Unions, Immigrants are the Targets

Labor's Recession Racism

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

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

As the recession bites, the bosses want to accelerate "micro-economic reform," meaning union-busting and more spending cutbacks. They worry that the Hawke government is too beholden to the unions and various pressure groups—greens, feminists, Walsh's "ethnic mafia"—and lacks the backbone for tough decisions. The ALP's Accord with the ACTU bureaucracy remains its ace card in suppressing working class resistance. But the union tops are having increasing difficulty policing their rank-rank—a witness recent setbacks for Kelty's bureaucratic union amalgamations—and sharpening class tensions threaten to shatter the Accord. For the bosses, the bureaucrats and the government, a big dose of racist scapegoating is just the thing to divide the workers, shore up the Accord and force another three years of sacrifice on the working class.

This time it is leading Laborites making the running where previously it was Tories like Howard and Stone, and before them Ruston and Blainey. Of course, they piously disavow any racist intent and couch their arguments in "economic rationalist" terms. This fake "debate" should fool no one—there is a bourgeois consensus to maintain in substance the racial exclusionism upon which White Australia capitalism was founded, even though in overt form it had to be abandoned. Yesterday's apostle of "liberal tolerance" is today's hard-nosed reactionary. When a desperate continued on page 2

Nelson Mandela in America

Smash Apartheid!

For Workers Revolution!

The following article, reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 304, 15 June 1990), vividly portrays the hypocrisy of the celebratory welcome given to Nelson Mandela by U.S. imperialism's rulers. Equally hypocritical is the echo resonance of Nelson Mandela's moderate and moderate views of the "human rights" record of their home country with an eye to sending them back, is to be extended to all refugees. Conclusion: a mirror of their own.

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

Mandela will get the red carpet treatment at the White House, staunch continued on page 6

No "Power Sharing" with the Randlords!


Steve Hilton-Barrer/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

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It is with shock and deep grief that we announce the death of our comrade Noah Wolkenstein. Noah served as production manager of Workers Vanguard and Spartanist and department head of the composition crew up until October 1988. He died on 23 April by his own hand. Noah was 34 years old, a member of the Bay Area Spartanist League and a full member of the SLU.S. Central Committee at the time of his death. This tragedy touches every comrade and section of the International Communist League, in particular the comrades in New York who knew him in his painstaking and brilliant political work on the production side of our press, but also many comrades from other SLU.S.-local and ICL sections. During his years as WP comp chief Noah also took responsibility for setting up press production systems and training comrades in Britain, Canada, France and elsewhere. During February and March of this year, comrade Noah was in Germany to establish the basic technical framework for our press there. He accomplished this task with the determination which was characteristic of him.

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

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

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

To our Readers
Inflation, combined with Hawke/Keeing's vicious capitalist austerity, is hitting the real incomes of all working people, no less so for workers parties. Due to big rises in mailing and printing costs we have reluctantly been forced to increase the prices of our publications. With this issue Australasian Spartanist goes up to 50 cents a copy and $5.00 for a six-issue subscription.

Workers Vanguard of the Spartanist League/U.S., goes to 50 cents an issue and $15.00 for an airmail sub. Despite the rises, you still can't buy a left-wing paper for less.

ALP Racism...
(continued from page 1)
Andrew Peacock attacked the proposed Japanese-funded Multi-Function Poils during the election campaign, he was jumped upon by the media, and by none harder than Australian columnist, Paul Kelly. Two months later (28 May) Kelly favourably quoted "founding father" Alfred Deakin: "the unity of Australia means nothing if it does not imply a united race" and wrote: "The White Australia policy, though not its rhetoric, was the correct approach for Australia to adopt in 1901 just as its abolition was correct and overdue by the late 1960s."
For their part, various Green groups have taken the logic of their politics to the reactionary-utopian and nationalist conclusion of an "environmentally sound" White Australia. Thus Australian Democ­rat Senator John Coulter opposed in­creased immigration because it will "stress" the "fragile environment." This in an entire continent with barely 17 mil­lion inhabitants!

