



Laborite Union Tops Tie Workers to Bosses' Courts

For a Class-Struggle Fight to Defeat Howard's Union Busting!

Building on more than two decades of union busting under first the Hawke/Keating federal ALP governments and then the Liberal/National Coalition, the Tories today have their sights set on far-reaching attacks on workers. Howard's industrial relations package draws on the union-busting experience of British Labour Party prime minister, Tony Blair. Indeed, across the globe from Australia to Europe, capitalist governments are on the offensive to ratchet up the rate of exploitation, maximising the profits the bosses squeeze from workers. With the wind in their sails, particularly since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the capitalist rulers aim to eliminate union conditions won over decades of struggle.

Howard's proposed legislation places ever more restrictions on union access to worksites, further "outlawing" strikes and ordering compulsory secret ballots before any strike. It also vetoes industry-wide agreements and seeks to entrench individual contracts (AWAs). Such contracts are designed to atomise workers, gutting their ability to collectively organise against the bosses' attacks on hard won union conditions and jobs. The bosses are salivating at the prospect of a qualitative diminution of union power. Companies, such as Appaloosa Holdings in Sydney and others across the country, have demanded employees sign AWAs or lose their jobs.

Many workers know what is at stake and are angry and eager to fight back, such as the mostly immigrant women workers who have been striking and picketing the Kemalex plant in Melbourne for weeks. On 1 June strikes and rallies occurred in the education sector, and rallies and work stoppages are planned in most capital cities on 30 June. Against Howard's anti-working-class legislation we say: **Bury the union-busters! All out for the 30 June strikes and protests! For broad-based strikes nationwide backed by mass pickets that no-one dares cross!**

What the capitalists are able to get away with depends on the outcome of class struggle. These anti-union laws can be turned into a dead letter if unions mobilise workers to exercise their enormous social power and bring the wheels of capitalist



Melbourne, May: Women workers strike against Kemalex Plastics' attempt to impose non-union contracts. Sydney, October 2003: Workers protest following death at work of 16-year-old construction worker Joel Exner.



Rick Stevens

profit making to a grinding halt. In 1969 it took concerted mass strike action to win the release of Victorian tramways union leader, Clarrie O'Shea, jailed for refusing to pay fines for defying anti-strike laws. These strikes spiked the Arbitration

and its Awards system. Joining them are right-wing bureaucrats such as Unions NSW secretary, John Robertson, who appeals to NSW Labor premier Bob Carr to "abide by" and "defend" his state Industrial Relations regime.

to bloodily smash the blockade.

With the right-wing union tops openly defeatist, some unionists are looking hopefully to the "left wing," like those in the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) who have called for a half-day stoppage in Melbourne on 30 June. However the VTHC is not qualitatively different from union bodies elsewhere throughout the country; it too consists of pro-capitalist Laborite bureaucrats. The VTHC began their "Fair for all, not free for all" campaign by wheeling out former Labor prime minister, certified union-buster and Cold War anti-Communist, Bob Hawke, who was deservedly jeered by angry union delegates at the Melbourne meeting.

In March last year, when the VTHC put forward an ACTU-brokered motion condemning any union support for "criminal or violent behaviour," several union officials walked out of the meeting, rightly viewing the motion as an attempt to strangle defence of union activists such as Craig Johnston. Later, when acting at the behest of the Police Association the VTHC scandalously banned a Spartacist meeting at Melbourne Trades Hall in defence of Redfern Aborigines, the "left" officials to their credit responded to our fight against this sinister police provocation and pressured Trades Hall to reverse the ban, thus striking a small blow against the intrusion of the bosses' state into the workers movement. However these "left" union leaders will only go so far. Thus despite organising some rallies in defence of Johnston, they in effect bowed to the violence-baiting VTHC motion by refusing to unleash union power in a concerted struggle to win his release. Instead they channelled rank and file support for this militant into the dead end of pleading with Johnston's jailer, ALP premier Bracks, to grant clemency. Underscoring their commitment to Laborite social-democratic capitalism, the "left" and "progressive" union tops from around the country, such as Martin Kingham, Chris Cain and Johnston joined with reformists at Socialist Alliance's National Union Fightback

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- **Down With Nationalist Protectionist Poison!**
- **Break With Laborism—For a Revolutionary Workers Party!**

court's penal powers for over a decade. The only illegal strike is one that loses!

Laborite Obstacles to a Class-Struggle Fight

But the chief obstacle to bringing such power to bear is the current leadership of the unions, which is committed to preserving capitalist rule. Instead of class struggle against Howard's attacks, the ACTU tops offer a "community" publicity campaign which is designed to channel workers' anger into the dead end of support to the ALP in parliament and to the bosses' courts, particularly Arbitration

Responding to the anger of workers throughout the country right-wing federal ALP leader Kim "Bomber" Beazley has now declared he will "roll back" Howard's laws should he be elected in three years time. But make no mistake, in defending Arbitration Beazley is simply offering the ruling class more of the same type of union busting used during the 13 years of Hawke/Keating ALP governments, in which he served as a leading and loyal minister. Meanwhile state Labor premiers have unanimously declared their opposition to strikes in response to these attacks. Like Queensland premier Peter Beattie, who boasts of the lowest level of strikes in 30 years, these capitalist politicians are proven strikebreakers.

In 2000, Victorian premier Steve Bracks invoked emergency laws to break the Latrobe Valley power workers' strike. Last year he imprisoned union militant Craig Johnston for defending striking workers against scabs. The NSW Carr government, notorious for its racist police attacks on immigrant and Aboriginal youth, is also widely hated by workers. In June 2001, when workers blockaded the NSW state parliament to stop Labor MPs voting legislation to deprive injured workers of billions of dollars in workers compensation, Carr mobilised mounted police



Sydney, February 2002: Spartacists join demonstration in defence of refugees and immigrants. Workers' and oppressed minorities' rights will either go forward together or fall back separately.

Imperialists Mourn Pope of Counterrevolution

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 846, 15 April), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League.

The enemies of human liberty and progress, the rich and powerful capitalist rulers of the earth, honored one of their own when they knelt before the body of the archreactionary, anti-Communist Pope John Paul II, the former Cardinal Karol Wojtyla of Poland. President Bush ordered American flags flown at half-mast, while he and two former American presidents made the Vatican funeral rites. In contrast, when the last Pope died, Jimmy Carter sent his mother and his national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who lurked around Rome long enough to see the CIA's favored candidate, Wojtyla, elected in 1978.

Wojtyla was no "people's Pope," as the capitalist media dubbed him in its necrophilic celebration of feudal remnants (from the death of the Pope to Prince Charles' royal nuptials). In its crusade against Communism, U.S. imperialism had no more reliable political ally than Pope John Paul II. Above all, he worked tirelessly to reverse the results following World War II of the Red Army's great victories against the Nazis: the overturn of capitalist property relations in East Europe, especially in his native Poland.

Even in church terms, Wojtyla was a reactionary. He favored the ultrareactionary Opus Dei, a lay organization that achieved political prominence in Franco's Spain, and led a modern church inquisition that ruthlessly smashed internal dissent. Boston's Cardinal Bernard Law, promoted to a cushy Vatican post by Wojtyla, gave a funeral oration, a calculated slap in the face to Catholics outraged by Law's—and the Pope's—arrogant stonewalling over the Boston priest sex abuse scandals. The Pope's medieval denunciation of sex, including forbidding condoms, is quite literally a death sentence for millions in the global AIDS pandemic.

In Latin America, Wojtyla crushed the "liberation theology" priests who actually had some sympathy for the poor, while promoting to Cardinal the Vatican's ambassadors to the bloody Argentine and Chilean military juntas. In Chile in 1988, he personally blessed the junta's leader, General Pinochet. This Pope of reaction made a special point of beatifying Nazi-lovers. Those he put on the first step to sainthood included the infamous Pope

Pius XII, whose beatification process is still under way. Pius XII collaborated with the Nazi regime in Germany and the fascists in Spain and East Europe; he also refused to condemn the Holocaust against the Jews. Wojtyla also beatified Cardinal Stepinac, mentor to the bestial Croatian fascist regime in World War II. And he beatified nearly 200 priests who collaborated with the fascistic forces of Franco and died at the hands of the Republicans



Fabian/Sygma

Pope Wojtyla blesses counterrevolutionary Solidarność leader Lech Walesa. Right: anti-abortion mobilisation in Warsaw, 1997. Capitalist counterrevolution ushered in full-scale onslaught against women's rights.



Kalbarczyk/Agentur Focus

during the 1930s Spanish Civil War.

Above all, hatred of communism drove Pope Wojtyla's political agenda. Of course, the Vatican is the largest landlord on the face of the planet, thus always viscerally hostile to the proletarian expropriation of capitalist property in the means of production and land. As Karl Marx pointed out in *The Civil War in France* (1871), the heroic Paris Commune understood this:

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power,' by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies."

For American imperialism's rulers, Wojtyla was a spearhead of their drive to overthrow the Soviet degenerated workers state, homeland of the October socialist revolution. According to Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein, Wojtyla made a secret deal with Reagan, agreeing not to oppose the U.S. installation of hundreds of cruise missiles targeting the USSR from all over West Europe in exchange for the U.S. cutting off its funding to women's programs overseas

that mentioned abortion.

In the Pope's native Poland, the vehicle used by the CIA and Vatican to hammer away at Poland's socialized property forms was Wall Street's favorite "trade union," Solidarność, which exploited the grievances of the Polish proletariat against the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. Uniquely, we Spartacists warned that Solidarność was a stalking horse for counterrevolution. As the fate of the Polish

working class hung in the balance in 1980, we forthrightly called for "A Workers Poland Yes! The Pope's Poland No!" (*Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980). Before Solidarność solidified as an open counterrevolutionary force, we said that the task of Trotskyist revolutionaries in Poland must be "to raise in these unions a series of demands that will split the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the socialized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism. In Poland today the elementary democratic demand

of the separation of church and state is a dividing line between the struggle for workers democracy and the deadly threat of capitalist restoration."

This should have been elementary for any Marxist, especially in Poland, where the Catholic church is virulently anti-Semitic, a notorious bastion of reaction even within world Catholicism, and a powerful political force. But no. As we wrote in 1980: "First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-lefts have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. In this sense the opportunistic left shows an ideological regression similar to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch" ("Religion & Reaction," *WV* No. 268, 14 November 1980). Everyone from the American Socialist Workers Party to the pseudo-Trotskyists of the European United Secretariat to the "state capitalist" Cliffites, represented in the U.S. by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), vicariously bowed before Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and Pope Wojtyla in Poland. The drive for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, led by Pope Wojtyla and Solidarność, was the opening wedge for capitalist restoration throughout East Europe and the USSR. In Poland as in the USSR, this created vast misery: mass unemployment, homelessness and a furious wave of anti-Semitism, anti-woman legislation, anti-Roma (Gypsy) terror and all-sided clerical reaction.

