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For Internationalist Working-Class Action—Not Protectionist Poison!

Smash Union-Busting Privatisation!

22 JUNE—Announced last month, the federal Labor government's budget underlined again its dedication to enforce the bosses' plan for "restructuring" Australian capitalism. In order to increase the ability of Australian capital to compete on the world market, this "restructuring" has for over twelve years meant record levels of unemployment and a massive redistribution of wealth from the working people to the corporate fat cats.

Figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics released in May show that from late 1991 before-tax company profits increased in a steady line from about \$3 billion to over \$6.5 billion. (These figures exclude the banks and finance companies which have made out like bandits.) The total increase in company profits from 1992 to 1994 was some 67 percent (*MTFU 1995 Wages Campaign Report No. 2, 1994*). Meanwhile, a recent study reported in the *Australian* (29 April) noted "an extraordinary widening in the gap between families living in depressed neighbourhoods and those from well-off areas"; in the period from 1976 to 1991 it found the average real household income of the poorest 5 percent of suburbs dropped 23 percent, while the richest 5 percent increased 23 percent. While the real wages of the working class have decreased, the average work week has lengthened; today one in five men are working over 50 hours a week.

Like the capitalist rulers internationally in the post-Cold War New World Disorder ushered in by the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the Aus-

tralian bourgeoisie has put into high gear its anti-working class offensive. As part of this offensive, the Labor government is hell-bent on "downsizing" state enterprises and implementing union-busting privatisation of industries and basic utilities such as water and power. Aimed at breaking the power of strategic trade unions, "restructuring" and the accompanying privatisations are meant to drive

Build a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!

down wages and conditions in general and to further the Australian bourgeoisie's project of "enmeshing with Asia," i.e., the exploitation of labour and markets in the Asia-Pacific region.

Such ambitions of the jackal Australian imperialists and their Labor lackeys are, however, ill-fated given the heightened inter-imperialist rivalries between the major trade blocs—the U.S., NAFTA, the (halting) moves toward a German-dominated European Union and the Japanese rulers' ambitions for a renascent Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Now that the strategic imperatives of the U.S.-driven anti-Soviet war drive have disappeared, the Australian rulers are caught between the trade rivalry of Japan (their major trading

partner) and the U.S. (upon whom they depend for "defence"). And the fact is that U.S.-Japan trade war has intensified: U.S. president Clinton's threatened "punitive" sanctions against Japanese imports were preceded by the first and bigger blow: the free fall of the dollar—down 22 percent against the Japanese yen since the New Year—which meant that U.S. goods became that much cheaper in

world markets and Japanese goods that much more expensive in the U.S. market.

A snapshot of the Australian bosses' dilemma was provided in the commentary over the recent scandal and ensuing proposed draconian government crackdown against press leaks about Australian secret police spying on the embassies of the People's Republic of China, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia and others. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 June) noted:

"Put at its simplest, Keating's view could be summarised as the fear of being 'home alone'. He argues that the end of the Cold War and the rapidly declining strategic importance to the United States of the alliance with Australia means no-one has any compelling need to build new alliance relationships with Australia.... It is this fear of isolation, of being dropped off the bottom of the world and forgotten, which is behind Keat-

ing's push to convince regional leaders of the importance of a trade grouping under the APEC umbrella.... It is also a key reason for the intensity of the Government's attempt to stop the *Herald* revealing details of Australia's secret intelligence gathering.... Intelligence about what is going on in the region is infinitely more valuable now, they believe, as Australia is trying to find its own way, than when it was largely gathered for the US and Britain."

As defenders of the right to freedom of the press, we strongly oppose all attempts by the state to muzzle and jail reporters. It is, however, a self-serving lie by the Australian bourgeoisie and its media mouthpieces that Australia is charting an "independent" course in Asia. U.S. imperialism has not foregone its strategic/military interests in the Asia-Pacific and Washington relies on its Australian junior partner. The U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar remain for that reason. As they did during the U.S.-led imperialist Gulf War slaughter of the Iraqi people, so will these installations serve their purpose if and when the imperialist trade war in Asia escalates to a military confrontation. Jackal Australian imperialism remains a U.S.-loyal counterrevolutionary regional gendarme. The Labor government's "We are one" nationalism is meant to obscure this jackal role as well as to deflect workers' anger from the rulers "at home." An elementary demand for revolutionists is to get the U.S. bases out now!

Keating's renewed "republican" campaign is also a centrepiece of Labor's nationalist fraud. To be sure, the ties *continued on page 12*

For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Turmoil Brewing in China

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 618, 10 March 1995.

After their bloody suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, the aged bureaucrats running the People's Republic of China smugly basked in a booming economy as other Stalinist regimes collapsed throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union. Today, working people from East Germany to Siberia face the miseries of mass impoverishment and all-sided social reaction produced by capitalist counterrevolution. In response, many leftists, especially leftover Stalinists, have desperately latched onto Deng Xiaoping's "socialist market economy" to answer the bourgeoisie's triumphal cry of the "death of communism."

Yet capitalist financiers and industrialists around the world are also praising Deng's China, and pouring in tens of billions of investment dollars, fueling its galloping growth rate and an

apparent rise in living standards of workers and peasants. Why? Many imperialist spokesmen see the "Chinese model" as a better road to counterrevolution, aiming at a regime of "market authoritarianism" (as an American banker in Hong Kong, William Overholt, advocates) along the lines of South Korea, Singapore and...Taiwan.

The impending death of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping is serving to throw a clearer light on developments in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Deng's rise to power in 1978 marked the ascendancy of forces in the bureaucratic apparatus that aimed to decentralize much of China's nationalized economy and break up collectivized agriculture while inviting in foreign capital investment. The professed aim was to turn China into a modernized economic superpower by the year 2000. Where official Maoist jargon called upon party members to "serve the people," by the mid-1980s Communist Party cadres

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South China Morning Post

Explosive situation in China as masses of unemployed labourers flow from countryside into cities looking for work.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

White Australia Uproar Over Asian Refugees

"The tribunes of racism in Australia have largely come from the leaders of the Labor Party. Instead of combating racism as a tool of oppression, Labor leaders have almost invariably articulated and reinforced it. Indeed, they must bear responsibility for purveying the filthiest lies, and inflaming fears.... The Australian Labor Party compares with the Labor Party on the Rand which was the first party in the Union of South Africa to make segregation a plank in its political platform."

—Humphrey McQueen,
A New Britannia

When several boatloads of mainly Chinese refugees arrived on the north coast last summer, grotesque racist hysteria ensued, orchestrated by both the Labor and Liberal parties and dutifully retailed by the bourgeois media. Newspaper headlines screamed about an imminent "invasion," and national TV broadcasts carried scenes of burnings of the boats of Indonesian fishermen in Darwin, with crowds of white racist yobbos cheering in the background, waving the Eureka flag, symbol of Australian nationalism.

Murdoch's *Weekend Australian* (26-27 November 1994) was in the front lines of the racist hysteria, bellowing that "the task of quarantining Australia from the potential ravages of imported animal and human disease from Asia is vital to national security." Calls were made for huge increases for Coastwatch, which, with navy assistance, patrols Australia's northern approaches. Veteran anti-Communist "Movement" leader and *eminence grise* of the Groupers Santamaria raised his hoary voice, too. His article entitled "Go forth and populate" noted "In their present form, the incursions are still limited. They will not remain so always." His modest proposal to thwart "a future controlling authority in southern China" from "permitting as many who wish to do so to take to the boats for the empty southern land" is to "people the north" and to that end the "absorption of Australia's unemployed and some of the 20 million unemployed in western Europe... in the construction of public works" modelled on the Snowy Mountains Scheme (*Weekend Australian*, 7-8 January).

These echoes of the worst "White Australia" xenophobia are no aberration. Contrary to the myth of a harmonious "multi-cultural" "community" under an "enlightened" Labor government, the economic and social foundations of white European colonisation and the racial exclusion of Asians on which Australia has been historically developed have not fundamentally changed. Thus, the Labor government which administers this white imperialist enclave in Asia enforces anti-asylum laws which are among the most draconian in the world. Australia allows for virtually unlimited detention of refugees; some Asian refugees have been incarcerated at hellhole detention centres in Port Hedland and Villawood for over four years. Simultaneously, the government aggressively hunts down "illegal immigrants"; in 1993-94 alone, 16,392 "illegal immigrants" were "located" and over half of those were deported—nearly 170 a week.

Immigration minister Senator Nick Bolkus has now pushed through a new set of retrospective regulations seeking to slam the door on further Chinese immigration by drastically limiting refugees' access to legal assistance and reviews. Legislation providing for the immediate removal of "unauthorised" arrivals,

depriving them of any recourse to legal appeal whatsoever has been passed while the criteria for refugee status has been further tightened. Labor's Bob Carr, recently elected as NSW state premier, ran a vitriolic campaign based on racist "law and order" which more than rivalled that of the Liberal incumbent he defeated. One of the first pronouncements from the Carr government was a promise "to cut the number of migrants settling in the city [Sydney] and relocate those who do make it into the country into

millions of agricultural labourers off the land and the end of the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed jobs, housing and education (see "China in Turmoil," page one).

Some of the recent ethnic Chinese refugees were fleeing the brutal "New Order" regime of Suharto's Indonesia. Thousands have been held there at the notorious Galang prison camp, where the Indonesian military recently put down a six-month rebellion by camp inmates and set a December 1995 dead-

Close Keating's Concentration Camps!



Tom Rovis-Hermann

Refugees held at concentration camp at Curtin RAAF base near Derby have repeatedly protested inhumane conditions.

isolated rural areas" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 May).

Carr is here carrying out the historic role of the ALP in opposing Asian immigration. While during the 1980s, it was largely Liberal politicians such as John Howard who explicitly played the racist anti-immigration card, again today it is Carr & Co. who have set the agenda in the bourgeois "debate" with schemes to dump immigrants into the bush and massively restrict their entry into urban centres.

We communists demand: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Anyone who makes it to this "fatal shore" has the right to stay! Close Keating's concentration camps! Stop the racist deportations!

For a Class-Struggle - Fight Against Racist, Anti-Immigrant Attacks!

Some 1,751 "boat people" have arrived in Australia since 1989, and a few hundred from December 1994 to March 1995. The recent "boat people" are mainly from the southern Chinese port of Beihai—almost all ethnic Chinese forced out of Vietnam during China's invasion of that country. In Beihai their state-funded housing is being demolished and the land turned over to tourism developers as the ever-bolder incursions of the "market economy" threaten the gains of the 1949 Revolution in China. Capitalist market "reforms" encouraged by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy which sits atop the Chinese deformed workers state have in fact meant dumping tens of

line to ship all prisoners back to their country of origin. Having been refused refugee status in Indonesia, the desperate and poverty-stricken refugees set out for Australia. Here, the authorities—citing draconian UN rules under the "Comprehensive Plan of Action" which prevent refugees who have been refused entry in one country to try to enter another—forcibly sent the refugees back to Galang. "Many of the boat people wept and had to be dragged aboard their aircraft in handcuffs" (*Australian*, 24 November 1994). As for the Indonesian fishermen whose boats have been torched by the authorities, agreements between Canberra and Jakarta have allowed for their detention pending

deportation and the destruction of their only means of making a living.

With news continuing to leak out about the horrendous overcrowding and lack of basic facilities in the hellhole "detention centres" for refugees here, Keating's government has sought to establish new locations at former military bases in ever more remote areas of Australia. In May, some 100 Chinese inmates staged a breakout and protest march from the recently-established camp at the West Australian Curtin RAAF base. Federal and local police seized the protesters and rejailed them. On 30 May, 18 East Timorese asylum seekers arrived by boat in Darwin; Bolkus is shipping them as well to the Curtin base near Derby, which a supporter of the refugees referred to as "Australia's answer to oblivion" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 June).

An integral aid to the bosses in their racist scapegoating of immigrants for high unemployment, street crime and even "overcrowding" in Sydney is the Laborite trade union bureaucracy. Pushing racist protectionist schemes and tougher immigration restrictions, these labour skates have been utterly complicit in enforcing the destruction of jobs and erosion of conditions in the working class as a whole (see "Not protectionist poison..." page one). Thus, citing high levels of unemployment, on which he should certainly be an expert, ACTU head Martin Ferguson recently attacked the overall increase in the immigrant "intake level" and specifically the increase in skilled workers. The sell-outs of Ferguson, Kelty & Co. in the ACTU officialdom have aided the bosses, too, in doing less than nothing to organise the non-union sweatshops in which many immigrants—especially women—toil. Ditto for the plight of the thousands of asylum seekers denied social security, Medicare or the right to work.

It is not any accident, either, that in attempting to quash and buy off student anger over the threatened imposition of full up-front fees for university students, Labor announced instead a massive attack on immigrant and overseas students in its recent budget, threatening to throw 50,000 off Austudy and impose full fees for up to 75,000. Our comrades in the Spartacus Youth Clubs have organised to fight this attack in the teeth of official opposition and/or sabotage from the pro-Labor leadership of the National Union of Students (see article, page five). *The social power of the multi-racial, organised working class must be brought to bear in campaigns to organise the unorganised, to fight government attacks on immigrants and to stop the racist deportations!* Such a fight requires a political struggle against the racist, pro-capitalist policies of the trade union bureaucrats and the building of a revolutionary, class-struggle leadership within the mass organisations of the

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no credit



Vietnamese refugees being brutally dragged onto deportation flight under ALP's draconian new federal legislation.

Students, Workers Unite: Fight Keating's Cuts! Fight Capitalism!

Free, Quality Education for All!

ALP Tops—Servants of the Bosses! Build a Revolutionary Party!

The following Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) leaflet was distributed in Sydney and Melbourne at the 3 May student Day of Action.

Thousands of students demonstrated on 23 March against education cuts and increased fees in a national day of action. In Adelaide, when Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating was confronted by angry protesters, he barked: "Get a job!" It was a snapshot of the contempt of the ALP government—the government which administers Australian capitalism—for students, youth, workers and the oppressed groaning under mass unemployment, across-the-board cuts in health, education and social services, union-busting privatisations and the largest redistribution of wealth from the working people to the fat-cat bosses in recent history.

The capitalist rulers of this country are waging a full-scale attack against the working people and they're making no exception in the education system. Having already introduced HECS and full up-front fees for overseas students under Hawke/Keating, the Labor government is now planning a series of measures that will open the door to universal full up-front fees, thus further excluding working-class and minority youth from universities. These measures include up-front administration fees of up to \$1,000, higher HECS, increased fees for post-graduate students and encouraging universities to slash quotas and offer places to full fee-paying students who failed to get enough marks for entry. The hope of a tertiary education is already out of reach for thousands of working-class youth trapped in increasingly dilapidated and under-funded secondary schools.

As students mobilise for another day of action on 3 May we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs say: **All out on 3 May to fight the Keating government's attacks on students and youth! For free quality education for all! No fees! To open up tertiary education to working-class and minority youth we demand: Open admissions—for a living allowance for all including overseas students! For student-staff-worker control of the universities!**

Today, the capitalist rulers *don't need very many or very well-educated working-class and minority youth.* Keating's "get a job" riposte was not only swinish but profoundly cynical: there aren't enough jobs. In March of last year, Keating unveiled a "job creation package" (with ACTU blessing), the centrepiece of which was a sub-minimum "training" wage designed to throw youth off unemployment benefits and to bring down union-level wages. (When the Balladur government in France attempted the same thing, a massive revolt in the streets, encouraged by the victory of Air France strikers five months earlier, forced the government into a humiliating backdown.)

The ruling class here and throughout the "free market" capitalist countries are ratcheting up the rate of exploitation of the working class and seeking further cuts in jobs and social services in order to compete on the world market. Ultimately, the "future" this system has in store for the masses of youth is as cannon fodder for the next inter-imperialist war to re-divide the world's wealth and resources. The TV airwaves are full of military recruitment advertisements for jobless youth while Australian troops serve racist Australian imperialism as "UN" "peace-keepers" from Somalia to Rwanda and Canberra orchestrates its Papua New Guinea neo-colony's bloody war against the Bougainville people. Labor has also pledged further support to U.S. imperialism's bases in the region. Today's inter-imperialist rivalries and trade wars *will* lead to another global slaughter—this time fought with nuclear weaponry—unless the whole rotting capitalist system is overthrown through victorious socialist revolution. Jackal Australian imperialism runs a virtual "rent-a-mercenary" operation for every U.S./UN-led military adventure going. We say: *Australian troops out of Indochina, Africa and everywhere they are stationed! U.S. bases out of Australia!*

Don't Beg Keating and the VCs! For a Class-Struggle Fight Against the Bosses' Offensive!

