and Branko de Voukelitch came from similar backgrounds. Clausen, born in Schleswig-Holstein, was drafted into the German Army Signal Corps in April 1917. He joined the KPD ten years later and worked for the Comintern as a radio operator. In 1929 he was recruited to the Red Army's Fourth Department and worked in Shanghai from 1929 to 1933. Running afoul of Stalin's purges, Clausen was banished to a motor tractor station in the German Volga Autonomous Republic until he was sent to Tokyo as a radio operator in 1935 at Sorge's request. Voukelitch became politically conscious as a partisan in the Croatian independence movement and moved to Paris in 1926. He was a trained photographer and photo technician, and his route to Comintern activity was most likely as a member of the French CP. His assignment to Tokyo in 1932 was under Comintern direction and he developed his cover as a journalist working for the European Havas News Agency.

Sorge returned to Moscow shortly after the Japanese military began its occupation of Manchuria in 1931. The Guangdong (Kwantung) Army had fabricated a sabotage of the South Manchurian railroad tracks near Mukden as a pretext for driving the Chinese army out of Manchuria. In a meeting with the Fourth Department's chief, General Jan Berzin, it was decided that a Soviet intelligence network must be set up in Japan. A previous attempt had failed, and Sorge was now given the job. Berzin gave him two years to set up his operation, which Sorge successfully accomplished in 1935. The Comintern assigned him as translator a gifted and courageous Japanese, Miyagi Yotoku, and through him Sorge would re-recruit his friend from Shanghai, the brilliant China expert Ozaki Hotsumi.

continued on page 8

Special Memorial on the 50th Anniversary of the Execution of Sorge and Ozaki

Sorge/Ozaki...

(continued from page 7)

These two extraordinary Japanese individuals were the vital elements that made indispensable contributions to the Sorge group's spectacular success. Trotsky once remarked on the heroism and steadfastness of communists of the East, qualities epitomised by Miyagi and Ozaki.

Miyagi Yotoku was born in Okinawa and raised by his grandfather, who hated the Japanese exploitation of Okinawa. "My grandfather taught me that one should not 'oppress the weak'...and politically cursed the 'palm tree hell' of wanton exploitation by Kagoshima capital." Because of chronic tuberculosis he emigrated to the U.S. in 1919, living in Seattle and San Diego; he moved to Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" in 1926. During this period Miyagi was acutely aware of the intense racism faced by Asians living on the American West Coast, and this led him to political activism. Miyagi organised an anarchist study circle, but became more interested in Marxism as his studies continued. He joined the International Labor Defense (ILD), the Communist Party's legal defence organisation, sometime between 1929 and 1931, and was active in the defence of two Japanese militants arrested during an unemployment demonstration in February 1931. He joined the CPUSA's Oriental Department, Japanese Section, in the fall of 1931. Recruited by the Comintern for work in Japan, he returned to his home country in 1933 and agreed to work with Sorge as his translator.

Ozaki Hotsumi spent his childhood in Taiwan and witnessed firsthand the Japanese colonial oppression of the local population. He returned to Japan in 1919 to study at the prestigious Imperial University of Tokyo (Tōdai), and was in Japan when the massacres of Koreans and attacks on labour organisers, including the murder of anarchist leader Ōsugi Sakae, took place after the 1923 Kantō earthquake. This naked display of vicious racism, coupled with his experiences in Taiwan, developed within Ozaki a revolutionary oppositional view towards the Japanese ruling class. During Ozaki's postgraduate studies at Tōdai, he participated in the Bukharin Historical Materialism Research Group and his Marxist outlook was basically consolidated during the 1925-27 revolution in China. Ozaki never joined the JCP, but he attributed that to the efficient police repression that drove the pre-war JCP underground.

During the two years General Berzin had given Sorge, his group penetrated the highest levels of Japanese government and foreign diplomatic circles. Sorge, with journalist credentials from the respected *Frankfurter Zeitung* and having managed to procure a Nazi party card, became a regular fixture in the German embassy. He became the best of friends with military attaché and future ambassador Eugene Ott and was eventually given his own office in the embassy. Ozaki, renowned as a China expert, trav-



Basil Blackwell

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of October 1917 Revolution and founder of the Soviet Red Army.

elled in high-level government circles and even gained membership in the prestigious Breakfast Club, which had the ear of revolving-door prime minister Prince Konoe. He held a variety of appointments to influential research societies, at one point in time was given an office in the prime minister's official residence, and toward the end of his career worked in the research department of the South Manchurian Railway Corporation, which had access to all military logistics information in China. Voukeltch, through his press credentials, worked the American and British embassies and press clubs.

Miyagi far exceeded his role as translator and soon became the group's organiser, running the outer circle of contacts and informants. Miyagi's contacts and growing knowledge of the Japanese military would prove indispensable in confirming diplomatic reports obtained by Sorge and Ozaki. Clausen was one of the Soviet Union's most gifted radio technicians. He built his radio from scratch in Tokyo, yet it was capable of transmitting 1,500 kilometres by day and 4,000 kilometres at night. His transmissions were powered by ordinary household AC current stepped up to 800 volts by Clausen's homemade transformers. He constructed four such transmission stations; his transmitter and receiver could be set up in ten minutes and disassembled in five. His cover was a blueprint business whose clients were prominent military equipment manufacturers, like Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Nakajima and Hitachi. While the police were aware of unauthorised transmissions from the Tokyo area, Clausen was never apprehended while he was transmitting, unlike the Red Orchestra in Europe. The Sorge group would be betrayed instead by information obtained by police interrogation.

III—CHINA AND THE PACIFIC WAR

Sorge returned to Moscow in 1935 and reported to Uritsky (Berzin's successor) that his group was ready to commence operation. Sorge's mission was to find out if Japan, acting either by itself or in

alliance with others, would attack the USSR and how well-equipped its army was to do so. Rather than simply purloining and copying sensitive documents, the Sorge group had to piece together the information they collected and make a political assessment of what they learned. One of the first tests the Sorge group faced was the unsuccessful revolt of junior military officers in Tokyo that began on 26 February 1936, and caught the foreign embassies and press corps by surprise.

The failed officers' coup took over the prime minister's residence for four days and had a list of executions, partially carried out, that was a who's who of the Japanese government. Japan's pre-war parliamentary history was short on democracy and long on political assassination, and the real policy makers in the 1930s were the military. The report Ozaki submitted to Sorge stressed the rural and hence impoverished background of the junior officers, their support to the fascist Kita Ikki, and how they reflected a growing right wing in Japan. But the key point was that the revolt's suppression represented a shift within the military's factional power struggle. The *Kōdōha* (Imperial Way Faction) military leadership traditionally advocated war against the USSR for ideological reasons. But being implicated in the junior officers' revolt, they were supplanted by the *Tōseiha* (Control Faction), that was also interested in fighting a war, not for ideology, but for oil, minerals and agricultural products. This was the military faction that would launch Pearl Harbor. It was Miyagi's opinion that the ascending political fortunes of *Tōseiha* would turn Japan's military south, into China, which is exactly what happened the following year. These insightful contributions of Ozaki and Miyagi were critical components in one of Sorge's earliest feature articles on Japan, *Die Armeerevolte in Tokio*, published in Germany in May 1936, which qualitatively increased his authority within the German embassy.

The Sino-Japanese War

The Marco Polo Bridge incident of 7 July 1937 began Asia's first world war, just as Hitler's attack on Poland in 1939

brought Europe its second. Western imperialism's "open door" for China sought to exclude Tokyo; the Sino-Japanese War was Japanese imperialism's attempt to pry open the China market militarily and defend their extensive investments. Both Sorge and Ozaki were worried that Japan's signing of an anti-Comintern pact with Nazi Germany in November 1935 would push the Guangdong Army into a military confrontation with the Red Army. They saw the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War as a respite from military tensions between Japan and the USSR, and eagerly supported Chinese resistance, not from a revolutionary defencist position, but from a "socialism in one country" perspective that the longer the Guangdong Army was engaged in China, the less likely Japan would be to embark on an invasion of the Soviet Far East. Sorge and Ozaki's view of these events illustrates both their dedicated espionage work but also mirrors the Stalinist methodology of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

In December 1936 Manchurian warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang) kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek in Xian over dissatisfaction with Chiang's handling of Japanese imperialism's encroachment on Chinese territory, especially his. In one of Ozaki's more famous articles written before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, he declared that Zhou Enlai's (Chou En-lai) successful negotiation of Chiang's release was a very positive development that would lead to a "popular front" between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Guomindang (Kuomintang—KMT) against Japanese imperialism. Ozaki succinctly argued that a full-blown Sino-Japanese War would be a protracted fight, as Japanese belligerence had poured gasoline on the fires of Chinese nationalism. He was also well aware of the class contradictions that clearly surfaced in Chiang Kai-shek's bloody suppression of the Shanghai proletariat in 1927. But Ozaki, despite his extensive knowledge of China, had no programmatic solution for post-1927 China. A Trotskyist left opposition never developed in the JCP, and the *kōzaha-rōndōha*³ controversy within the pre-war Japanese left, over the nature of the Meiji Restoration, pedantically took up abstract questions of economics but never discussed the key question facing the 1928 Sixth Congress of the Comintern: the 1925-27 Chinese revolution. Unfamiliar with Trotsky's writings on China, Ozaki even accepted as good coin the Stalinist slander that the Chinese Trotskyists were KMT agents.