In its struggle against feudalism, the bourgeoisie, when it was an ascending class, embraced Enlightenment rationalism and rejected the religious obscurantism of the feudal order's ideological bulwark, the church. But today, in this epoch of imperialist decay, the bourgeoisie of the most powerful capitalist state rejects Enlightenment rationalism, embracing organized religion as one more means to prop up its rule. It falls to revolutionaries to uphold the liberating ideals of the Enlightenment and authentic Marxism. In Poland, one of these Marxists was the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. Her words, in the 1905 essay "Socialism and the Churches," are a fitting epitaph for all peddlers of religious obscurantism:

"The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people. The clergy and the parasitic capitalists hate the organized working class, conscious of its rights, which fights for the conquest of its liberties." ■

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SPARTACIST

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

Marxist newspaper of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

EDITOR: C. Cunningham

YOUNG SPARTACUS EDITOR: D. van Scheveningen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Wallace

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Glenn Blackall

Printed by trade-union labour.

Published quarterly by Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.

E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com. Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville. ISSN 0311-3264

No. 191, Winter 2005

Date of issue: June 2005

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mobilise Union Power to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

We reprint below an article from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 848, 13 May), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/U.S.*

On April 23, some 350 workers, students, socialists, fighters for black rights and opponents of the racist death penalty turned out in Harlem in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Commemorating Jamal's 51st birthday (24th behind bars), the demonstration was initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal (ICFFMAJ), the NYC Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, and the International Action Center (IAC). A similar protest was held in the Bay Area.

The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues participated in the April 23 protests. In New York City, we marched with a 50-strong Revolutionary Contingent under the Partisan Defense Committee banner: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" As the leaflet building for our contingent underlined:

"The notorious frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about in capitalist America. The capitalist forces of 'law and order,' represented by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, want Mumia dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression."

The demonstration was followed by an indoor rally where some 350 people gathered. Speakers at the indoor rally included Pam Africa of ICFFMAJ; Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the PDC; black Democratic Party politician and former New York City mayor David Dinkins; Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME DC 1707; New York City councilman Bill Perkins; and Larry Holmes of the Workers World Party's IAC.

Many of those at the indoor rally were looking for a way forward to fight for Jamal's freedom. What was unique about this event was the all-too-rare clash of political views and strategies on precisely this question. On one pole was the open embrace of trust in the justice of the American court system promoted by Din-



Workers Vanguard

Revolutionary Contingent marches at 23 April Harlem demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

kins and the IAC; on the other was the class-struggle perspective offered by Wolkenstein, the PDC and the SL. As our leaflet stated: "In our defense of Mumia we have supported pursuing all available legal avenues open to fight for his freedom and against the death penalty. But we have always promoted the understanding that the fight to free Mumia must be independent of the racist capitalist state, which has worked for years to frame him up. It is this Marxist understanding that differentiates our program from those who rely on a legalistic strategy, building illusions that the capitalist courts are fair."

Pam Africa introduced Wolkenstein, citing her efforts in obtaining evidence of Mumia's innocence and, speaking of the PDC, emphasized: "For years their position has been one that Mumia is innocent and to hell with a trial." Africa added, "That's absolutely true, but we have people who are not ready to move that way." She encouraged rally participants to obtain the PDC pamphlet *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*, containing affidavits by Wolkenstein, Mumia, his brother William Cook and Arnold Beverly, in which Beverly admits that he, not Jamal, killed Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. That day, we

sold 109 copies of the pamphlet and another 150 pieces of Marxist literature.

Wolkenstein's speech was greeted with applause and a standing ovation because it struck a chord with the predominantly black audience, many of whom were long-time political activists. It underlined that it is necessary to mobilize the social power of the working class on behalf of Jamal, independently of all capitalist parties. She explained the role of the capitalist state as an institution that exists to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class against working people and the oppressed, and why it is so dangerous to peddle illusions in the state. As our flyer stated: "The courts, the cops, the prosecutors and the military make up the state apparatus which uses bourgeois law and force to protect the profit system. The state is not neutral and does not function in the interests of black people, the working class, immigrants or other oppressed minorities. Without this understanding, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle to free Mumia."

Wolkenstein also laid bare the evidence of Mumia's innocence, centered on Beverly's confessions and mounds of supporting evidence. This evidence was suppressed by Jamal's former lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, and his "legal strategist," Daniel Williams. The pursuit of this evidence on the one hand and its suppression on the other reflected within the legal team the clash of strategies over what social forces must be mobilized to free Jamal: reliance on the good graces of the capitalist courts embodied in the call for a "new trial for Mumia" or reliance on the social power of the working class, including through protest actions based on the multiracial labor movement.

A report on the April 23 rally posted on the Workers World Party's web site (27 April) was entitled "Harlem Says 'Free Mumia,'" just as one side of the signs they carried at the protest called to free Mumia. However, their real program was displayed on the other side of the sign—as seen in the photograph accompanying their article—which called for a "new trial." Workers World and the IAC are trying to corral those who want to fight for Jamal's freedom behind a call that reinforces illusions in the state. The WWP article motivates the rally by citing the

"urgent need to continue building broad, mass pressure on the repressive judicial system to grant Abu-Jamal a new trial."

We are fighting to mobilize the social power of the multiracial labor movement not only to free Mumia, but to get rid of this barbaric and murderous capitalist system of hunger, imperialist war, poverty, racist cop terror and vicious attacks on workers, women, gays and immigrants. Since our inception we have fought for integrated class struggle and for the perspective of revolutionary integrationism, combatting every manifestation of discrimination against black people and fighting to eliminate the oppression of blacks—which is the bedrock of American capitalist society—through a proletarian socialist revolution. Our program of black liberation through socialist revolution is based on the fact that the capitalist rulers have fomented anti-black racism historically not only to keep black people in their so-called "place" but to prevent revolutionary unity of the working class against the capitalists.

In her remarks at the indoor rally, Brenda Stokely expressed solidarity from the Million Worker March, New York City Labor Against the War and District Council 1707, vowing: "We will continue this fight until none of us has a breath to continue fighting." Such proclamations by trade-union leaders cannot be mere words. The social power of labor must be mobilized in action, on the streets, to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. If undertaken through the mobilization of labor, the struggle to free Mumia would represent a big step in the struggle to overturn this whole racist, capitalist system.

The April 23 rally took place a few months after a presidential election accompanied by an escalating assault on democratic rights. The Democrats have moved even further to the right as they compete with "family values" bigots who are working overtime to sell Jesus and gut abortion rights. For years, there has been a dearth of class struggle in the U.S., primary responsibility for which rests with the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, which ties the working class to its capitalist class enemy through the Democratic Party. At

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Steve Wilson



Stewart/Bethel

Left: Mumia speaking in 1969 at Philadelphia memorial for slain Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. Black militant Panthers were targeted for death by racist capitalist state.

Unions...

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Conference in Melbourne on 11 June to back a draft statement which in part declared: "We therefore call on the ALP to commit to opposing all anti-union laws and to repealing them when they are next elected to office" ("Now's the time for a united fightback!").

The ALP is a *bourgeois workers party*. While it has organic ties to the workers movement through the unions, its program and leadership is thoroughly pro-capitalist. When in power, as it is in all states and territories today, an ALP government administers the capitalist state *for the bosses*. The working-class base of the ALP must be split away from its pro-capitalist leadership. This will require a sharp *political* struggle against Laborism within the unions, in the process building a class-struggle leadership linked to a revolutionary workers party that fights for workers revolution to end the whole system of capitalist exploitation.

Howard's anti-union legislation sits alongside the recent federal budget, which mercilessly bleeds the poor including single mothers, disabled workers, the sick and working poor. While banks and other businesses are reaping record profits, today almost one in four Australians officially live in poverty. Cuts to social services including education and health and punitive measures against the unemployed go hand-in-hand with assaults on women, immigrants and Aborigines who are now subjected to paternalistic "shared responsibility" agreements. In this brutal society where Aboriginal people are killed by the cops with impunity, immigrants locked in concentration camps and even citizens such as Vivian Alvarez Solon deported basically because they're not white, the capitalist rulers whip up racist divisions in order to drive down the conditions of all.

To take on and defeat the capitalists' union-busting drive will require a serious, politically organised fight. A class-struggle leadership would reach out to, and draw upon, the untapped reservoir of strength from the hundreds of thousands of as yet unorganised women, immigrants, disabled and young workers who make up the growing numbers barely eking out an existence under capitalism. To address the poverty and severe exploitation of the large mass of workers, and reverse the steady decline of union membership, we say: Organise the unorganised! Equal pay for equal work, including for women, youth and minorities!

We fight for one out, all out! For industry-wide strikes defended by mass pickets that no-one dares cross! The bosses' scabherding can be undercut and defeated by drawing casuals and the unemployed onto picket lines! Fight unemployment through reducing the working week with no loss in pay—make the bosses pay! To ease the burden of child rearing particularly on women, the working class must take up the fight for fully paid maternity and paternity leave, for free quality 24-hour

childcare and healthcare for all! A union struggle to win jobs for all, including integrating the heavily exploited immigrant outworkers into the unions, would strengthen and unify the class against the bosses' attacks.

But providing even the basic necessities of life—decent jobs, free quality education and healthcare, decent housing and public transport—for all, requires a workers state with a planned collectivised economy where production is organised for the needs of society not for capitalist profit. Under the leadership of a revolutionary internationalist party the victory of the proletariat on a world scale would



Lindsay Moller

Crew members of the *Flecha*, a flag-of-convenience ship, struck against hellish conditions early this year off South Australia. The ship's captain denounced Maritime Union officials as a terrorist threat for seeking to come to their aid.

place hitherto unknown material abundance at the service of humanity, laying the basis for the elimination of all exploitation and social inequality.

No Illusions in the Capitalist State!

The ALP and Laborite union leaders have historically upheld the system of "labour relations" embodied in the Arbitration and Awards system. This system was erected upon an historic racist pact between the Laborite bureaucracy and the ruling class, which institutionalised tariff-protected industries and a "whites only" labour force, and enshrined unequal wages for women. Far from independent, Arbitration is a corporatist straitjacket which isolates and chokes off struggles, allowing the courts to regulate the unions in every sphere—from wages and conditions to the conduct of strikes.

The pro-capitalist union tops repeatedly seek to divert trade-union struggles into the bosses' courts in order to stifle them. In 1998 thousands of unionists around the country, and internationally, rallied in defence of waterfront workers against the vicious union busting of Howard and Patrick boss Chris Corrigan. We Spartacists argued at the time for a solid national port strike with mass pickets to shut down the docks. However the Maritime Union (MUA) tops instead pushed deadly reliance on the capitalist courts. While the

reformists peddled the myth of a union victory and deep-sixed the treacherous role of the union bureaucrats, the result was a sell-out which saw hundreds of jobs lost, speed-ups, increased casualisation and an end to the closed shop on the waterfront.

Any determined union fightback must oppose all attempts to subordinate workers struggles to the bosses' courts. We fight for the complete independence of the working class from the capitalist state! **Bury Arbitration!** Arbitration is not a "safety net" for workers but a safeguard for the bosses to keep struggles within the bounds of capitalism.