Education is our right—the question is how to win this fight. *Keating's cuts can be defeated:* what is necessary is to link in struggle students' fighting anger with the muscle of the powerful, integrated labour movement which can bring the system to its knees. One solid waterfront strike is worth a thousand demonstrations aimed at appealing to the supposed "conscience" of the Labor government. We fight to unleash the power of the trade unions, to put their power in the forefront of the struggles of all the exploited and oppressed on the road to building a revolutionary workers party. This means a political struggle to break the working



ASp photo

3 May, Sydney: Spartacus Youth Club called for alliance with workers as opposed to reformists' appeals to capitalist uni administrations.

class from the ALP. Centrally this requires a fight to build a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions, replacing the union bureaucrats in the struggle for working-class rule.

The 3 May Day of Action has been called explicitly to coincide with the eve of the announcement of the federal government's budget. The Laborite National Union of Students leadership (and the myriad fake-left groups comprising the chain which binds the struggles of the working class and youth to the ALP) want to make the 3 May actions a vehicle to lobby parliament and to exempt students from proposed budget cuts. A leaflet put out by the National Organisation of Labor Students (ALP "lefts") spelled it out: "spending cuts are sensible at this time, but further cuts from Higher Education are unacceptable." So what spending cuts do they believe to be "sensible at this time": pensions, unemployment benefits, health care, aid to single mothers, the arts, public transportation, AIDS research?

This is the sucker's game which the social democracy—the ALP here—is so well-versed at running: instead of *uniting the working class and all the oppressed* in fighting to wrest from the bosses the wealth that they have stolen, the Labor politicians pit worker against worker,

students against the unemployed, minorities against each other in a scramble for a piece of an ever-shrinking pie. To pay for the crisis of the capitalist system, there's Keating's "recession we had to have," the dole queues, the escalating police terror against immigrant youth, Aboriginal people, strikers' picket lines and students engaged in political protest.

Another, more "left"-sounding version of this shell game is the call by groups such as the Left Alliance (LA) to "tax the rich" or the headline of the International Socialist Organisation's (ISO) newspaper calling to: "Tax the greedy, not the needy" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 April 1995). Throughout Europe and North America, similar attacks have come down on students and youth and similar "tax the rich" strategies have been put forward by the reformist left. True enough, the bosses pay little or no taxes while raking in megaprofits, but the government is a capitalist government which exists precisely to protect corporate profits. As our comrades in the Spartacus Youth Club in Canada noted:

"The root of poverty, homelessness, unemployment and racial, sexual and national oppression lies not in 'unfair' taxes, but in the nature of capitalism. The system of production for profit steals from the creators of all of society's wealth, the working class, the fruits of their labor. What is produced socially is appropriated privately, by a small handful of capitalists. The capitalist state can't be reformed or pressured into serving the interests of workers and the poor at the expense of the wealthy owners of industry and commerce. Those who labor must rule!"

—Spartacist Canada,
March/April 1995

Meanwhile the ISO, Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and Left Alliance have been circulating petitions calling upon the Vice Chancellors—the head of the capitalist university administrations—to "act" against the cuts and introduction of fees. Their job is to *run the universities for the needs of the ruling class:* if that means slamming the doors to all but the privileged few destined to be trained as the technicians, academics, politicians and corporate bigwigs for the next generation of capitalist rule, that's what they'll do. Despite mythology to the contrary, universities are no "ivory towers" which

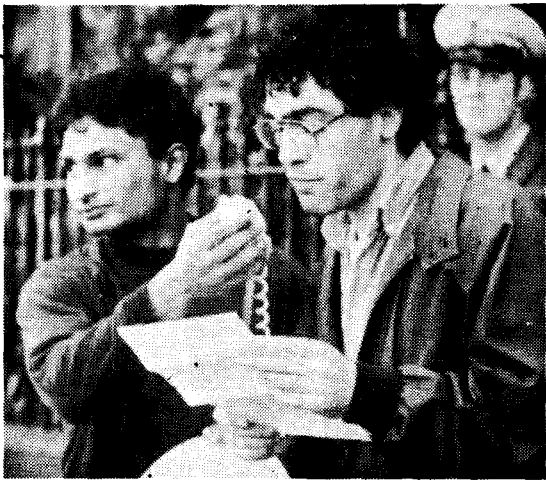
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ASp photo

**Sydney 1985:
Spartacists,
overseas
students
mobilised
against Hawke's
racist fees.
Struggle was
sabotaged by
Laborites,
"left" student
misleaders.**

Build the Spartacus Youth Clubs!



NUS and Fake Left Tails Squirm

Fight Keating and the Bosses' Attacks on Immigrant Students!

Melbourne protest, 31 May.

Spartacus Youth Clubs Initiate United Front Demonstrations

In the latest federal budget, Keating & Co. announced their plan to *eliminate from Austudy* those permanent residents who choose not to take out citizenship in three years. With this they plan to cut some 50,000 students from Austudy. They also decreed that another 25,000 students will have to pay full up-front fees. This measure is but a part of the Labor government's racist attacks on and scapegoating of immigrant workers and Asian refugees (see article, page 3). In response to this attack on students, the Spartacus Youth Clubs (SYCs) initiated united-front protest actions in Sydney and Melbourne. In a leaflet distributed at the rallies, the SYCs explained:

"When the Labor government did not announce full up-front fees for all undergraduate university students in its recent budget, the bourgeois press called this 'a win for student groups who have campaigned extensively against any such changes'.... In fact, however, it is no 'win' for the over 75,000 immigrant, overseas and 'non-citizen' students who are now under direct attack.... Put simply, this racist, nationalist measure means draconian state/university 'border patrols,' driving out thousands of immigrant and overseas students and further restricting the rights of immigrants. We say: full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!"

Protests took place at Sydney University and the University of Technology at Sydney (UTS) on 24 May and at the Labor Party headquarters in Melbourne on 31 May. The SYC-initiated demonstration at Sydney Uni met up with protesters at UTS where an emergency outdoor rally had been called by the UTS Students Association; demonstrators then marched together to ALP headquarters. These actions took place in the face of outright opposition and sabotage by the leaders of the National Union of Students (NUS) and their "left" tails.

Which Side Were They On?

The SYCs' struggle for united-front protest action punched a hole in the attempt by the student bureaucrats running the NUS to sell Keating's budget as a "victory." The NUS tops responded with hostile manoeuvring against our insistence that the attack on immigrant students be vigorously protested. At the 11 May Cross Campus Education Network (CCEN) meeting in Sydney, NUS honcho Jamie Parker and his "left" waterboys in the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) disgustingly tried to *blame the victims* for their own refusal to take up this urgent fight, citing "difficulty" in mobilising the students affected. The ISO and the Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance joined forces with Parker & Co. to defeat our proposal to protest this outrage.

The small but spirited Sydney Uni demonstration kicked off at lunchtime outside Fisher Library, chanting: "For a living allowance for all students including

those from overseas!"; "Racist tops of the ALP—grovelling servants of the bourgeoisie!"; "Students ally with the working class! Put the VCs on their arse!" The protest was all the more determined in the face of attempted disruption and a counter-mobilisation by the gaggle around Labor "left" Charles Firth, an editor of the campus newspaper *Honi Soit*—a short-lived disruption joined by some Liberal pals of theirs. (The *Honi* editors have made themselves notorious as red-baiting, puerile apologists for the racist U.S. death penalty and opponents of the campaign to save the life of death row black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Their position on the fight against racist state attacks here is of a piece.) Meanwhile, a leading spokesman of the self-proclaimed "anti-racist" "socialists" of the DSP/Resistance, one Roberto Jquerria—unable to defend his opposition to the protest and refusal to speak out against the attack on immigrant students from the united-front platform—sunk so low as to appeal to the *campus security cops* against our comrades just before the demonstration started.

Some 30 people gathered at the UTS rally where speakers from Left Alliance, the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League as well as representatives from overseas student groups and the Communist Workers Party of Iran/Iraq addressed the crowd before marching to ALP headquarters together with Sydney Uni protesters.

The largest protest, bringing out 45 demonstrators, took place in Melbourne the following week. Speakers from the SYC, the Partisan Defence Committee and Left Alliance addressed the rally at ALP headquarters. Workers Power and several ISO supporters attended but refused to speak; several DSP/Resistance supporters joined the protest halfheartedly and literally stood on the median strip of the street while members of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) briefly rolled up to skulk on a nearby footpath. To read the SLL's *Workers News* ("Student leaders back Labor's budget," 2 June), which is full of arch polemics against the failure of the NUS tops and sundry "middle class radical organisations" to act on this issue, you'd never know that the SYC-initiated demonstrations took place. The SLL obviously knew otherwise, but since it lifted not a finger to mobilise around the attack on immigrant students, the SLL simply lied and disappeared the real fight for the actions that did take place, thus in its own small way providing aid and comfort to the NUS leaders it now claims to oppose.

In the lead-up to the Melbourne 31 May rally, a motion put by the SYC calling for united-front protest was carried at both the 16 May Student Unionism Network meeting and a 22 May meeting of the La Trobe University Education Welfare Action Group. However, while formally voting for the demonstration, the ISO, DSP and SLL did *nothing to build it*. At Monash Uni on 25 May, at a Student General Meeting, bureaucrats of the National Organisation

of Labor Students (Labor "lefts") pushed through acceptance of Kennett's VSU (Voluntary Student Unionism) diktat and prevented a motion of support for the demonstration being put by the SYC.

This was preceded by a 19 May letter to students with permanent residency, wherein ISO supporter and La Trobe Uni student president Lynda Memery urged them to come to "an information session" to "find out the amounts you may be liable to pay" and "what your options are." We asked in the leaflet distributed in Melbourne: "Does Memery plan to instruct such students in the Australian oath of loyalty and the words to 'Advance Australia Fair'?" Sure enough, at said "information session" the tables were graced with *applications for citizenship*. Clearly for the ISO leadership, the "options" do not extend to fighting this attack. Rather, it's working to make the La Trobe Uni Student Union into an auxiliary of the government immigration office! What *won't* the ISO do for the Labor Party?

Our fight for an act of simple decency—mobilising against government attacks on immigrant and overseas students—drew a sharp line between the revolutionaries and reformists. Opposition to privilege based on language, nationality, race and sex is a basic democratic principle—a principle which Marxists champion. Despite their pretensions to be both "Marxist" and "democratic," the ISO and DSP turned their backs on this principle in order not to "alienate" the NUS leaders who in turn are concerned not to alienate the ALP tops, who in turn serve the rulers of White Australia capitalism. At the Sydney Uni rally, an SYC speaker counterposed our strategy and program to the "syphilitic chain which runs from the Labor Party tops through to the left in this country," noting that "What ties them together is defending the *status quo* and defending the left flank of the Labor Party."

Left Alliance Marching to the Beat of Different Drums?

The united front is a powerful tactic where groupings representing different programs come together in concrete action to oppose a specific attack while at the same time maintaining separately their political banners and putting forward their competing strategies. To their credit, elements within the campus-based Left Alliance (LA) in both Sydney and Melbourne joined us in building these protests; the SYC welcomed the initiation of the rally at UTS by an LA supporter and we proposed to join the two rallies in the spirit of "march separately, strike together."

At Sydney Uni LA supporters agreed to build the demonstration on that campus. However, LA put in a token appearance only at the end of the rally, having pointedly avoided the provocation by the *Honi Soit* crowd. In fact, LA's most notable intervention was to complain about our chant "Labor-loyal NUS tops shaft immigrant students!" NUS women's officer and LA member Kirsten Tranter voted *against* our call for a dem-

onstration at the 11 May CCEN meeting, but ended up addressing the demo. Clearly, this was a belated attempt to cover up Tranter's own initial opposition to the protest and the NUS' militant indifference to the attack on immigrant students.

As a self-professed exclusively campus organisation (one which runs the student bureaucracy on a number of campuses) LA by definition has no perspective for mobilising the working class against the capitalist system. Its student vanguardism is a latter-day variant of New Left trends popular in the 1960s (e.g. the "Red Universities") which were explicitly based on the anti-Marxist premise that the working class was incapable of fulfilling its historic function as the motor force for revolutionary social change and which dismissed the proletariat as hopelessly "bought off" in the imperialist centres. Operating on a similarly false perspective, LA necessarily seeks to "pressure" the powers-that-be, albeit with radical-sounding anti-ALP rhetoric, irreverent T-shirts and some very decent impulses among its membership. Having no fundamentally different program from that of the NUS tops, LA do their bit to keep student struggle within the framework of Laborite parliamentarism and "pressure" politics. (The precursor of today's Left Alliance, Left Action, in fact joined the ALP on campuses to sabotage the militant, sustained actions against the introduction of racist fees for overseas students in 1985-86.)

Fashionable, but by no means new, pseudo-Marxist blather *au courant* among LA "theoreticians" about students being "commodified" and "alienated" from "vertical power structures" is an attempt to obscure the fact that the *social power for fundamental social change lies in the organised working class.*

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Protesters assemble at Sydney University, 24 May.

Join Us in the Fight for a Socialist Future!

Education...

(continued from page 4)

stand above and apart from society: they have and will serve capitalism and reflect that system in the class, sex and race bias inherent in their operation.

The Russian Bolshevik leaders Nikolai Bukharin and Yevgeny Preobrazhensky pointed out in the *ABC of Communism* that, in capitalist society, the education system "inspires the coming generation of workers with devotion and respect for the capitalist regime" and "creates from the young of the ruling classes 'cultured' controllers of the working population." In contrast, after the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviks implemented an education system which sought to dissolve the monopoly on knowledge held by a wealthy minority and strove instead to put science and culture at the service of society as a whole.

Left Alliance, a campus-parochial organisation boasting many well-placed connections within the student bureaucratic hierarchy, engages in some anti-Labor rhetoric. Individual members within this grouping have to their credit struggled for open debate within the left and taken a decent stance for united action on such key issues as the fight against the racist death penalty in the U.S., in particular working on the urgent case of the death row political prisoner, black journalist, former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal. However, at bottom Left Alliance offers in its actions and its printed material nothing politically fundamentally different from the mainstream NUS bureaucrats and their "left" tails who called to "Put the Liberals Last" in the last federal election.

In a statement "An up front \$1000 Uni fee?" Left Alliance wrote:

"The Labor Party (ALP) is not our friend. Despite all the assertions that they 'care' about people, the ALP in government has cut huge chunks from the education budget and allowed the private sector to exercise more influence over Universities.... *Students' only 'power' comes through collective action....* Mass action by students is virtually the only thing we can do to challenge the established order" (emphasis in original).

Having no perspective for the struggle for a revolutionary leadership of the working class, Left Alliance logically looks to the powers-that-be, not least the Labor government. Thus, in its statement ("No Fees for Degrees!") LA states that "The government is abrogating its explicit responsibility to provide for the community.... Students have illustrated in the recent past their ability to influence government policy." This is perfectly in line with their appeals to the VCs, their "tax the rich" verbiage and their "boring from within" the SRCs and other structures set up to derail student militancy into the existing system.

Against the losing strategy of sectoralist parliamentary pressure tactics on the Labor government, we say: don't beg for crumbs from the government table—we want the whole damn bakery, a *fight for power!* The multiracial working class has the power to expropriate the bosses, seize the wealth we created and run society in our interests.

Revolutionary Leadership vs. the Laborite Left

When speaking out of the left side of their mouths, groups like the ISO, Workers Power and others will spout platitudes about allying with the working class. By this they mean procuring empty messages of "solidarity" from the very same pro-Labor bureaucrats who stand in the way of real working-class action. In order to unchain trade-union power, the militant tactics that built the unions in the first place must be used: strike actions, plant occupations, mass pickets. Rip up the Accord with the Labor government, ditch "enterprise bargaining" and break the shackles of the Arbitration system! For the complete independence

of the trade unions from the capitalist state!

We in the SYC not only understand that *picket lines mean don't cross* but have actively worked to organise students in concrete acts of solidarity with striking workers. Recently, SYC members at Monash University fought for support to the BTR-Nylex strike in Huntingdale, Melbourne and organised a contingent of students to march to the picket line. On the road to forging a fighting alliance of students, youth and the working class, students should mobilise to aid these workers' struggles through strike support activities.

During the last Day of Action at Wollongong Uni, the NUS bureaucrats scuttled widespread sentiment for an occupation of the administration building. The bottom line for these Laborites was to avoid "offending" the VCs to whom they appeal and their big brothers in the ALP (the Day of Action was days before the NSW elections). But militant tactics—not simply occupations but actions including joint strikes and demonstrations by students and workers can turn back the capitalist offensive. Such struggles, not respecting the "sanctity" of private property and corporate profits, will necessarily come up against the armed fist of the bosses' state: the cops and the courts. On their own, students have little power to defend themselves against the baton-wielding boot boys in blue, but in alliance with the social power of organised labour the equation is very different.