The failed Chinese revolution led Trotsky to extend internationally his understanding of permanent revolution based on its application to tsarist Russia. Concretely, given the prevalence of pre-capitalist social and economic relations and the corresponding weakness, backwardness and subservience to imperialism of the colonial bourgeoisie, only a proletarian revolution could solve the democratic tasks and rid the country of imperialist domination. Such a revolution would have to simultaneously implement socialist economic measures and immediately seek to extend socialist revolutions to the imperialist centres in the West and Japan. Ozaki knew that only a revolutionary solution would work, but hadn't fully assimilated Lenin's conception of the vanguard party, the subjective instrument the proletariat needed to win. The Chinese Stalinists were far more opportunist; they saw the road of progress in China through the KMT and the Stalin-led Comintern even admitted Chiang Kai-shek as an honorary member with only one dissenting vote—Trotsky's! The Chinese Left Oppositionists, regrouping a significant number of founding CCP cadres and youth leaders, including the party's national chairman Chen Duxiu (Chen Tu-hsiu), were won



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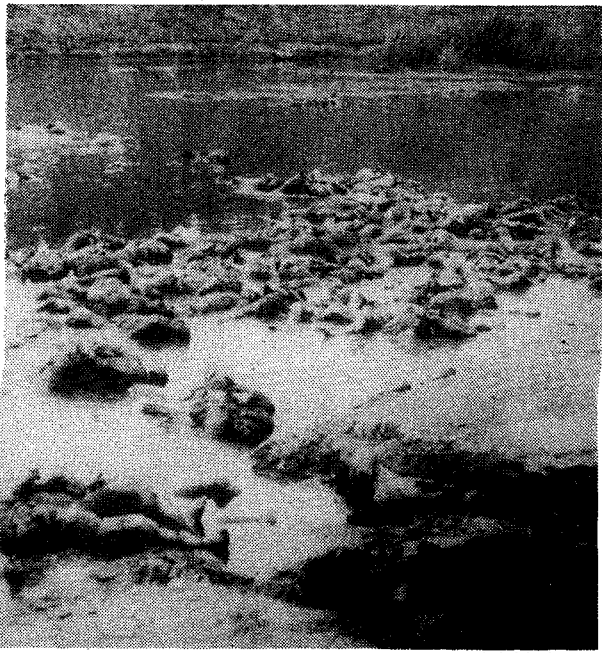


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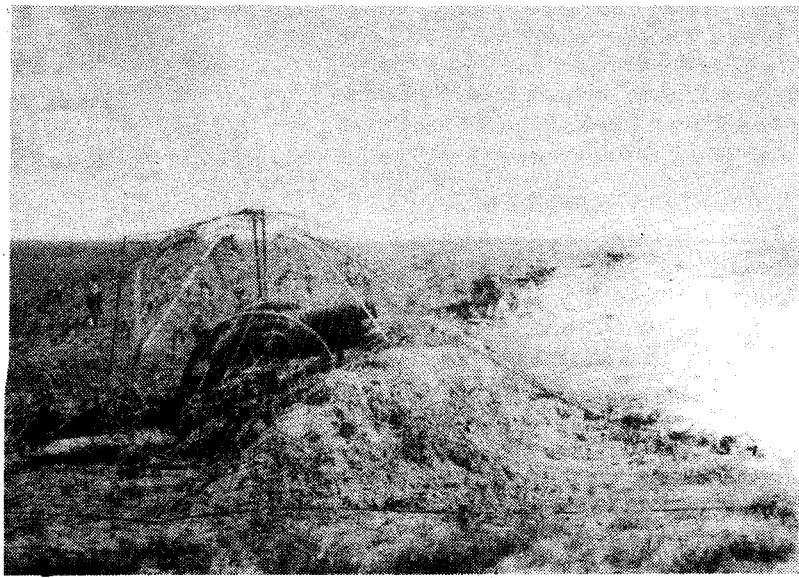


Alexander Buchman

From left: Leopold Trepper, leader of European Soviet espionage group, the "Red Orchestra"; Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, chief of staff under Trotsky and purge victim executed by Stalin in 1937; C. Frank Glass (Li Fujen), South African Trotskyist and Central Committee member of the Chinese Communist League.



Mainichi photos



Japanese imperialism in Asia: the Rape of Nanjing, 1937 (left); Nomonhan, 1939 (above).

to Trotskyism on the basis of the 1928 Comintern fight over China. When the Stalinists opted for the countryside after the vicious suppression of the Guangzhou (Canton) Soviet in 1928, the Chinese Trotskyists remained in the cities and tried to build a base among the urban workers who had survived the 1927 defeat.

By the time Zhang Xueliang had snatched Chiang Kai-shek, the Comintern had adopted its 1935 "People's Front" line, concocted after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. The Stalinists now swung sharply to the right to offer political support to the "progressive bourgeoisie." This turn, coupled with the German CP's previous criminally abstentionist refusal to seek united front actions with the SPD leadership to fight against Hitler, finished the Third International as a revolutionary organisation. Ozaki, both distant from and possibly ignorant of the real fights going on in the Comintern, seemed to uncritically accept the new Popular Front line and wrote about the CCP's intervention on behalf of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek:

"A judgment on Chiang Kai-shek by the people's court was already clear, but suddenly Chou En-lai appeared in front of Chiang Kai-shek. In Chou En-lai's discussion with Chiang he insisted that they are facing an armed clash with Japan and need a popular front between the CCP and the KMT. Chou En-lai's role should be seen as important. The CCP line, based on the Comintern, ...was very successful, I think, from the CCP side in that the KMT was forced to accept the CCP's proposal...to form an anti-Japan national front."

—"Chang Hsueh-liang's Status," November 1937

The Chinese Trotskyists saw things differently. Frank Glass, a pioneer South African Trotskyist who emigrated to China in 1928 and was a member of the Communist League of China's Central Committee in the 1930s, wrote from Shanghai, using his pen name Li Fu-jen, that the Stalinist press internationally first greeted the seizure of Chiang Kai-shek as "a sign of rising anti-imperialist sentiment in China," but later, seeking to implement their popular-front line,

the Stalinists turned about-face and denounced this as a Japanese plot and hailed the Chinese Red Army's use of "all its great influence...to preserve Chiang and send him back as national leader to Nanking." Glass wrote in the same article:

"...let us note today 'Soviet China' and the 'Red Army' have disappeared totally from the scene. Soviet China has become a 'Special Administrative District' under the jurisdiction of the Kuomintang government in Nanking, and the Red Army is now the 'Eighth Route Army' subordinated to the high command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. No longer is it asserted that the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime is the condition of a successful national-revolutionary war. Indeed anyone who ventures to state this elementary truism is branded as an 'enemy of the Chinese people' and an 'agent of Japanese imperialism.' The policies of class struggle and the agrarian revolution have been publicly jettisoned."

—"End of the Chinese Soviets," *New Internationalist*, January 1938

Ozaki did not understand how a popular front in China would politically subordinate the CCP to the KMT and supported the CCP's intervention to release Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Trotskyists, however, saw this as a repeat of the policies that beheaded the proletariat in 1927. Ozaki likewise blurred the distinction between political and military support. Trotsky wrote at the beginning of the war between China and Japan:

"...the duty of all the workers' organizations in China was to participate actively and in the front lines of the present war against Japan, without abandoning, for a single moment, their own program and independent activity." [emphasis added]

—"On the Sino-Japanese War," 23 September 1937

Ozaki's collapsing of these distinctions did not prevent him, however, from powerfully arguing that the Sino-Japanese War would be protracted, if won at all. In this he was unique among his contemporaries. Ozaki, from his Marxist understanding of the development of Japanese capitalism and imperialism, understood the inherent weakness of the Japanese bourgeoisie and his projections were borne out, as after the Guangdong Army seized in rapid succession Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Guang-

zhou and Wuhan their military expansion stalled. Japan sought a diplomatic solution through negotiations with the puppet Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei), hoping to use him as a lever to force Chiang Kai-shek to recognise Japan's military annexations. Sorge and Ozaki followed these steps carefully, as a negotiated settlement of the Sino-Japanese War would be not only a diplomatic stamp of approval of Japan's new acquisitions, but also the assimilation of China into the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere and the Anti-Comintern Pact. Whether or not these negotiations would be successful often preoccupied the Sorge group, but the outcome of the Sino-Japanese War would not be decided on Chinese soil. Chinese Trotskyist Frank Glass, while agreeing with Ozaki's military analysis, anticipated a widening interimperialist conflict:

"Signs are not wanting that Japan would like to pause at least for a breathing spell, consolidate control of the occupied areas, gain some form of recognition of her conquests from rival powers, and begin extracting some returns on her gigantic military investment.... But since America in any case is not ready for war, the likelihood seems to be that Japan will be able to force a 'peace' on the Kuomintang government with British assistance. Unless—and this represents the third possibility—Britain and America combine to restrain the Oriental robber power."

—"After the Fall of Wuhan," *New Internationalist*, January 1939

Britain and America combined forces, and in 1941 froze Japanese overseas assets and cut off oil shipments, leaving Japanese imperialism little choice but to allow its industrial capacity to be strangled or go to war. Japanese imperialism chose war and embarked on a struggle they couldn't win. Ozaki knew this, and believed that a socialist Japan would be erected on the ashes of Tokyo's defeat in the Pacific War.

But the Sino-Japanese War was also pregnant with revolutionary opportunities for the working class of China and Japan. It offered another opportunity for the Soviet proletariat to break out of its deforming national isolation. Ozaki saw Chinese resistance as a key component in

protecting the Soviet Union but Frank Glass, again writing from Shanghai, understood very clearly that neither Chiang Kai-shek nor the Stalinist CCP were waging the war against Japan with revolutionary methods and that a revolutionary opportunity was once again being sacrificed on the Stalinist altar of socialism in one country and peaceful co-existence with imperialism. The CCP subordinated itself to the KMT because:

"Stalin considered desertion and betrayal of the cause of the Chinese masses a cheap price to pay for a war against Japan by Chiang Kai-shek, for Japan, kept busy in China would be unable to attack the Soviet Union in the Far East. Above everything else, Stalin feared involvement in a big war, for that would bring revolution against his Bonapartist regime. A revolution in China might be equally disastrous for the Soviet bureaucracy. Better, then, to have a war conducted by Chiang Kai-shek, by non-revolutionary means, as a purely military struggle, even if that meant ultimate failure."