The capitalist state apparatus was created and exists to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist class, who own the mines, vast agri-businesses, factories and other means of production, against the counterposed interests of the working class. Forced to sell their labour power, from which the capitalists extract profit, the workers' key role and organisation at the point of production makes them the only class capable of replacing the rule of capital with a new society based on socialised means of production. To defend its own rule, the bourgeoisie will send its cops and army to break strikes and picket lines. It will use its courts and laws to threaten workers and the oppressed and its prisons to incarcerate them. The capitalist state cannot be reformed to serve the interests of workers. It must be replaced with a workers state through proletarian socialist revolution.

Grotesquely the union tops have welcomed police into union ranks alongside organising security guards and prison screws. These forces are the armed thugs and auxiliaries of the bosses' state, not "workers in uniform" as some, like the reformist Socialist Party, try to peddle! As part of the fight to make the unions weapons of struggle, **cops, security guards and screws must be driven out of the unions! They have no place in the workers movement!** Similarly we oppose inviting the bosses' courts into union affairs. Last year, both the Victorian leadership of Construction Forestry Mining & Energy Union (CFMEU) and their NSW counterparts called on federal courts to intervene into an internal union dispute. This only serves to legitimise the very institutions that have been conducting the government offensive against the union. **State out of the unions! The workers must clean their own house!**

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Laborite "Aussie" Nationalism

In laying out the Unions NSW/ACTU campaign to union delegates recently, Robertson patriotically declared "we need to connect these [work] rights with the things we hold dear as Australians: a fair go for all, strong families and a society that gives everyone a chance in life" (*Sydney Morning Herald* website, 27 May). Thus, in the service of whipping up

Laborite "Aussie" nationalism, Robertson buries the racist, sexist brutality of Australian capitalist society. It is a grim reminder that such union misleaders have thus far uttered not even a word in defence of the Aboriginal protesters witchhunted in the wake of the upheavals last year in Redfern and Palm Island which were sparked by the cop killings of Aborigines "TJ" Hickey and Mulrunji Doomadgee. We stand for union/immigrant/black actions to demand: **Drop the charges and convictions against the Palm Island and Redfern Aborigines! Free the jailed Redfern political prisoners now!**

A few years ago right-wing AWU national secretary, Bill Shorten, opined in the pages of the *Australian Financial Review* that, "the Australian Workers' Union can offer valuable insights into how we can preserve jobs and keep our industry profitable through our partnership with industry" (*AFR*, 18 March 2002). Alongside this false view that workers have an interest in protecting the profits of Australian industry goes the lie of a "fair deal" for workers and oppressed under capitalism. More than 150 years ago the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, argued that the conservative motto of a "fair day's wage for a fair day's work," which accepts the right of the capitalists to exploit the labour of others, must be replaced by the revolutionary demand: "Abolition of the wages system!"

But beholden to capital, the trade-union tops sell out workers' hard won gains in the "national interest," that is, in the interest of capital. Thus, under the Prices and Incomes Accords of the Hawke/Keating federal ALP governments, the union tops presided over a massive loss of jobs, dismantling of union gains and wage cuts. When anyone got out of line Hawke, assisted by the ACTU, carried out open union busting. In smashing the Builders Labourers Federation in 1986, the federal ALP government was backed by the Victorian ALP government of John Cain, which brought in special laws for the occasion. Then in 1989, Hawke used air force pilots to smash the pilots' federation. In doing so he stood in the tradition of ALP prime minister Chifley's use of troops to crush the 1949 miners' strike.

An adjunct to the union tops selling out workers in the "national interest" is lining them up against workers in other countries through peddling protectionist tariffs. Thus protectionist union leaders such as Michelle O'Neil, who blames government tariff cuts for the loss of jobs and conditions in the textile and clothing industry, serve to tie workers to their exploitative bosses and pit them against their international class brothers and sisters. It is the capitalist system at home not overseas workers that causes unemployment! In promoting racist protectionism, the Laborite bureaucrats also undermine the class unity of the multiracial Australian working class, fostering racist scapegoating of immigrants.

In NSW and Western Australia, union tops from CFMEU Construction have railed against the employment of "illegal workers" and assisted in the round-up of undocumented workers, leading to their incarceration and deportation. The union should be organising desperate immigrant workers with full union rights, responsibilities and conditions. The working class must oppose the government's anti-immigrant witchhunts and vicious deportations. **Down with racist protectionist poison! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all!**

Like the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU) slogan "Make it here or jobs disappear," the MUA slogan "Australian crews for Australian ships" is a racist, protectionist appeal to "Aussie" bosses and their government against foreign seamen working coastal shipping. This is particularly grotesque given that many seamen from overseas work on Flag of Convenience (FOC)

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Spartacist League Forum

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20 Years Ago: Victory for Industrial Unionism at Cockatoo Island

As the federal Liberal/National Coalition government assembles an arsenal of new laws for all out union-busting attacks, many workers are seeking to fight back. In this context we recall a small but significant class-struggle victory waged by an SL supporter and other union militants at Sydney's Cockatoo Island dockyard in 1985. Beginning with an electricians' strike over unsafe working conditions, a battle ensued for cross-union solidarity against the bosses' and union officials' hoary division along craft-union lines of this large, militant workforce. This struggle, initiated by a Trotskyist militant fighting on a class-struggle program, posed the need to forge one industrial union covering all dockyard workers based on the struggle for *one out, all out*. It also gave workers the confidence to take matters into their own hands against the union officials who constantly sow illusions in the bosses' Arbitration courts.

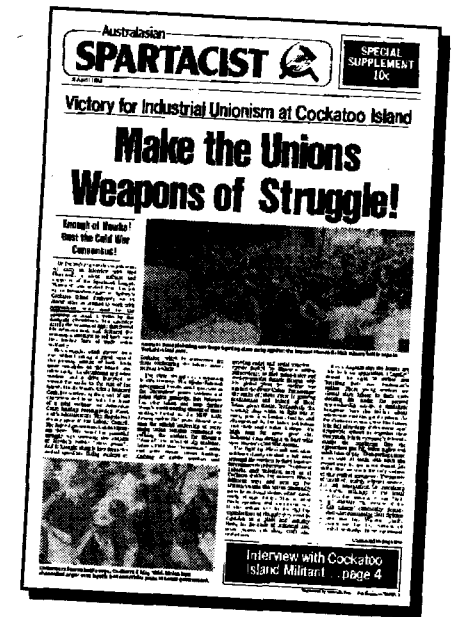
From 1983 to 1996 the attacks against workers came from the Hawke/Keating federal Labor government, which no less than the current Liberal/National coalition, was a capitalist government. Under Labor's "Accord," which demanded unions cooperate with the bosses in the "national interest," real wages were slashed and unions such as the Builders Labourers Federation and pilots' union were smashed while layers of draconian anti-worker

measures were rammed through parliament. Anti-union attacks were accompanied by the slashing of public services and vicious racist and social reaction, including an escalation in government attacks on immigrants and killings of Aborigines by Labors' screws and cops in the lockups and on the streets.

Specialising in the building and repair of naval vessels, Cockatoo was a bastion of union militancy and industrial action during the 1980s. Rarely a week went by without a strike by one or another of the 22 unions on the island. Yet, while these struggles at Cockatoo occasionally threatened to exceed the limits set by union officials, militancy was generally constrained by officials who kept strikes isolated along craft union lines while seeking resolution through the bosses' arbitration courts. In March 1985 this cosy framework was thrown into flux when an ironworker/rigger and Spartacist supporter refused to work with apprentices being used to break an electricians' strike over grossly inadequate ventilation on submarines. When our supporter's union, the Federated Ironworkers Association (FIA), refused to defend him, he was sacked. But rather than accept this or appeal to Arbitration he agitated amongst fellow workers for solidarity with the electricians' strike while posing the need to organise, with full union rights and responsibilities, the

oppressed young apprentices who the company regularly used as strikebreakers. For their part as soon as the electricians heard of our supporter's sacking they declared they would not return to work unless he was reinstated. Our supporter and others also spoke of the need for mass pickets to shut the island down tight. Meanwhile, doubtless out of loyalty to the ALP, most of the union delegates—including a supporter of the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Labour League (now Socialist Equality Party) and supporters of the Communist Party—took no concrete action to advance this struggle.

Nevertheless, workers on the shopfloor, including some apprentices, greeted this stand for basic union solidarity enthusiastically. A statement signed by 41 workers from various unions on the island was widely distributed. It declared, "We firmly believe that this fight can be won, and that industrial unionism here at Cockatoo Island can be established as the weapon for *all* our battles against the company. The electricians should not be allowed to stand alone in this fight. Strike action to defeat this company attack needs to be extended now, and right across the island if need be" ("Statement to Cockatoo Island Workers," 22 March 1985). As support grew FIA bureaucrats tried to derail the workers' actions by appealing against the sacking of our supporter through



preaching reliance on the Arbitration courts. However, the bosses realised they were in for more than they bargained for when up to a hundred striking electricians packed the court and a leading metal-worker union official warned of an island-wide shutdown unless our supporter was reinstated. The Hawke government was so alarmed that it sent an observer to the Arbitration hearing. Faced with a large and potentially uncontrollable escalation of the dispute, the court had no choice but to order reinstatement. This victory for class solidarity was followed by hysteria in the pages of the bourgeois press about industrial lawlessness at what some termed "Cuckoo Island."

Soon after, and based on authority accrued from this victory, our supporter agitated amongst waterside workers in most Sydney ports for union defence of meetings celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Vietnamese Revolution, which were being attacked with impunity by knife-wielding Vietnamese counterrevolutionaries. A groundswell of support for such

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TROTSKY

Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S./Australian Imperialism!

April 30 marked the 30th anniversary of the military victory of Vietnam's workers and peasants against U.S./Australian imperialism and the South Vietnamese puppet forces. This was a victory for the exploited and oppressed internationally, serving for years to stay the hand of imperialism around the world. In celebration of this anniversary, we print below excerpts from our

statement hailing the entry of the North Vietnamese military and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front into Saigon. After 1975, in its drive to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution, U.S. imperialism subjected devastated Vietnam to an imperialist embargo. Washington helped arm Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia after his ouster from power by Vietnamese forces in 1979, which ended a reign—marked by mass murder and wholesale destruction of urban areas—that proved to be not even the most deformed type of workers state (see "Oust Genocidal Pol Pot Gang from UN!" Workers Vanguard No. 338, 23 September 1983).

MAY 4—On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over...

What has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed workers states*,



LENIN

qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist!

—"Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!"

Workers Vanguard No. 68, 9 May 1975

Telegram to Ho Chi Minh

This cablegram was sent by our U.S. comrades on the day the U.S. air attacks against North Vietnam were begun.

Sunday, 7 February 1965

President Ho Chi Minh,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Hanoi, North Vietnam:

Spartacist in fullest solidarity with defense of your country against attack by United States imperialism. Heroic struggle of Vietnamese working people furthers the American revolution.