For Workers Action to Smash Racist Attacks!
The state is scapegoating immigrants in the midst of an economic downturn to justify wholesale attacks on racial minor­ities. For example:
- A new crackdown on so-called "illegal" immigrants, including deportations, under the new Immigration regulations.
- A cruel attempt to cut off the pen­sions of spouses of immigrant pensioners who return to certain countries. This means that Greek and Turkish pension­ers, after a lifetime of sweat and toil, could not afford to return to their birth­place because these countries have no reciprocal pension agreements with Australia. Only large joint protests by Turkish and Greek immigrants forced the government to beat a partial retreat.
- The WA Labor government was con­sidering banning inter-country adoptions. The basis of the opposition is where prospective parents "are of the same broad ethnic and cul­tural background." Pam Duff of the Australians Adding Children Adoption Agency, in a letter to the Australian (30 April), pointed to the naked racism under­lying the proposal when she asked: "What are the next steps? Ban mixed marriages? Separate housing areas for each race?" Due to a public outcry the plan has been scotched, for now.
- The racist "debate" in parliament and the press means bashings and murders on the streets. In Perth last year Chinese taxi driver Peter Tan was the victim of an overtly racist murder. His German-born wife Traudl is still fighting the WA court's decision letting her husband's killer off with a mere lesser charge of manslaughter. Three Chinese students were killed last year in a highly dubious success hit-and-run accident near their college in Mel­bourne. Though small, fascist groups like the Per­th Australian Nationalist Move­ment and National Action have been emboldened by the racist climate of the Hawke years. Aborigines daily confront the racist terror aimed at enforcing their exclusion to the fringes of society. The recent shooting by the NSW police Tact­ical Response Group of an innocent Sydney man, Darren Brennan, recalled the murder last year of an Aboriginal man named Gundy by the SWOS group. Brennan, who is white, was lucky to sur­vive, and NSW Premier Greiner had to apologize for a "monumental screw-up" and promised a paltry $50,000. But David Gundy's sister-in-law Sandra Gundy noted bitterly: "When a black man gets shot, and killed, there is nothing—not even an apology" (Sydney Morning Herald, 18 June). The power of the or­ganised working class can and must be mobilised to stop racist terror and crush the miniscule fascist groups in the egg.
- The trade unions must organise, defend and mobilise immigrant workers, especially newer arrivals from Asia, the Near East, and Latin America who are concentrated in the worst and lowest-paid jobs. Much of this country was built and its wealth accumulated through the sweat of im­migrant workers. From the Builders Labourers Federation to the Melbourne tramway workers, many of the most militant struggles of recent decades were waged by heavily immigrant sections of the working class. Factory fodder in times of boom, immigrants are now increasingly driven into the ranks of the unemployed. A recent study found an unemployment rate of over 20 percent for Asian-born people. Immigrant women, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, especially those not speaking English, have suffered most under Hawke's Accord, and will be at the forefront of a class-struggle upsurge against it. This multi-racial working class can defend itself only by throwing off the bosses' state, and waging hard class struggle. There need to be massive wage rises to make up for inflation, and a fight for jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! The fight to defend workers unions, wages and conditions also means fighting against the racist protectionism of the union bureaucracy, opposing all the unnecessarily racist immigration laws of Australian capitalism, and fighting for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers. It means forging a multi-racial revolutionary workers party through splitting the working class base of the so-called "workers" movement, the "founding fathers" of fascism. Such a party will be thoroughly internationalist, understanding with Liebknecht that, "This Main Enemy is at Home," defending the gains of the Russian and Vietnamese Revolutions and forging solidarity with the workers and peasants of Asia.

Indenured Slave Labour in Darwin
The union bureaucracy's role as cap­i­talism's racist cop was highlighted in early April with the exposure of the Darwin Portal continued on page 13

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

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


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Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

“Don’t tell me about the ‘valley of the shadow of death’! I live there.”
—Mumia Abu-Jamal, U.S. black journalist, at Huntingdon death row

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

Mumia’s history reflects that of a generation of black militants from the Jamalls, which is trying to kill him, the state is running the state plays slavemaster.”

“Don’t tell me about the ‘valley of the shadow of death’! I live there.”
—Mumia Abu-Jamal, U.S. black journalist, at Huntingdon death row

Abolish the U.S. Death Penalty!

On September 1981 the cops tried to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalized with a bleeding stomach wound, arrested and framed up on charges of killing a cop. At his trial he was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who had admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution’s request. Witnesses gave conflicting testimony. Although Mumia requested it, the cop who arrested him wasn’t allowed to testify. At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued that Jamal be condemned to death simply for his political history and beliefs, claiming that Jamal’s prior membership in the Black Panther Party and a 12-year-old quotation that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun” proved that he was a committed cop-killer! The prosecution claimed Jamal would get “appeal after appeal after appeal,” trying to hoodwink the jury into thinking the death sentence would never be carried out. On February 1, 1990, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal’s petition to re-argue his appeal. A petition for review to the U.S. Supreme Court has been filed. Last year Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson declared, “Mumia’s trial was a farce... It was clear to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs... An innocent man has been sentenced to die.” Jamal’s appeal was supported by a number of attorneys including Carla E. Butler, a friend of the court.

The PDC has available tapes of Mumia speaking from prison, copies of Mumia’s Antonin Scalia essay, and a recent study of the prison system. The PDC has available tapes of Mumia speaking from prison, copies of Mumia’s Antonin Scalia essay, and a recent study of the prison system. The PDC has available tapes of Mumia speaking from prison, copies of Mumia’s Antonin Scalia essay, and a recent study of the prison system.

On December 16, 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal attempted to assassinate Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, a cop who shot and killed his friend. Faulkner was killed instantly. Mumia was charged with murder and, after a multi-year trial, was found guilty and sentenced to death. Since then, Mumia has been fighting for his freedom, challenging the racism and injustice of the Philadelphia police and criminal justice system.

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Stalinism in Terminal Crisis

In the space of six months last year the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed one by one. Gorbachev is introducing elements of capitalist exploitation into the USSR, while the Soviet Union fractures along national fault lines. The stand, Brezhnevite Socialists Party of Australia (SPA) is profoundly discredited and embittered with the Gorbachev leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For instance, a Guardian editorial (18 April) sharply rebuked Moscow for its agreement to the capitalist reunification of Germany: "The stand for a neutral Germany has now been dropped and is replaced by a proposal, which can only be described as absurd, that a reunited Germany should be a member of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. "The unpleasant fact is that the Warsaw Pact has all but disintegrated as a result of the collapse of socialist governments in eastern Europe. "These retreats (can one speak of a new appeasement policy?) arise from naive illusions about imperialism and its objectives both in Europe and elsewhere. "The present course of events represents an enormous victory for political reaction. The burdens of imperialism are going to be moved right back to the western territories of the Soviet Union as they were in 1939. "The sacrifices of the Soviet people and many others in the struggle against fascism are being thrown away."