And any struggle to unleash the power of the working class will come straight up against the resistance of the Laborite union misleaders. The ALP is what Lenin described as a "bourgeois workers party"—to build a revolutionary workers party means a fight to split the ALP's working-class base away from the treacherous leaders who are tied to and serve capitalism in its death agony. Such a party would act as a "tribune of the people," mobilising the power of labour in the forefront of the struggles of all the oppressed: students and youth, Aboriginal people, women, homosexuals, immigrant workers and all racial and ethnic minorities. While demanding the full equality of women, full democratic rights for homosexuals and full citizenship rights for all immigrants, fighting for the closure of Keating's racist deportation camps and advocating a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights, we understand that only the destruction of White Australia capitalism can lay the material basis for the eradication of racial and sexual oppression. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

A genuine revolutionary party must be militantly *internationalist* as well—combating the vile Australian nationalism of the ALP tops and the racist protectionist schemes pushed by the trade-union misleaders which serve to divide Australian workers from their class brothers and sisters abroad. *The main enemy is the Australian bourgeoisie "at home!"* While seeking to "discipline" the workers and oppressed here, jackal Australian imperialism, served by its loyal Labor statesmen, is gearing up to further profit from the superexploitation of the Asian working masses abroad. The Australian rulers joined the fight with their U.S. imperialist big brothers in the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, and today they salivate over the prospect of reversing the gains of the Chinese, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs stand for the unconditional military defence of all those states where capitalism has been overturned. We understand that the gains of the revolutions in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba are in deadly peril. In order to defeat looming capitalist counterrevolution we fight for international socialist revolution in the imperialist centres and for workers political revolution in the deformed workers

states to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. The collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union opened the floodgates of capitalist restoration, ushering in mass unemployment, immiseration and nationalist slaughter. With their reactionary nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" the Stalinists' appeasement of imperialism and betrayal of international proletarian revolution paved the way for the destruction of the greatest victory of the world working class historically: the Soviet Union. Today, the policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats sitting atop the existing workers states are opening those states as well to brutal imperialist exploitation.

In this basic Marxist struggle to defend the gains of the world working class we in the International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the Australian section, have uniquely fought capitalist counterrevolution down the line from Eastern Europe to the former Soviet Union. In contrast, the Laborite "left" from the ISO to the DSP, from Workers Power to the Socialist Labor League (SLL) took their side on the barricades of the "democratic" counterrevolution, capitulating to the interests of their "own" imperialist masters and playing their own small role in paving the way for the "New World Disorder."

As the "left" flank of the U.S. anti-communist hardliners, the ISO recently condemned Clinton's "appeasement" of Deng when the U.S. renewed China's "Most Favored Nation" trade status. They also glorified the counter-revolutionary *gusanos* who aim to destroy the gains of the Cuban revolution.

Students...

(continued from page 5)

To realise its historic mission as the grave-diggers of capitalism, the proletariat needs a *conscious vanguard party, an internationalist revolutionary leadership on the model of V.I. Lenin's Bolshevik Party, committed to nothing less than the seizure of state power by the working class.* These are the key questions confronting those within LA who are seeking an alternative to the betrayals of the Laborite campus parochial swamp.

The elementary fight against attacks on immigrant students has raised questions which go far beyond the groves of academe, e.g. the role of social democracy and its handmaiden, reactionary nationalism. For some within Left Alliance, our orthodox Marxist program is anathema. Several months prior to the SYC-initiated protests in defence of immigrant students, Left Alliance supporters on the editorial staff of the La Trobe Uni student journal *Rabelais* solicited for publication our response to a number of written questions, which we answered and which were never printed. Among the questions *Rabelais* posed were those about the "so-called internationalisation of economic processes" and what its "implications for Left strategy" might be. Our unpublished reply to *Rabelais* read in part:

"Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union and Eastern bloc states, the bourgeoisie have resumed the fierce competition which prefigured the imperialist wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. Today, the increased integration of the world market cannot disguise, but in fact exacerbates and lays bare again the savage competition between rival imperialist powers....

"The lessons of October retain their full validity: the future of the workers movement lies in the construction of its Leninist vanguard and the ability to wield its immense social weight on behalf of all the oppressed on the road to the only solution: workers revolution, the smashing of the bourgeois order and the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Our answers implicitly polemicalised against the Kautskyite conception of

The reformist perspective of the ISO and its ilk who cheered the "death of Communism" and bleated louder than anyone else "Vote Labor!" in the last federal election has led it to some curious acts of "solidarity" such as traipsing across campus workers' pickets lines from La Trobe Uni in Melbourne to the University of Toronto in Canada. The SLL for its part, in a leaflet reprinted in the April issue of La Trobe Uni's student newspaper *Rabelais*, baldly denounces the unions: "The trade unions are not workers' organisations but arms of big business which impose the destruction of the wages, conditions and jobs of the working class." Like the other opportunist organisations they reject the necessary political struggle to oust the sellout union leaders through building a class-struggle alternative leadership, to turn the unions into instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class. (For a more thorough exposure of the dubious SLL see the Spartacist literature packet "SLL: A Trail of Treachery.")

We in the SYC stand on and struggle for the program of the Russian October Revolution: the seizure of state power by the working class led by a conscious revolutionary vanguard. As the youth group of the Spartacist League, we seek to win students and youth to become partisans of the proletariat and dedicated fighters for the only solution to the wretched capitalist system: workers revolution. Capitalism offers youth war, racism, sexism, unemployment and immiseration. Its revolutionary destruction can lay the basis for the liberation of humanity. We have a world to win: join us! ■

"ultra-imperialism"—the theoretical justification for Kautsky's capitulation to social chauvinism of the Second International in the First World War. Latter-day exponents of this "theory" may be found in the fake-Trotskyist/left social-democratic United Secretariat as well as the centrist Workers Power group, a couple of supporters of the latter being in contact with LA in Melbourne. Today's "left" critics operating within the framework of Laborism may well find themselves tomorrow's outright social-chauvinists, alibiing the crimes of their "own" ruling class.

We also noted in our answers to *Rabelais* that:

"The practice and politics of the numerous so-called socialist left [groups] here and internationally imbibe of the hoary legacy of the Second International or the increasingly social-democratised remnants of the Stalinised Third. From the reformist International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) to the political bandits of the Socialist Labor League (SLL), the Militant and the right centrists of Workers Power: these groupings stood with the forces of capitalist restoration in the name of "democracy" throughout Eastern Europe and within the land of October itself in August 1991. Indeed, the ISO's forbears were expelled from the Fourth International over their craven refusal to defend North Korea in the Korean war."

Rabelais evidently found our polemical reply to its questions unfit to print. But it was precisely in the struggle to politically defeat the opponents of Bolshevism that V.I. Lenin forged the party which led the only victorious workers revolution on the planet.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs provide a training ground, in struggle, for the future cadre of the Leninist-Trotskyist party in this country, a disciplined section of a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Socialism is not a utopia, nor an ideal, nor an "experiment that failed"; it is the only egalitarian alternative to the immiseration, racism and war endemic to the capitalist system. Our struggle for the victorious overthrow of capitalism through workers revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a struggle for the liberation of humanity from capitalist barbarism once and for all. Join us! ■

Protests Against Ukraine Anti-Trotskyist Witchhunt

On April 1 the *Vremya* "news" broadcast on Russian television purveyed outlandish claims by the Ukrainian SBU secret police, purporting to have unearthed a plot to "overthrow" the Ukrainian government by four Moscow supporters of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). This was presented as justification by the SBU for confiscating Trotskyist literature and barring these comrades from further travel to the Ukraine. The *Vremya* broadcast, we have since learned, was preceded by a lengthy smear piece in the Russian-language Ukrainian tabloid *Kievskie Vedomosti* (30 March), whose front page screamed, "Overthrow Government in Ukraine, Intended Touring Trotskyists."

The Ukrainian capitalist authorities' attempt to criminalize Marxist ideas has been met with protests from around the world. The ICL immediately launched a campaign of protest and exposure against the sinister slanders. Our April 3 statement proclaimed, "Reviving Stalin's Smears in the Service of Impoverishing the Working People—Protest Outrageous Slanders Against Trotskyists in Moscow!"

On April 5, some 50 people picketed near the Ukrainian UN Mission in New York. The next day, demonstrations were held outside Ukrainian embassies and consulates in Chicago, London, Berlin and Toronto. Further protests were mounted on April 7 in Paris and Melbourne.

Members of the student-based Left Alliance as well as the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) attended the protest in Melbourne. In its statement, the FSP noted: "The seizure of 50 kilograms of ICL literature by the Struggle Against Terrorism Division of the Ukrainian Security Service is an outrage.... Despite our deep ideological differences with the ICL... we know that a witchhunt against the ICL for being Trotskyists would be a set back for us all. We support the ICL demand for the right of reply on *Vremya* in order to answer these dangerous accusations."

The protests also indicted the Russian authorities' wilful failure to investigate the February 1992 murder—under sinister and mysterious circumstances—of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow. Protesters carried signs reading, "Reopen the Investigation of the Murder of Martha Phillips!" In Berlin, protesters stressed the connection to the Fourth Reich's vindictive persecution of former officials of the East German deformed workers state, with signs reading,



ASP photo

"Against the Witchhunt—Defend the Former DDR Bureaucrats: Mielke, Wolf, Kessler" and "Against the Witchhunt—Defend the Real Communists of the ICL!"

Following press conferences in Moscow on April 3 and 4 attended by a range of Russian and international media, an ICL spokesman was interviewed on the BBC Russian-language radio program *Argument*. On April 4, the Russian Interfax news agency ran a dispatch headlined: "One of the Leaders of the Trotskyist International Communist League Accuses the Ukrainian Powers of Suppression of Dissent." An April 12 article by leftist journalist Renfrey Clarke, based in Moscow, linked the Ukrainian slander campaign to growing repression by the Yeltsin regime: "Russia: Slander Against Trotskyists a Danger to Whole Left." Renfrey Clarke's article was printed as well in the 26 April *Green Left Weekly*.

This point was stressed as well in a moving protest from Mexico City by Esteban Volkov, grandson of Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky:

"As the descendant of one of the families most slandered and which suffered most from Stalinist terror, and without belonging to any political organization, I energetically protest against the resurgence and use of methods from the Stalinist school of falsification in support of terror of a bonapartist or fascist type, the objective of which is to prevent any defense of the exploited and oppressed classes."

From France, leftist writer Gilles Perrault wrote that the Ukrainian smear campaign's "grotesquery is surpassed only by its odiousness" and "inevitably conjures up the ways of the Stalinists, who re-

pressed Trotskyist members and sympathizers for so many years." Perrault is the author of *The Red Orchestra*, an account of the heroic World War II anti-Nazi Soviet espionage network set up by Polish Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper.

Israeli civil libertarian and concentration camp survivor Israel Shahak added his voice to "condemn without reserve the dictatorial attitude of the Ukrainian government." Another former victim of racist repression, Baruch Hirsch, editor of the journal *Searchlight South Africa*, wrote:

"We are reminded of similar campaigns in South Africa, under its apartheid regime, which used the same methods to target all those who dared to criticise its arbitrary methods of rule and control. Some of us were victims of that government and I personally spent nine years in prison for my activities against the state....
"Furthermore, although we are not connected with the International Communist League, we believe that they have the right to criticise your government and call for the restoration of the legacy bequeathed by Lenin and his comrades in 1917. The hope that Lenin inspired when his party took power is in urgent need of renewal...."

The *Kievskie Vedomosti* article, while vilifying our comrades as "conspirators," in fact revealed a wide-ranging conspiracy by the Kiev secret services against our supporters and those interested in our Trotskyist views. A "dossier" on the ICL in the *Vedomosti* report included the full names and nationalities of several of our comrades, the name of the street of a Kiev apartment where they had stayed and a photograph, taken at a birthday

party more than two years ago, "supplied by" the SBU.

This surveillance and harassment were clearly ordained at the highest levels of the state security apparatus. *Vedomosti* extensively quoted the director of the Kiev SBU, Lieutenant General Vladimir Likhovozov, and First Deputy Prosecutor Sergei Vinokurov. Likhovozov intoned, "In the instance of the Trotskyists, we are talking not of persecuting dissent for political motives—the SBU does not engage in that." Likhovozov's fatuous assurances to the contrary, *Vedomosti* itself reported SBU persecution of Ukrainian leftists who "had fed on the ideas of Trotskyism," noting they were subjected to inquisitorial "preventative discussions" by "counterintelligence agents."

The SBU well knows, and even *Vedomosti*'s sensationalist "exposé" makes patently clear, that the ICL was engaged only in lawful and open propagandistic activity. Indeed, *Vedomosti* reports that "SBU investigators have not opened a criminal case in connection with the members of the ICL" because, according to prosecutor Vinokurov, "seizing power was talked about only theoretically." What this slander campaign is all about is precisely an attempt to persecute left-wing political dissent—and nothing else.

We noted in our earlier statement, "The urgent social and political discontents of the peoples of the former Soviet Union are being falsely converted into a monumentally microscopic conspiracy.... We are Marxists, not putschists; we rely on the forces of the working class." The widespread discontent of the working masses is self-evident. On April 12, one million people across Russia took to the streets or went out on strike in protest against non-payment of wages. In Moscow, the notorious OMON riot police charged into a student demonstration that day, arresting some 35 protesters. In Chechnya, the Yeltsin regime continues its brutal "mopping up" operation, wiping out entire villages.

At the two Moscow demonstrations, protesting workers and students bought dozens of pieces of Trotskyist literature, including our Russian-language supplement on Chechnya and Leon Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin* (published by the ICL for the first time in Russian); many also received the April 3 protest statement. In the ICL protests internationally, demonstrators carried signs denouncing Yeltsin's invasion and

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Transcript of *Vremya* News Program, 1 April 95

"...Dealing with the Crimea, [the Ukrainian government] was obliged at the same time to defend their own supreme power.

"The overthrow of the government in the Ukraine was planned by four ideological Trotskyists representing the International Communist League.

"They passed themselves off as scholars wishing to study archives. At one of the apartments of the visitors in Kiev, the Struggle Against Terrorism Division of the Ukrainian Security Service seized approximately 50 kilograms of propagandistic literature of the revolutionary Trotskyists.
"According to operatives' infor-

mation, four foreign citizens—two from Germany, one from France and one from America, attempted to organize in Ukraine a section of the International Communist League whose headquarters are located in New York, and whose closest affiliate is in Moscow.

"Furthermore, they openly called for the overthrow of the constitutional order in the Ukraine and the seizure of power, as was confirmed by our fellow countrymen, who the Trotskyists tried to recruit.

"As a result, travel into the Ukraine for the four revolutionary leaders from abroad is officially closed." ■

Ukrainian newspaper *Kievskie Vedomosti* (30 March) purveys outlandish smears portraying Marxists as putschists. Front-page headline reads, "Overthrow Government in Ukraine, Intended Touring Trotskyists."



Heroic Defenders of Red October Revolution

All Honour to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi!

On 21 November 1994 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 second part of the English-language version of the special Japanese Spartacist article produced for the event. Part one was printed in Australasian Spartacist No. 155, Summer 1994-95.

PART 2 from Japanese Spartacist

Operation Barbarossa and Pearl Harbour

If the military's "lieutenants" were stunned at Nomonhan, they were completely baffled by the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, on 23 August 1939; the Japanese government didn't sign a similar deal with Moscow until the spring of 1941. Sorge welcomed the Soviet neutrality pact with Japan, because he had been worried for some time about the possibility of a German attack on the USSR. Stalin criminally believed that Hitler would honour his agreement with Moscow, of which Trotsky warned that the "sole guarantee is Ribbentrop's signature to a 'scrap of paper'." The period prior to the Nazi invasion of the USSR was especially nerve-racking for Sorge's group because they knew it was coming. Based on Sorge's German embassy information, Moscow was sent a stream of warnings of the impending attack, beginning in mid-May 1941. Similar warnings were transmitted from Trepper's Red Orchestra in Europe, but Stalin dismissed these vital reports as British intelligence fabrications! Leopold Trepper bitterly commented:

"He who closes his eyes sees nothing, even in the full light of day. This was the case with Stalin and his entourage. The generalissimo preferred to trust his political instinct rather than the secret reports piled up on his desk. Convinced that he had signed an eternal pact of friendship with Germany, he sucked on the pipe of peace. He had buried his tomahawk and he was not ready to dig it up yet."

—The Great Game, 1977

The veracity of Soviet intelligence reports from Europe and Tokyo was confirmed on 22 June 1941, when mechanised German armour began ripping through the USSR's totally unprepared border defence along a front extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea. These first days produced a total rout of the Soviet military as the invaders drove hundreds of kilometres deep into Soviet territory. "The greater part of the Russian air force was wiped out in the first few days; hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million Russian soldiers were taken prisoner in a series of spectacular encirclements during the first fortnight" (Alexander Werth, *Russia at War, 1941-1944*). By the late fall the German army stood at the gates of Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad, and the world's first



Top, Richard Sorge (1937) and his grave in Tama cemetery. Bottom, Ozaki's grave and Ozaki Hotsumi.

workers' state could survive only if the German advance was turned back.