—"Lessons and Perspectives of the Sino-Japanese War," Li Fu-jen, *Fourth Internationalist*, February 1941

Glass' 1941 article paints a vivid portrait of Japanese imperialism's stagnation during the protracted Sino-Japanese War and the extraordinary repressive measures the Japanese bourgeoisie adopted at home to suppress popular resistance to Tokyo's inability to subdue China.

"Realizing that the growth of deprivation may create a dangerous popular movement of discontent, the ruling clique has eliminated all organizations which might serve as crystallizers of revolt. The castrated trade unions were long ago dissolved by government decree and a few months ago the political parties, including the *Minseito*, *Seiyukai* and Social Masses,⁴ went the same way."

The Guangdong Army's inability to defeat the Chinese, despite the fact that Chiang Kai-shek could not counter with a single military victory, exacerbated the social contradictions at home and within the army in China. Glass, who travelled to Japan in 1940, noted that "Universal drabness has descended on once colourful Japan.... Neon signs which made Japan's cities gay at night have disappeared. All public dance halls have been closed down. Bars are required to close at 10 p.m." In China, "Diaries and letters found on Japanese prisoners of war testify irrefutably to a deep-seated discontent and spirit of rebellion in the ranks of the Japanese army. There have been instances of mutiny by whole Japanese regiments." These conditions Glass describes existed before Pearl Harbor and in one of his last articles written in China Glass speculated:

"Had China conducted the war against Japan as a revolutionary struggle, Japan would long since have been defeated. Instead of the imperialist threat of Japan in the Far East, a revolutionary Japan and a revolutionary China would stand as giant bulwarks of Soviet Defence."

—"Lessons and Perspectives of the Sino-Japanese War," Li Fu-jen, *Fourth Internationalist*, February 1941

But there are no guarantees that revolutionary optimistic projections will be continued on page 10



Trotskyism vs. Stalinism on WWII: Australian CP's Tribune ran monstrously racist cartoon (left) captioned "JAPPY ENDING," 16 August 1945, days after A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Minneapolis 18 on their way to prison for opposing U.S. imperialism in WWII (right).



Pathfinder Press

Sorge/Ozaki...

(continued from page 9)

realised. Glass didn't have Ozaki's extensive knowledge of Chinese social history, but he was armed with a better program. Glass' articles were a powerful exposition of a revolutionary perspective for China, but like the pre-war Trotskyist movement in general, he didn't anticipate that in certain instances the Stalinists would come to power in the aftermath of World War II. Glass' previously quoted article, *The End of the Chinese Soviets*, rightly excoriates the Stalinist political capitulation to the KMT. But while the Stalinists did seek to restrain rural class struggle, the reorganisation of their administrative districts and name changes of their army were only paper measures to placate Chiang Kai-shek. They didn't vacate their soviet districts nor liquidate their peasant army and this would prove decisive in the post-World War II civil war.

Conditions in China were far different from Europe. The contradictory reaction of the Stalinists, abject surrender to the bourgeoisie in the pre-war popular fronts in Spain and France and the disarming of the underground after World War II to preserve bourgeois rule in the defeated European countries, contrasts sharply with the overturn of bourgeois property relations by the Red Army in Eastern Europe and North Korea and the indigenous Stalinist-led social revolutions in Yugoslavia and China. In the post-war period, the European Trotskyists led by Pablo abandoned the perspective of building proletarian vanguard parties and turned to "entrism" in Stalinist and social-democratic formations which they believed could be pressured to the left under favorable "objective" conditions. (See English language *Spartacist* No. 21, *Genesis of Pabloism*, for a detailed political analysis of the demise of the post-war Fourth International.)

Ozaki also saw the revolutionary unity of the Soviet Union, China and Japan as key to the liberation of the toiling masses of Asia, but unfortunately he and Sorge, who thought Trotskyism was "utopian," didn't draw the same programmatic conclusions as the Chinese Trotskyists did. They saw no other alternative but to count on Chiang Kai-shek, whose half-hearted fight against the Japanese, after Pearl Harbor, would be totally subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism. After the Americans entered the Pacific War, only Mao's "Eighth Route Army" represented China's struggle for national liberation. The 1949 revolution—carried out by a declassed, Stalinist-led, rural peasant-based army—was deformed from its inception due to its Stalinist leadership and non-proletarian class

base. Today, Mao's heirs are rapidly headed toward capitalist restoration. The fight of the Chinese Trotskyists against the countless betrayals of Stalinism, despite some mistaken notions, is rich in lessons for revolutionaries today.

Nomonhan—Japan's First Defeat

With the Japanese military bogged down in China, its myth of invincibility began to unravel and the Guangdong Army suffered its first military reverses at Zhang Gufeng (Chang Ku-feng) in 1938, and then was decisively defeated at Nomonhan in 1939. This time Japan's army was not aligned against the decaying tsarist autocracy and its antiquated military as it was in 1905, but against the Soviet Red Army, built during the Russian Civil War by its commander, Trotsky.

The battle at Zhang Gufeng, on the Tumen River about 110 kilometres southwest of Vladivostok, was a skirmish designed to test the USSR's willingness to defend itself and its response time. Sorge naturally worried whether this was the start of a real offensive, but Ozaki, having sat in on a number of cabinet meetings, provided information that the Japanese government did not want this military probe to expand. Miyagi provided detailed information on troop movements, concluding that reinforcements were being sent to China for the offensive to take Hankou and that troops in Hokkaido were not being readied for duty in Manchuria. Sorge radioed to Moscow this information, along with his estimates of Japan's divisional strength and deployment based on material from the German embassy. The fighting lasted a month, with the Japanese army penetrating a number of kilometres into Soviet territory. But the Red Army did fight and flew over 700 sorties into Manchuria and Korea, behind the Guangdong Army's lines. Soon the Japanese army negotiated a cease-fire and pulled back to its original positions. Trotsky wrote after the Zhang Gufeng incident:

"The feeling of satisfaction over the truce between the USSR and Japan should not inspire optimism about the near future. Japan cannot move deeper into China and at the same time tolerate the USSR in Vladivostok. No diplomatic art can remove this antagonism. Tokyo would prefer to postpone settling its accounts with the USSR until its position in China is secure. But on the other hand, internal events in the USSR tempt Japan to strike while the iron is hot, that is, to test its strength immediately. Hence the ambiguous policy of Japan: provocations, border violations, bandit raids, and simultaneously—diplomatic negotiations so as to retain the possibility for temporary semiretreats in case the USSR proves stronger than Japan would like....

"The key to the situation is now in the hands of Tokyo. The Japanese government is ruled by generals. The Japanese generals are commanded by lieutenants.... The lieutenants

Miyagi Yotoki with his wife, Yamaki Chiyu, and brother, Yosei, in California before 1935.



Ozaki Hotsuki

...are seeking easy victories at the expense of the USSR. They are generally mistaken.... A big war will bring to Japan a revolutionary catastrophe similar to the one which befell czarist Russia in the last great war."
—"The USSR and Japan,"
11 August 1938

Just how mistaken the "lieutenants" would be was decisively revealed at Nomonhan, fought between 11 May and 15 September 1939. Nomonhan, located on the eastern Mongolia/Manchuria border, could have provided the Guangdong Army a launching pad to cut the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Japanese army easily overran the ill-equipped Mongolian and Soviet border guards, and many commentators predicted an easy Japanese victory. Once again the Sorge group made vital contributions to the Red Army's military victory. On the eve of the Zhang Gufeng clash a Soviet Far Eastern GPU general, G.S. Lyushkov, defected to the Japanese and was interrogated, over a number of months, by both the Japanese military and a German *Abwehr* colonel sent from Berlin. Sorge sent the details of both interrogations to Moscow, which meant the Red Army knew what the Guangdong Army knew about the Soviet's Far Eastern defence. The most important intelligence breakthrough was provided by Miyagi, who once again accurately analysed the deployment of Japanese troops in the Nomonhan area. This information, coupled with Ozaki's understanding that, like Zhang Gufeng, the Japanese government did not want a full-scale war with the USSR at this time, meant that the Guangdong Army would fight this battle with what forces they had on hand—no major reinforcements would be sent. Voukelitch managed to be part of the press corps that went to Nomonhan between July 3 and 15, and reported back to Sorge on the attitude of the Japanese officers, who saw this as a limited engagement, and on the deployment of aircraft and tanks.

The Soviet military commander, Zhukov, moved into position the forces needed to gain military superiority on the ground and in the air, launching a powerful counterattack on 20 August 1939 that drove the Guangdong Army back across the Mongolian border by the end of the month. Nomonhan was the first major tank engagement in the history of warfare. The Red Army inflicted over 50,000 casualties on the Guangdong Army and this Soviet victory was another contributing factor to the Japanese army's decision to eventually turn south and not launch a major war against the USSR.

Japan's previous military victories were against the decaying Chinese Manchu dynasty in 1895 and tsarist Russia in 1905. While the Western press inked thousands of pages decrying the military threat from the East, Trotsky, much earlier, understood the contradictions and weaknesses of Japanese capitalism, and argued that its military weakness

would lead to Japan's defeat if it was pitted against a major power:

"...Japan's military invincibility is a pious myth which, though it has certainly paid real dividends, must in the final analysis be shattered against reality.... Japan's successes, however brilliant in themselves, have stemmed from the superiority of backwardness over still greater backwardness. "Militarism, too, must pay a certain price as a result of the extremely low standard of living of the mass of the people.... Modern warfare requires more than just a readiness to die by the droves.... The qualities that brought the Japanese victory over the Chinese and Russians were the virtues of old Japan: a modern, centralized organization transformed feudal submissiveness into military discipline. Such qualities as individual initiative, resourcefulness, and the ability to make decisions on one's own authority are lacking in the Japanese army, and it has nowhere to obtain them.... Neither the oppressed and impoverished village nor Japanese industry, primarily textile, with its preponderance of female and child labor, is capable of turning out qualified soldiers who can come up to the level of modern technology. A major war will inevitably show this to be true."