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

Stalinists in Search of a "Strong Hand"

With the rise of Gorbachev the SPA turned to the so-called "hardline" Stalinists—Honecker in East Germany, Castro. Their response to the incipient political revolution in China last year, brutally terminated by the Deng regime in the massacre at Tiananmen Square, was to support the Chinese bureaucracy. They claimed the savage bloodbath started on 4 June was all "Western media hype" and joined the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in branding the protest as "counterrevolutionaries." Suppression of the working class, even bloody massacre, in the name of "stability"—in preserving the bureaucracy's hold on power—is reassuringly familiar for the SPA leadership, which loyally supported the crushing of the Hungarian workers political revolution in 1956 and the 1968 Prague Spring.

Only months after the upheaval in China popular protest brought down Honecker. A message to his short-lived successor, Egon Krenz (Guardian, 25 October 1989), thanked Honecker for his "firm, principled stand" and wished him more years to "continue this work." Days later, with popular approval, Honecker was put under house arrest, and it was left-wing Greek community has had to digest the latest betrayal of the Communist Party of Greece, the KKE. Having supported the social-democratic PASOK government for eight years, when the apan­ dreous fell the KKE went into coalition with the rightist New Democracy, the party of the colonels in Greece! The SPA has a bleak future: likely fading into oblivion as a Stalinist relic, haemorrhaging into the ALP as it goes.

For the SPA the words "proletarian internationalism" have never been more than two words on paper. Over Eastern Europe they are reduced to impotent wringing of hands. SPA General Secretary Peter Symon commented: "There is not much that anyone in Australia can do about these events" (Guardian, 28 March). The SPA is reduced because they identify socialism with the bankrupt, disintegrating bureaucracies. As one Canadian said after commented, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) "are probably the only organised revolutionaries in Germany right now... (see Workers Vanguard, No. 503, 1 June). All the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth International), including the Spartacist League/Australia, have been actively supporting the work of our German comrades of the SpAD, including by raising funds. The SpAD uniquely campaigned in the March East German elections on the unequivocal basis "No to capitalist reunification!" and now are organising under the program "For class struggle against capitalist pillage!" Today only we Trotskyists fight for a communist world with an internationally planned economy, through proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states and socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world. And only we fight to build the indispensable instrument for achieving these ends: a world party of socialist revolution.

International Stalinist Unity Charade

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

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

The SPA is withering on the Stalinist vine, starved of vital political nutrients as the Soviet regime visibly collapses from the top down. Other Western Stalinist par­ ties have seized the opportunity to resolve once and for all the contradiction between their loyalty to Moscow and to their own bourgeoisies. The Italian CP recently voted to drop "Communist" from their name and the Canadian CP leadership is proposing to do the same, defying the Karl Marx's Dialectics of Historical Materialism.

The SPA has no solution. In the future this will continue to socialize Stalinists diehards. (Guardian, 14 February).

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About its only success was that the SPA and ACU managed (just barely) to sit in the same room with each other for the weekend. Even by Stalinist standards continued on page 14
In May of this year the rail workers strike in northern Poland shook the country, growing under the capitalist austerity program imposed by the pro-capitalist government of Solidarność. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth International), published in Polish and German a letter to Polish workers (printed below). Several thousand copies of this leaflet were distributed in the port city of Szczecin and to a national meeting of the OPZZ trade unions in Warsaw.

Polish Workers:

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

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

Eight or nine years ago many of you supported Solidarność, seeing in it an alternative to the economic mismanagement and stifling bureaucracy of Stalinism—1956, 1970 and 1976—the working people in Poland rose up against the bureaucracy’s mismanagement. But 1980-81 was different matter. The central leadership around Lech Wałęsa were from the outset hard-core Stalinist bureaucrats whose policies were determined not by the needs of the workers but by Pope John Paul Wojciechowski, the anti-Communist politician (printed below) who warned that “the free market” means the liquidation of the class struggle and starvation of millions in the Third World to ensure an unbroken flow of raw materials to the West.

Wałęsa says it’s time to give capitalism a chance in Poland, and its restoration is bringing back all the backwardness and suffering of the dark, pogrom-plagued past. Openly anti-Semitic agitation is rampant. Women are being exposed to a sharp escalation of reactionary and religious bigotry, their right to abortion endangered. The aged, the weak, the unemployed are being forced to beg for a bit of food at soup kitchens.

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

That, too, is an expression of capitalist counterrevolution, one which goes hand in hand with Stalinist bureaucratic measures—throughout Eastern Europe. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratic, collection of nationalism and capitulation to imperialist counterrevolution internationally (in a fruitless search for “peaceful coexistence”) prepared the ground for these reactionary movements, whose development has been sharply accelerated by the Gorbatchev regime’s “market reforms.” This is what the lie of the “socialism in one country” has led to. Now the homeland of the October Revolution is itself in mortal danger.

Polish workers: instead of looking to Piłsudski and nationalism, revive the tradition of proletarian internationalism personified by your greatest revolutionaries and theorists, the Spartakists. The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth International), is the only party to have clearly and unambiguously fought against capitalist Anschluss of the DDR through its candidature in the March 18 Volkskammer elections and over the past few months. We struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism and national oppression, whether against Poles and other immigrant workers in Germany or against Jews and people of German descent in Poland. Only the Spartakists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin—the fight to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution through socialist revolution throughout the capitalist world.

Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, and the Soviet Union to reforging revolutionary unity in the spirit of Leon Trotsky, the “best socialist in the world.”

JULY/AUGUST 1990

Polish workers: you are being bled by the Frankfurt bankers, by Wall Street and the capitalist enemies of the working class. You are being bled while German imperialism drives toward the creation of a Fourth Reich, looking hungrily at the Oder-Neisse border and beyond.

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

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

In October and November, 1988, anti-apartheid activist Kerry Browning and her husband, PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) representative Moses Mayekiso, had their Cape Town offices ransacked and briefly occupied by agents of the South African government. The politicians Mayekiso now speak to the banks as liberators, the ANC and SACP endorse the policy of divestment and questioning the policy of divestment and questioning the policy of divestment and questioning the policy of divestment and questioning the policy of divestment and questioning the policy of divestment.

In the US, the USSR, the EU, and the US banks, the real actors of financial sanctions, are the politicians, the leaders of the West, and in particular Mayekiso, have become the bearers of the transition of the banks under the US government. As a result of the banks in July-August 1988, the US government set in place at the founding of South Africa, blocking the International Monetary Fund, whose first chairman is Paul Volcker, the Hawke Labor government then took over the role of the IMF. The banks are the real actors of financial sanctions.

Through collaboration with the banks in the question of sanctions, and such schemes as the Anglo American policy, the US government has become the bearer of the transition of the policies of the banks under the US government.

The convergence of real practical bank sanctions and the agitation of the ANC for financial sanctions and the political operations of the Western world. Outside the enormity of Mrs Thatcher, it is hard to discover who does not either support or threaten to support their extension. In the US and the Trade Union Congress, the US and the Communist Party, the US and the Congress for South Africa are excruciating: the mood of Black Africa is set in place at the founding of South Africa in the period of Rhodes and Rosochid.

"Ultimately it is the future of the workers in South Africa that is at risk.

The ANC has passed from the patronage of imperialist countries (notably Canada and Australia, the number three and four gold producers in the world after South Africa and the USSR). They were approached by the apartheid regimes last year to join the Commonwealth foreign ministers in Canberra and Commonwealth heads of government at Kuala Lumpur, and endorsed by the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and a delegation of COSATU headed by Metalworkers union leader Moses Mayekiso, "formerly a leader of the left wing of the SACP, who now sees the banks as liberators, the ANC and its various allies and satellites are playing starring roles into the hands of the International Monetary Fund and the drive to "mass pacification" of the Third World.

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

Black Workers Must Take the Power!

Trewhela holds that following the 1985 township revolt and subsequent growth of black trade unions, the exist-ence of the apartheid regime has become "inauthentic" to the banks. He assumes that a post-apartheid capitalist state is in gestation which will include an ANC presence in the government. This assumption is shared as well by a whole panoply of right-wing parties and their spokesmen, who see black working-class control as the endgame for the White ruling class. In fact, South Africa is barreling down the road to war. While "inherit" capitalists and imperialists would like to strike a deal with the ANC, in apartheid South Africa there is a very little middle ground. De Klerk's National Party is losing votes as white reactionaries dig in, arming themselves to defend their swimming pools, ranch houses and farms built on the toll of black life. Moreover, it is far from clear that the maximum concessions by the Nationalist government can meet the minimum demands of the ANC, before the ANC can take its side is to retain any support on its respective side of the yawning chasm that separates the oppressed black majority from the layer of white oppressors, far smaller but big enough to wage a bloody fight to the death. And they will. The

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

...and some...
How the Communist Party Betrayed

The Post-War Strike Wave in Japan

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

Modern Japan began in 1868, with the Meiji Restoration. Trotsky pointed out this was not a bourgeois revolution, but a bureaucratic attempt to buy off such a revolution. It was a compromise and assimilation with old feudal elements. Our slogan for a Workers Republic in Japan. Many of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution were not fulfilled. Of course, today Japan is hardly a third world country. It’s no longer a weak sister of the capitalist nations, it’s quite a powerful imperialist power. But there are many vestiges of feudalism, especially and centrally, the marriage. The economic weakness of pre-war Japan was very pronounced. In the thirties Trotsky mentioned that over 50% of the industry was textile, and he noted that imperialist wars are fought with metal not cloth. The working class existed in horrible feudal conditions. You were locked in the company dorm and you left when you retired thirty years later.

In July 1933, an article called “Japanese Heads for Disaster” by Trotsky states “Racing to achieve practical results with modern technology—especially military technology—Japan remained ideologically in the depthes of the Middle Ages. The hasty mixture of Edith Wharton and Confucius has left its mark on all of Japanese culture.”

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

JCP — Saddled with a Bukharinite Program

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

Trotsky wrote an interesting article called “What is Leading the Comintern Today?” published in Challenge of the left Opposition 1928-1929, denouncing the Stalinist program of a two-class party in Japan. He explains:

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

State repression of the Japanese left existed from its formation until the end of World War II. Violent, close state repression. For example, in 1923, 50% of the Japanese Communist Party was arrested. It really picked up after 1928 with the first election where all men could vote. On March 15, 1928, for example, there was a nationwide round-up of 400 leftist with over 1200 people arrested. The JCP was of course the main target. In 1932 the Comintern had basically lost contact with Japan. Comrades have asked me “What about the popular front in Japan?” Well, I think the only place that they could have pulled off a popular front was in jail because that is where everybody was. There was no-one to have a popular front with. Repression really got stepped up after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and strikes kept going down, down, down. In 1940, strikes were zero and by 1941 virtually every organisation that had not sworn loyalty to the emperor and the Manchuria invasion was in jail.