Spartacist Editorial Board

* * * * *

Havana, Cuba

We would like to thank you for the copy of your telegram to President Ho-chi-Minh that you kindly sent us.

We, South Vietnamese, specially are deeply moved by the heroic and powerful movement of American Negroes, students, workers, employees and personalities demanding the end of the aggressive war of US imperialism in South Vietnam and of the US attacks against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and supporting the just struggle of our people.

We would like to [take] this opportunity to express [to] you our deepest thanks and to send you our best greetings.

Ly-van-Sáu,
[South Vietnam National Liberation Front]

Down with VSU! Free Quality Education for All!

No Faith in the Capitalist Vice-Chancellors!

While workers and unions brace themselves for the harsh onslaught of anti-union laws to be legislated when the federal Liberal government takes control of both houses of parliament on 1 July, students across the nation have been mobilising with equal concern against the "reforms" the government has in store for universities.

Having successfully raised HECS fees by up to 25 percent for most courses in most universities last year, together with the scrapping of "unprofitable" courses such as nursing at Sydney University (at a time of acute nursing shortages), education minister Brendan Nelson now seeks to curb both student facilities and students' ability to politically organise by introducing Voluntary Student Unionism (VSU). This constricting of education and campus life to an even smaller, privileged few is but a continuation of the precedent set by the ALP in federal power in the 1980s when they introduced racist fees for overseas students and later, HECS fees for domestic students.

As if student existence wasn't hard enough, with many working non-union, casual jobs in order to survive (all the while accruing a massive HECS debt), the charging of extortionate fees in conjunction with the scrapping of resources and services provided by the student unions will further alienate working-class youth, Aborigines, immigrants and women from universities, resulting in a sharpening of the pre-existing class bias. Ultimately, what the capitalist class desires of the universities are user-pays institutions of bourgeois propaganda and organisation, churning out compliant and unquestioning youth as future managers for the capitalist class or skilled workers funneled into the workplace where their expertise can be maximised for profit.

While these attacks will undoubtedly hurt students, their negative effects are not limited to students alone. Importantly, workers employed by the student unions, in everything from subsidised bars and cafeterias, sports facilities, financial counseling services and on-campus subsidised medical and dental services have their jobs on the line. Meanwhile, campus workers and academics employed by the universities are being targeted in union-busting attacks with the government making non-union Australian Workplace Agreements (individual contracts) a prerequisite for university funding and the banning of industrial action if it is deemed to damage "innocent third parties" (such

as striking during exam marking).

The slated introduction of VSU has been met with some of the largest student demonstrations in years. On 28 April upward of 5,000 students marched in Melbourne and Sydney. But the reality is that students, who are a heterogeneous group with little social power, cannot defeat these attacks. Student vanguardism cannot save education. While reformist leftist organisations such as Resistance and Socialist Alternative hail the huge turnout on 28 April as laying the basis for success, their strategy is the dead end of building greater numbers and the "mass movement" bereft of any class distinction. Of course we solidarise with, and have participated in, student occupations, protests, rallies and demonstrations. But students who want to fight the government's attacks need to understand that it is the working class mobilised independently which has the social power and interest to fight for decent quality education, health care and social services. With this class-struggle perspective, we of the Spartacus Youth Club demand free quality education for all, including overseas students. We demand open admissions to the universities to make them available to all the oppressed and a living allowance to make study a reality. To defeat the government's union-busting attacks on campus workers' jobs and conditions, solid strikes are required to shut down the campuses with mass picket lines that no-one dares cross.

Vice-Chancellors: Enemies of Students and Workers

On the face of it, the government's VSU legislation is so outrageous and nonsensical in its drive to kill student and campus life, it has registered opposition from the most unlikely of quarters, including the Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee. But if an effective fight against VSU is to be waged, it should necessarily be independent of the Vice-Chancellors (VCs) who ultimately are responsible for the enforcing of the government's austerity on campus, making them the enemy of university workers and students. If proof is needed, one need not look further than the University of Newcastle where the VC recently announced the axing of up to 450 jobs. Furthermore, it is the VCs' security guards who harass students and leftists, break up the picket lines of striking university workers and invite cops onto campus. In June last year the racist NSW cops of the Carr Labor government used the

area outside Sydney University's Fisher Library as the gathering point for a vicious, racist raid on the Aboriginal community in Redfern, ostensibly targeting drugs. We demand *cops, security, military recruiters off campus! Workers/students to the defence of Aboriginal people besieged by the racist state!*

Unfortunately, with the VCs being wheeled out at student demonstrations as supporters of campus workers and students, much of the reformist left and Laborite student unions in their campaigns against VSU have been equivocal or silent with respect to these enforcers of capitalist austerity. Where one year ago the likes of Socialist Alternative (SAlt) participated in protests and occupations against university Senates and Chancellors, they now encourage illusions in the "good graces" of the VCs. Writing in an editorial of their June newspaper, SAlt declares "University vice-chancellors are if not hostile, then not happy with the attacks on student unions. They're also unhappy about being bludgeoned by threats to withhold badly needed funding if they don't offer individual contracts to new employees to sideline the staff union, the NTEU." Meanwhile, the NTEU leadership grovels at the feet of the VCs, begging that they not introduce the hated AWAs *until they are required by legislation!* (*Australian Financial Review*, 1 June). In contrast, we take a firm and principled line against the VCs. We say: *No alliance with the capitalist VCs! For staff/student/worker control of the campuses!*

Liberal attacks on Education: Continuing the ALP's Legacy

To their credit, one group that has come out against accommodating the VCs, is the ostensibly leftist organisation Solidarity. But while warning students about the VCs is elementary, Solidarity is more than happy to cosy up to that other enemy of education and students: the Labor Party. Fresh from their backhanded support to Labor in last year's federal election where they wrote "Getting rid of Howard will be a good start" (*Solidarity*, September, 2004), in their March issue they denounce the Liberals for everything from their "social and economic priorities" in favour of the police and the military to their repressive social policies "like the push to wind back access to abortion, or the moves against gay marriage." True enough. But what of mentioning the ALP? The very party that holds power in the states and whose cops viciously attacked high-school students protesting the Iraq War in March 2003 as well as anti-racist youth protesting the detention of refugees in hellhole detention centres during Easter at Baxter, and federally, gave its support to the anti-gay legislation of the government? Nothing. Furthermore with respect to Australian imperialist militarism, no party has surpassed the ALP in the recent period in terms of bellicosity. It was the ALP which wanted Australian troops closer to "home" to enforce imperialist exploitation from the Solomon Islands to PNG to East Timor and have been at the forefront of anti-communist sabre rattling against the bureaucratically deformed

Chinese and North Korean workers states. We demand: *Australian imperialist troops/cops out of Iraq, East Timor and the South Pacific!*

Similarly finding themselves in the same social-democratic swamp of accommodating and compounding illusions in the Labor Party as a "lesser evil" is Socialist Alternative who were quite happy to "debate" the ALP at Sydney University (What's there to debate? They too called for, as indeed they *always* do, a vote to the ALP!) on 4 May when they physically and bureaucratically excluded supporters of the Trotskyist Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club on the basis of our unconditional military defence of the North Korean deformed workers state and its right to defend itself with nuclear weapons. The point shouldn't be lost on leftists: SAlt is more than happy to "debate" whatever niceties they wish with the ALP *on the basis of their shared anti-communist hostility*, but draw the line at engaging with the SL/SYC.

The racist ALP is an *obstacle* to the independent mobilisation of the workers and pushes the lie that workers and bosses have a commonality of interest. We of the Spartacus Youth Club called for *no vote* to Labor in the last election, arguing to split the working-class base of the ALP from their pro-capitalist misleaders in parliament and for a fight within the ranks of the unions for an alternative leadership based on working-class opposition to capitalism.

Attacks on Students and Capitalist Contempt for Youth

The attacks on students are but one part of a more generalised anti-youth crusade by the capitalist state to stifle all manifestations of opposition in their bid for a compliant, unquestioning youth, resigned to the misery of perpetual degradation inherent in capitalism. In everything from being schooled in dilapidated classrooms to unrelenting harassment by cops to restrictive and reactionary laws prohibiting sexual expression, the capitalist state is the principal enforcer of youth oppression.

As we wrote in August 2003 when the government was looking to increase HECS fees:

"In contrast to the class collaborators who promote the illusion that capitalism can be reformed, the SYC understands that the capitalist class views working-class youth as wage slaves and cannon fodder for imperialist wars."

—ASp No. 184, Spring 2003

Against every manifestation of capitalist oppression, of youth or otherwise, the Spartacus Youth Club as part of the common movement of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) seeks to direct struggles toward that which is the only solution to the capitalist system: socialist revolution. Capitalism only offers youth war, racism, sexism, unemployment and immiseration. We seek the building of a multi-racial workers party that is at once revolutionary and internationalist and will lead the workers to power through the overthrow of capitalism. Only then will education without capitalist distortion become achievable. Join us! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

SYDNEY

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

- Imperialism Saturday 16 July
- The Russian Revolution Saturday 13 August

4 p.m., Upstairs at Kiki's Café (formerly Green Iguana Café)
6 King Street, Newtown

A short presentation will be followed by open discussion.

For readings/further information contact the Spartacus Youth Club. Phone (02) 9281 2181, write to GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001 or e-mail spartacist@bigpond.com

ROTC, Military Recruiters Off Campus Now!

We reprint below an article from the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Vanguard (No. 846, 15 April), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

As the bloody U.S. colonial occupation of Iraq drags into its third year, and with the U.S. volunteer military facing predictable recruitment shortages, student activists around the country have taken to protesting military recruiters on campus. On January 20, the day of Bush's second imperial inauguration, some 300 students at Seattle Central Community College confronted and successfully drove out two military recruiters. On March 9, more than 100 students at San Francisco State University (SFSU) marched into an auditorium where Air Force and Army Corps of Engineers recruiters were handing out their literature and surrounded their tables for two hours, chanting and giving speeches. Planned and impromptu protests and "counter-recruitment" activities have taken place on dozens of other campuses.

Military recruiters, ROTC and other similar agencies are direct appendages of the military machine that exists to defend the interests of the American imperialist ruling class. ROTC recruits university students to become the next generation of the elite officer corps whose job is to oversee U.S. imperialist slaughter in wars like those against Afghanistan and Iraq. Meanwhile, military recruiters use promised tuition assistance and job opportunities to lure working-class youth, including a disproportionate number of black and minority youth, into signing up to be the cannon fodder for these wars.

The SYC opposes the extension of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state onto college campuses and high schools. We fight against the use of the universities and schools as direct agents of U.S. imperialism and have actively organized for years against ROTC, military recruiters, military research, the CIA and cop training on campus. We say: **ROTC, military recruiters off campus now!**

With the U.S. military straining to maintain a large occupation force in Iraq and fighting a global "war on terror," the capitalist rulers have been on a drive to expand the presence of ROTC and military recruiters on campus. For several years high school activists have been campaigning against a provision in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 stipulating that high schools receiving federal funding must give military recruiters students' personal information and the "same access" to schools as college and job recruiters. The drive to return ROTC to campuses such as Columbia University continues. An ROTC student-faculty task force there is evenly split on the immediate return of ROTC, but has voted overwhelmingly for the return of ROTC if the military's anti-gay "don't ask, don't tell" policy were abolished.