Sorge's group concentrated its efforts on determining if the Japanese army, taking advantage of the early successes of the Nazi offensive, would launch an attack against the Soviet Far East, which Berlin was pushing Tokyo to do. Today the Japanese ruling class hypocritically vilifies the USSR for "violating" the Japan-Soviet neutrality pact when the Red Army drove Japanese imperialism off the Korean Peninsula and out of the Kurils in 1945. This specious argument always surfaces when Japanese imperialism demands that the USSR (and today Russia) return the Kuril islands. (See Japanese *Spartacist* No. 13, September 1992.) But in 1941 this same ruling class was more than willing to violate this pact to grab a lot of Siberian real estate, and Sorge and Ozaki did not share Stalin's blind faith in deals with imperialism.

Ozaki, now working for the South Manchurian Railroad, provided the key information on the army's intent and managed to spend two weeks in Dairen, Manchuria, in September 1941. An Imperial Conference on 2 July 1941 had decided that Japan's strategic interests lay to the south and that this would take priority over war with Russia. Opinion within the army was divided but, remembering Nomonhan, the Guangdong (Kwantung) Army's decision was that it would only open an offensive against the Soviets if it had three-to-one superiority in troops, if the USSR suffered a new major setback, i.e., the fall of Moscow,

and if the morale of the Soviet Siberian Army were broken. This information was transmitted to Moscow, and on 4 October, Sorge "guaranteed" that no attack on the USSR was forthcoming, since he and Ozaki knew that negotiations between Japan and the U.S. had broken down and the navy was preparing for war against the U.S. and Britain. As a result of this critical intelligence work, by early December 1941 nearly half the ground forces of the Red Army's Far Eastern Divisions were transferred west, mainly to defend Moscow. Soviet general Rokossovsky believed that the Far Eastern Army's arrival and mobilisation of volunteer battalions were decisive in saving Moscow from Nazi occupation.

With Japan's military turning south and away from the USSR Sorge felt his group's mission was complete and started discussions with other group members about getting out of Japan. Ozaki later said that Sorge had drafted a message requesting Moscow's permission to get his group out of the country. That message was never sent; the 4 October message guaranteeing the safety of the USSR's Far Eastern borders was the last transmission the Sorge group ever made. Between 10 and 18 October 1941, Miyagi, Ozaki, Sorge, Clausen and Voukelitch were arrested by the *Tokko*, Japan's "thought police."

Trotskyism and WWII

Sorge and Ozaki, both of whom wielded tremendous political influence, consciously refrained from steering their

associates in a direction that would outright aid the defence of the USSR. Sorge felt this would potentially endanger them and, in turn, would threaten their real mission, but changed his view after the Nazis invaded the USSR. Sorge and Ozaki now discussed how they could politically influence and manoeuvre their high-level friends to take positions helpful to the USSR. While Sorge worked the German embassy and could dampen hopes for Japanese military action against the Soviet Union, this task really fell to Ozaki, who argued among his associates that Japan should turn south, away from Russia. Gordon Prange, a flunkey in the American Occupation G-2 intelligence section, wrote a book on Sorge and declares that Ozaki "not only deliberately and voluntarily betrayed the secrets of his nation and the confidence of its inner councils but also worked actively to send millions of his countrymen to kill and be killed, maim and be maimed, for the benefit of a foreign power" (*Target Tokyo*, 1984).

It was not Ozaki who imposed imperialist slaughter on Asia, nor did he advocate that millions of proletarians kill each other. He did think that if U.S. and Japanese imperialism fought each other it would give the USSR the breathing space needed to turn back the Nazi invasion. And his efforts to discourage the dispatch of Japanese troops against the Soviet Union somewhat anticipated the post-Pearl Harbour Stalinist view—that Western "democracy," in alliance with the USSR, should help defeat the "totalitarian" powers. After the U.S. entered the war, Stalin continuously pleaded that a "second front" must be initiated in Europe, which was nothing more than an expression of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism under wartime conditions. D-Day didn't happen until after the Germans were turned back at Stalingrad, and U.S. and British imperialism felt compelled to race the Russians to Berlin.

There was enormous pressure on the left to support the Anglo-American side during WWII, and Ozaki never advocated political support to the Allied side in the war as the Stalinist parties did. This pressure was felt within the Trotskyist movement too, as Trotsky's advocacy of a "Proletarian Military Policy," i.e., trade-union control of the army, could only have been applied to the Anglo-American side. The Fourth International adopted and honourably defended a revolutionary-defeatist position towards the imperialist combatants, but in the Allied countries Trotskyist propaganda was often blunted by this erroneous position.

The Stalinist line that "democratic" imperialism must be politically supported against the Axis powers led to a number of political betrayals. In Japan the pre-war Communist Party of Japan (JCP) courageously opposed its own bourgeoisie in the Pacific War and suffered horrible repression, including the dispersal of its organisation, the incarceration of its leadership and the murder of a number of cadres at the hands of the

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

vicious Japanese police. But on the Allied side the Comintern sections draped themselves in their respective imperialist flags and lent political support to the Anglo-American military efforts to thwart German and Japanese imperialism in their rivalry over redividing the world markets.

The American Stalinists, geographically out of the firing line, were the most craven in their support for their own bourgeoisie. Before the war they politically supported U.S. imperialism's economic embargo of raw materials to Japan, and led labour actions to enforce these racist and protectionist measures. During the Pacific War the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) did not oppose the incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps and did nothing to reverse the exodus of their Japanese members. After Pearl Harbour the Earl Browder leadership declared that the struggle against the historic oppression of and discrimination against the American black population should be put on hold until Roosevelt and his class achieved their military objectives. Within the labour movement the Stalinists proclaimed a no-strike pledge and scabbed on a nationwide coal strike in 1943. While JCP leaders faced state repression—Tokuda rotted in jail and Nosaka¹ went into exile—Earl Browder consistently marched under the red, white and blue flag of American imperialism and his newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, hailed U.S. imperialism's dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But aspiring leftists in Japan today must understand that the imprisoned and persecuted pre-war JCP leaders, upon their release, expressed the same reform-

"democratic" imperialism. The decades-long Stalinist slanders that "Trotskyites" were counterrevolutionaries and agents of Hitler and the Mikado were monstrous lies. Trotsky's Russian Left Opposition, by 1941 all in Stalin's gulags, demanded to be released and sent to the front so they could fight against the Nazis.

The work of the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) during WWII should be of particular interest to the Japanese working class. Unlike the Stalinists, the SWP stood opposed to the round-up of Japanese Americans. After Pearl Harbour, when virtually every left and socialist organisation was lining up behind Roosevelt, the SWP told the working class the truth, that this war was being fought over markets, especially in China. They argued that for American workers, conscripted in droves into the imperialist army, the main enemy was not the Japanese and German soldiers their officers were ordering them to shoot, but the ruling class at home that wanted them to fight and die for corporate profit. Just like Lenin's Bolsheviks, the SWP's position was to fight for revolution at home, not imperialist war abroad.

On the eve of WWII, 29 Trotskyists, including American Trotskyism's founder, James P. Cannon, were put on trial by the Roosevelt government for their opposition to the coming imperialist war. In this trial, held in Minneapolis, 18 were convicted and sentenced to prison on 8 December 1941, a day after Pearl Harbour and the same day Washington declared war on Japan and Germany. U.S. imperialism wanted to silence the

For Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union
A Program Of Victory For The Soviet Union

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL
Official Weekly Paper of the Socialist Workers Party

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 544-CIO LEADERS INDICTED

Founding member of the American Communist Party and later Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, indicted with other SWP and Teamster union leaders in 1941, and subsequently imprisoned, for opposition to U.S. imperialism's war plans. The SWP's *Militant* steadfastly defended gains of October Revolution.



Pathfinder Press

FBI Frameup Is Aid To Tobin's Anti-CIO Drive

Cracking Of Atom Bomb From Japan Is Aid To Imperialist War Plans... The New York Times... The New York Times... The New York Times...

The New York Times: These Indicted in St. Paul

The New York Times... The New York Times... The New York Times... The New York Times...

the scientific conquest of the marvellous secret of atomic energy, which might rationally be used to lighten the burdens of mankind, is employed first for the wholesale destruction of half a million people....

"In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism killed or injured half a million human beings. The young and the old, the child in the cradle and the aged and infirm, the newly married, the well and the sick, men, women and children—they all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan.

"This is how American imperialism is bringing civilization to the Orient. What an unspeakable atrocity!... They gained the power to exploit and enslave hundreds of millions of people in the Far East. And that is what they went to war for—not for moral position, but for profit."

—"The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," 22 August 1945

Lubianka prison, subjected to gruelling interrogations, threats against himself and his family, and endless demands that he confess his "crimes against the Soviet Union." How could such a heroic defender of the USSR be treated so terribly, and why did Trepper spend nearly ten years in Stalin's prisons? Trepper didn't just "know too much"—he was also part of the purge of the Red Army that followed Trotsky being driven out of the party, then out of the USSR, and finally assassinated by a Stalinist agent in Mexico. The purge of the Red Army began at the top with Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, who had been deputy chief of staff under Trotsky's command. In the summer of 1937 Moscow papers suddenly announced the arrest of Tukhachevsky and seven top generals, all old Communists and heroes of the Civil War, on preposterous charges of plotting with the Nazis to stage a coup and restore capitalism. The next day their execution was reported. Another Old Bolshevik, Sorge's commanding officer General Jan Berzin, was a purge victim because of his close association with Tukhachevsky. In all, 13 out of 19 army corp commanders, 110 out of 135 division and brigade commanders, half the regimental commanders and most of the political commissars were executed. Stalin had beheaded the Red Army and left it virtually leaderless on the eve of the Nazi *Blitzkrieg*.

Stalin feared these communists because they weren't his. Trepper and Sorge were honest militants, like many others won to communism by the October Revolution who later, after the Russian Revolution degenerated, sought refuge in the Red Army's Fourth Department. Trotsky referred to this layer of cadres as the "Reiss Faction." Ignace Reiss joined the Polish Communist Party in 1919, worked for the Comintern in Vienna and joined the Soviet intelligence service during the

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THE OLD ONE-TWO



10 August 1945: American Communist Party newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, cartoon grotesquely hailed U.S. imperialist atomic bombing of Japan.

ist appetites as the American Stalinists who backed Roosevelt. During the militant post-war strike wave, the JCP leadership consciously held back its more militant members by trying to substitute arbitration boards for the strikes and struggles over control of production that were sweeping the country. Tied to the Stalinist program of two-stage revolution, the JCP leadership hailed imperialist General MacArthur as a liberator and advocated an electoral coalition with the *Sanpo*² Socialists. These betrayals culminated with Tokuda licking MacArthur's boots, calling off the 1 February 1947 general strike. Today Fuwa³ & Co. call for a three-stage revolution: democratic reform, democratic revolution and, way off in the distant future, socialism—but only if the bourgeois Diet approves!

It was only Trotsky's Fourth International, founded in 1938, that stood on Lenin's 1914 position of revolutionary defeatism on all sides of the imperialist conflict, and called for unconditional military defence of the USSR against German imperialism. Trotskyists championed the fight of the colonies to free themselves from imperialist domination. They advocated a revolutionary defencist position on the side of national liberation struggles against both the Axis and Allied powers, unlike the Stalinists who subordinated colonial liberation to their political support of

only domestic critics of their real war aims, but the incarceration of the Minneapolis 18 in Sandstone Prison underlined Trotskyist opposition to WWII, and was a courageous example of proletarian international solidarity with their class brothers in Japan and Germany.

During the war SWP merchant seamen volunteered for the dangerous North Atlantic Murmansk run that brought badly needed supplies to the USSR, and many young comrades died when their ships were sunk by German submarines. Within the labour movement, SWP unionists fought against the Stalinist subordination of class struggle to social-patriotic flag-waving. The Stalinists told black soldiers it was their duty to dig latrines, eat meals separately and drink from segregated water fountains, to support "democratic" U.S. racism against "undemocratic" Nazi racism. The SWP was the only working-class organisation that championed the fight of black soldiers against the horrible racist conditions U.S. imperialism subjected them to during the war. And it was only the American Trotskyists that denounced the ghastly nuclear bombing of Japan. James P. Cannon, in a public speech in New York City shortly after he was released from prison, delivered this indictment of the murderous capitalist system:

"What a commentary on the real nature of capitalism in its decadent phase is this, that

IV—STALINIST TREACHERY

In 1935 Sorge explained to his group the central purpose of their espionage activity and, according to Miyagi, "Sorge told us that if Japan's attack on Russia could be forecast two months ahead, it could be avoided by diplomatic manoeuvres; if one month in advance, the Soviet Union could have large forces on the border and its defences ready; if two weeks ahead, a first line of defence could be constructed; and if only a week ahead, losses could be reduced" (quoted from Chalmers Johnson, *An Instance of Treason*, 1962). Sorge's group and the Red Orchestra in Europe risked their lives to warn Moscow of the impending attack, but Stalin did nothing, and this criminal negligence cost millions of lives and nearly destroyed the USSR. And those heroic spies who survived the Nazi manhunts for their radio transmitters later wound up in Stalin's jails because they knew too much.

Leopold Trepper, the Red Orchestra's courageous commander, managed to escape from his Nazi captors. But after the war he was thrown into the KGB's

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China...

(continued from page one)

were trumpeting Deng's watchword, "to get rich is glorious."

Deng dubbed his policies "socialism with Chinese characteristics." Yet the introduction of "market reforms" was not a "Chinese" phenomenon, but a tendency common to all Stalinist bureaucracies, with their Nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Sitting atop the economic foundations of workers states while depriving the workers of political power, Stalinist reformers have looked to market mechanisms to correct the rigidities of bureaucratic planning without endangering their own positions. "Market socialism" had earlier been introduced in Tito's Yugoslavia and later in Hungary, giving rise to domestic capitalist-restorationist forces which helped destroy both of these deformed workers states.

Deng's reforms and his "open door" to imperialist (and exile Chinese) capital are now threatening to throw the country into turmoil. Last year, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences warned that the country could break up like Yugoslavia after Deng dies. Unlike the multinational Yugoslav federation, which was torn apart by separatist forces, in China national minorities constitute only 8 percent of the population. Rather, the breakup of the centrally planned economy into a hybrid of state firms, local collectives known as "township and village enterprises" and an imperialist-dominated capitalist sector has created an increasingly independent layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs tied to the world capitalist market. The danger that growing regionalism poses is seen clearly in Guangdong province, around the new city of Shenzhen, where "free-trade" SEZs (special economic zones) were first developed. The area is becoming increasingly integrated into the economic sphere of capitalist Hong Kong, which shares strong cultural ties with the region's Cantonese-speaking people.

In a speech last June, president and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin declared that the party and state were "in danger of collapse" from rampant corruption, with officials enriching themselves by playing off their connections to foreign investors, selling off state property, etc. The autonomy of regional "economic warlords" has grown to the point where they rarely listen to directives issued in Beijing, while banditry and even clan feuds are erupting around the country. Recently, a group of intellectuals, comprised mostly of veterans of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests but including former editors of the CCP's *People's Daily*, offered two petitions to China's National People's Congress,



Growing class division in Deng's China: high rises spring up next to impoverished workers' district in Guangdong province, site of first "free trade" Special Economic Zones.

calling for investigating corruption and "human rights" abuses and for a range of "democratic" measures including a "constitutional democracy."

Such abstract calls for "democracy," in the absence of any declaration of defense of the Chinese workers state, however deformed, against capitalist forces, amount to a program for bourgeois rule, which would be anything but democratic. The petitioners claim that "the values now esteemed and striven for by the societies of mankind are the upholding of human dignity and the safeguarding of fundamental human rights." This is the same language used by anti-Communist "dissidents" in East Europe and the USSR, who were actively supported by the Western imperialist powers. The term "democracy" became a code word for capitalist counterrevolution which swept the former Soviet bloc, bringing nothing but misery, and certainly no democracy, to workers, minorities and women.

The Stalinist bureaucracy's delicate balancing act between world imperialism and the workers and peasants in whose name they rule cannot last much longer. On the one hand, they are pressed by the demands of foreign capital and its local "compradors," whose property rights will not be secure without the establishment of a bourgeois state. On the other, there are signs of rising proletarian struggle, from the capitalist SEZs to state-owned industries where workers are faced with the dismantling of "cradle-to-grave" benefits, which are among the most cherished gains of the 1949 Revolution. This

situation cries out for the leadership of a communist-internationalist vanguard, fighting to defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution through a political revolution overthrowing the bureaucracy, and linking up with proletarian struggles in South Korea and especially in imperialist Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

Social Unrest Wracks China's "Socialist Market Economy"

While the number of "labor-management disputes," many of them protesting corruption, reached 12,000 in 1993, a rise of 50 percent from the year before, the number of strikes and labor protests, including violent attacks on managers and property, rose again by 66 percent in the first quarter of 1994. (The right to strike, previously recognized in China's constitution, was dropped in 1982.) "I think the government should be very careful about what they do to the workers of China," warned a retired steel worker. "If they infuriate the workers, there will be no stopping them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 October 1994).