What about the Left Opposition in Japan? A guy by the name of Fukumoto actually had some pretty good criticisms of the JCP. He thought that bourgeois rule was consolidated in 1983 which is the first attempt at liberal democracy in Japan. He said that Japan was now an imperialist power. And he was critical of the JCP's manoeuvring with the labour/farmer party stuff. He was called to Moscow and he recanted. And that's it. He was basically dumped in 1927 by the Comintern.

Another opposition, the Rono-ha group, left the JCP in 1927 polemising against the Stalinist conception of two-stage revolution. But remarkably, from the right. Their position was that the Meiji Restoration was a complete bourgeois revolution. This was an excuse not to fight on the questions of the emperor system, the minorities, women's oppression. Actually this bought the Rono-ha group ten more years of legal activity when the JCP got slammed in 1931. The Rono-ha tendency is now the leadership of the left-wing of social democracy. A letter to Trotsky in 1927 from the American Trotskyist, Arnie Swabec, talks about how they'd made contact with four Japanese comrades in 1922. We don't know their fate. But Swabec reports that My Life was translated into Japanese in 1933 and 6,000 copies were sold. So there were attempts to forge some kind of Trotskyist group in Japan. Nothing came out of it which survived World War II. It's a real handicap for the Japanese proletariat that these issues were not fought out then, and are only being fought out today with us.

Japan's Heroic Workers Take on the Bourgeoisie

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

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

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


Australasian Spartacist
One was to preserve the emperor system and all the rituals of feudalism—keep women bowing when the boss comes to work, keep the Koreans in their place, the Burmese in their caste status. They also wanted to free themselves from war-time economic constraints. Because of the weaknesses of the factory system, they wanted real economic recovery run by the military during the war. And the Japanese bourgeoisie were really driving the war. They were interested in profits. Thirdly, they wanted to prevent a workers revolution. Because they knew what was going to happen.

The working class in 1945 was very young—many of their fathers, uncles and older brothers had been taken off by the army. So let’s go through the working class parties. First the Trojan horse of counterrevolution, the social democracy. During the war labour was harnessed into a pro-war, pro-government organisation called Sampo, that raved something that the Nazis did during World War II. The social democrats became the leaders of Sampo during the war, to support their own bourgeoisie. At the end of World War II if they were party-disciplined. But through this pro-war organisation they were able to keep control of the more conservative layers of the working class and actually launched their own labour federation. They all gave a banzai cheer to the emperor at their founding conference in 1945. We must never let the working class forget this—this is the emperor system.

So here’s the first example in 1945 of the Japanese bourgeoisie using its troops against workers in Japan. They tried to deport as many of the Chinese and Korean miners as possible as a way to break the resistance of the coal miners strike. Then they tried to pit the Japanese miners, along race lines, against the Chinese, against Koreans. Well, the Japanese miners told their bourgeoisie to go to hell and joined the Korean and Chinese miners. And that launched the post-WWII strike wave. The miners won a tremendous victory, they organised an industrial union that extended the length of Japan. It’s important that it broke through the racial minority question, forging solidarity between Japanese, Korean and Chinese miners. That’s a precedent that we want to be part of and extend again today.

In the cities the pace of organisation of the working class was clear—social democracy just like Germany.

The Communist Party is a bit more interesting. They were released from jail, part of the liberal, New Deal democratisation. They had tremendous authority: having fought the war, the capitalists and the goal was to organise real, militant, class-struggle unions along industrial lines—so taken up by the workers. The 1945 JCP convention re-established their program for two-stage revolution. Their line was that the American army was an army of liberators. MacArthur—ah he’s despised by the American working class. He’s the coward who sent soldiers against disabled WWI veterans in a democratic revolution to overthrow the emperor and MacArthur was going to support them—crazy. In fact some JCP leaders worked with members of the occupation to draft labour legislation and helped with all the arbitration boards and commissions. But the rank and file weren’t going to go along with this so easily.

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

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

Miners Break Racial Divisions and Lead the Way

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

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

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

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

The Japanese occupation was getting a little nervous. On May Day 1946, two million workers marched in Japan, supposedly the largest May Day of any place in the capitalist world. The government was gearing up for a major showdown. There was a kind of fascistic fight within the bourgeoisie. The hard line was led by Yoshida, the prime minister during this period, who said—smash the working class, just smash the working class. And there was a group of liberals from the University of Tokyo economics department who said, look if we want a stable capitalist regime we’ve got to take the strategic sectors of the working class, and pay them good money, and keep them happy or we’re in trouble. At this time, auto, steel, these major industries, were barely working, and the heavy industrial proletariat was on the sidelines because production was slow. But the professors at the university were looking ahead, we have to revive this section of industry and so we did. It was a whole lot easier.

When the government banned production control struggles.

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

Stalinist Leaders Bow to MacArthur

A layer of the working class began defying the bans on taking over plants. The Japanese government began repressive moves. The Yomitan Shimbun editorial board was taken back by force. Cops backed up by American military police stormed the office and threw the JCP out. The JCP was going through a period of crisis because this was not the “democratic revolution,” this was a pre-revolutionary situation. Many of the workers began marching in demonstrations demanding down with the Yoshida government. The JCP was saying...
privilege that the miners, in "grimy work clothes and helmets, their faces blackened by soot," noted sociologist William McPherson was quoted as saying, "It was the end of civilization." This sentiment echoed by the Financial Times (18 June), which complained that in ramshaking opposition parties' offices, "the miners destroyed all their computers, phones and fax machines." Le Monde (1 June) wrote an analytical article on "Workers Militias and Fascist-Communism."