Students protesting military recruiters have been met with victimization and repression by campus administrations and the cops. On March 9, three students at the City College of New York (CCNY) were detained and brutalized by the police for protesting against military recruiters during a career fair. The three students, along with a CCNY staff member who was arrested two days later, face charges of assault and have been suspended from the college. And at William

Not One Person, Not One Cent for the Imperialist Military!



Seattle Central Community College students drive out military recruiters at 20 January protest.

Paterson University in New Jersey, student Thomas Keenan was arrested and charged with defiant trespass for the "crime" of handing out flyers opposing military recruiters on February 28. The SYC demands: **Drop the charges now! No reprisals! Cops off campus!**

Marxism and Bourgeois Militarism

The military's discrimination against gays has been central to the legal battle over the Solomon Amendment—a law stipulating that colleges and universities must allow military recruiters onto campus as a condition for federal funding. This law was ruled unconstitutional by the Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals last November on the basis that it violated the free speech rights of schools to bar an organization which openly pursued a policy with which they disagreed. The Justice Department has obtained a stay of this ruling while it prepares a challenge to it at the U.S. Supreme Court level.

Racism and social bigotry are intrinsic to capitalist society and therefore find their reflection in institutions such as the armed forces. As opponents of all manifestations of racial and sexual oppression we say: Down with anti-gay discrimination in the military! Yet we also understand that no amount of reform will change the fundamental purpose of the military: to uphold the capitalist system. This necessarily means that for the fight against militarism to be successful, it must go beyond the boundaries of the schools and colleges, and become a part of the struggle to overthrow the entire capitalist system. The working class uniquely has both the power and material interest to end this system by expropriating the means of production and abolishing capitalist private property through socialist revolution.

The military is an essential part of the capitalist state, the armed bodies of men—cops, courts and prison system—

that exist to defend the capitalist rulers' "right" to exploit the working and oppressed masses. It defends capitalism not only through imperialist adventures and colonial plunder abroad, but also by violently repressing class and social struggle at home. From the slaughter of workers by federal troops in the historic Rail Strike of 1877 to the government's threats just over two years ago to have the military take over the ports if the West Coast longshore union dared strike, the military has been a key tool for strikebreaking. And from the ghetto rebellions of the 1960s to the 1992 L.A. upheaval in the wake of the acquittal of the cops who beat black motorist Rodney King, troops have been used to crush black protest. Student protesters against the Vietnam War also got a taste of this treatment, most infamously with the National Guard killing of four students at Kent State University in 1970.

Marxist opposition to bourgeois militarism is encapsulated in the call raised by heroic German revolutionary Karl Liebknecht during World War I: Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist military! An application of this is our opposition to signing up for the volunteer army. Correspondingly, revolutionaries oppose military conscription, which serves to turn the bulk of working-class youth into cannon fodder for imperialist wars. Since their humiliating military defeat in the Vietnam War, the U.S. rulers have been hesitant to reinstate the draft for fear of the opposition this would engender. Yet, sooner or later, the U.S. ruling class will be forced to reinstate the draft. The duty of revolutionaries, if drafted, is to go into the military with the mass of young workers and seek to win the working-class ranks to the fight for socialist revolution.

The Iraq War and the Left

Bourgeois militarism is an ideologically conservatizing force, serving to imbue workers and the oppressed with

national chauvinism and unquestioning faith in "God and country." This is illustrated by the patriotic "support our troops" line pushed by both the Democrats and Republicans during the war and occupation, and echoed by much of the reformist left with their calls to "Bring the troops home now." Despite the working-class background of most of the rank and file, soldiers in the bourgeois army serve to defend the rule of the capitalist exploiters. For working people these are not "our" troops, but the troops of the U.S. imperialist butchers. Whatever the intention of the individual recruit, the reality of what it means to serve in the military can be seen starkly in Iraq today from the destruction and depopulation of Falluja to the Abu Ghraib den of torture.

The call to "Bring the troops home" is an accommodation to those who appeal to the U.S. rulers to get the American troops out of harm's way; this is what Lenin called social-patriotism—expressing concern primarily for the loss of *American* lives rather than for the victims of U.S. imperialist terror. This call serves to obscure the fact that working people in the U.S. should take a side militarily with the Iraqi peoples *against* the U.S. military occupiers. The blows directed against the U.S. imperialist occupiers and their Iraqi lackeys represent a just struggle by Iraqis against a neocolonial occupation. And responsibility for the deaths of American soldiers lies entirely with the U.S. ruling class. We say: **Defend the peoples of Iraq against the occupation forces! All U.S. troops out of Iraq now!** At the same time, we oppose the deadly communalist violence in Iraq against other ethnic, religious and national populations, which is often carried out by the very same forces fighting the occupation armies.

During the war we called for defense of neocolonial Iraq against the predatory U.S. imperialist attack without giving an iota of political support to the reactionary Saddam Hussein regime. While many reformist left groups such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO), Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and Workers World Party (WWP) today vicariously cheer the "Iraqi resistance," they rejected the call for defense of Iraq during the war. This was because it would have prevented them from uniting with bourgeois liberals who didn't want to take a side against U.S. imperialism and simply opposed the war because they didn't think it was the best way to advance the interests of American capitalism.

Behind many of the recent protests against military recruiters are coalitions and leftist organizations who organized the "antiwar movement" against the Iraq war. These include the ISO-dominated Campus Antiwar Network and its campus affiliates, the RCP's Not In Our Name coalition and the WWP youth group Fight Imperialism, Stand Together (FIST). The premise of the Iraq antiwar movement was

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ROTC...

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that if the greatest number of people united in a broad movement, they could pressure the U.S. government to stop the war and occupation. The goal of the antiwar movement was, and continues to be, based on the fallacy that imperialism can be reformed and that the imperialist rulers can be pressured to make their system more humane, peaceful and democratic.

These reformist leftists would have you believe that the antiwar movement failed in its goals because they just didn't get enough people on board to pressure the government hard enough. The ISO lays out this reformist strategy explicitly: "To influence Congress, our most effective tool is not compromise, but a confident, coherent and growing opposition to the Iraq occupation. We should exploit every division at the top, even between Republicans, but this can only be done effectively by wielding a clear ideological counterweight, backed up by mass forces" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 February). The ISO also blames supposedly nefarious liberals, like their coalition partners in the leadership of United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), for somehow sidetracking antiwar activists into campaigning for the Democratic candidate in the presidential election. Don't buy any of this!

The antiwar movement failed because you can't stop the imperialist rulers from going to war through pressure politics. Wars against neocolonial countries by imperialist nations, as well as wars between imperialist nations, are inevitable under capitalism. While the capitalist rulers may differ among themselves over tactics, imperialism is not a "policy" that the capitalist rulers can choose to carry out or not depending on their "conscience" or the will of the populace; it is a system based on cutthroat economic competition between nation-states over markets and spheres of influence. This competition is fought out ultimately in the military arena. This will always be the case until the working class destroys the capitalist system and replaces it with a society in which production is for the needs of all humanity, not the profit of a tiny minority.

Flowing from this is the understanding that a successful fight against imperialist war requires attacking the economic and social roots of war, *not* begging the capitalist rulers to make their system more humane. The only successful antiwar movement is the working class vying for power—like the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. As then-Trotskyist James Burnham stated in *War and the Workers* (1936):

"Since the victory of socialism, and this alone, will defeat war, every step on the path to socialism is a blow at war. In the

struggle against war, properly understood, every militant workers' demonstration, every broad mass labor defense fight, every well-led strike, and in general every advance of the workers toward power, is worth a thousand 'Peace Leagues.'"

War exposes the true nature of capitalism, concentrating the everyday, seemingly random violence of life under capitalism into one geographical area over a compressed period of time. In response to this, youth and workers often draw a pacifist conclusion. But this visceral reaction against the horrors of imperialist war must be turned into an understanding that it requires a class war against capitalism to put an end to war once and for all. The program of pacifism, on the other hand, is



Melbourne, 6 March 2002: Spartacist League/SYC initiated protest which successfully drove Australian imperialist military recruiters off RMIT campus.

based on the false premise that peace can be achieved without overturning capitalism. In this sense pacifism is of great service to the capitalist rulers because it helps them channel discontent with war into an impotent movement crying out "Stop the War!" This is why a handful of capitalist "peace dove" politicians typically come out against the war (while, of course, "supporting the troops")—they appear on the platforms of liberal antiwar protests to keep the "movement" safe for capitalism.

Helping the imperialists keep the opposition to the Iraq war and occupation safe for capitalism are groups that claim to be revolutionary and anti-imperialist—ISO, WWP, RCP—who built the pacifist antiwar movement. Their call for the "broadest possible unity" meant eagerly seeking the participation of capitalist politicians, welcoming with open arms capitalist Democratic Party politicians like Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton and Dennis Kucinich. From day one, pro-Democratic Party "Anybody but Bush" politics predominated in the antiwar coalitions and demonstrations these reformist leftists organized. Of course, *after* their vaunted movement dissipated, they complained that the liberals derailed the movement into voting for Kerry! And such complaints hardly deterred them from raising the call "Beat Back the Bush Attack" and bringing out their usual roster of "antiwar" Democrats at the recent March 19 protests against the occupation.

Illusions in the reformability of capitalism and in the Democratic Party as a supposed "lesser evil" are the key obstacles to the kind of working-class struggle that is so badly needed. We say: Break with the Democratic Party of racism and war! For a revolutionary workers party!

New Campaign, Same Reformist Program

The reformist left is now working overtime to dress up the same tired, old liberal-pacifist program that the antiwar movement was based on in new, militant, "grassroots" garb. Groups like the ISO are seizing on campus "counter-recruitment" and soldiers' resistance as the new vanguard in the fight against the occupation of Iraq. The argument that if you could just stop enough people from

signing up for the military and get enough soldiers to refuse to serve, then the U.S. would have to end the occupation does have its appeal to youth who've never seen a serious mobilization of the social power of the working class. These youth have been sold the myth that the Vietnam War was ended through a mass pacifist movement of antiwar protesters and draft resisters.

Contrary to popular left mythology, what ended the Vietnam War was the military defeat of the U.S. imperialists by the revolutionary workers and peasants of Vietnam who carried out a social revolution that overturned capitalism. Not only did we call for victory to the Vietnamese revolutionaries at the time, but to this day

we continue to stand for the unconditional military defense of Vietnam, China, North Korea and Cuba as countries where capitalism has been overturned. Unlike pacifists and anti-Communists like the ISO and RCP, we defend the right of these workers states, albeit deformed by Stalinism, to defend themselves against the imperialists, including through the acquisition of nuclear weapons. ROTC was successfully driven off hundreds of campuses in the late 1960s and 1970s *not* because of a mass pacifist movement, but because the U.S. was waging a *losing* war in Vietnam while facing massive social and class struggle in the U.S.