There is also the threat of rebellion by poor peasants left out of the Chinese economic "miracle." At least 100 million peasants made "surplus" by the breakup of agricultural collectivization roam the cities searching for work, living in segregated enclaves and taking on jobs that longtime residents refuse. This is in addition to the estimated 70 million peasants who provided the labor for both the SEZs and the rapidly expanding local "collective" industries in the first decade of market "reforms." Others are mortgaging their futures to ruthless smugglers for a chance to emigrate. Poverty rates are increasing faster in the countryside than in urban areas, while the population squeeze is tightening with leasing of farmland to private industrial developers. Peasant unrest was recorded in 20 of China's 29 provinces in 1993, along with almost 3,000 violent attacks on tax collectors!

The issue of inflation is particularly volatile: together with anger at official corruption, this fueled the working-class upheaval in May-June 1989 that nearly toppled the government. Last fall, inflation reached an annual rate of 27 percent, the highest since 1989. Sounding the alarm against rising prices at a time of social stress and political transition, the 22 February *People's Daily* noted that prices for basic foods in 1994 rose over 50 percent, which disproportionately affects urban residents.

The fear of social "chaos" helps explain why the regime, to the consternation of international bankers, has increased investment in state-owned plants over the last five years. More than 70 percent of investment in China still goes to state-owned factories, although their share of

national output has fallen to 43 percent. Last month, Beijing declared an outright moratorium on closing state factories in key industries, and has recently imposed price controls on foods and other items. Meanwhile, the government is scrambling to assemble a "unified social security system" for laid-off state workers, in order to begin applying bankruptcy regulations demanded by imperialist investors.

The head of China's State Council Research Office defended the continued high level of subsidies to the state sector by referring to the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe: "Some argue that privatization has become the main trend in world economics, including in China. But this would deny the basis of socialism in China and there is considerable debate in capitalist countries over the success of privatization. Prospects for it in former socialist countries are not so rosy" (*South China Morning Post*, 8 February).

But this current shift in no way contradicts the experience of the last seven years, which proved that in the absence of massive working-class struggle to defend proletarian property forms, no wing of Stalinism can be expected to fight capitalist counterrevolution. It is not communism that has failed, but its Stalinist perversion. The liberating program and goals of Marxism envision advancing social and economic development through international workers revolution.

Imperialist Rivalry Over China

The imperialists are themselves increasingly worried about political instability in China. Foreign investment, which fueled China's economic boom over the last 17 years, dropped in 1994, pointing to a slowdown of the economy. The tussle between China and the U.S. over "pirated" software, CDs and videotapes points to American worries that Chinese administrators haven't yet learned to "respect" bourgeois property rights like copyright laws. But despite its occasional tongue-clucking over "human rights" and threats against trade with China, the U.S. bourgeoisie is loath to shut the door to business opportunities here lest it cede ground to its Japanese and European competitors. Still, as it did during the anti-Soviet Cold War, the imperialists' "human rights" rhetoric can serve to rally pro-capitalist forces inside and outside the country seeking to undermine the Stalinist-ruled workers state.

The high level of U.S. trade with Deng's China has been subjected to shrill denunciations by die-hard anti-Communists like *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal. Another stalwart of the "let's get tough with Red China" crowd is AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who in this case combines anti-Communist fanaticism with flag-waving protectionism. On their left flank stand the "State Department socialists" of the [U.S.] International Socialist Organization, whose newspaper *Socialist Worker* (June 1994) condemned Clinton's "appeasement" of Deng when the U.S. renewed China's "Most Favored Nation" trade status (granting imports from China the lowest level of U.S. tariffs). This is scarcely surprising, since their British mentor Tony Cliff refused to defend the USSR and China (which he labeled "state capitalist") against U.S. imperialism in the Korean War of 1950-53.

The initial phase of Deng's "open door" policies was dominated by light-industrial plants in SEZs in southern Guangdong and Fujian provinces. These plants are mostly owned by Hong Kong and Taiwanese companies, whose brutal exploitation rivals that of early 19th-century textile mills. The SEZs have since expanded throughout key industrial centers like Shanghai, Wuhan and the Northeast, where Japanese, American and European capital is geared toward advanced technology and heavy industry like power production and aircraft manufacturing.

Renewed inter-imperialist rivalries touched off by the collapse of the USSR are certain to heat up over China, whose



Der Spiegel

Volkswagen joint venture in Shanghai. Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation fuels capitalist counterrevolution.

masses of available labor, developing internal market and geographical position in booming East Asia have made it, unlike Yeltsin's Russia, a gleaming target for capital investment. Here the goal of Japanese imperialism to recreate a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere trade bloc runs directly up against the U.S., whose key asset is its global military power. The last time these powers competed for China, the result was the extension of World War II to the Pacific.

The bureaucrats in Beijing have their own "big power" ambitions. By operating its own businesses, the 3-million-strong People's Liberation Army (PLA), the world's largest, has fueled a military buildup, which has set alarm bells ringing from Taiwan to the Pentagon. This development has precious little to do with defending the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, and everything to do with promoting Chinese nationalism, which serves to derail working-class anger at the corrupt bureaucracy. China's claim to the oil-rich Spratley Islands in the South China Sea has brought it close to blows with Vietnam, which despite its devastation by U.S. imperialism's dirty war defeated China's invasion in 1979.

Who Will Receive Heaven's Mandate?

The anticipated death of 90-year-old leader Deng Xiaoping has prompted debate inside the CCP leadership over how to maintain social peace in this

army commanders into aspiring bourgeois exploiters, it is nevertheless the only central state body with a coherent, authoritative countrywide structure.

At a time when the government admits that 80 million people worry about getting food and warmth, the newly rich flaunt their wealth: businessmen's dinners in SEZ boomtowns cost ten times a worker's annual wage. Such ostentatious displays have produced nostalgia for the days of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), when egalitarianism, however distorted, was part of the popular consciousness and official ideology. A cab driver in Chongqing declared, "In his day, even though living standards were very low, everyone was equal in rights. Today the country is more developed and the living standard is higher, but there is also a big difference between those who have money and those who do not" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1994).

But it was Mao's version of "socialism in one country" that led to disastrous policies that more than once threatened to ruin the People's Republic, and which set the stage for the rise of Deng Xiaoping. With the victory of Mao's peasant guerrilla army over Chiang Kai-shek's decrepit Guomindang regime in 1949, the People's Republic was born as a deformed workers state, ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste that adapted the model of the Soviet Union under Stalin to fit Mao's peasant-based nationalism. The adventurist "Great

confirms Leon Trotsky's prognosis for Stalin's Russia in the 1930s: either the conservative, nationalist bureaucracy would be ousted through a political revolution of the working class seeking to return to the internationalist road of Lenin's October, or the workers state would succumb to the blows of counter-revolution, from within and without. This warning was confirmed in the negative by the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Workers Raise Their Heads

Due to its imperialist-financed economic growth, China's proletariat is rapidly expanding. In March, a petition circulated in Beijing calling for "freedom from exploitation," the right to strike, and the right to organize independent trade unions. The potential social power of the workers has been recognized by a section of the pro-imperialist "dissident" movement, which has turned to labor organizing. A "Chinese League of Laborers" was founded by Han Dongfang and other "dissidents" after the Tiananmen Square uprising. As strikes and protests grew toward the end of 1994, the regime stepped up repression against all "unofficial" labor organizations.

Under conditions of strict censorship, it is difficult to determine the political direction of today's workers' struggles and their leadership. At least some of the labor activists take as their model Polish

often includes working up to 15 hours a day, seven days a week, and sleeping in "dormitories" inside the plants. Workers slave away in cheaply built deathtraps, while government "inspectors" are handsomely paid to look the other way. The government reported that in 1993 in Guangdong province there were 45,000 industrial accidents, claiming almost 9,000 lives. Last summer workers staged a militant protest outside an SEZ plant in Zhuhai after a fire led to the building's collapse, killing 76.

A variety of leftists praise the township and village enterprises, known as TVEs, as a "socialist" alternative to exploitation by foreign capital. By producing for the market rather than according to a centralized plan, the TVEs operate according to the profit principle, and in fact are generating a layer of indigenous capitalist entrepreneurs. This "communal" capitalism can be just as ruthless as the SEZ sweatshops. The horrendous casualty rate in mining accidents, estimated at 10,000 per year, is in no small part due to thousands of township-owned coal mines which account for nearly half of China's coal production.

The tremors of labor unrest are also being felt in state industries, as overseas bankers demand an end to the subsidizing of "inefficient" plants. While many actions have reportedly been led by plant managers working with the official unions to protest budget cuts, others are not so controlled. At the giant Wuhan Iron and Steelworks, managers have reduced the 120,000-strong workforce by more than half in order to turn a profit: last year workers took to "stealing" the plant's products when the firm could not meet its payroll. At least one soldier died when the army was called in. In another incident, pensioners commandeering trucks and cars blocked the key bridge in Wuhan to protest the erosion of their benefits by inflation.

Last March, some 100,000 workers protesting pay cuts marched through the two main cities of Manchuria's Heilongjiang province, where 2 million workers had lost their jobs the year before (*Business Week*, 1 August 1994). In Manchuria, the struggle to defend workers' "iron rice bowl" intersects bitter resentment toward Japanese imperialism, which ruled the area through bloody terror from 1931 until Japan's defeat in World War II. Japanese plans to expand auto parts production in this aging industrial belt have run up against worker unrest—for example, at Mabuchi Motors' factory in Dalian—fueled at least in part by anti-Japanese sentiment.

Desperate to assert control over the workers, the government has issued a new National Labor Law "guaranteeing" workers in foreign-owned companies and joint ventures the right to form unions...so long as they are affiliated with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), the only union legally allowed. Run by the state, the ACFTU collaborates on a daily basis with the capitalist SEZ bosses to keep workers in check. "We have a union, but the union is useless," declared a worker at a Shenzhen television factory, adding that he could not recall a single instance where workers went to the union for help.

The new law also allows collective bargaining, previously permitted only in private enterprises, in all sectors. Chinese workers no longer have the benefits which they formerly took for granted as the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed employment, stable wages, free medical care at factory clinics, free childcare centers for working mothers, etc. Instead, 40 percent of workers in state plants now sign individual contracts, which must follow contracts drawn up between the ACFTU and plant management.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

To successfully defend the workers and peasants against the advancing counter-revolution, labor struggles cannot be limited to defensive economic confines

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Peter Turnley

Contingent from Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation arriving in Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Entry of working class into mass student demonstrations posed proletarian political revolution.

volatile country. In early September, a group around former propaganda minister Deng Liqun, which published the magazine *In Search of Truth*, openly held a conference to discuss combatting "bourgeois liberalization." Around the same time, an anonymously authored book called *Viewing China Through a Third Eye* shook the party with its open criticism of Deng's reforms. Warning of impending chaos at the hands of the "living volcano" of the peasantry, it called for confining peasants to the land and argued against any kind of "democracy." Following a plug by CCP leader Jiang Zemin, the book sold some 200,000 copies and became something of a bible for those elements of the bureaucracy who want a tightly controlled transition to capitalism. They argue for the party to get more involved in business.

The one common concern of the CCP apparatus—which is shared by bourgeois-democratic "dissidents" and world bankers—is the need for social stability. In this vein, the regime has recently been on a campaign to uphold Confucian values, seeking to inculcate among the masses passive acceptance of the bureaucracy's "heavenly mandate" to rule. Also, after the 1989 "Beijing Spring" was drowned in blood, a new "People's Armed Police" was created specifically to control "social unrest." The key armed force, however, is the People's Liberation Army. While the PLA's plunge into the market economy has turned many

Leap Forward" of the late 1950s sought to propel China into an advanced industrial society through the herculean efforts of its peasant toilers, creating "backyard steel furnaces" out of scrap material. The result was the near-total collapse of agriculture and a horrible famine.

After this disaster led to Mao's loss of authority, he fought back in the mid-1960s by mounting the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight pitting millions of youthful "Red Guards," backed by the army, against Mao's foes in the bureaucracy. The frenzied campaigns against "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois liberalization" shut down schools and closed factories until Mao mobilized the PLA against the youth, who were sent to the countryside to "learn from the people."

By the late '60s, the Mao regime clearly signaled that it regarded the Soviet Union (dubbed "social imperialist") as a greater enemy than American imperialism. Thus the stage was set for Mao's embrace of President Nixon in 1972, initiating a strategic alliance against the Soviet Union, while the U.S. was raining death and destruction on Vietnam. In the aftermath Beijing opened the door to foreign investment, while beginning the liquidation of collectivized agriculture.

Mao's heirs have now brought the Chinese Revolution to the edge of the abyss. The situation in China today fully

Solidarność, which led workers rebelling against the Stalinist regime straight into the anti-Communist embrace of Ronald Reagan and Pope Wojtyla. Workers must beware of "independent" union leaders tied to imperialist agencies: Han Dongfang is championed by U.S. president Clinton and backed by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy in Hong Kong, where Han is exiled. An article on the labor movement in Shenzhen noted, "Han's efforts are now limited to publishing a labour journal and attempting to maintain links with activists working in China. Some are not eager for his help," the article continued. It quotes a recent university graduate now organizing in Shenzhen: "We want to avoid any links with people outside China" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 16 June 1994).

The mere formation of trade unions independent of the bureaucracy is not in itself a barrier to capitalist counter-revolution. It is quite possible to have economist "free trade unions" in China which accept the framework of capitalist exploitation. Yet the mounting workers' struggles are against the effects of precisely the kind of "market reforms" that Solidarność fought for and enacted once in power.

In the Shenzhen SEZ, 2,350 labor "disputes" were recorded in the first six months of 1993. These young workers, many of them women, are typically just a few years removed from rural life. The horrendous superexploitation they face

Privatisation...

(continued from page one)

that bind Australia to the English monarchy are an outrageous affront to the working class and the most elementary democratic sentiment. But Keating's "aggressively Australian" posture is reactionary—he is expressing the strategic interests of Australian capitalism and the gut white racism that is the one true article of Laborite faith. As we wrote in *ASp* No. 144 ("The English Queen... and the Lizard of Oz," Autumn 1992): "Revolutionaries demand: Down with the monarchy! But our goal of a multi-racial workers republic stands in class opposition to Keating's drive for racist Australian capitalism to engage more directly in the superexploitation of the Asian masses under the imperialist yoke."

Labor to Unions: Wave the Flag and Eat It

Emboldened by the victory of capitalist restoration throughout Eastern Europe and the ex-USSR, the imperialists have in their respective countries ratcheted up the rate of exploitation of the proletariat while pushing reactionary nationalism. During what Keating called "the recession we had to have," the trade unions were manacled and their members bled. In the name of the "national interest," the Accord between the government and the ACTU forced on workers massive give-backs while those sections of the union movement such as the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) and pilots who fought back were ruthlessly crushed. Now that the economy has been officially announced to be in "recovery"—with Keating's corporate masters continuing to rake in record profits—rather than the "payback" supposedly promised by the Accord, the working class faces an escalating capitalist offensive.

The sell-off of state-owned industries and services to the private sector is part and parcel of this onslaught. Keating manufactured a budget "surplus" with the announcement that the government's remaining 50 percent share in the Commonwealth Bank (CBA) would be sold. ("Unthinkable" only a year ago, the announced sale of the "people's bank"

drew barely a whisper of opposition from the Labor "lefts.") In addition to the CBA and the threatened sale of the Australian National Line (ANL), the Qantas airline prospectus is being advertised as a prelude to its sell-off; airports and the AIDC investment bank are on Keating's privatisation hit list as are Telecom and Australia Post.

Increasingly every sector of the public services from education to health care is being forced to operate on a profit-making basis; schools must now compete for corporate sponsorship while hospitals are either sold off or forced to compete for scarce funds on the basis of their financial turnover. Under the Hilmer Report, proposals have been adopted to restructure as profit-making enterprises all major federal and state utilities, which will then be progressively privatised. State governments have been progressively hiving off various government services; Kennett's planned sell-off of the electricity monopoly in Victoria has unleashed outrage and last December Latrobe Valley power workers struck against union-busting attacks.