—"Japan Heads for Disaster,"
12 July 1933

Japan's success in driving Chiang Kai-shek's forces from China's eastern seaboard and major cities was another example of the "triumph of backwardness over even greater backwardness," as Trotsky wrote in 1933. And the Guangdong Army's defeat by the Soviet Red Army at Nomonhan further underlines Trotsky's prediction. But Japan's defeat in World War II was not simply the result of military technology or lack thereof. Trotsky, writing in 1933, well understood Japan's material backwardness. But militarily, he might have been looking backwards towards the 1905 Russo-Japanese War. By 1941 Japan's Navy was third largest in the world, technologically on par with the British and Americans and the Zero fighter was the best in the Pacific theatre. But World War II was also fought at the point of production and here Japan with its narrow industrial base could not compete. The Americans churned out an endless supply of ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, etc., to keep their military well provisioned and had double the population to draft their soldiers from. After Midway, Japan could not replenish its losses and the more farsighted elements within the bourgeoisie knew the war was lost. Despite the transitory euphoria of Pearl Harbor, the historic weakness endemic to the development of pre-war Japanese capitalism guaranteed Tokyo's defeat.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

- 1 "National Polity" based on maintenance of the emperor system.
- 2 Japan's rising sun flag.
- 3 *kōzaha*—pro-JCP "Main Course faction" and *rōnōha*—social democratic "Workers and Peasant faction."
- 4 *Minseitō* and *Seiyūkai* were the main pre-war bourgeois parliamentary parties and the Social Masses was the mainstream social democratic electoral formation.

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The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution

Spartacist League Debates

Ernest Mandel

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 611, 25 November 1994.

Some 400 people packed the auditorium of Public School 41 in New York City November 11 for a rare and important debate on revolutionary strategy featuring the International Communist League, represented by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, and Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (Usec). This was the largest gathering here in years of those claiming adherence to Trotskyism, which was the continuation of the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks in the face of the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

Organized by the Spartacist League and co-chaired by representatives of the ICL and the Usec, the meeting was organized in the best traditions of workers democracy. The main speakers had equal presentation and rebuttal time. Twenty speakers from the floor alternated between supporters of the Usec, the ICL and other tendencies present, including the League for a Revolutionary Party, Bolshevik Tendency, Freedom Socialist Party and International Trotskyist Opposition.

From the ICL's inception as the Revolutionary Tendency, expelled from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1963, we have insisted on the need for a political fight to the finish against the revisionist current authored by Michel Pablo and backed up by Mandel, which destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. Reacting impressionistically to the creation of bureaucratically deformed workers states in East Europe and China and the growth of Stalinist parties in Europe following World War II, Pablo and his followers decided to dump the Trotskyist program. As international secretary of the Fourth International, Pablo directed Trotskyists to liquidate organizationally and programmatically into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, with the aim of pressuring them onto a "roughly revolutionary" course. This perspective denied the very basis for the Fourth International, founded in 1938 as a Leninist vanguard to provide revolutionary leadership to the international proletariat, whose Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders had betrayed workers' struggles on behalf of "democratic" capitalism.

In our struggle to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International, we welcomed this opportunity to politically confront Mandel, the foremost exponent of Pabloism today. The centrist Mandel, while making ritual genuflections toward Marxist phraseology, has in his practice moved far to the right. Speaking first in the debate, Mandel in his presentation wrote off any possibility of proletarian revolution in the coming period. "The crisis of mankind, of human civilization," he remarked, "will last for a long time." For Mandel, this is only logical, as he long since abandoned the key tenet of Trotsky's Transitional Program, which declared that "the crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

Mandel objected to our statement that "The present period is marked above all by the impact of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states



Workers Vanguard photos

United Secretariat spokesman Ernest Mandel (left) and Joseph Seymour of the International Communist League debate before 400 people in New York City, 11 November.

of East Europe" (from "Workers Struggle Across Europe," *Workers Vanguard* No. 592, 21 January 1994). "This is wrong," he said. "The principal feature of the world situation is the worldwide offensive of capital against labor," ignoring the connection between the anti-labor offensive and the collapse of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. In his typical objectivist fashion, Mandel claimed the key was "the current long depressive wave of capitalism." As always, he writes off the role of the revolutionary party and its program.

Having taken proletarian revolution off the agenda, Mandel lapsed into pure reformism: "The strategic goal should become the one of avoiding, at all costs, a nuclear war, and suppressing all nuclear power stations." This remark reveals more than the "greening" of Ernest Mandel. Here he echoes the revisionist "Marxist" Karl Kautsky, whose pacifist claim that imperialist war can be stopped short of the working class coming to power was powerfully refuted by Lenin.

In his presentation, comrade Seymour noted that Mandel's Usec, formed in 1963 as a bloc between Pablo's tendency and the rightward-moving SWP, "has always been and only aspires to be a pressure group on various reformist, petty-bourgeois radical and bourgeois nationalist currents. In fact, over the decades Mandel has tried literally everything *except* building a proletarian vanguard party." In the present period, the

United Secretariat "has liquidated itself into and seeks to build up international Social Democracy, which now includes the many ex-Stalinist parties."

"They long to be comrades with the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who are now joined by the heirs to the murderers of Trotsky," Seymour continued. "Well, we of the International Communist League have taken a different road." He quoted from the Transitional Program, founding document of the Fourth International: "The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the bureaucracies of the Second, Third, Amsterdam and Anarcho-syndicalist Internationals, as on their centrist satellites." "We aim," he summarized, "to reforge a Fourth International that will politically destroy once and for all the heirs to the murderers of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky."

Program Is Key

For Trotskyists, the key to the debate topic, "The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today," is *what program* can lead the working class to power. Yet one of the main themes of Mandel and his supporters was ridiculing the ICL's insistence on building a programmatically firm party. In listing an "inextricable knot of contradictions" supposedly besetting the Spartacists, Mandel included our "obsession with correct formulas."

One of his jabs echoed the old canard:



Spartacist photo

On the barricades, August 1991: Pro-Yeltsin scum in front of Russian "White House." Mandel's Usec stood with Yeltsinite counterrevolution; ICL called on Moscow workers to clean out capitalist-restorationist rabble. We said: Soviet workers—Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!

if you're so smart, why aren't you rich? "If after more than half a century of revolutions and counterrevolutions, real Trotskyism, which the Spartacists claim to be the only ones to represent, is reduced to a couple of hundred people in the whole world, with no real implantation in the working class of any country, this would prove the basic historical failure of Trotskyism as a political movement." This "argument" is drawn straight from the Stalinists' cynical arsenal against Trotskyism.

Mandel contrasted the ICL's supposed "irrelevance" to the Usec's "influence." "We have two MPs [members of parliament] elected in Europe," although, he admitted, "comrade Winnie Wolf" resigned from the Usec once he was elected to the German Bundestag on the ticket of the PDS—the party that sold out the East German deformed workers state in 1990! "We have many MPs in Brazil.... We have dozens of municipal and regional councilors." What they clearly have is an appetite for the "big time" of reformist parliamentary politics.

Mandel did finally touch on some of the programmatic issues in dispute. He portrayed our defense of the deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution as "pro-Stalinist," denouncing in particular our support to Polish general Jaruzelski's counter-coup against Lech Walesa's Solidarność when it attempted to seize power in December 1981.

He closed by noting "a victory of truly historical dimensions": the "complete political rehabilitation" of Trotsky and his followers by the Soviet military and the newspaper *Izvestia* in 1990. The ICL argued at the time that Trotsky is in no need of a certificate of good conduct from the heirs of his Stalinist assassins, who were, moreover, at that very moment paving the way for Yeltsinite counterrevolution!

Comrade Seymour focused on key strategic issues for communists today: the popular front—a coalition tying the workers parties to the bourgeoisie—and the "Russian question," i.e., the Marxist analysis and program on the degenerated and deformed workers states. Trotsky fought for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist restoration and for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On these and other questions, Seymour remarked, "Mandel has prostituted the moral authority of Trotskyism." The Usec was founded on the basis of political support to Castro's Stalinist regime in Cuba and championing the petty-bourgeois strategy of guerrilla war exemplified by Che Guevara. The Spartacists fought the Usec's abandonment of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, which holds that only the proletariat, leading the peasantry, can carry out the democratic tasks in colonial countries through socialist revolution. We upheld the need for a Leninist vanguard party, while the Usec looked to the petty-bourgeois nationalists as a substitute for the working class. While fighting for unconditional military defense of Cuba against Yankee imperialism, we called for workers political revolution from Moscow to Havana, and extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers as the only real defense of the revolution. While Mandel espoused armchair guerrillism, some of his comrades actually tried to put the Usec's *continued on page 12*

Debate...

(continued from page 11)

stated program into practice, and perished in Bolivia and other countries.

Following this debacle, in 1970 the USec tailed Salvador Allende's Chilean Unidad Popular, a classic popular front. Seymour noted how the USec's star French section openly hailed Allende's election, while the Spartacist League, basing itself on Trotsky's lessons of the disastrous experience of the 1930s popular fronts in France and Spain, warned against any support to this bourgeois coalition, which politically disarmed the working class. Tragically, the Chilean popular front proved even more suicidal than Guevara's guerrillism, with tens of thousands of militants killed after the 1973 Pinochet coup.

The Russian Question, Front and Center

The ICL spokesman pointed to Mandel's support to pro-imperialist dissidents in the guise of supporting "democracy" in the Soviet bloc. This reached the point that in 1989 the USec's *International Viewpoint* uncritically published an article praising the Estonian "Forest Brothers," fascists who fought alongside Hitler's SS in World War II. Seymour noted, "During the period of Cold War II, Mandel and his cothinkers never met a non-Russian, anti-Communist nationalist in East Europe they didn't like...of course, in the name of democracy, national independence and anti-Stalinism."