Aside from a handful of articles, the Western media barely reported the rightist rear-guard action. The Times editorialized that the National Salvation Front responded to "peaceful demonstrators" with "fanatical-like ferocity," although the death toll was six. For Ilseu to call the University Square protesters "fascist rebels," they wrote, is "sheer effrontery." Yet even the Associated Press in its report "Le Monde observed that 'The 'golans' (bootsleggers) who occupied University Square" were 'among the most violent and the most determined' of the regime's opponents, and reported that crowds pelted the minors. The Washington Post (20 June) noted the "surprising fact" that "few Romanians" opposed the government's decision to end the "pro-democracy sit-in."

As for the "effrontery" of calling the protesters fascists, an article by Paul Hocke in the social democratic newspaper In These Times (6 June) is compelled to note that "The democracy movement has several troubling features," among them "the new emphasis on nationalism-religious values and a 'hate psychology' that led to attacks against Romania's Hungarian minority. Hocke, who is no friend of the Salvation Front's views, wrote that "roughly half the students in Bucharest express sympathy with the neo-fascist organization Vatra Romeneasca" which espouses "a crude xenophobic nationalism aimed at the ethnic Hungarians."

The Stalinist regimes in East Europe could put a lid on some of the reactionary folly that historically plagued the region but could not lay the material basis for eliminating it. Economic autarky, bureaucratic commandism, nationalization, the appeasement of imperialism, wholesale falsification of history, suppression of the independent political life of the working class—these have been hallmarks of the Stalinist Soviet and East European regimes. As the young Karl Marx wrote: "It is not the democratic ideal of a democratic society that is new; it is rather the practice of this ideal which is new."

East Europe: The Old Crap Returns

For the moment, the Romanian workers' action has checked the rightist thrust. But all across East Europe, such revolutionary scum are surfacing. In East Berlin's Alexanderplatz, skinheads and neo-Nazis giving the stiff-armed salute publicly celebrated Hitler's birthday on April 21. In early May a mob of 400 attacked Mozambican workers in the Lichtenberg quarter of East Berlin, shouting "Foreigners out, Niggers out." In Hungary, the once-Jewish Hungarian M8K soccer team is greeted with "dirty Jews. To the gas chambers." In Yugoslavia, recent elections in Croatia "surprising fact" that "in both Russia (the Kremlin "doctors' plot") and East Europe. Prominent East European Jews (for example, Rudolf Slovany in Czechoslovakia, Asia Pauker in Romania, Gabor Peter in Hungary, Paul Merker in East Germany) were made the victims of show trials as agents of "Zionism and imperialism." The era of "liberal Stalinism" which opened up in 1956 led to the rise of "national" Communists, especially in Poland, at the expense of Jewish members of the bureaucracy. By the 1970s few Jews held positions of power in Gierke's Poland, Husak's Czechoslovakia, or Kadar's Hungary. But as the new anti-Communist regimes push to "purify" their countries for "democratic" capitalist exploitation, Jews and reds have become easy scapegoats.

This amalgam of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism is not a new device. Many Jews suffering the vicious pogroms of the Stalinist regimes in the former Soviet Union and the non-Russian satellite nations of the "Eastern Bloc" (Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and the like) have been targeted for suppression and attack since the 1930s. During the 1920s-30s the deeply oppressed Jews of East Europe flocked into the Communist and other left-wing parties. As the brilliant Jewish Marxist Abram Leon, who was killed in Auschwitz, wrote in 1938 to his book The Jewish Question: "The ruling classes persecute with special savagery the Jews who have supplied a host of fighters to the revolutionary movement. To isolate the Jews completely from the sources of culture and science has become a vital necessity for the destruction of the Jewish people." The ridiculous legend of "Jewish Marxism" is nothing but a caricature of the bonds that actually exist between socialism and the Jewish masses.

Levin wrote this at a time when the Eastern Bloc countries and their satellites were the bastions of the "non-Russian satellites" and the "Eastern Bloc," or "People's Democracies," of the former Soviet Union. The rise of Zionism Israel combined with decades of Stalinist oppression has shifted to the left the political center of gravity of the Jewish community, East and West. But for the fascists, clerical-nationalists, and other reactionary scum running around East Europe, the equation of Jew and red is still very

East Europe...

(continued from page 16)

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

Thus just as Gorbatchev's market-oriented perestroika has fueled bloody nationalist strife in the Soviet Trans- caucasia, we are seeing the beginnings of similar developments in East Europe.

In Romania, where Ceausescu's down fall was triggered by protests over the oppression of the large Hungarian minority in Transylvania, today fascists are defacing with Jewish activities are defaced with anti-Semitic filth, including the recent desecration of the grave of playwright Bertolt Brecht...
much alive. Thus capitalist counter-revolution will bring anti-Semitic pogroms as well as impoverishment of the working class.

McCarthyism Comes to East Europe

East Europe today is experiencing a rip-roaring anti-Communist witchhunt: not only "are you now or have you ever been..." but also about what your brother, sister, mother, father...and your father's father..."The sight of East Berlin cannot even get a job because of his Communist past. In Czechoslovakia, the fear of the "velvet revolution," Pope John Paul Wojtyla of Cracow is seeking to establish a neo-medianal "Church of the Working Class." The "democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe has to a large extent been spearheaded by former-clvis-Hitler professionals. The Czechoslovak CP, which he equates with "make up your mind,...and your brother,...your sister,...your mother,...your father...and your father's father,..."