Having been put on ice for several months by a government wary of another major battle with the powerful Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), the privatisation of ANL is now back on the agenda. Breaking the waterfront union—historically representing one of the most militant sections of the working class—has long been seen by the bosses as a key test of Labor's capacity to deliver "labour market reforms." Following a string of provocations against the MUA, in September Keating's industrial relations czar Laurie Brereton sold off the most profitable part of the ANL, Australian Stevedores, and then talked down the price of the line in the hope of presenting the MUA with a *fait accompli*—a fire sale of what was left. The government aimed to both rid itself of a major section of the union and to facilitate the introduction of enterprise employment in the cutthroat-competitive international shipping industry.

But, in the first national strike by both seamen and stevedores in decades, the MUA responded by shutting down every port in the country. For five days the ports lay idle; the bosses were howling for blood. The MUA misleadership of John

Coombs & Co. then sent the strikers back to work. They offered Keating reduced crew sizes, berth ratios and a peace accord in exchange for a promise that he'd favourably entertain the union being a party to a buy-out consortium! The MUA originally planned to sink some of its members' superannuation funds into a buy-out by Linfox and the French Balldore Technologies Group; BTG et al. pulled out leaving only the notoriously anti-union P&O in the game.

Now the MUA tops cynically claim "the union will not cop the sale of ANL to the P&O Company." We say: *the partnership of labour and capital is a lie; this union-busting privatisation can and must be smashed through the methods of the class struggle!* That means strike action, mass pickets that nothing and no one crosses, defiance of the bosses' Arbitration Court diktats and an internationalist appeal to the seamen and waterfront workers abroad. In this island nation, such an unleashing of the MUA's potential power would bring the economy to a screeching halt and galvanise in struggle other sections of the working class and oppressed.

The union tops' "buy-out" sell-out after decades of a nationalist campaign to "Save ANL" shows that their flag-waving appeals to the bosses' "national interest" means screwing the *interests of the workers*. Grotesquely, the MUA tops, echoed by the Stalinist leftovers of the slavishly Labor-loyal Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), linked their campaign to "Save ANL" with demands to *keep overseas seamen off Australian ships*. The SPA's *Maritime Bulletin* (21 September 1994) wrote:

"The unions must establish a consortium of interested parties willing to put up money to buy ANL from the Government.... This is not going to be an easy task but unless extraordinary care is taken some members of the consortium could be *foreign investors, or perhaps even foreign owned companies*. It may well be that in all the given circumstances nothing better than what has been proposed was possible of *achievement, but it does mean that the Government has welched upon an understanding to maintain an Australian owned shipping line as part of Australia's virtual defence policy*" (emphasis ours).

This nationalist *dreck* is an attack on the best traditions of waterfront workers' action in solidarity with the struggle for Indonesian independence and the heroic fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against Australian/U.S. imperialism. It is also a stab in the back to those workers internationally who have stood by the wharfies' struggles. When in February of last year the waterfront bosses declared war on the MUA and the wharfies struck back, messages of solidarity came in from the Philippine KMU union federation and the Japanese seafarers union; a visiting delegation of South Korean trade unionists joined the wharfies' picket lines, fists clenched.

Meanwhile, the shipping bosses have stepped up their attacks on the union: in Western Australia the government-owned Stateships has moved to contract out stevedoring work to scab labour hired by BAAC Pty Ltd. Waterside workers have gone out twice now in Fremantle and the MUA called one 24-hour nation-wide stoppage against this direct challenge to the closed shop. But Coombs' bottom line is to appeal to the government and the Arbitration court. *One out, all out—shut the ports down tight! For elected strike committees—no reliance on the bureaucrats' grovelling "deals" with the bosses and the government!*

A real battle against the bosses' vicious union busting means waging a struggle along *internationalist class lines*. International competition in shipping is fierce, with "flag of convenience" (FOC) lines registered in tax havens like Panama or Liberia, employing low-wage crews in barbaric conditions. Some joint action alongside Indonesian, Indian, Korean and Japanese seamen would be a powerful blow to the bosses' racist divide-and-rule tactics. Maritime workers need to build a fighting unity with overseas crews by

demanding *full union rates, conditions and protection for all seamen working Australian ports and shipping!*

The SPA, which maintains some support within sections of the class, for decades offered its loyalties both to the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and the Labor lackeys of White Australia imperialism. When the Soviet bureaucracy disintegrated under the weight of its bankrupt politics and imperialist-backed counter-revolution destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state, this left the SPA with but one master to serve. The SPA has put itself in the "vanguard" of national chauvinism within the unions; judging from the letters column of its newspaper, the *Guardian*, this has become so gross that even some of the SPA cadre has been stirred to publicly protest. Thus, in a 24 May letter, Eddie Clynes complained of an earlier article which "says in so many words that the government is helping Australian jobs go to Asian workers. There isn't a hint of solidarity with the Asian workers." Clynes continues: "We should be mindful that the Australian working class has been brought up on a tradition of racism, from the resentment and violence against the Chinese workers on the gold fields, to the white Australia policy (a long-standing policy of the ALP) and openly racist attitudes displayed towards the waves of post-war immigrants." We are "mindful" that, from its grotesque anti-Japanese chauvinism in the Second World War to its touching concern for blood-soaked Australian imperialism's "virtual defence policy" today, the SPA's reformist program is a "socialist" version of "defence of the fatherland."

As part of the struggle against the ongoing attacks on maritime workers we call for the *expropriation without compensation of the greedy shipping and stevedoring bosses*. The maritime industry fulfils the criteria laid out for the application of this demand as explained by Leon Trotsky in the *Transitional Program*:

"The socialist program of expropriation, i.e., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case during the present transitional period hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie."

— *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* (1938)

Neither the shipping bosses nor any imaginable capitalist government would willingly agree to such expropriation; it could only be carried out through a powerful wave of class struggle, shaking Australian capitalism to its foundation. Such a struggle would be a bridge to workers power, not a social-democratic scheme for "improving" capitalism.

Revolutionary Class Struggle vs. Laborite "Nationalisations"

The working people under Labor have been savagely ground down in order to fill the coffers of the banks, the financiers, the corporate bosses. While the Laborite reformists "oppose" privatisation, their program consists of appeals to this government based on the hoary social-democratic myth of the superiority of state-owned property *under capitalism*. Reformist outfits from the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) to Militant and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) were hostile to the collectivised economy of the Soviet degenerated workers state and took their side with imperialist-backed counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern European bloc. They're all for state-owned enterprises, as long as the state is capitalist and preferably administered by a social-democratic government.

We oppose the denationalisation of industry under capitalism when, as is almost always the case, it means an attack on the union organisation, working conditions and living standards of the workers. In neocolonial countries, revolutionaries defend nationalisations which are directed against imperialist

Down With Anti-French Chauvinism!

22 JUNE—Grotesque, violent anti-French chauvinism has spread throughout Australia following the announcement by the recently-elected conservative French president Jacques Chirac that France would resume nuclear testing at the Mururoa Atoll in French Polynesia. In Perth, the French consulate was gutted in an arson attack. In nearly every capital city, consulates have been picketed, French businesses and restaurants attacked, French expatriates subjected to abuse and vilification. Keating's Labor government has refused to refuel French military planes and the ACTU tops have called for black bans of French transport and goods.

The Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), condemns this vile Australian nationalist anti-French campaign. Scandalously, both the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) have been in the vanguard of anti-French mobilisations. A coalition including the ISO and DSP called rallies at French consulates in Sydney and Melbourne; the 24 June Melbourne demo says "Remember Hiroshima" and "Against French Nuclear Testing." How in character for these social-patriots and tails of White Australia Laborite nationalism to "remember" the U.S. imperialist genocidal A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with a mobilisation *against the French rivals of the U.S.' lackey Australian imperialists in the Pacific region*. These so-called "leftists" are running point for the bourgeoisie's nationalist *merde* under a very thin veil of "anti-nuke" verbiage. It is a foretaste of the role they would play in a larger inter-imperialist conflict.

The Australian rulers in 1950 invited the British imperialists to conduct nuclear testing at Maralinga, on the lands of the Aboriginal Tjarutja people, irradiating the site and contaminating it with plutonium. Today, the Labor government continues to host U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. From the Korean War to the dirty, losing colonial war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to its support to the bloody CIA-engineered 1965 massacre of communists, workers and peasants in Indonesia which paved the way for Suharto's "New Order," jackal Australian imperialism has played the role of counterrevolutionary gendarme in the region. Today, Canberra does its bit to aid the overturn of the gains of the social revolutions in China, North Korea and Vietnam. Canberra has also braintrustered and armed the army of its Papua New Guinea neo-colony, whose people are manifestly victims of White Australia imperialism, in a murderous war against the Bougainville people. To further Australian imperialism's own jackal interests in the region, Keating & Co. would be happy to see the back of French colonial power in the South Pacific.

The main enemy is at home! The threat of thermo-nuclear World War III will only be ended when the working class within the imperialist centres divest the ruling class of state power and establish workers rule. Just as our comrades in the Ligue trotskyste de France fight for workers revolution, so we here struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the racist Australian bosses, for a workers republic—part of a socialist Asia. Long live the revolutionary tradition of the Paris Commune! Workers of the world unite! Down with reactionary anti-French chauvinism! ■

holdings, such as Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal in Egypt and Cardenas' nationalisation of rail and oil in Mexico. But we do not defend bourgeois nationalisations in principle. Trotsky noted of the nationalisations in Mexico that they had "of course, nothing to do with socialism." Labour's postwar nationalisations in Britain—a model for Laborite reformists—were in fact giant bailouts for the capitalists, mainly limited to failing industries and maintained by low wages and high taxes. (With the exception of iron and steel, all the nationalisations undertaken by the 1945-51 government were broadly accepted by the capitalist class.)

The conscious struggle for a socialist society by the exploited and oppressed will much more resemble the 1848 revolutionary insurrection of the Parisian masses or that of the Petrograd proletariat in 1917 than parliamentary debates over whether 47 or 49 percent of the economy is "nationalised" under capitalism. Victorious workers revolution, led by a communist vanguard, will seize what the blood-sucking bankers and bosses have stolen, expropriate them wholesale and establish workers state rule, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Unchain the Unions! Down with Arbitration—Rip up the Accord!

There's been plenty of willingness to struggle on the part of the union ranks: the missing element has been a revolutionary, class-struggle leadership. Maritime workers have shut down ports across the country four times in 18 months. In November/December of last year, the bosses and their government were hit with a wave of strikes for higher wages and against union-busting attacks. Coal miners carried out several national strikes over the last year—but these struggles were sold out by the union tops of the CFMEU, pleading respect for Keating's anti-union laws and engaging in an orgy of chauvinism aimed at blaming the Japanese bosses who import coal, rather than the profit-gouging Australian mining magnates, for the attacks on the members.

At Mt Isa a three-month campaign of rolling strikes came to a head in May when the MIM bosses locked out 3,500 mineworkers. Miners at MIM's three Australian coal mines responded with an indefinite strike. *An occupation of the mines, linked with an industry-wide strike, would have put the bosses on notice and won widespread support.* But as the miners hung tough for a week, ACTU president Ferguson weighed in, threatening to leave the Mt Isa miners to fight alone, and cajoled them back to work with a sell-out deal for no industrial action and the establishment of a corporatist "Single Bargaining Unit" of bosses and union tops. Tell Ferguson & Co. to shove it—the miners and their allies have the power to "isolate" the ACTU tops by taking the gloves off and fighting the bosses here "at home" who were responsible for the cold-blooded murder of eleven miners at Moura in Queensland!

The introduction of enterprise bargaining has been an additional weapon in the bosses' arsenal, attempting to atomise the struggle of the working class on a production unit-by-unit basis. Union membership has plummeted from 50 percent in 1982 to 35 percent of the workforce today. For example, the destruction of some 40,000 factory jobs since 1989 in the clothing industry has meant that the workforce in that industry has become increasingly converted into an army of unorganised, slave-labour outworkers, overwhelmingly immigrant women and children working for as low as \$2.00 an hour and up to 20 hours a day. Young workers are taking a beating with the introduction of a sub-minimum "training" wage designed to throw them off unemployment and to bring down union-level rates of pay.

According to Keating, this is "as good as it gets." It's high time to wipe the grins off the bosses' and their labour lieutenants' smug mugs! Down with enterprise bargaining and rip up the Accord! The reformists' "alternative" to

enterprise bargaining is to cling to the present Award system, thus chaining workers to the very Arbitration behemoth that initially brought in enterprise bargaining. For industrial unions and national contracts covering all workers on an industry-wide basis! A class-struggle fight against the bosses' union-busting offensive means the union movement must take up the plight of the nearly one million out of work and trying to eke out an existence on the dole. For jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, i.e., a *sliding scale of hours* to divide the available work among all workers. For a *sliding scale of wages* to ward off the ravages of inflation. Mobilise the power of the labour movement against the racist bosses and their ACTU hirelings: *Organise the unorganised! For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the round-ups and deportations of foreign-born workers—close Keating's concentration camps!*

Any real struggle to make the bosses pay will come straight up against the capitalist state, the Arbitration courts and the cops. When in 1969 Victorian tramways secretary Clarrie O'Shea was arrested and jailed for defiance of the draconian penal laws, hundreds of thousands of trade unionists downed tools and hit the streets in strikes and mass protests. O'Shea was hastily released in the face of mass action and the bosses were loath to implement the penal laws, which remained on the books only as a dead letter. In 1992, Victorian Liberal premier Kennett threatened massive fines and jail sentences against the unions' near-general strike, but the threat remained empty. Kennett feared

a major class explosion and decided it was wiser to rely instead on John Halfpenny's Trades Hall Council tops to let off steam. Mass, militant workers action can shred the anti-strike laws! With sequestration of union funds and hefty fines a key weapon for the courts, unions must be prepared to creatively avoid seizure of their assets. The only "illegal" strike is one that loses!

In describing the trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay Trotsky wrote:

"The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy...."

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—On the Trade Unions (1938)

The Australian working class has historically been militant in pursuing its economic interests, but has been dominated by the protectionist, White Australia class-collaborationist Labor Party bureaucracy. In stark contrast to the revolutionary Trotskyist program are those of the fake-left who tail these Laborite bureaucrats within the trade union movement. The ISO stands out in particular: what this virulently anti-communist outfit lacks in working-class influence to sell out, they make up for in enthusiastic campaigning for a vote to the ALP at every federal election.

Then there are the sinister political bandits of the Socialist Labour League

(SLL) who have in the wake of the imperialist lies about the "death of communism," "discovered" that the trade unions are dead. After decades of advocating a vote to Labor and calling to "make the lefts fight," the SLL flip-flopped over to denouncing the existing trade unions as simply instruments of capitalist exploitation and the ALP as a capitalist party. This is an open invitation to scab, as indeed the SLL did against the BLF in 1986. The SLL's "new" line echoes the bosses' union-busting and, like its earlier Laborite incarnation, has nothing to do with the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

In the absence of internationalist revolutionary working-class upheaval to smash the imperialist powers from within, today's trade wars will lead to tomorrow's shooting wars and ultimately to a nuclear Third World War. The bottom line for the Labor Party—which Lenin rightly called a bourgeois workers party—is to administer in government (and prop up in opposition) the system of capitalism.

If successive waves of workers struggles are not to be smashed by the bosses or betrayed by the Laborite bureaucrats, a revolutionary party committed to nothing less than the expropriation of the bosses and the seizure of state power by the toilers must be forged, splitting the working class base of the Labor Party from its pro-imperialist tops in the heat of class struggle. Seeking to build such a party, we say: **The main enemy is at home! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!** ■

Jamal...

(continued from page 2)

of Postal Workers, which also participated in the Toronto rally. Demonstrations took place in Sydney, on 7 June and in Melbourne the following day. Statements from the NSW branch of the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance and the Workers Communist Party of Iraq were read at the Sydney rally. The PDC here noted that:

"In Australia, racist state terror is a cutting edge of the bosses' rule. The grim list of Aboriginal deaths at the hands of the police and prison screws has become longer, not least under Hawke/Keating's Labor government.... It was only in 1985 that the last legal vestiges of the death penalty were removed federally by the Parliament and the High Court in this country. The abolition of the state's 'legal' right to capital punishment is a gain that must be defended down the line. Historically, the fight for the abolition of the death penalty has been linked to the struggles of the workers movement and oppressed...."

Union support for the effort to save Mumia Abu-Jamal includes the Public Transport Union (Tram and Bus Division, Melbourne), the NSW TAFE Teachers Association and the Communications Electrical Plumbing Union (CEPU) in Victoria, representing 200,000 Australian workers.

Some 100 people demonstrated in Paris, France outside the American Consulate on 8 June. A statement from the CGT dockers union in Marseilles was read, saying, "The dockers of the port of Marseilles love liberty and life too much to remain silent in the face of racist injustice and the heavy silence of the death penalty!" Demonstrations and pickets in Amsterdam were held on 7 and 8 June and are also scheduled for 15 and 16 June. Cities around Italy are plastered with posters calling for Mumia's freedom and a national demonstration is planned on 24 June in Rome.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks

at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state. With the recent abolition of the death penalty in South Africa, today the United States is the only Western power to engage in the state-sanctioned slaughter of its own people. And the racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street.