In the late 1970s, the USec jumped aboard U.S. president Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" offensive, which conditioned the rise of pro-capitalist Solidarność in Poland. "Mandel and his cothinkers supported Solidarność with a fervor equal to that of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher," Seymour noted. In his quest for "influence," Mandel was swimming with the stream, getting into bed with Cold War social democrats like France's Mitterrand and the German and Swedish union bureaucracies. Seymour recalled that Mandel dubbed Walesa & Co. "the best socialists in the world"—doubtless because they openly rejected socialism. In contrast, we said: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" Seymour quoted from a 1981 *Workers Vanguard* article that portrayed the likely outcome of Solidarność coming to power:

"Foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale.... Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off.... Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of 'Western-style democracy'."

—WV No. 289, 25 September 1981

"What honest and objective person would today deny that what we predicted would happen in 1981... has in fact happened," he asked.

When the fate of the deformed and degenerated workers states hung in the balance in Germany in 1989-90, Seymour continued, the ICL mobilized all the forces at its disposal, intervening with a program for the revolutionary reunification of Germany—a red Germany of workers councils. We stood unconditionally against the imperialist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the DDR. And we initiated the call for the January 1990 united-front demonstration that brought out 250,000 against the fascist defacing of the Trep-tow Soviet war memorial in East Berlin and in defense of the DDR.

In contrast, the United Secretariat was totally paralyzed. An ICL speaker subsequently noted from the floor USec right-winger Matti's description of their two lines on German reunification: "One section wanted to drink champagne; the other section wanted to have Alka-Seltzer," she remarked. "But nobody

wanted to have a revolutionary intervention into that nascent political revolution."

Having supported counterrevolutionary forces from Walesa to the capitalist-restorationist rabble on Yel-tsin's barricades in front of the Moscow White House in August 1991, the USec now denies that capitalism has been restored in these countries. Their criteria is the social-democratic rationale that most industry is still nationalized. After noting that the USec refused to defend the Soviet Union over Afghanistan, and indeed even called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops fighting CIA-backed, woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists, an ICL speaker remarked in the discussion, "Strangely enough, the USec defends the Soviet Union when it doesn't exist as a workers state. Think about that."

Most recently, in the former Yugoslavia, the USec has lined up with "democratic" imperialism through the "International Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign. Marxists regard this fratricidal civil war as reactionary on all sides, while calling for defense of the Serbs against imperialist attack. However, Seymour noted, the USec's *International Viewpoint* "boasts that its supporters have run convoys of trucks into Bosnia protected by

1979: Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed Russian Question point-blank. We stood firm in defence of Soviet Union while USec fake-Trotskyists sang imperialists' tune.



the UN imperialist forces. One report even lauds 'the genuine efforts of many of the UN staff and soldiers who helped us.' So here you have not only direct support to a bourgeois-nationalist regime, but direct appeals for military action by its imperialist sponsors."

Trotskyism vs. USec Opportunism

Spartacist interventions from the floor fleshed out the USec's anti-Trotskyist record of capitulation and tailism. Yet none of Mandel's cothinkers, some with many decades of political experience, even attempted to argue their positions, instead protesting that these were 20-year-old questions and lecturing us for being "rude." If Mandel adopted the scholastic style of European academia, his American supporters came off as U.S.-centered parochialists, and pretty demoralized ones at that. As for their lessons in etiquette, many of the USec speakers learned their "method" in the SWP during the anti-Vietnam War movement, when the SWP led goon squads against Progressive Labor, the Spartacist League and others opposed to their popular-front coalitions with Democratic Party "doves."

Trotsky wrote, "The centrist frequently covers up his dawdling by referring to the danger of 'sectarianism,' by which he understands not abstract propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an

active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency and organizational completeness." Indeed, one USec supporter after another rose to denounce the ICL's "inflexibility" and "scary uniformity"—i.e., a principled commitment to upholding a revolutionary program. Steve Bloom of *BIDOM* [*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*] and Solidarity said, "I would suggest that the Spartacists' main point of pride, their steadfastness and unwaveringness on the program, is in fact the clearest indictment of their method." Next up for the Mandelites, Paul Le Blanc, who co-chaired the meeting, asked, "In terms of the kind of practical work to build a mass workers movement that can win, what are you doing?" Later, Dorothy Breiman accused the SL of "denouncing whatever activity was going on because it didn't promote a complete revolutionary program," and asked the speakers to define the "distinction between the program of the united front and that of the party."

A Freedom Socialist Party speaker echoed this theme. But she added concerning the USec, "I would have to agree with the Spartacist League speakers who have characterized the USec as becoming ever more accommodating, especially since the crack-up of the Soviet Union."

Algerian nationalist MNA during the independence struggle in the 1950s. MNA leader Messali Hadj ended up embracing de Gaulle and French imperialism. The putative basis for Mandel's attack was the fact that we solidarize with the International Committee formed in 1954 by the SWP, Lambert's group and the British Healy group to oppose Pabloite revisionism. Mandel's transparent purpose was to throw up a smokescreen to obscure the Pabloites' own ardent political support to the bourgeois-nationalist Algerian FLN regime.

In fact, the Spartacist tendency has a highly critical assessment of the Lambert group over Algeria. A June 1992 public educational of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the ICL, documented in detail how the Lambertistes fronted for Messali Hadj right up to the point where he openly landed in the colonialist camp. An LTF spokesman summed up, "Lambert became the lawyer, the spokesman for Messali Hadj's line, during this whole period."

During the floor discussion at the debate, an ICL speaker answered Mandel:

"As he knows, we have nothing whatever to do with Lambert's support to Messali Hadj. We in fact militarily support the forces of liberation against French imperialism.... But what was the United Secretariat position? Your organization politically backed a wing of the FLN, the bourgeois nationalists, from the mid-'50s on.... [The USec] criminally promoted the lie that the colonial national liberation movements could transform into socialist revolution, without the intervention of a revolutionary Marxist party, a working-class party leading the peasantry. And perhaps comrade Mandel fondly remembers Algeria as the case where Pablo himself got to implement the Pabloite line—as a dual member of both the Ben Bella government and the USec, running capitalist Algeria—oh, pardon me, building Algerian 'socialism,' he called it. Now, that's 'influence' for you."

Our comrade noted that the USec readmitted Pablo into its ranks last year, and that the Algerian USec group alternates between supporting the bourgeois army regime and marching with the Islamic fundamentalist FIS.

Another ICL speaker exposed the USec's tailing of popular fronts in Mexico, where the PRT supported the bourgeois populist party of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and Brazil. When a leftist tendency opposed the formation of a popular front by Lula's Brazilian Workers Party (PT) in 1989, a leader of the USec's "Socialist Democracy" (!) current in the PT, João Machado, was sent in to purge them. Out of these militants came the Luta Metalúrgica group, which recently established fraternal relations with the International Communist League.

An interesting view into the USec was provided by a supporter of the International Trotskyist Opposition, who spoke as a neutral, even though the ITO describes itself as a tendency in the USec. For the most part she defended Mandel, who, she said, "has taken some correct positions" inside the USec, including "on the question of the popular front in Mexico around Cárdenas, on the question of the popular front in Brazil around Lula, on the question of anti-Stalinist adaptation to imperialism around Serbia, and also, he's opposed the liquidation of the USFI [USec] that's being advocated by the majority leadership into movements of Social Democracy." But, she added, "unfortunately Mandel has had a historic political problem of being able to wage those struggles consistently." You don't say.

Mandel has often polemicized against the more egregious right-wing tendencies in the USec—only to leave his own supporters hanging out on a limb to be chopped off. This is an "International" which frequently has several warring factions and even separate sections in one country, based on conflicting opportunist appetites. In the 1975 upheaval in Portugal, where the reformist Communist Party in a bloc with leftist military officers was pitted against the imperialist-supported Socialist Party, the USec split into two sections, lining up literally on opposite sides of real barricades.

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST.

Elsewhere, in Iran, both USec groups, the HKE and HKS, supported Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution," even as the mullahs' regime arrested and shot their comrades.

Mandel has politically sacrificed several generations of would-be Trotskyist militants in his quest for illusory "influence." USec sections are created and destroyed over and over again as Mandel pursues a Kautskyan program of "unity" with Maoists, Greens, social democrats, etc. And the more right-wing, the "broader" the lash-up, the better—until the inevitable splits. Within the USec, leftists have had a hapless lot. In the mid-'70s, the Mandelite Internationalist Tendency was framed up and expelled from the SWP. Although Mandel had been in factional struggle against the SWP leadership, he acquiesced to the expulsion and demanded that the ITers try to individually crawl back into the SWP. That was the end of this leftist current.

Mandel's Provocation Fails

By the end of the discussion, Mandel must have been sensing defeat, attacking "the great majority of the people here" as "completely irrelevant, completely meaningless." After repeatedly interrupting Seymour's rebuttal, causing several warnings from the chair to desist, Mandel blustered, "Nobody has kept me quiet since 60 years.... The only thing you can do is use physical violence—go ahead, go ahead!" This blatant provocation alarmed even his own comrades, who tried to control his outbursts. Mandel capped his own rebuttal with a Kautskyan plea for disarmament.

We print below sections of Joseph Seymour's rebuttal to Mandel. We look forward to printing the full transcript of the debate in our journal *Spartacist*.

* * *

The speaker from the Freedom Socialist Party says that we never participate in united fronts—and I will define a united front for sister Breiman a little later—unless we initiate and control it.... But we can indicate dozens of united fronts we participated in. For example, and this would certainly be close to your hearts, the defense of abortion clinics, which were organized by liberal feminists. Time and again, we have been there.

The speaker from the Bolshevik Tendency stated that we had a neutral position in August 1991, in the Kremlin coup and Yeltsin's counter-coup. That's not true. We had a position that the workers should have organized to smash the



USec affiliate in Australia (Socialist Workers Party, predecessor of the Democratic Socialist Party among others) were notorious for their pursuit of Ustasha fascist apologists in the Croatian "Movement for Statehood" (HDP). In response to ensuing public scandal, the SWP devoted August 1983 issue of *Socialist Worker* (shown above) to discourse on "Croatian nationalism and the fight for socialism." Quoth the USec: "In our view, the HDP leaders are revolutionaries."