From Poland to Slovakia to Croatia, the surreal Catholic (priest Vaclav Mali called the capital of Brno. "Hungarians, awake!"

Istvan Czurka proclaimed on radio, "Hungarians, awake!"

But Romania's Ceausescu attack on the National Salvation Front was established, led by former Stalinist apparatchik like Ion Bucseu who had run afool of the megalomaniac Ceausescu and his family. But while his faith to a policy which precludes to Western-style social democracy, the right-wing National Christian Democrats, championing their own brand of fascism, clos by the prewar fascists of the Iron Guard, and National Liberal Party attacked Front leaders as crypto-communists.

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

The Front won wide popularity by quickly turning on the heat and lights, and increasing food supplies. The workers were substantially raised living standards from the enforced misery of the Ceausescu regime. Both Front leaders promised to pay off loans from Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. The miners, far from being Ceausescu supporters, were the first to rebel, with a strike in the Iulia Valley in 1977 which was brutally repressed, Ionescu doubled their wages and cut the workweek to four days. Writing in the Op-Ed page of the New York Times (19 June), Daniel Nelson of the Frankfurt bankers. The miners, far from being Ceausescu supporters, were the first to rebel, with a strike in the Iulia Valley in 1977 which was brutally repressed, Ionescu doubled their wages and cut the workweek to four days. Writing in the Op-Ed page of the New York Times (19 June), Daniel Nelson of the

What's desperately needed are genuinely communist parties committed to defending socialized property on the perspective of international proletarian revolution, including in the Soviet Union, North America and Japan.

For Communist Internationalism!

What is needed is an alliance of the working class and the workers organizations. These regimes will very likely be in direct competition with those that slaughtered 6 million Jews and 20 million Soviet citizens. And fierce competition for the spoils of East Europe could be a trip wire for a third imperialist world war. The counter-revolution will be led by the workers and peasants in the struggle to sweep away all the old crap forever.

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MAY 16—It is two weeks since the massive battles in Ulsan where 10,000 riot cops stormed Hyundai shipyard to crush a three-day-old occupation by 20,000 workers. Last week 100,000 protesters clashed with police across the country. In recent days, the police have been placed on maximum alert for mass militant strikes. On May 18, a few thousand workers in a shipyard in Incheon refused to work and walked out on strike. The police immediately accosted the workers and made a determined stand against a mass withdrawal of U.S. troops. On May 19, more than 100,000 workers were on strike, demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In the last two days two students have been seriously injured in street battles with the cops in Incheon.

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

The police have been placed on maximum alert for mass militant strikes. In the city there are tear gas clouds everywhere, all owned by Hyundai. They are even on the hospital and the beach! At the shipyard (the largest in the world) there is no sign of tension but very little sign of work. "Normal production" has still not resumed since the cop attack on the sit-in.

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

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

Protesters are hurling missiles at cops on the road below, driving them back to the main gate. For hours a crowd of cops hold the main gate, firing tear gas at hundreds of students and workers—men and women—who reply with rocks and molotovs. The press later reported that 125 were arrested and the 5000-strong rally aborted by the cop attack.

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

Today 83 cops and over 200 protesters are injured.

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

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

Today the imperialist world croons about the supposed "death of communism" but their best example of capitalist economic superiority is in recent years is now in tatters. The South Korean regime pleads to a restive population that the "North" is a backward, semi-feudal country and that the South, the most capitalist, most anti-communist, is the way to "advance" Korea. But the reality is that many workers are coming out on strike, as seen today.

Kwangju, May 20: Anti-regime protests meet massive repression (above); Outlawed Chonnohyop union federation rallies against government (right).
Trade Development Zone. With the agreement of the federal and Northern Territory governments and the ACTU, a Hong Kong jeans-manufacturing company, Hengwang Pty Ltd, brought some 74 mainly female workers to Australia, in- 
dented to the Guangdong External Man-
power Services Corporation in the People's Republic of China (PRC). These workers were paid a tenth of the wages of Australian workers and subjected to 60, 70 and 80 hour work weeks. Unions and union organisers were banned. Housed in overcrowded flats with strict curfews, they were banned from forming relation-
ships with local workers and compelled to have abortions if they fell pregnant.

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

One Hengwang worker interviewed anonymously told of a lecture by an of-

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Aided and Abetted by ASIS—CIA’s Hit List for 1965 Indonesian Massacre
Half a Million Communists Were Slaughtered

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

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

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

“...they seek to preserve by policing the region to its tip, the white racist Australian ruling class has always been willing to help out with imperialist dirty work—from the Korean and Vietnam counter-revolutionary wars, to the CIA-backed coup in Indonesia 1965 and Cambodia 1970. And not only in Asia—ASIS agents in Chile worked with the CIA to overthrow the Allende government in 1973 in which 30,000 workers and leftists were slaughtered—the blueprint for which was labelled Pan Jamaican.”