In any struggle for social justice it is essential to have a crystal clear view of who your friends and who your enemies are. The Partisan Defence Committee has led the way in organising broad-based united-front defence efforts. We abhor the suppression of any political views for lowest common denominator "unity." Within the framework of fighting for Jamal there can and must be open political discussion and debate. However, **there is no place for cops, who are the front line of this whole system of racist**

terror, in a struggle for justice. Unfortunately, one of the speakers at the 5 June press conference was Ron Hampton of the National Black Police Officer's Association, which recently sent a letter opposing Jamal's execution. Whatever their personal feelings about the death penalty may be, these black cops are no less a part of the capitalists' bloody terror machine than the white racist thugs—their brothers in blue. Speaking for the PDC Ed Jarvis protested this cop's presence, noting:

"This legal lynching is one side of the legal lynchings that go on every day against black people, against working-class people by both black as well as white cops on the streets of every major city of this country...."

The campaign to save Jamal is now at a critical point. We urge our readers to get involved with this campaign and to donate generously to the legal defence fund. Information is provided in the box below. **Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist U.S. death penalty!** Adapted from *Class Struggle Defense Notes No. 22, Summer 1995.*

The Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal Is at a Critical Point—You Can Help!

Send \$\$\$ for Jamal Legal Defence Now! Jamal's attorneys have filed new legal appeals, asking that the death penalty verdict be set aside and demanding a new trial. This is only the beginning of a costly process: it can cost over a million dollars to successfully overturn a death penalty verdict in the U.S.

Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. This year some \$20,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Make your contribution for the defence to: Partisan Defence Committee, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defence" and send it to PDC, PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 2000. All donations will be forwarded to the US-based Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, initiated by Mumia's legal team to help raise funds.

Join the campaign! Take petitions; ask your friends, neighbours and co-

workers to sign and get involved. Organise a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal.* Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defence Committee at the address above or call us on (02) 281 2181 (Sydney) or (03) 9654 4315 (Melbourne).

Send Protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Green, 1040 E Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

Sorge/Ozaki...

(continued from page 9)

Red Army's drive on Warsaw in 1920. In July 1937, Reiss sent a letter to the CPSU Central Committee denouncing Stalin's crimes and allying himself with Trotsky's Fourth International. Two months later Reiss was assassinated, and Trotsky wrote: "We may assume with certainty that in the ranks of the bureaucracy there are quite a number who feel as Reiss did. They have contempt for their milieu. They hate Stalin. And, at the same time, they endlessly toil on and on" ("A Tragic Lesson," September 1937).

The existence of this layer within the Stalinist bureaucracy flies in the face of assertions by the cowardly state-capitalists, who claimed that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a new, exploitative ruling class and used this as an excuse not to defend the USSR against imperialism and their own bourgeoisie. The state capitalists and even the Fuwa-led JCP counterpose bourgeois democracy to the deformed Stalinist workers states. But who fought Stalin with a proletarian program to both defend the revolution and oust the Stalinist usurpers? Trepper tells the truth in his memoirs:

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged. But their voices were lost in the tundra.

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let us not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

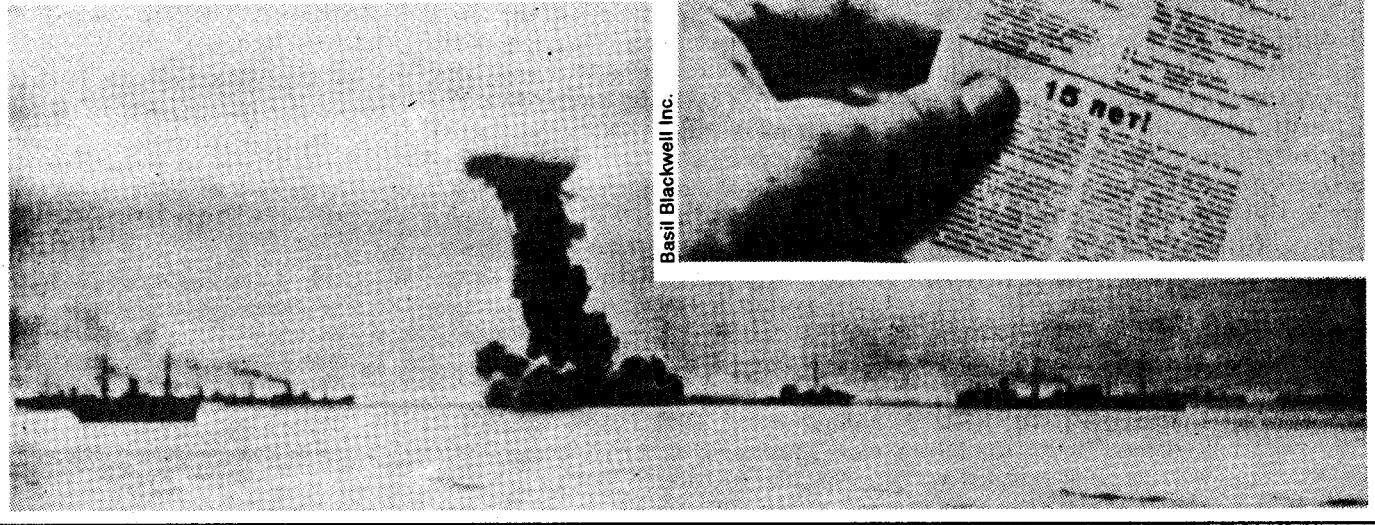
Sorge Abandoned

The Sorge group was put out of action shortly after Miyagi was arrested, fingered by a former CPUSA member who had returned to Japan and whose name was given to the police by the dubious and cowardly Ito Ritsu. Miyagi, whose health was very frail, threw himself out of a second-storey police window in an unsuccessful attempt at suicide to protect his comrades. We can only imagine the torture, mental and physical, Miyagi was subjected to before he finally talked. Miyagi died in prison on 2 August 1943, before he was even sentenced. Voukelitch faced his captors heroically and was very uncooperative with his interrogators. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, but died in Sugamo prison on 13 January 1945. Clausen, who turned out to be the weakest, confessed immediately, and his testimony, together with that beaten out of Miyagi, convinced both Ozaki and Sorge that there was nothing left to protect by their silence. But Stalin turned a cold shoulder on these courageous militants, and in his refusal to acknowledge Sorge's existence after his arrest shares responsibility with the Japanese authorities for the execution of both Sorge and Ozaki.

Trepper met Clausen in Stalin's prison. The American Occupation authorities released him from Sugamo prison and repatriated him to the USSR, where Clausen was immediately arrested and sent to prison. Trepper also met a high-level Japanese general captured in Manchuria and, enquiring why Japan had not traded Sorge for one of their own, incredulously heard that the Tokyo government had made this offer *three times* to the Soviet embassy in Tokyo. But on each occasion the Soviet government replied that the prisoner was "unknown" to them. In 1964 the USSR declared Richard Sorge a "Hero of the Soviet Union." Trepper, in his *Great Game*

Freighter hit by German torpedo near Murmansk in WWII. At least seven American Trotskyist merchant seamen were killed during the war, some sailing on the Murmansk run in attempt to distribute miniature copies of the *Bulletin of the Opposition* (inset).

Scherschel/Life



Basil Blackwell Inc.

memoirs, denounced this outrageous hypocrisy:

"Unknown, Richard Sorge? When the Japanese papers were full of stories about his contacts with the Soviet military attaché? Unknown, the man who had warned Russia of the German attack, and who had announced in the middle of the battle of Moscow that Japan would not attack the Soviet Union, thus enabling the Soviet chiefs of staff to bring fresh divisions from Siberia? They preferred to let Richard Sorge be executed rather than have another troublesome witness on their hands after the war.

"The decision had not come from the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, but directly from Moscow. Richard Sorge paid for his intimacy with General Berzin. After Berzin was eliminated, Sorge, in the eyes of Moscow, was nothing but a double agent, and a Trotskyite in the bargain! For months his dispatches were not decoded, until the Center finally realized the inestimable military value of the information he had provided. After his arrest in Japan, the directors at the Center abandoned him like a cumbersome piece of luggage; such was the policy of the new team.

"Moscow allowed the 'unknown' Richard Sorge to be executed on November 7, 1944. Since then, Moscow has proclaimed, proudly, the history of Sorge's work. I am particularly happy to expose this imposture today, and to make this accusation before the world: *Richard Sorge was one of us.* Those who allowed him to be murdered have no right to claim him as theirs."

Stalin and his heirs, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, et al., are the gravediggers of the Soviet Union, just as Trotsky foresaw in his illuminating 1935 book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. The final act in the long history of the degeneration of the Soviet Union began when Gorbachev pulled the Red Army out of Afghanistan. This cowardly retreat, to pacify imperialist powers who wouldn't be pacified, only accelerated the internal forces of counterrevolution and capitalist restoration. As we wrote in [Japanese] *Spartacist* No.14:

"The period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible. The task facing the Soviet proletariat today is socialist revolution to restore proletarian power and reforge the Soviet Union on the foundation of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik internationalism."

— "How The Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," translated from *Workers Vanguard* No. 564, 27 November 1992

V—SORGE, OZAKI AND THE LEFT

The Japanese left today has nothing to do with Sorge and Ozaki for a variety of reasons, all bad. This "tradition," like gangsterism within the workers movement, was taught to the New Left by the Stalinists. Shortly before the Korean War the Japanese government, aided and abetted by the U.S. occupation, launched a witchhunt against the JCP and the labour movement in preparation for imposing the austerity "Dodge Line." The hated Yoshida⁴, whom the workers movement could have toppled in 1947,

used the Sorge/Ozaki case to go after the JCP. The JCP leadership took a dive instead of hurling these accusations back in the bourgeoisie's face, instead of proclaiming that the Sorge group were heroes of the Soviet Union and, especially Ozaki and Miyagi, heroes of the Japanese proletariat.

On 9 February 1949, the JCP Central Committee published a statement in *Akahata*⁵ that swore to the ruling class they had nothing to do with Sorge and Ozaki. Two days later the despicable Ito Ritsu published a statement in *Akahata* reiterating the party's capitulation to the witchhunt. Ito was instrumental in withdrawing JCP support from the Ozaki Biography Committee. And this has been the JCP's position ever since—to completely ignore, just like Stalin did, the existence of Sorge and Ozaki. When Richard Sorge was finally acknowledged by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy in 1964, again *Akahata* was silent.

This cowardly abstention and denial contributed to the New Left's abstentionist attitude towards Sorge and Ozaki. The New Left, created by the turmoil within the Stalinist parties after Hungary 1956, was essentially stillborn because, unfortunately, there was no genuine Trotskyist organisation to intervene into this milieu and win the best elements to authentic Trotskyism. The New Left often used Trotsky as a club to wield against their Stalinist elders, but never assimilated Trotsky's real program, of unconditional defence of the USSR against internal and external counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist traitors. This mortal mistake led the Japanese New Left, with rare exception, to one or another variety of state capitalism which, despite all the turgid economic mumbo-jumbo, reflects the Japanese bourgeoisie's hostility to Russia historically and especially to the October Revolution. The New Left's hailing of Lech Walesa's Solidarność and support for the CIA-backed mullah cutthroats in Afghanistan is little different from supporting Japanese imperialism's occupation of Vladivostok in 1918.

So it should come as no surprise that those who hated the Soviet Union have a similar attitude towards Sorge and Ozaki. The Rekken group (forerunner of the Spartacist Group Japan) co-signed the "Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan" with the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League [ICL]) at Tama Cemetery in 1986, and wreaths were laid at the graves of Sorge and Ozaki. This was consciously done to underline our commitment to defend the USSR against imperialism; today the SGJ continues to defend North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba against the threat of counterrevolution and imperialist attack.

Today the Japanese left is profoundly demoralised, succumbing to triumphalist propaganda on the part of the bourgeoisie claiming "communism is dead,"

and is completely disoriented by the "new world disorder" they don't understand. The New Left's virulent Stalinophobia has meant tailing the *Sanpo* social democrats who played a central role in the right-wing Hosokawa pop-front government that escalated austerity attacks on the working class, and who today front for the return of the Liberal Democratic Party to governmental power. With Japanese imperialism carefully orchestrating its efforts to use its military to protect its overseas investments, the ex-New Left, paralysed by their social democratic patrons now taking cabinet seats, have dismantled their phony "mass" front groups like *Nishiren*⁶, and have mounted little if any protest against this resurgence of militarism. The social democratic leaders *know* they are the Trojan horse of counterrevolution; this is what the popular front is all about—quashing class struggle while reinforcing illusions in bourgeois democracy. Japan's revolutionary party will be built on hard proletarian opposition to the popular front.

The workers movement has suffered a terrible setback with the loss of the USSR, and the world is a much more dangerous place with no one to restrain imperialism's finger on the nuclear trigger. But it's Stalinism, not communism, that is dead. From the current strike wave in South Africa to the combative labour struggles in South Korea, proletarian class struggle continues to challenge the bourgeois order. What is desperately needed is leadership—the construction of Leninist parties and the democratic-centralist Fourth International that the ICL fights for today. The October Revolution was carried out on an internationalist program and belongs to the international working class. Sorge and Ozaki knew that the October Revolution represented mankind's future and died defending it. We are proud to stand on their heroic example of proletarian internationalism. The voices of the Russian Left Opposition were not lost in the tundra, as Trepper believed. We continue to be the party based on the October Revolution which incorporates its revolutionary traditions. The finest tribute the Japanese working class can pay to Richard Sorge, Ozaki Hotsumi, Miyagi Yotoku and Branko de Voukelitch will be to overthrow their executioners and build a workers republic that will honour their memory. ■

1 Tokuda Kyuichi was the JCP's central leader who spent many years in prison before being released in 1945. Nosaka Sanzo was another JCP central leader who went into exile during the Pacific War and was with Mao's Red Army in Yenan, China.

2 *Sanpo* was the social-patriotic wartime labour federation run by the social democrats to support Japanese imperialism's war effort.

3 Fuwa Tetsuzo; central leader of the JCP today.

4 Yoshida Shigeru was a conservative prime minister who headed five cabinets during the 1946-1954 post-war period.

5 JCP's daily newspaper *Red Flag*.

6 "Citizens" front group that literally means "Is Everything Really All Right With Japan?"

Refugees...

(continued from page 3)

working class linked to a genuine communist vanguard party.

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

As ever-sharpening inter-imperialist rivalries lead to trade wars in the "New World Disorder" which issued out of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European deformed workers states, attacks on immigrant workers and youth have become a major weapon in the bosses' arsenal against the working people as a whole. Seeking to drive up the rate of exploitation, to break the power of the trade unions, slash social services and drive down the standard of living of the working masses, the capitalist rulers have launched an economic and ideological offensive against minorities, immigrants and "illegal aliens" in their respective nations. This offensive has as its handmaiden the nationalist campaigns in every imperialist centre which are the precursors to lining up the proletariat for another bloody inter-imperialist war.

Here, the defeat of the U.S./Australian imperialists' dirty, losing counter-revolutionary war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants brought about the beginnings of increased Asian immigration into Australia. In a concession to

its U.S. big brother, the Australian ruling class opened its borders to a number of Vietnamese, mainly servants of the former Saigon puppet regime and military war criminals fleeing the victorious Vietnamese revolution. Later, from 1981 to 1991, with the Hawke/Keating government touting "enmeshing with Asia," the Asian population grew from 200,000 to over 900,000. This small (approximately 5 percent) section of the population is subjected to the worst jobs at the lowest pay and unemployment among Asian immigrants runs at about 40 percent.

Official racist, anti-immigrant policy and pronouncements by the Labor Party in government has given an impetus to National Action (NA) fascists on the streets and the far-right Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) as well as the Queensland-based Confederate Action Party at the polls. Racist attacks against Asians, Arabs, Aborigines and other minorities by the state and fascist bands have been on the increase. Spewing their race-hate, anti-immigrant filth, the fascist NA has staged repeated provocations in Melbourne—under heavy police protection—including an 18 March demonstration on the steps of Parliament House. In Adelaide, NA scum have rampaged in the city, chanting "Asians out! Commies out!" and physically attacking immigrants, leftists and homosexuals. Jewish memorials, synagogues and businesses in Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney have been vandalised in anti-Semitic outrages. The memorial for Eddie Mabo, too, was recently desecrated by racist filth.