Yeltsin barricades, because Yeltsin was the main enemy, the main agent of the counterrevolution.

Now, Ernest Mandel, I publicly challenge you to substantiate, or as we say in our crude American way, put up or shut up! Find anything where we endorsed the Lambertistes' support to the Messali Hadj group!... Find anything where we said that socialism can be built through or after a nuclear war [laughter].... But perhaps what you mean is something else: That, of course, we did defend nuclear weapons in the hands of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states. Because if they didn't have those nuclear weapons, they would be nuked. There would be no Vietnamese Revolution, there would be no Cuban Revolution, Korea would be irradiated rubble—and anybody who doesn't think that really has enormous illusions in American imperialism.

The united front is an *action*; it is not a program, it is not a party, it is not a permanent organization, it is not a political bloc—it's an action. 'Strike together and march separately.'... What you guys have against us is *not* that we're

not engaged in real struggle, *not* that we're not engaged in united fronts, *not* that we don't have anything to do with the labor movement. What you guys have against us is that we're *reds*, and whatever we do, we are known as *reds*!

Now, as I said before, I think that the heart of USec politics is much better expressed by Paul Le Blanc than the obfuscationist Mandel. And he said, "Well, we build a labor party." We all know that the Mensheviks and the Stalinists had a two-stage revolution for backward countries. But here we have a two-stage revolution for an advanced capitalist country. First, we build a reformist labor party, and then we move it to the left. No.

To begin with, there's not going to be any kind of labor party in this country unless there are tumultuous class struggles—strikes, protests, an enormous radicalization. What do you think, that you can build a mass labor party in some kind of idiot linear fashion? The conditions which will allow a mass labor party will necessarily be the same conditions which will allow a revolutionary

party. Where there's motion to a labor party, in a short time there will either be a revolutionary labor party or a reformist counterrevolutionary labor party....

Okay. "We have masses, influence, we have MPs in the Brazilian..." You've got nothing!... You know what you have in Brazil? You have a bunch of apparatchiks for Lula! If tomorrow Lula said, "Repudiate the Fourth International, repudiate Trotskyism, repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat, or you're expelled," you know what would happen? Half of you would be expelled, the other half would repudiate Trotskyism, the guys who were expelled... [Mandel at this point interrupts for a period of minutes before subsiding.] The ones who will repudiate formal Trotskyism will have accused the ones who are being expelled of being ultraleft sectarians, and the ones who are expelled will accuse the other ones of being opportunists....

In the mid-1930s, a significant figure in the French Trotskyist movement split temporarily to the right. He wrote a letter to Trotsky very critical of the Trotskyist movement, and Trotsky responded: "The weightiest argument in the letter, namely, 'Why have the Bolshevik-Leninists remained weak in Germany, in France?' is nothing but an echo of the centrist objections, 'Why were you beaten by the Stalinist bureaucracy, by the reactionary coalition in China?' For quite some time we have been explaining the reasons for these defeats, and we never promised any miracles. Our international work began only in 1929—and not on virgin territory, but on territory saturated with old and powerful organizations, and with new, confused, and often treacherous organizations that claimed adherence to our principles." Do you know who Trotsky was responding to? A man called Pierre Frank, who was an old comrade of Ernest Mandel.

Our tendency also did not begin, and has not operated, on virgin political territories. We face powerful Stalinist, social-democratic bureaucracies, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-nationalist movements, and most of the "Trotskyists" and "revolutionary Marxists" are treacherous opportunists, of which Ernest Mandel's tendency is a good example. Now, I genuinely believe that the tendency led by Ernest Mandel can make a contribution to the building of a revolutionary movement: Stop pretending to be Trotskyists! Stop pretending to be revolutionary Marxists! And be honest, that you are left social democrats. ■

Anti-Gay Bigots...

(continued from page 2)

to "protect" gays. Its statement distributed at the 22 September demonstration concluded with the call for: "Security to be vigilant to ensure that intimidation of candidates does not occur and slanderous material is not covertly pasted up around campus." But campus "security"—like the cops in general—are the hired thugs of the administration and the bosses' state. Thus, during the October 1993 strike by the National Tertiary Education Union, campus cops at La Trobe Uni encouraged people to cross picket lines and harassed picketers.

For Left Alliance, this scab-herding role of campus "security" wouldn't cut a lot of ice, as Left Alliance itself, along with members of the Laborite fake-left International Socialist Organisation (ISO), cravenly waltzed across the picket lines of striking campus cleaners at La Trobe Uni last spring. The Left Alliance and ISO's scabbery is a concrete result of their reformist, anti-working-class programs, not least their appeals to the armed bodies of men hired as thugs by

the capitalist state. Notwithstanding all their "gay pride" rhetoric, such a perspective will do worse than nothing to stop the attacks of anti-homosexual bigots.

We revolutionary Marxists understand that the oppression of women and homosexuals in capitalist society stems fundamentally from the institution of the family. Only the destruction of capitalism through workers revolution will lay the basis for replacing the family by providing the material means to socialise and collectivise its present functions. What's necessary is mass, militant mobilisations against anti-woman, anti-gay, racist attacks, linking the struggle of the oppressed to the immense social power of the trade unions and the battle for the emancipation of the exploited. That requires a sharp political fight within the workers movement against the ALP and the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy and the forging of a revolutionary leadership. In this, radicalised students and youth will be an important auxiliary.

Against all manifestations of sexual, racial or national oppression, our aim is to forge a revolutionary combat party—from the factories to the campuses—that will serve, in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks, as a tribune of all the oppressed. Join us! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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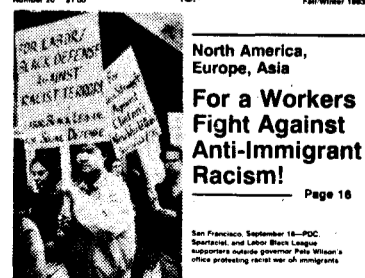
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Number 20 \$10.00 Fall/Winter 1993



North America, Europe, Asia
For a Workers Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism! Page 18

Holiday Appeal for Class War Prisoners
Outrage! Germaine Dancart, Paolo, Rosal...

Italy...

(continued from page 1)

The prime minister spent the day swilling vodka with would-be Tsar Yeltsin and lamenting that economic "reform" was so much harder in Italy because of parliamentary constraints. The aspirations of the leader of the right-wing coalition government (which for the first time since WWII includes fascist ministers) to become a new strongman are patently clear: one protester's sign declared, "Mussolini had the balconies, Berlusconi isn't satisfied with six TV chains," referring to the three channels owned by the media magnate's Fininvest chain, and the three "public" channels he now controls as head of the government.

Commenting on the general strike and Berlusconi's high-handed response, Massimo D'Alema, head of the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), remarked: "A democratic government cannot refuse to take this into account." In the same vein, Eugenio Scalfari, editor of the liberal bourgeois daily *La Repubblica* (15 October) wrote in a front-page editorial, "The people protest in the streets, but then they return to their houses and to work. Fortunately. If they remained in the streets to protest not four hours like yesterday but for two whole days, any government would fall like a house of cards." Scalfari and D'Alema are imagining a parliamentary shuffle bringing in a popular-front cabinet.

Yet scarcely two years ago, in October 1992, the PDS reformists were being chased from speakers' platforms under a hail of coins and bolts from their own members, enraged by the sellout of hard-won union gains. *La Stampa* (15 October), house organ of Fiat boss Giovanni Agnelli, commented on the "miracle in Milano," that this time "the coins (and bolts)" against the union tops were "no longer in fashion." A real, unlimited general strike would pose the question of power, particularly amid the turmoil of this "hot autumn" of class struggle in Italy. But by itself it would not resolve that question. There has never been a lack of militancy in the Italian working class. The key question is that of revolutionary leadership.

Berlusconi is widely despised. A typical poster on October 14 read, "I repent, I voted for Berlusconi." But what's needed to sweep away the Berlusconi government and smash his austerity program is all-out workers resistance, including strikes, plant occupations, the formation of workers councils and workers militias. This would pose a situation of dual power. And a genuinely Bolshevik vanguard party must be built in order to lead the workers' struggles beyond economic militancy in the direction of a fight for workers rule. For



Unemployed workers protest outside Prime Minister Berlusconi's office in Roma.

otherwise, decisive sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie are pushing for a "strong state" to destroy the workers' gains, whether under the aspiring Bonaparte Berlusconi (called "Berluskaier" by his ally Bossi of the Northern League) or the "progressive" popular front led by the PDS (see "Italy: Popular Frontism and the Strong State," *Workers Vanguard* No. 609, 28 October 1994).

Hot Autumn of Workers Struggle

Every day since late September, tens of thousands of workers took to the streets to protest against the deep and deadly pension cuts proposed by Berlusconi. On September 28, 200,000 workers struck and marched in cities around the country. From Palermo to Milano, workers held assemblies in the middle of highways and blocked railroad stations. Brescia had four de facto general strikes of 25,000 each. Fiat's giant Mirafiori works repeatedly struck and filled the streets of Torino. Massive daily protests semi-paralyzed Genova for two weeks; on the eve of the national strike an opera concert was held "for labor and culture" in the port city. "What better way...to fly to the biggest Genovan protest than on the wings of Verdi and Puccini?" commented *La Repubblica*.

On October 14, 350,000 marched in Milano, 250,000 in Firenze (Florence), 200,000 in Torino and Roma, 150,000 in Bologna, Napoli (Naples) and Genova, 70,000 in Palermo, 50,000 in Bari, etc. Seven special trains and 300 buses brought strikers to the regional Firenze demonstration. In many cities, the marches stretched for kilometers, and most demonstrators never made it to the end. All schools closed down for the day and hundreds of thousands of students

marched in spirited contingents that arrived together from hundreds of high schools and universities. In Roma, youthful student demonstrators enlivened the marches by singing a rap version of *Bandiera Rossa*. Many pensioners marched and there were also large PDS and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) contingents.

Comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia and other sections of the International Communist League sold some 640 copies of the LTd'I paper *Spartaco* in Milano October 14, while another 80 were sold in Palermo.

The semi-anarchist *Autonomia Operaia* (Workers Autonomy) chose to have their own separate marches in Milano and some other cities. The syndicalist CUB/COBAS (rank-and-file committees) held a national demonstration of 50,000 in Roma in the afternoon. But many youth from the *autonomo* milieu and many COBAS members chose to march with the mass of the workers in their own cities. And *Corriere della Sera* (15 October) noted the spectacle, "never before seen," of the head of the COBAS at Alfa Romeo, Corrado Delle Donne, speaking from the same platform as the official union leaders. In Genova, workers carried signs saying, "Berlusconi, Remember Tambroni!" They were recalling the massive working-class mobilization there in 1960 when port workers closed down a fascist meeting and fought it out with the cops, eventually leading to the downfall of the Christian Democratic/fascist Tambroni government.

October 14 was not just a parade, like so many Italian "general strikes" in the past. One striker declared, "This is only the antipasto." A national mobilization has been scheduled for November 12, when the CGIL-CISL-UIL union federations are planning to bring one million workers in a march on Roma. In addition to the eight hours of officially authorized strikes leading up to the 12th, there are already other spontaneous strikes and actions all over the place. Already on October 22, some 50,000 students and youth from around Italy marched in Napoli.

In the March 27 elections, Berlusconi won many votes by promising a "new Italian miracle" to revive the economy and provide one million new jobs. Now the bitter reality of mounting unemployment, falling wages and brutal cuts is staring everybody in the face. The prime minister is increasingly isolated. He is presently immersed in what seems to be a battle with the magistrates over their corruption investigation into his Fininvest empire. The cabinet is beginning to fragment in the face of the demonstration of social power and combativity by the working class. Labor minister Mastella (whose son and wife joined the protests) wants to cut a deal with the unions on pension cuts. Meanwhile, fascist MSI deputies in parliament assaulted a left-wing speaker in the raging fight over the

government's political purge in the RAI state television system.

Popular Front Chains Workers

The possibility of hard class struggle to bring down this reactionary regime—only months after the bourgeois elections—and smash the vicious austerity program is palpable. But the reformist leaderships—principally the two offshoots of the Communist Party, RC and PDS—are moving might and main to block this road by tying the working class to the bosses in a class-collaborationist front. The head of the CGIL, Sergio Cofferati, summed up the politics of the trade-union bureaucracy and the anti-Berlusconi popular front immediately after the general strike, saying: "Now the government must bargain with us." The RC and PDS want to use these massive strikes as a pressure tactic to modify the budget and make the "sacrifices more equal."

RC president and senator Armando Cossutta talks of waging a battle in parliament with the help of mass pressure in the streets. D'Alema, head of the PDS, says: "We are a responsible force, we don't want to damage the country and the markets," adding: "The days are over when the left thought that it could do it alone" (*L'Unità*, 15 October). In order to show its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie, the PDS is now pushing the "unity of all Democrats," ranging from Rifondazione Comunista to the recycled Christian Democrats of the Popular Party (PPI), and is even flirting with the racist populists of the Northern League. RC says it has no "prejudices" against the PPI, and an interview with RC leader Bertinotti was recently run in the League newspaper *L'Indipendente* (21 August).

Sensing the possibility of bringing down Berlusconi, the "progressive" popular front is looking to the bourgeois state apparatus. Two days before the general strike, on October 12, RC, PDS and the COBAS of Alfa Romeo demonstrated shoulder to shoulder with the Northern League in front of the Milano courthouse in solidarity with the "anti-corruption" magistrates. Among their chants was "Maroni, Arrest Berlusconi" a truly grotesque call on the Northern League minister of the interior to arrest the head of government. Such dangerous illusions in the *mani pulite* (clean hands) judicial operation that is jailing many leading politicians could help pave the way to a bonapartist crack-down against the left.

Also on October 12 there was a sinister police and prison guard "strike." As 20,000 cops rallied in Roma at the call of the cop "union" SIULP, Cofferati (CGIL) and D'Antoni (CISL) addressed the uniformed thugs from the platform as "fellow workers." On October 5, some of these same police violently charged into unemployed workers who were demonstrating in front of Palazzo Chigi (the prime minister's offices) with signs denouncing "BerluSSconi." And on October 11, police in Torino tried to beat up several hundred militant anti-fascist demonstrators at the university. A month earlier, on September 10, police in Milano waded into a demonstration in defense of the *autonomo* social center Leoncavallo, attacking everybody in sight and launching a massive manhunt.

During the October 14 general strike, an SIULP cop was allowed to speak from the platform in Roma, and received applause. The vice president of the CGIL, Guglielmo Epifani, said, "We thank the forces of order who are here to guarantee the peaceful carrying out of this extraordinary demonstration." But while the police were given a place of honor, one group that was notable by its absence in the demonstrations on the 14th was *immigrants*. The chauvinist reformist leaderships have criminally refused to mobilize the Italian workers movement against anti-immigrant attacks by fascists and police, while the PDS and RC have actually called for "cleaning

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Militant's French Cohorts in a Frenzy

Down with Gangsterism in the Workers Movement!

The collapse of Stalinism has shaken up the left, and a number of groups have lost their moorings—sometimes in a rather spectacular way. A case in point is the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (GR/JCR), led by one Raymond Debord, which has lately been all over the political map. To stifle exposure of their gyrations, they have increasingly taken to strong-arm tactics against our comrades.

Debord's JCR emerged from the French USec section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) two years ago, claiming to oppose the LCR's popular-frontism from the left. But the JCR soon lurched into bizarre and repugnant maneuvers, rubbing shoulders with fascist ideologues and Stalinist leftovers in an attempt to put together a French imitation of the "red-brown" coalition in the ex-Soviet Union (see "The JCR and the 'Idiot International'," *Workers Vanguard* [WV] No. 583, 10 September 1993).

Stung by our denunciation of their social-democratic line that cops, the bourgeoisie's hired guns, are "workers" who can be an "ally" of the working class, Debord led an anti-Spartacist goon squad at the summer camp sponsored by the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE) last August (see "Mud, Thought Police and the Ghost of Willy Brandt," WV No. 607, 30 September). The JRE/YRE is run by the British Militant Labour group, whose international affiliates include Voran (Forward) in Germany and now the French JCR.

On October 11, young JCR would-be heavies attacked our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France as they distributed a leaflet at the University of Tolbiac in Paris protesting against the government's racist expulsions of young women wearing Islamic headscarves in high schools. The leaflet castigated the JCR for calling to include in the trade

unions the cops who carry out racist terror against immigrants and youth of North African origin. Before the eyes of numerous students, JCRers shoved a young woman comrade of the LTF and knocked a black comrade to the ground.

In a leaflet distributed the next day, the Groupe de Jeunesse Spartaciste de Tolbiac (Tolbiac Young Spartacus Group) denounced the JCR aggression as intended to cover their liquidationist intervention at the high school protests, where they "only served as a tribune for the Islamic fundamentalists, without saying a single word about their own formal program."

To cover up their thuggery, Debord & Co. have cynically tried to present themselves as the victims, while hinting at further provocations. This was the meaning of a 21 October letter from the international leadership of the Labour Militant tendency, the Committee for a Workers International. We reprint below our reply.

New York
5 November 1994

International Secretariat,
Committee for a Workers International
London

Dear Comrades,

We are in receipt of your letter to our French section, the Ligue Trotskyiste (LTF), purporting to be a description of the recent violent confrontations between your French section (GR/JCR) and our comrades. Your letter is a transparent effort to create a slanderous smokescreen to obscure the aggressive gangsterism unleashed by your leader in France, Raymond Debord, against our comrades, and to provide a basis for further provocations against our organization. Throwing in for good measure a claim that an LTF comrade followed a woman immigrant comrade of yours from her home—a highly inflammatory charge which is

absolutely untrue—you choose to simply deny your comrades' October 11 attack on our sales team at the University of Tolbiac as an invention of ours, although the incident was witnessed by dozens of students. Moreover, the LTF immediately issued a leaflet at Tolbiac (attached), denouncing the cowardly unprovoked attack in which our comrade Pierre was hit from behind without warning and knocked to the ground by Debord's number one goon, Gérald.

Your comrades' violent assault was intended to stop us from distributing a leaflet in defense of Maghrebian women high school students being expelled from school by the Bayrou edict of the racist French government. The attack at Tolbiac was the continuation of the gangsterist vendetta begun by Raymond Debord at the summer camp of the Youth Against Racism in Europe (JRE/YRE), an organization which is politically led by your Committee for a Workers International. What is most laughably transparent about your present letter is that you manage to say nothing whatever about the camp which was in fact largely dominated by Raymond Debord's personally instigated campaign of violence and slander against the ICL/LTF and the eventual failure of that campaign.

To refresh your memory: at the camp Raymond Debord attempted to prevent ICL comrades from selling our pamphlet on "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State." The pamphlet (which includes the complete text of the GR/JCR's own polemic against the ICL as well as our reply exposing your organization's line of relying on the capitalist state to fight fascism) was evidently so damaging to Debord that he not only assaulted our salesmen, but even strong-armed one of the YRE's own French members when she was buying a copy. We immediately protested this attack to the JRE/YRE leadership, to other organizations present, and in a leaflet distributed to camp participants (also attached) which linked your organization's line that the racist cops are "workers in uniform" to Debord's own attempt to play thought-policeman of the left.

The camp leadership sought to alibi Debord's conduct by keeping up a steady stream of anti-Spartacist slanders, threats and "jokes" in the camp newsletter, but nonetheless Debord's conduct became such a scandal—and so unpopular among camp participants (including among some of your own members)—that the camp leadership finally backed off from its earlier threat to exclude the LTF from the camp. Your French comrades' unprovoked assault on the LTF on the Tolbiac campus was Debord's next move. It will not succeed any better.