Scratch the "Revolutionary" Surface—Reformists Underneath

In contrast to the more explicit reformists of the ISO, RCP and WWP, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) couches its fight against military recruiters in high schools in revolutionary phrases: "We don't welcome the bosses' wars and we want military recruiters out of the schools. But we also know that opening the eyes of youth in and out of uniform to the need for, and possibility of, communist revolution lays the foundation for a red army of workers and youth to smash imperialist war for good" (*Challenge*, 17 November 2004). While the rhetoric may sound good, PL refused to take a side with Iraq against the U.S., writing on the eve of the war that the working class must "oppose both U.S. and Iraqi bosses" (*Challenge*, 5 February 2003).

PL clearly swam with the reformist stream as did all the other groups that

refused to call for the defense of Iraq during the war, but to cover this up, they grotesquely distort Lenin. Today, in reference to the U.S. occupation of Iraq, PL writes: "Only Rebellious Soldiers Can 'Bring The Troops Home' From All Imperialist War" (*Challenge*, 19 January). In this article PL falsely applies Lenin's program on *interimperialist* wars to Iraq today. Lenin's program for wars between imperialist nations was that workers have no side in such a war and that soldiers of all the belligerent countries should "turn the guns around," turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war against the capitalists. What PL hides is that Lenin made it quite clear that in the case of a war between an imperialist power and a country subjugated by imperialism, the duty of revolutionaries was to militarily side with the latter and favor the defeat of the imperialists. As Lenin wrote in *Socialism and War* (1915): "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Another group that touts its fight against military recruiters, the League for the Revolutionary Party, opposes the slogan "No to the Draft!" and promotes the "virtues" of a conscript army! In this they march in lockstep with bourgeois liberals like black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel, who has introduced legislation for the reinstatement of the draft because "if policymakers in Washington knew that their kids would be placed in harm's way, their foreign policy of invading and bombing countries would cease and desist" (*New York Amsterdam News*, February 24-March 2). As was clear with student deferments during the Vietnam War and schemes like those George W. Bush took advantage of, the ruling class always finds a way for its sons to avoid being drafted into combat. Rangel's scheme is nothing other than a gross attempt to refurbish the credentials of racist U.S. imperialism in the eyes of black people and minorities by promising "democratization" of the armed forces.

Those who oppose the rapacious wars of U.S. imperialism abroad must also oppose the war drive at home. This means opposing the draconian assaults on civil liberties like the USA-Patriot Act, opposing the witchhunts in the universities against pro-Palestinian and leftist professors, as well as opposing recruiters for the armed forces. By failing to put opposition to military recruiters and ROTC in the context of the fight to abolish bourgeois militarism and imperialism, the reformist left's campaigns promote illusions in a reformed bourgeois military and a "democratic" imperialism. The SYC participates in struggles against military recruiters on campus, seeking to link these struggles to the social power of the working class, and to win youth to the understanding that only a revolutionary, proletarian fight against imperialism and bourgeois militarism can succeed. Join us! ■



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Unions...

(continued from page 4)

ships under terribly oppressive conditions. There needs to be an internationalist fight demanding full union rates, conditions and protection for all seamen working Australian ports and shipping, backed up by a closed shop on the waterfront.

Nationalism is a fraudulent ideology that strengthens the capitalists against the working class. Instead of opposing Australian imperialist plunder abroad, the pro-capitalist union leaders have given approval and support to military expeditions, such as the neocolonial occupation of East Timor in September 1999 which laid the basis for Australia's theft of the Timor Sea oil and gas. In 2003 in the lead-up to the unpopular war on Iraq the Australian union tops threatened industrial action. However when the bombing of Baghdad began, the union leaders patriotically fell into line behind the capitalist rulers, reneging on promises of industrial action out of loyalty to the racist Australian imperialist military.

Such support to the Australian imperialist military abroad spits on the best traditions of the Australian labour movement including waterfront workers' actions in solidarity with Indonesia's struggle for independence in the late 1940s and with the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S./Australian imperialism in the 1960s and 70s. It also assists in disarming the workers movement at home in the face of heightened state intrusion and restriction of rights. We say: *Not*

party demands a sharp struggle against Laborite nationalism and militarism in the workers movement. It will also mean fighting to mobilise organised labour in defence of the especially oppressed sectors of the population. Organising these workers would undercut the bosses' divide-and-rule schemes and bring into the unions a powerful source of fighting strength and a bridge to class unity with the rest of the oppressed, including workers overseas.

A Syphilitic Chain: Reformists Promote Militant "Alternatives"

Socialist Alliance (SA), which is based on an uneasy amalgam of various reformist and centrist groupings, postures as a fighting alternative to the no-struggle ACTU union tops but in reality acts to buttress the Laborite *political obstacles* to waging class battle. Thus SA promotes militant "left" union leaders such as Martin Kingham, secretary of the Victorian CFMEU, and Chris Cain, SA member and Western Australian MUA branch secretary.

Cain has carried out successful union actions such as leading MUA members to join construction workers' pickets in WA's south in early March this year. In a report on the action (*Australian*, 4 March), Cain said his members were taking a stand against the Howard "Government's IR reform agenda..." However, the same article goes on to report that Cain declared "his members...would fight any move to bring cheap overseas labour into the country." Buying into racist protectionism, Cain in fact shares the same

Cockatoo...

(continued from page 5)

defence compelled maritime union leaders to call a "Solidarity with Vietnam" meeting of hundreds of maritime workers, who came prepared to repel any attack.

By the mid 1980s the Labor government, marching in lockstep behind the anti-Soviet war drive of crazed U.S. president Ronald Reagan, was increasingly concerned that building and servicing Australian imperialism's warships should no longer be carried out by a traditionally leftist-led militant workforce such as existed at Cockatoo Island. Thus they resolved the Cockatoo dockyard would have to go. During his time at Cockatoo, our supporter fought many battles. In 1987 he waged a campaign to prevent the government deploying the naval vessel, *Jervis Bay*, to Fiji to provide military backing to a CIA and Australian-backed coup there. He also consistently fought to win workers to the idea of occupying the island in order to defend jobs and fight the government's threatened closure. How-

ever, in 1987 the company finally succeeded in sacking our supporter following a two-week strike in his defence. Some two years later workers did make a last-stand fight occupying the island. However left isolated by the union tops, after 14 weeks the occupying workers eventually succumbed and the government moved to close the dockyard.

The struggle at Cockatoo Island in 1985 showed that workers can realise their fighting capacity, if provided with a program of struggle independent of the capitalists and their state. It demonstrated how communist intervention can overcome the divide-and-rule sabotage fostered by union misleaders (today often directed against casuals and overseas workers) and give workers a sense of their potential industrial and social power in class unity against the bosses. Twenty years on we recommend the supplement (inset, page 5) which details a modest example of the principled class-struggle approach which will be necessary to rebuild the unions as weapons of struggle, as part of the fight to get rid of racist capitalist rule through workers revolution. ■

minor convictions" (*Australian*, 8 June).

Meanwhile government accusations of "dark and murky" criminal elements populating the waterfront have rightly outraged MUA officials. But far from taking up the fight against this government snooping on unionised workers, and the overt racist targeting of dark-skinned and Near Eastern workers, NSW state secretary Robert Coombs has offered an alternative "security" arrangement, demanding increased inspections of shipping containers! Any security apparatus put in place by the bosses and their state will be used against the working class. We demand: *Hands off airport, shipping and waterfront workers! Down with the anti-terror and national security laws—they are racist anti-union laws!*

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

Echoing the oft-repeated protectionist sentiments of AMWU national secretary, Doug Cameron, the NSW state secretary of the union, Paul Bastian, recently declared that attempted job slashing and wage cuts in the auto industry resulted from Howard's free trade push with China. "Howard is telling Australians to compete on labour costs, with an economy where core standards do not apply. There is no level playing field" (*Workers Online*, 13 May). Such expressions of poisonous Australian nationalism by the trade-union bureaucracy reflect the long-standing fear and hatred of the Australian imperialist rulers towards the potential social power of the superexploited Asian workers and peasants. Historically, the Laborite leaders have been vicious proponents of such sentiment within the workers movement, particularly when it intersects deep-seated anti-Communism.

In the recent period the ALP has been in the forefront (along with anti-Communist bourgeois Greens leader Bob Brown) of sabre rattling against the North Korean deformed workers state, particularly targeting their right to build and test nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialists. The ALP push to militarily target North Korea is also aimed at fostering capitalist counterrevolution in China, a strategic task which the imperialists hope to achieve through imperialist economic penetration combined with overt military brinkmanship.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was a victory against the Chinese capitalists and their imperialist overlords. Despite the revolution being deformed from its inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic caste, it resulted in a collectivised economy, which meant enormous

social progress for the worker and peasant masses, particularly women. As with all the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—we stand for the unconditional military defence of China against the imperialists' relentless drive to return it to its pre-1949 state of untrammelled imperialist exploitation. Key to our defence is the struggle for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which undermines the gains of the 1949 Revolution while fuelling forces of capitalist counterrevolution through promotion of "market reforms."

It is in the urgent interests of the working class to prevent capitalist counterrevolution in the deformed workers states today. We fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, defending the gains of the Russian Revolution to the last barricade. The destruction of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s was a massive defeat for former Soviet peoples and for the international proletariat. As the post-Soviet world makes clear, the future of workers and the oppressed under capitalism is one of austerity, immiseration, racism, sexism and war. In their competition for ever-increasing profits and to maintain their class rule, the capitalist rulers throughout the world will not hesitate to plunge humanity into ferocious dictatorial oppression or nuclear holocaust. Laborism serves to keep workers' consciousness firmly within the bounds of the bourgeois order, providing the Australian capitalists with new generations of obedient wage slaves to fill their factories and patriotic cannon fodder for their imperialist wars.

Today, as a consequence of the destruction of the Soviet Union, workers' consciousness has been thrown back, with workers today no longer readily identifying their struggles with the fight for socialism. It is the task of socialists to bring that consciousness to the most advanced layers of the working class in the process of forging a revolutionary, internationalist proletarian vanguard party.

We seek to build a Bolshevik party that Lenin and Trotsky would recognise as their own, a revolutionary leadership capable of leading the working class in fulfilling its historic task of consigning the vicious capitalist system to the dustbin of history through victorious socialist revolution. *Bury the union-busters! For solid strike action to defend the unions! Defeat union-busting attacks through hard class struggle! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!* ■



Racist Australian imperialist troops enforce savage occupation of Iraq. Every blow struck against the imperialist occupation forces is a blow for the international working class.

one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military! Defend the Iraqi peoples against the U.S./Australia colonial occupation of Iraq! Australian and all imperialist troops/cops out of Iraq, East Timor and the South Pacific!