Former CIA director William Colby now crawls out of the woodwork to proudly boast that the action in Indonesia was comparable to the CIA’s “Phoenix” mass assassination program in Vietnam, one of the dirty secrets of that dirty war. Colby complains that in the post-Watergate period he was “kicked around for this crime. In Vietnam, too, they combed lists so that they could send out teams to ‘shoot them,’ he admits with obscene pride. Colby himself admitted in a CIPA congressional testimony that over 20,000 Communists were assassinated under the Phoenix“ program in its first two and a half years, but still the CIA got involved in Vietnam in an attempt to stem the tide of peasant-based revolutions which threatened to sweep Asia like “falling dominoes.” We noted then:

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

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

The imperialists lost Vietnam, but now they’re on a counteroffensive. They need to divide the Stalinist regimes collapse in Eastern Europe. Many of the very same murderers are still in the posse of the U.S. government. Company man Martens, for instance, is now a “consultant” for the State Department where he works “in the field” advising the guys who want to bring “democracy” to East Europe.

While the criminals now boast of their crimes, they also unashamedly recognise that the Indonesian workers and peasants will rise again. Thus CIA operative Harry Goldberg, sent to Jakarta after the coup under AFL-CIO cover to set up bogus “unified” Indonesian labor organisations, noted in particular that the U.S. government is “a terrible holocaust, but they (the PKI) were much bigger than the amount of people who were executed. It’s a question of who is going to be the majority of others, not to mention the very conscious spirit of revenge, which is a living force and will continue at full time create another explosion.”

Spartacist-ACU..."a permanent and active comprehensive cooperation with our sister organization in the world, the Indonesian Spartacist.

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

Adapted from Workers Vanguard No. 503, June 1990

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

Both groups studiously sought to avoid discussion of the USSR and Eastern Europe, since the ACU are fairly enthusiastic supporters of Gorbachev’s reformist line. But their efforts to restrict discussion to the “safer” territory of domestic politics was disrupted on the first session in a workshop by ACUer and Sweeney’s Union general secretary, Pat Geraghty, who sharply exchanged sharp exchanges between ACU and SPA spokesmen, provoked in good part by the intervention of the Spartacists. The League speakers, including one comrade recently returned from Germany, raised discussion on the historic events in East Europe, noting in particular that the decades of bureaucratic abuse, economic mismanagement and concessions to imperialism had the theoretical justification in the Stalinist dogmas of “socialism in one country,” the other hallmark of which is popular front betrayal abroad. SL speakers attacked the bureaucratic expression of this—perverse influence on the ALP—and in particular the ACU’s support for the class collaborationist Accord and union strategy.

ACU leader Stan Sharkey responded with a disgusting tirade, calling the pilots “a scabby bunch of conservatives” who got what they deserved. Shocked, a senior SPA leader, Harvey Gornick, correctly noted that Hawke’s military strikebreaking was an attack on the whole working class. But the ACU’s class collaborationist support for the Accord is mostly in the pages of the Guardian. Where they have regained a foothold in the union bureaucracy, like the Sydney waterfront, they are indistinguishable from the ACU, selling thousands of picket down the drain. As it went—the “anti-Accord” SPA versus the ACU and the SUP, which if anything looked more closely bound to the New Zealand Labour government than the ACU is theirs, and is fighting to get an
"White Australia" Stalinists

Feeling increasingly isolated under Hawke’s Cold War Labor regime the SPA embarked on a series of fruitless "left" adventures, each lacking both political integrity and intelligence, and fuelling internal dissent. Two years ago, when a racist future developed over Japanese property purchasing on the Gold Coast, SPA members joined in, wanting "selling off the farm" to Japan (Guardian, 1 June 1988). As a result, the SPA, which sincerely want to fight for communism need to join the Spartacist League. For we only have (continued from page 14)

Accord, NZ-style. The only unity was various greens and directing preferences return of the Labor government in the working class should be regulated by the chauvinism, because the bosses’ interest Ly Laborite. through the Labor government. But then, who on bosses’ state because bosses and workers has inevitably adopted national (continued from page 14)

"Aussie" nationalism and crass the working class is just another and green politics. They adore and a liking for any and all dissidents and a pro-Ustasha outfit, the SPA, the greatest infamy: the stench of corruption a political basis for unity with the bosses. Stalin was pretty embarrassed that in Japan the party was praising MacArthur when they were getting ready to go to war in Korea. So this led to the JCP taking a big ultra-left tack, a lot of street confrontations etc.

The Korean War was a godsend for the Japanese bourgeoisie. They got their hands on when they were getting ready to go to war in Korea. This was the beginning of the Cold War. Stalin was pretty embarrassed that in Japan the party was praising MacArthur when they were getting ready to go to war in Korea. So this led to the JCP taking a big ultra-left tack, a lot of street confrontations etc.

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

As bankrupt Stalinist regimes crumble throughout East Europe, the imperialists seek to create the impression of a steamroller heading toward capitalism against which resistance is futile. But in Poland in early June railway workers tied up freight and passenger traffic in a wildcat strike against brutal austerity policies which have produced mass unemployment and hunger. In Bulgaria, the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party won a majority in parliament in June elections. Reactionary forces had pinned great hopes on Romania, anticipating that the bloodshed during the December uprising could spark the violent anti-Communist pogroms needed to carry out capitalist restoration. In Bulgaria, the Socialists' victory was a sign that resistance is futile. But in Poland where the imperialist press lionized the anti-Communist Front, which ran the country until the overthrow of the brutal Ceausescu regime last December, some were already warning of more than two-thirds of the vote in mid-May elections. When ministers of the Front sought to negotiate with the protesters, the government emissaries were run out. The imperialist press lionized the protesters as paragons of "democracy," but they were widely despised by the working people of Romania as elitist ultra-nationalists.

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

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

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

continued on page 10