The day after the Tolbiac attack, the LTF sought out Raymond Debord and informed him firmly that we would hold him responsible for any future assaults on our members. In response to our warning, Debord then phoned the LTF saying he wanted to discuss how the escalating violence could be stopped and offering to come to our office right away (at 11:30 at night!) to talk about it—surely a very strange suggestion to make if his earlier encounter with us had been as portrayed in your letter (and as you now describe it in your public press). The LTF replied in writing (a copy of this letter was immediately sent to you in London) that ending the violence was

very simple: if your organization has ceased the gangsterism against our comrades, it's over. Subsequently we received the GR/JCR letter to which you now refer, and now your own cover-up letter.

To restate the obvious: gangsterism on the left has a long and despicable history. It is characteristic of the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats who have much to fear from the criticism of revolutionaries. As the GR/JCR letter itself shows, your French section does not distinguish between physical violence which has no place in the workers movement—and the dissemination of forthright revolutionary criticism which is the right and duty of any revolutionary organization.

Your Raymond Debord has particularly strong reasons to want to prevent our voice being heard, as his recent political record is a particularly dirty trail of wild political zigzags, including his flirtation with the anti-Semitic French version of the "red"-brown coalition through the *Idiot International* (it was our article and our intervention exposing this at your public meetings in May which prompted the lying accusations that we "disrupted" your meetings). Debord certainly finds very useful the drawing of a blood line between our organizations to keep his own members politically in line as he gyrates—from his joint venture with "intellectual" fascist ideologues to his present uncritical tailing of the anti-woman Muslim fundamentalists in France who are hypocritically defending Maghrebian high school women's right to an education, in hopes of building themselves a base among second-generation youth.

Every GR/JCR member who can be induced to participate personally in assaulting our comrades is then tied with bonds of guilt to the reformist political line that cops are "workers in uniform," which as you are aware is a source of considerable dissatisfaction within the GR/JCR and elsewhere in your international. It serves a similar purpose for you to claim that we called you "cops" because we denounce your pro-cop line, or "fascists" because we exposed Debord's *Idiot International* escapade. In the short run, you may imagine you can save yourselves embarrassment by attempting to intimidate us from exposing Debord's antics. In fact your leader in France is a loose cannon; neither we nor you can predict what this unstable poseur is likely to come up with next in the way of atrocities, political or otherwise.

Our tendency has a long and proud record of intransigent defense of workers democracy. One of our earliest campaigns in this vein was our defense of the British United Secretariat supporter Ernie Tate when the Healyites (to whom we actually stood closer at the time in terms of formal political positions) sought to stop him from selling a USec pamphlet, using violence and then a suit against him in the bourgeois courts. Very recently we were actively involved in the defense of supporters of Tony Cliff's British SWP [Socialist Workers Party] (no friends of ours or of workers democracy) when they faced fascist attacks in Toronto, and we are now protesting the repressive South Korean regime's arrest of Cliff's cothinkers in that country. Our principled anti-sectarian defense of the rights of all leftist, minority and labor organizations extends equally to the GR/JCR which recently had a member arrested during the protests against the Bayrou edict. Perhaps our policy is incomprehensible to your Raymond Debord, who probably interprets it as a sign of weakness. Let you and him be in no doubt: we will be as vigorous in defense of ourselves as we are in defense of others.

Against gangsterism, in
defense of political debate,

International Secretariat,
for the ICL(FI)

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
No. 611, 25 November 1994

out" immigrant squatters' camps. The Trotskyists warn that the cops and courts and capitalist politicians represent the class enemy. We demand cops out of the unions, and call for worker/immigrant mobilizations to stop racist terror.

Forge a Trotskyist Party!

As the Stalinists and ex-Stalinists embrace the bourgeoisie and its state ever more openly, what's urgently needed is a struggle for authentic communism. Among those in Italy who falsely claim to represent Trotskyism, two leaders of an opposition current in RC, Marco Ferrando and Franco Grisolia, authored a half-page article in *Il Manifesto* (11 October) in which they never once mention revolution, communism, socialism or even workers power, nor do they warn of the popular front or class collaboration, or distinguish themselves from RC's support to racist killer cops and bourgeois magistrates. Ferrando/Grisolia's maximum program is for a general strike that would be a "political defeat for the government," as they call vaguely for "the liberation of forces and energy from below for the real alternative."

So while the PDS calls for a "democratic alternative" and RC for the "progressive alternative," these pseudo-Trotskyists call for a "real alternative." Yet in the March elections, Ferrando/

Grisolia called for RC members to "participate actively in the front lines of the electoral campaign of the party in the central struggle against the right" and called to vote for all the candidates of the popular front, including the openly bourgeois politicians (*Proposta* No. 3, March 1994). They, along with the Stalinist rump in the RC, the born-again social democrats of the PDS and the syndicalists of the COBAS, perpetuate the belief, deeply rooted in Italy, that the only "alternatives" are either popular-front parliamentarism or a syndicalist ignoring of political struggle.

This heritage has been a curse of the Italian workers movement ever since the early 1920s, when militant socialist workers of the Northern industrial belt seized the factories...and sat there. What was needed then was a tempered Bolshevik leadership that could overcome this false polarization between parliamentary class collaboration and militantly apolitical workers struggle. That was also lacking in the workers insurrection betrayed by the Stalinists in 1943-45, during the militant worker and youth struggles in 1968-69, and again today. It is to the task of forging such a Leninist party that the Lega Trotskista d'Italia directs its efforts.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
No. 609, 28 October 1994



Black Political Prisoner on Death Row in USA

Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!



Jennifer Beach

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

The following article has been adapted from a Special Supplement to the Marxist fortnightly publication of the Spartacist League/U.S., *Workers Vanguard* (8 July 1994) headlined "Mobilise to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal." In November of this year, elections took place in the U.S. wherein "From Austin, Texas to Albany, New York, pushing the death penalty was the ticket of entry into state houses around the country" ("Yuppie Democrats Paved the Way/Right-Wing, Racist Sweep in Elections," *Workers Vanguard* No. 611, 25 November 1994). As our comrades in the U.S. noted, the Republican sweep puts a seal on years of bipartisan social reaction rolling back the minimal gains of the 1960s civil-rights movement.

In Pennsylvania, former Black Panther Party leader, MOVE supporter and respected journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal has been on death row since 1982. Now, incumbent Pennsylvania governor, Democrat Robert Casey, has been replaced by Republican Tom Ridge. Casey signed more death warrants than his four predecessors put together—but Ridge rode into office largely on the basis of his criticism of Casey for having not executed anyone during his two terms in office. There is no legal bar to Ridge signing dozens of death warrants, including one for Mumia Abu-Jamal, when he takes office on 17 January 1995.

The campaign to save Mumia's life has entered a new stage of urgency. Further legal challenges to his conviction and death sentence are expected to be filed in January/February by Jamal's attorneys. The U.S. Partisan Defense Committee,

At New York speak-out, Judge Bruce Wright, WBAI's Bernard White and actor Ossie Davis read from works by Mumia Abu-Jamal, censored by National Public Radio.



Workers Vanguard

in conjunction with sister defence organisations internationally, will be launching a series of protest rallies, meetings and pickets. Here, the PDC will be holding a public rally in Sydney (see ad below). We encourage readers of *Australasian Spartacist* to join in the crucial battle to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist, barbaric death penalty. Contact us by writing to the Partisan Defence Committee at P.O. Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 2000; ring us at (02) 281 2181 or fax to us at (02) 281 2185.

* * *

"Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions."

With these words, veteran actor and civil rights fighter Ossie Davis kicked off a speak-out for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on June 3 in New York City. Over 250 unionists, students, community activists and socialists filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to break National Public Radio's (NPR) ban on award-winning journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. Davis was speaking on behalf of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which sponsored and organized the rally, along with the Partisan Defense Committee, to protest NPR's May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Jamal's commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and cancelled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and other reactionary forces. They want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. The NPR controversy put a national spotlight on Jamal's case and the fight

against racist legal lynchings. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole railed on the Senate floor against NPR's plans to air Jamal's commentaries and threatened to cut off their federal funding. The "message" Dole so opposes is that of an articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice, where 2,800 people wait on death row.

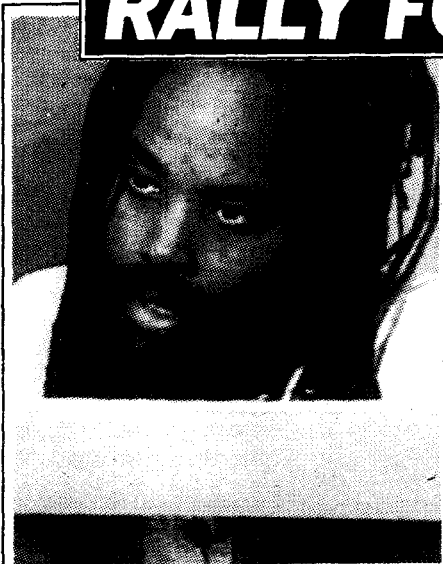
NPR's cancellation of Jamal's broadcasts in response to a sinister cop campaign makes breaking the ban "a life-and-death issue of free speech." In the last few years, the American assembly line of death has vastly speeded up. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in America is all about, the attempt to terrorise the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

The Philadelphia Story

For over 25 years Jamal has been in the cross hairs of the Philadelphia police and their unbridled racist state terror. As seen in the PDC video *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, Jamal was among the journalists covering Mayor Frank Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege of

continued on page 5

RALLY FOR JAMAL!



Save Black Journalist on Death Row!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Thursday, 9 February
7 p.m.

Council Room
MEWU Building
136-140 Chalmers Street
Surry Hills, Sydney

For more information call the
Partisan Defence Committee: (02) 281 2181