Together with the pro-capitalist ALP parliamentarians, the bureaucratic caste of trade-union misleaders is based on an increasingly thin layer of privileged workers. This caste is bought off by the crumbs obtained from the profits of Australian imperialist plunder abroad. Whatever their background and original motivation, unless they follow a communist revolutionary course, the leaders of the unions are forced by their social role to subordinate the interests of the working class to the bourgeoisie. In his 1920 pamphlet "*Left Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin captured the role of these "labour lieutenants of capitalism":

"Present-day (twentieth century) imperialism has given a few advanced countries an exceptionally privileged position, which, everywhere in the Second International, has produced a certain type of traitor, opportunist, and social-chauvinist leaders, who champion the interests of their own craft, their own section of the labour aristocracy.... The revolutionary proletariat cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled."

Building a class-struggle leadership of the unions that is linked to a revolutionary

China...

(continued from page 12)

attempt to smash the social revolution there.

Many in China have illusions about the nature of U.S. imperialism because it fought against Japan in World War II. The Stalinists, presenting World War II as a "war against fascism," sided with the bourgeois-democratic imperialist powers—centrally the U.S. and Britain—against Germany, Italy and Japan.

In contrast, Trotskyists understood that the inter-imperialist slaughter in World War II was a conflict for redivision of the world's sources of cheap labor and raw materials in the interest of capitalist profits. During World War II, the Fourth International, founded by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, basing itself on proletarian internationalism, fought for the revolutionary defeat of all the imperialist nations. Simultaneously, it stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and championed the self-determination of the colonies against their subjugation by the Axis and Allied imperialists alike.

During the occupation of China by Japan beginning in the early 1930s, Trotskyists gave military support to the Chinese resistance forces, while politically



Japanese war crimes in Nanjing, 1937: Chinese prisoners used for bayonet practice. New Japanese textbooks describe rape of Nanjing as an "incident."

opposing Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois Guomindang forces. With the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific War, the war effort of Chiang's Guomindang was decisively subordinated to the interests of U.S. imperialism, to the point that U.S. officials had the final say on how Guomindang forces were to be deployed. Under these conditions, it became necessary to advocate a revolutionary defeatist position—for the defeat of both sides through proletarian class struggle—toward both the U.S./Guomindang and Japanese forces, while giving military support to Mao's Communist Party forces, which were *not* militarily subordinate to

U.S. imperialism (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

A central tenet of the Stalinist bureaucrats' nationalistic outlook is that workers in the advanced capitalist countries are so bought off by their exploiters that revolutionary class struggle there is a utopian (or Trotskyist) pipedream. Yet, in Japan there have been signs of opposition to resurgent militarism, including within the organized working class. In 2001, some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki refused to load armaments and military

supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. More recently, hundreds of teachers have been fired or otherwise disciplined for refusing to stand for the *Hinomaru* (national flag) and sing the *Kimigayo* (national anthem), symbols of Japanese militarism. These actions were taken in defiance of the pro-imperialist leaders of the three main trade-union federations—including those affiliated to the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party—and are a direct challenge to the "national unity" appeals of the Japanese bourgeoisie.

With the outbreak of anti-Japan protests in China, the administration of Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi engaged in one anti-China provocation after another. Koizumi haughtily admonished the Chinese people to be "more grown up" and keep "a cool head" and echoed President Bush in successfully pressuring the European Union to retain the arms embargo of China.

The provocations by Japanese imperialism have been egged on by U.S. imperialism. Last summer, then-secretary of state Colin Powell declared U.S. support for Japan's bid to have a seat on the UN Security Council while noting that Article 9 of the U.S.-imposed constitution, which prohibits Japan from engaging in warfare abroad, "would have to be examined in that light" (AFP English

Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

the same time, the workers have shown no lack of will to struggle, as during the 2003-04 UFCW grocery workers strike, which was sold out by the labor tops. What is necessary is a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions, a fight to break workers from illusions in the Democrats as "friends of labor," a struggle to build a revolutionary workers party fighting for all the oppressed and for a workers government.

In his presentation, Dinkins—who left an event at Columbia University honoring the Nigerian Nobel laureate, author and former political prisoner, Wole Soyinka, to attend the Mumia rally—declared: "I believe now very deeply he [Mumia] not only hasn't had a fair trial, he's innocent in the first damn place." However, Dinkins also referred to the racist vendetta in which the capitalist courts have kept Jamal imprisoned in a 9 by 12 foot dungeon as a series of "misguided decisions."

A million black people are locked behind bars, largely as a result of the racist "war on drugs." Of the nearly 3,500 on death row, over half are black and Hispanic. Yet, Dinkins referred to the "issue of abuse of police power, the issue of a blind system of criminal justice and the death penalty issue" by proclaiming that such incidents "have been much less since the system first turned a blind eye toward

Mumia Abu-Jamal." According to Dinkins, "We have to remember that the justice system of this country belongs to those who would honor its principles, not those who would abuse them. And we must take it back." The justice system Dinkins wants to "take back" is the "justice system" that declared in the infamous 1857 *Dred Scott* case that black people "have no rights which the white man is bound to respect"; that ordered the legal lynching of anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927; that affirmed the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II; and that, in the 1987 *McCleskey* decision, both acknowledged and deemed irrelevant racial disparity in the criminal justice system.

Later in the program, Larry Holmes of the IAC continued Dinkins' theme by calling for: "More unity, sisters and brothers. More unity. Whatever our differences are, it's always more that unites us." But unity with whom, against whom, and for what? We fight for united-front action to struggle for Mumia's freedom—i.e., unity in action and freedom for all political tendencies to express their views. What Holmes has in mind is the kind of "unity" based on accommodation to "progressive" capitalist politicians, the kind of "unity" where the call for Mumia's freedom is subordinated to the demand for a "new trial" and agnosticism on Mumia's innocence. The liberals' interest in the Mumia case is to refurbish the image of the American justice system. This is not unity but treachery.



Workers Vanguard International Action Center raises call for "New Trial" at 23 April march. We say: There is no justice in the capitalist courts.

Beginning in 1989, the PDC has organized united-front rallies for Mumia, and they have included participation by black elected officials, community organizations, union officials and left organizations whose programs and worldviews were quite distant from ours. But in contrast to the reformists, we never tailored our demands to what the liberals found acceptable, nor did we censor our criticisms of the Democratic Party, our explicitation of the function of the capitalist state, the treacherous role of the trade-union bureaucracy, and the need for workers to have their own party, a workers party that fights for socialist revolution. As Wolkenstein underlined in her speech, while capitalist politicians like Dinkins are welcome to voice their support for Jamal, the movement must not be tailored to accommodate them.

Our united-front approach demonstrates a powerful political point: it is possible to bring effective, worldwide united action across a spectrum of political beliefs while assuring everyone's right to have his own say. Within that framework, we fight to win activists to the understanding that the fight for Mumia's freedom must be based on a class-struggle perspective.

This is the strategy we have pursued since we first took up Jamal's case in 1987. When a death warrant was signed in 1995, millions around the world mobi-

lized in defense of Jamal. Mumia's name must be made known again the way it was in 1995, so that unions from South Africa, France, Brazil and elsewhere mobilize on the streets in the fight for his freedom. The fight to free Mumia must become a cause taken up by the labor movement around the world, especially in the U.S.

For Mumia's birthday in 1999, tens of thousands took to the streets in Philadelphia and the Bay Area in rallies to demand a new trial. Sadly the turnout this year was a fraction of what it was six years ago. In remarks following Wolkenstein's presentation at the April 23 rally, Pam Africa observed, "The only thing they could do to divert the energy of the people was to come out and say they were overturning Mumia's sentencing from death to life in prison." Pam Africa was referring to the December 2001 ruling by federal court judge William Yohn overturning the death sentence but affirming the conviction; the prosecutors appealed seeking to reinstate the death sentence, while Mumia appealed seeking to overturn the conviction. In 1976, professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, framed up on false murder charges in the mid 1960s because of his advocacy of the right of black armed self-defense, finally won a new trial after an international protest campaign. When he was convicted anew, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another decade in prison for a crime he did not commit. Today, many of the liberals to whom the reformists appealed have fled the case, while the workers, blacks and youth who were the foot soldiers for Jamal are politically demobilized. The central reason for the demobilization of Mumia's supporters rests with the fact that reformists like Workers World and Socialist Action rejected a class-struggle fight for Jamal, instead organizing activists on the basis that justice could be obtained from the capitalist courts.

As Wolkenstein noted in her speech: "Not only should it be clear that Mumia should have never spent a day in court, but to talk about a 'fair trial' only breeds illusions in the capitalist courts. These illusions demobilized a movement which once had millions around the world. The mass movement has to be built anew on the basis that Mumia's conviction and death sentence were *political*, and it is in the interests of all working people, black and white, citizen and immigrant, to join together and fight for his freedom."

No illusions in the courts! Free Mumia now! ■

Evidence Explodes Frame-Up:

Declarations and affidavits of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Arnold R. Beverly, Rachel Wolkenstein and others prove that death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man.

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edition, 13 August 2004). More recently, there has been a proposal to transfer the command headquarters of the U.S. Army's 1st Corps from the U.S. mainland to Yokohama, south of Tokyo, where, in the words of the London *Guardian* (19 April), "the primary focus of its forward deployment is likely to be the defence of Taiwan, regional challenges posed by China's military expansion, and the nuclear standoff with North Korea."

Right-wing chauvinists in Japan took the provocations by Japan and the protests in China as a green light to terrorize Chinese residents. Chinese diplomatic offices and other Chinese-related institutions were either attacked or vandalized. There were bomb threats at the Chinese Consul General in Fukuoka, an anthrax scare at the Chinese embassy in Tokyo and a spent bullet casing sent to the Chinese consulate in Osaka with a letter threatening violence against Chinese citizens. On April 10, shots were fired at a Bank of China branch office in Yokohama.

Finally, at the April 22 Asia-Africa summit meeting in Indonesia, Koizumi sought to defuse tensions with China by offering a vague apology for the "tremendous damage and suffering" caused by Japanese colonial rule. (The same day, a member of Koizumi's government joined 80 other politicians in a pilgrimage to the Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of Japanese militarism where war criminals from World War II are among those enshrined.) Prominent voices in Japan had complained last week that continued tension would hurt Japanese business, while



Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

Left: U.S. imperialists, backed by Australian imperialists turned Seoul, Korea into wasteland. Right: Thousands of Australian troops joined with U.S. and other imperialist powers in bloody 1950s anti-Communist war against North Korea and China, slaughtering over three million Korean workers and peasants.



Australian War Memorial

working people of Japan and a real desire to fight against economic austerity, discrimination, increased state repression and war. This anger and militancy must be directed toward the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that would link the fight for socialist revolution in Japan with the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states.

China: For Workers Political Revolution!