To crush the fascist menace in the egg, we fight for the strategy of massive, militant worker/minority mobilisations. Such a strategy is directly counterposed to that of groups like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), the Militant and other Laborite leftists who push appeals to the capitalist state to "ban" or otherwise legislate against the fascists. (A Melbourne "anti-fascist" bloc including the ISO, Democratic Socialist Party, Militant, Socialist Alliance, and Freedom Socialist Party was initially called "Brunswick Against the Nazis" [BAN]. The acronym neatly gives the game away.) Reliance on the cops, courts and councils of the very system which spawns and protects the fascists is suicidal. "Bans" and laws such as Labor's "anti-vilification" bill have been and invariably will be used against the left, workers movement and anti-fascist activists.

As we wrote in the Spartacist pamphlet "Militant Labour's touching faith in the capitalist state" (August 1994):

"...the Social Democrats have slavishly served at every key historic juncture to tie the workers movement, with the assistance of the fake lefts (such as the Militant and SWP [British co-thinkers of the ISO]), to the political interests of capital. Calling on the state to disarm or ban the fascists is a classic demand of social democrats because they fear the mass mobilisation of the powerful working class.... When the capitalist class has its back against the wall, it turns to the fascists to act as their shock troops against the working class. The fascists are not just people with bad ideas but an integral part of the state's reserve arsenal. Ultimately therefore, the fight against fascism is necessarily a class battle—not just military but

political—in which the working class has the social power and the urgent interest to stop the fascists cold."

We in the Spartacist League/Australia seek to forge the revolutionary, internationalist leadership necessary to mobilise proletarian power in struggle on behalf of all the oppressed. Our fight for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia, is inextricably linked with the defence and extension of anti-capitalist revolutions in the region and throughout the world. Thus, our program for the unconditional defence of the gains of the revolutions in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba begins with revolutionary class struggle here and extends to the fight for proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies and to link up with workers' struggles from South Korea to imperialist Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

We fight to smash racist Australian jackal imperialism from within. Traditions of militant class struggle, such as the waterfront workers' blacking of Dutch shipping during the Indonesian struggle for independence and the strikes in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, exist in counterpoint to the wretched Laborite legacy of White Australia chauvinism. Our task is to build a multi-racial Leninist-Trotskyist party—in which immigrant workers, women and youth will be a key component. Such a party will be built through splitting the working-class base from the pro-imperialist Labor tops and to the banner of revolutionary socialism. ■

China...

(continued from page 11)

which accept the existence of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic mismanagement. The fight must be brought to the political terrain by mobilizing the working masses to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and stop the sell-off of China to imperialism. This fight must link up with workers' struggles throughout Asia and the rest of the world. It would do a world of good for those Chinese workers with illusions in "democratic" imperialism to hear the experiences of workers in South Korea, where the right-wing government is backed by nearly 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there. Militant labor struggle in South Korea repeatedly confronts bloody state terror, and sympathy with North Korea is grounds for imprisonment and even death.

An upsurge by the Chinese proletariat may well lead to the formation of independent workers organizations, such as occurred in the spring of 1989, with the potential to grow into organizations like the Russian soviets (workers, peasants and soldiers councils) of 1917. Under an egalitarian-communist leadership, these soviet-type organs could topple the politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, which mocks its Communist name as it prepares the ground for restoring capitalist rule. A workers political revolution would chart the course toward socialism by recreating a planned economy based on a regime of genuine workers democracy and proletarian internationalism.

The 1989 events, which brought China to the edge of political revolution, were preceded the year before by a strike wave caused by galloping inflation and widespread anger at official corruption. The entry of the *laobaixing* ("ordinary people") into the Tiananmen Square

protests shook the Deng/Li Peng regime from top to bottom. As Beijing's working people fought PLA troops sent to quell the demonstrations, "workers autonomous federations" and other proletarian organizations sprang up in 19 provinces. In China's far west, workers from the Xinjiang Auto Assembly Plant No. 3 formed the "Red Clan," proclaiming in a leaflet that "the ten years of reform have been ten years of corruption, ten years of hardship for the people." The bloody suppression of the "Beijing Spring" was answered by strikes throughout China.

Western reporters at the time were fixated on the student protesters, ignoring the role played by workers. But as we wrote then, "it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). The onerous repression that followed the suppression of the protests was concentrated against militant workers, many of whom were executed while student protesters were spared this fate. The international working class must demand the release of those still languishing in prison for their stand against the blood-soaked Deng/Li Peng clique.

The resurgence of class struggle around many of these same issues and against the same aged bureaucratic misleaders again poses the question of proletarian leadership. As the International Communist League wrote in June 1989: "The central lesson of the Beijing Spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard." To build such a world party of socialist revolution, to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International, requires assimilating the lessons of the destruction of the Soviet Union and the disastrous course of Chinese Stalinism which has brought the world's most populous country to the brink of counterrevolution.

Stalinism is politically dead. Today the banner of communism is upheld only by the Fourth Internationalists. This must also be the banner of those who would defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution and fight for a socialist future for mankind. ■

Ukraine...

(continued from page 7)

calling for a plebiscite on national affiliation in Chechnya, as well as in the Crimea.

In his article, Renfrey Clarke notes that in Russia, "the *Vremya* slanders fit into an unnerving pattern that has emerged recently as the government has prepared new restrictions on political rights." Clarke documents some of these repressive measures in his article, including a proposed law banning "extremist organizations" and the strengthening of the Federal Security Service (FSB), whose activities will now be virtually free of any legal or parliamentary restraints.

Decades of heavy-handed Stalinist bureaucratic repression buried the understanding in the former Soviet Union that communists see the fight for basic civil liberties like freedom of speech as an integral component of the proletariat's struggle. In the context of the drive toward a "strong state," the attack on the ICL is a test case for the country: will Russia become a tinpot dictatorship where intellectual life is stifled?

Particularly since its bloody assault on the former Russian parliament in October 1993, endorsed by the Western

imperialist rulers, the Kremlin regime has been moving ever more openly toward naked bonapartist dictatorship. Dmitry Volkov, political editor of the Moscow daily *Sevodnya*, reports: "There is a long list of top-ranking officials"—ranging from Yeltsin's closest advisers to "powerful Muscovite bankers"—"who publicly and privately speak in favour of cancelling elections" (London *Financial Times*, 10 April). As ICL spokesman Len Meyers declared at the New York City protest on April 5:

"If there is a conspiracy, it is among the ruling circles in Kiev and Moscow. It is they who have something to hide, as they plot the exploitation and starvation of the working people, of the young and the aged, as they make deals with the imperialist politicians and bankers behind the backs of the population, as they incite nationalist fratricide in the Crimea, as they fan the flames of anti-Semitism, as they send thousands of people to their deaths in Chechnya.

"We Trotskyists have nothing to hide. We follow in the footsteps of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky. We are for the reconstitution of the working class of the former Soviet Union as a class capable of taking power and reorganizing society on the basis of soviet democracy, of central planning and of revolutionary internationalism. We are for the rebirth of the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. Down with the slanders against the ICL! For workers rule in the Ukraine and Russia!

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 621, 21 April 1995.

Spartacist Forum

New World Disorder Feminists and Laborites Bind Women to the Capitalist State

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Sydney
7pm Thursday, 10 August
MEWU Council Room
136-140 Chalmers Street, Surry Hills

Melbourne
6.30pm Thursday, 17 August
Lincoln Hotel
Cnr Cardigan & Queensberry Sts., Carlton

(02) 281 2181 Further information (03) 9654 4315



Contact the Spartacist League
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GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001
Phone: (02) 281 2181



Thousands Protest Execution Order

Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!

On 1 June, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge signed a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal and set Thursday 17 August at 10:00 p.m. as the execution date. Jamal is to be executed for his political activities and beliefs. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, an award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organisation, Jamal was the victim of a racist frame-up. Human rights groups, labour unions, and other organisations representing millions of people from all over the world are fighting for Jamal's life.

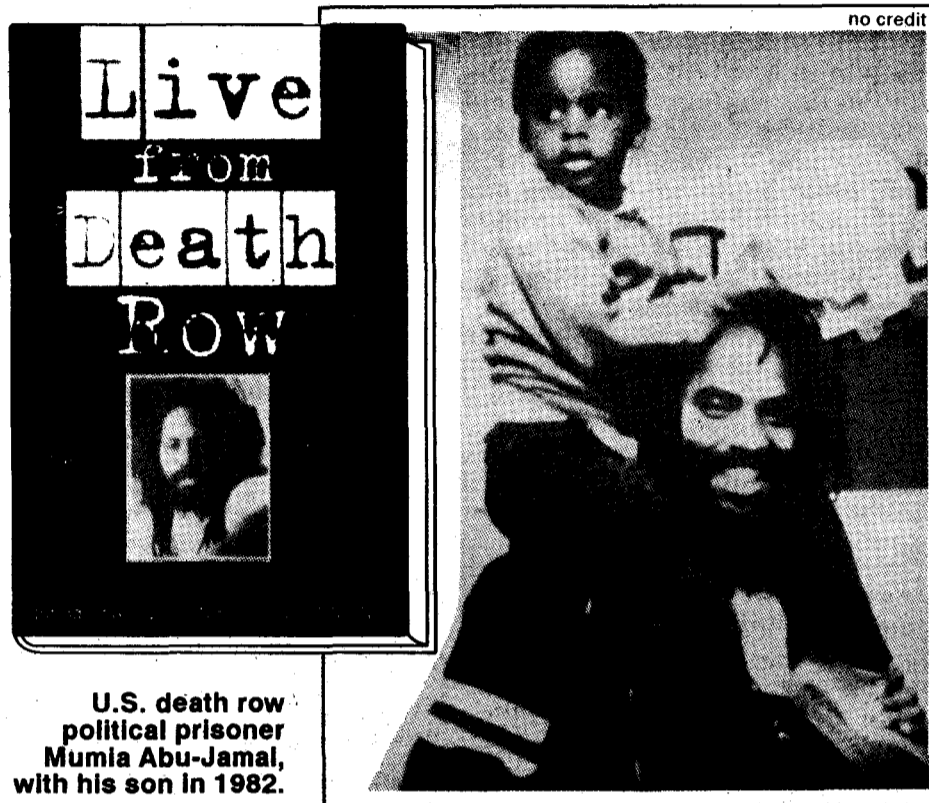
Four days later, on 5 June, Jamal's attorneys filed a petition for a new trial in the Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. Based on months of investigation, research and review, these papers demonstrate unequivocally that Mumia, a man who has proclaimed his innocence from the very beginning, was the victim of a politically motivated, racially biased prosecution in which evidence of his innocence was suppressed.

The Partisan Defense Committee and other organisations, among them Refuse And Resist!, the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, spread the word about Mumia's case and organised months in advance for emergency protests following the signing of a death warrant. When the warrant was signed, thousands of unionists, students, leftists, civil rights and community activists took to the streets in cities across the United States and around the world to demand Mumia's freedom. In Mumia's hometown of Philadelphia, an integrated crowd of some 600 Jamal supporters turned out *en masse* to support Jamal's attorneys at a press conference and rally on 5 June after legal papers were filed demanding a new trial, a stay of execution, and the removal of "hanging judge" Sabo from Jamal's case.

In office for just four months, Ridge has already signed a staggering 15 death warrants and presided over the first Pennsylvania execution in 33 years. In the first five days after Governor Ridge condemned Mumia to death with a stroke of his pen, Ridge's office was inundated with over 20,000 protest letters, faxes and postcards from around the world. In a futile attempt to elude the tidal wave of protest on behalf of Mumia hitting his office, the governor shut down his toll-free "800" phone number and changes his fax and phone numbers every day.

The threatened execution of Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in the U.S. since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of Jamal takes place in the context of President Clinton's drive to bring back COINTELPRO and abridge fundamental freedoms for the entire population and of a bipartisan assault on every social program from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto population.

The death penalty is the centrepiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law



U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, with his son in 1982.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

and order." By mid-May, 24 people were executed in the U.S.—a pace that will nearly double the highest yearly total of executions since the reinstatement of the death penalty in 1976. On 7 June, just one day after South Africa abolished the death penalty, the U.S. Senate passed Clinton's anti-terrorism package, which limits inmates to one federal court challenge to their death sentence within one year of conviction. This measure is a virtual death sentence for the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* by which 40 percent of death sentences are overturned. The American ruling class wants a compliant and "disciplined" populace. Mumia stands as a symbol of defiance against this racist oppression. That is why they want him dead.

In February and March the PDC and its fraternal organisations across the seas organised demonstrations and rallies which drew support from increasing numbers of minority, immigrant and labour organisations. Since February nearly [U.S.]\$20,000 has been raised for legal defence. More recently, support has rolled in from the powerful black trade union movement in South Africa (see article, page 2). These workers see in our fight against the legacy of slavery represented by the "legal" lynching of Jamal a reflection of their own struggles against apartheid state terror and the criminalisation of political dissent.

Across Europe, where capitalist counterrevolution in the former deformed workers states has brought poverty, disease and fratricidal war in the East, accompanied by emboldened fascist activity and anti-immigrant witchhunts in the West, Jamal's case has been embraced by trade unionists, Holocaust survivor groups and immigrant youth. The mushrooming support from the organised workers movement is particularly important in linking the fight for Mumia's

life with living struggle outside the prison walls.

A Lynch Mob Is on the Rampage

In a moving statement to his supporters massed outside Philadelphia City Hall for the 5 June press conference and rally, Jamal pointed out that Ridge signed the death warrant knowing that Mumia's attorneys were filing a petition for a new trial on 5 June. "Everyone in the state of Pennsylvania knew we were coming Monday" to file. Ridge's action "was clearly political. He is at the call of those who are calling for my blood."

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) has been on a rampage to force Jamal's execution. They have seized on the publication of Jamal's new book, *Live from Death Row*—a collection of his intensely compassionate writings about the horrors of racism, injustice and prison life—to rev up their frenzied drive for the legal lynching of this powerful spokesman for the oppressed and to intimidate the countless thousands who have raised their voices to save him.

In May, when *Live from Death Row* hit the bookstores, the capitalist media launched an orchestrated campaign and deafening drumbeat for Mumia's death. In a lead editorial worthy of witchhunter Joe McCarthy, the *New York Post* railed that "The Left Fetes a Cop-Killer," denouncing Jamal's defenders and in particular those who would be participating in public readings from *Live from Death Row* on 20 May. One, featuring Giancarlo Esposito, was picketed by 50 screaming white racists from the Philly, New York and New Jersey Fraternal Orders of Police. The 18 May "Eye on America" segment of Dan Rather's CBS-TV national evening news featured an equally vile smear job, preceded the day before by a lengthy article in the

Washington Post and earlier pieces in the *Boston Globe* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*. The crusade to kill Jamal moved into high gear last year in a successful attempt by the FOP and others to cow National Public Radio into cancelling a series of commentaries by Jamal.

The press announcement that Mumia's book was about to be published upped the ante against Jamal. The prison authorities cut off all paralegal and press visits in retaliation for increased support for Jamal and publication of the book. In the latest atrocity, Jamal has been placed in disciplinary custody on charges of "conspiring" with his attorneys and supporters to publish the book. The attempted book-banning by jack-booted FOP thugs in uniform underscores the essential truth: *they want to lock up Mumia's ideas and kill the writer*. Like the writers Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, whose liberating views threaten those who benefit from a repressive society, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sentenced to die because his ideas, his courage and his humanity threaten the rulers of this whole system of injustice.

The macabre race to the slaughterhouse reaches to the highest levels of government. In mid-May President Clinton attended the national FOP's annual gathering in Washington, and later met with FOP leaders where he grotesquely equated leftist protesters of the '60s with fascist terrorists reveling in the slaughter of innocent people in Oklahoma City. Emboldened by the "law and order" drive, the racist cops act as if they stand above the law, as demonstrated by the rampage by drunken New York City cops in Washington, D.C. The Philly cops showed their idea of "justice" ten years ago when they bombed the MOVE commune, with explosives provided by the FBI, setting off a firestorm that killed eleven black people, including five children, and consuming an entire city block. Mark Goldberg, a Jewish ex-cop, is suing the police department for half a million dollars, charging he was driven out of the department by the open anti-Semitism of his superior officers. Pennsylvania's top cop, Attorney General Ernest Preate, Jr., has pleaded guilty to mail fraud and agreed to resign over a scandal involving illegal gambling operations; John Shaw, former head of the Philly FOP, now resides in a federal penitentiary, convicted of corruption.

Meanwhile, in a crude attempt at intimidation, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office sent out an official letter on 2 June to prominent supporters of Jamal including the actors Ed Asner, Mike Farrell, Ossie Davis and Whoopi Goldberg, denouncing their support for Jamal as "misguided, misinformed" and repulsive. The entire legal system in Pennsylvania, as regards the Jamal case, recalls the stench of Alabama in the days of Jim Crow when the powers that be were similarly railed against "New York lawyers" and "outside agitators."

From Oakland to Sydney: Mumia Must Not Die!

While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's

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