Speaking for many in the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, Li Rui, a former secretary of Mao Zedong, made the following

main Soviet ally in East Asia, with the approval and encouragement of Washington. The Vietnamese resisted effectively and inflicted 20,000 casualties on the PLA, which retreated across the border. (Speaking of doctored history textbooks, this ignominious chapter has been virtually disappeared by the Chinese Stalinists.) During the final years of the Cold War in the 1980s, China bolstered American imperialism in weakening and undermining the Soviet Union—for example, giving aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan—thereby furthering the counterrevolutionary drive which wiped out the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

Having destroyed the Soviet Union, homeland of the only successful workers revolution, the imperialists are today intent on restoring capitalism in China. To this end, they are pursuing a two-pronged strategy: economic penetration to build up the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution combined with military pressure and the threat of armed intervention. The Stalinist bureaucrats are in fact encouraging the imperialists through their policy of betrayal: allowing massive capitalist investment combined with a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

But despite the bureaucracy's "market reforms," the core of the Chinese economy remains collectivized. Moreover, the economic policies of the Communist Party regime are still constrained by fear of social—especially working-class—unrest which could topple it. This came close to happening in 1989, when student-centered protests for political liberalization and against corruption triggered a spontaneous workers revolt that was then suppressed with great bloodshed by the regime.

Today, China is a tinderbox of social tensions waiting to explode. According to government statistics, the number of protests increased 15 percent last year to 58,000. Millions of impoverished farmers and urban workers have blocked roads, waged strikes or demonstrated against official corruption, land seizures, environmental destruction, layoffs and unemploy-

ment, miserable working conditions and the growing gap between urban wealth and rural poverty. In mid April residents of Dongyang in southeastern China, furious at the government's refusal to deal with the pollution from nearby factories, drove out 1,000 riot police and seized control of the city. At the same time, nearly 2,000 former PLA soldiers staged a series of protest demonstrations in Beijing against their meager retirement benefits. Most recently, some 10,000 workers at a Japanese-funded Uniden electronics factory in Shenzhen near Hong Kong went on strike demanding the right to unionize. By April 23, the strike ended. Revealing how the Chinese bureaucracy acts as a labor contractor for the imperialist bourgeoisies investing in China, one striker told the *Washington Post* (26 April), "Some labor officials told us we had to cooperate or else the investors might withdraw and move to other places to invest, and we would all get thrown out of work."

Through their policy of "market reforms," the Chinese bureaucracy is strengthening the forces of counterrevolution by allowing the imperialists to economically penetrate the workers state. At the same time, this policy is augmenting the social power of the industrial proletariat. The alternatives facing China are capitalist counterrevolution or proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with democratically elected workers and peasants soviets, organs of proletarian rule. A Leninist-Trotskyist party is needed to provide Chinese workers with a revolutionary proletarian internationalist strategy. There is no nationally limited road to socialism in China. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technology and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires the international extension of socialist revolution, centrally to these imperialist powers, laying the basis for an internationally planned socialist economy. This requires the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International of world socialist revolution. ■



World Journal

Residents in Dongyang city in China's Zhejiang province walk past overturned police buses after successfully defending themselves from riot police during mass protests against stifling pollution.

China's Ministry of Commerce declared that boycotts of Japanese goods would harm both countries' economic interests. China is now Japan's number one trading partner, and some 18,000 Japanese companies have set up operations in China. As the *New York Times* (23 April) put it, the "growing economic interdependence" between China and Japan "has mollified their positions in recent days."

Japanese imperialism is determined to throw off the constraints of the "defeated nation" syndrome with which it emerged from World War II. To accomplish this, the ruling class seeks to impose a policy of economic austerity domestically, whip up nationalist poison and reinforce the repressive apparatus needed to maintain capitalist law and order. The new defense guidelines not only target the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states but also strengthen the state's arsenal of repression against the workers movement. There is considerable anger among the

bald admission: "Nobody understands Marxism. It is ridiculous. The ideals of the past don't exist any more. So it is right to turn to nationalism. It is the means by which the party can maintain its system and ideology" (London *Observer*, 17 April). Along with the cynical defense of nationalism as an effective means for manipulating the masses, this statement reflects widespread misidentification of Marxism with Maoism. In reality, the sharp contrast that is commonly drawn between Mao's policies and those of his successor Deng Xiaoping is fundamentally false.

Within the nationalist framework of "socialism in one country," the regimes of Mao and Deng pursued different policies in different international contexts. Nonetheless, in one very important respect their policies were substantially identical: the alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. That alliance was sealed in 1972 when U.S. president Richard Nixon embraced Chairman Mao at the very moment that U.S. warplanes were carpet bombing Vietnam. U.S. imperialism's rapprochement with the Maoist bureaucracy on the basis of shared hostility to the Soviet Union led to U.S. recognition of the People's Republic and a seat for China in the United Nations at the expense of Taiwan.

The alliance with the U.S. was continued and deepened under Deng. In 1979, Deng ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to invade Vietnam, the

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of the Spartacist Group Japan
and Spartacist League/U.S.,
13 March 2005**

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**Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance!
Defend the Chinese and North Korean
Deformed Workers States!**

Joint Statement of the Spartacist Group Japan and Spartacist League/U.S.

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Chinese Bureaucracy Promotes Reactionary Nationalism

Resurgent Japanese Imperialism Sparks Protests in China

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 847, 29 April), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League.

APRIL 26—For the past month, tens of thousands of protesters have marched in anti-Japanese demonstrations in cities throughout China. The protests were sparked by Tokyo's approval of new junior high school history textbooks that whitewash past atrocities carried out by Japanese imperialism. The 1937 Rape of Nanjing, in which 300,000 Chinese were slaughtered by Japanese troops, is now described as "an incident." The enslavement of more than 200,000 Korean and Chinese so-called "comfort women," who were forced to serve as sex slaves in Japanese army brothels during World War II, has been erased from history.

The Japanese textbook whitewash is a provocation not only against the Chinese deformed workers state, but workers throughout Asia, and, in fact, it has sparked protests in South Korea. It is the latest in a series of provocations by Japanese imperialism against China, including Japan's recent statement that it will drill for oil and gas around the Diaoyutai Islands, which are claimed by China. Most significant was the issuing of a joint policy statement in February between the U.S. and Japan avowing that Taiwan is "a mutual security concern." Most of the protests in China, which for now have largely stopped, were tacitly organized or approved by the government as a response to the provocations by Japan. The bureaucracy had allowed the protests to continue—while anxiously seeking to keep them from getting out of hand—to provide a distraction from the deepening social turmoil tearing at the fabric of Chinese society. As one Shanghai demonstrator put it, "People are taking part in this march because they aren't allowed to protest anything else" (*New York Times*, 17 April).

However, the protests, which continued longer than any major public demonstrations in China since the 1989 Tiananmen revolt, have promoted a nationalist response to Japan's provocations—i.e., not against the capitalist rulers of Japan, but rather against the entire Japanese population, workers no less than their capitalist oppressors. "Japanese pigs get out!", shouted Chinese protesters as they trashed Japanese-owned shops. One expression of the nationalism has been calls for boycotting Japanese businesses and goods.

The nationalist poison being promoted by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy poses a grave danger to the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution itself. As opposed to class unity between the Chinese and Japanese proletariat, the bureaucracy is pushing unity of all Chinese people, including Chinese capitalists from Taiwan and Hong



Chinese protest in front of Japanese-owned store in Guangzhou, China. Nationalist poison pushed by Stalinist bureaucracy poses deadly danger to Chinese deformed workers state. Getty

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of Chinese, North Korean
Deformed Workers States Against
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Kong, against all Japanese people. This was expressed in a recent demonstration in Hong Kong, where anti-Japanese protesters carried the Taiwanese flag of the Guomindang, which represents the capitalists and landlords who fled the Revolution. The Chinese government recently hosted a delegation of the Guomindang from Taiwan for the first time since the Civil War, a display of Chinese "unity" against the pro-Taiwanese-independence Democratic Progressive Party that expresses the deep nationalism and class collaborationism of the Chinese Stalinists.

The gains of the Chinese Revolution—above all the nationalized, collectivized economy—represent a historic advance not only for Chinese workers and peasants, but also for the entire world proletariat. The expropriation of the capitalists and the setting up of a socialized economy represented a great advance over the imperialist subjugation and horrendous oppression once suffered by China's masses, laying the basis for a tremendous leap in economic development. And, with the internationalist extension of the revolution, it could lay the basis for the eventual construction of a socialist society.

However, China from its inception has been a deformed workers state, in which a conservative caste of bureaucrats, ruling in its own narrow interests, blocks development toward a classless, socialist

society. Ever since (and including) Mao Zedong, these bureaucratic rulers have championed the nationalist Stalinist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Flatly repudiating Marxism, the Stalinists have historically preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country—even one as materially backward as China—if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted.

One aspect of the recent protests in China has been opposition to Japan's attempts to gain a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. For the Chinese government, this question is part of its maneuvering, within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism, between so-called "progressive" and "reactionary" imperialist powers. For example, China supports Germany's bid for a permanent seat. The truth is that the UN is nothing but an imperialist den of thieves and their victims. From the Korean War to the sanctions against Iraq, which killed over 1.5 million people, the UN has shown itself to be an enemy of working people and the oppressed internationally.

Revolutionary proletarian internationalism, not nationalist class collaboration, is essential to advance the interests of the Chinese workers in defense of the gains of the Chinese Revolution, and Japanese workers in their struggle against revanchist

Japanese imperialism. As we wrote in a 13 March joint statement between the International Communist League's Japanese and American sections against the counterrevolutionary agreement between the U.S. and Japan over Taiwan (WV No. 844, 18 March):

"The Spartacist League/U.S. and the Spartacist Group Japan... stand for the unconditional military defense of China and North Korea—as we do for the other remaining deformed workers states, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution....

"Since the 1949 Chinese Revolution, from which the Chinese deformed workers state emerged, Taiwan has been an outpost for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary schemes, military threats and interference in Chinese internal affairs through the puppet Chinese bourgeoisie. Taiwan has been since ancient times a part of China, and we Trotskyists will stand with China in the event of any military conflict with imperialism over Taiwan....

"We are opposed to the Stalinists' plan of reunification with Taiwan embodied in 'one country, two systems.' Instead, we advance a program for the revolutionary reunification of China, which requires a workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy on the mainland, a proletarian socialist revolution in Taiwan to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie, and the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists."

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

The dogma of "socialism in one country" means opposition to the perspective of workers revolution internationally and accommodation to world imperialism. The recent protests, for example, have aimed their entire fire against Japan, whitewashing the crimes of U.S. imperialism. (Apparently, Beijing considers Tokyo the easier target in the U.S.-Japan military alliance.) This reflects and feeds into an illusion in China that the U.S. is a more benign imperialist power. Yet it was the U.S. that in 1945 became the only country ever to use atomic weaponry, causing the death of several hundred thousand Japanese civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These bombings served as a warning to the Soviet degenerated workers state. During the Korean War in the early 1950s, U.S. imperialism was responsible for the death of some three million Koreans. China's heroic sacrifices defended the North Korean deformed workers state and stopped U.S. forces—fighting under the flag of the United Nations—from grabbing the entire Korean peninsula and turning it into a neocolony of the U.S. During the Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, more than three million Vietnamese were murdered by U.S. imperialism's losing

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