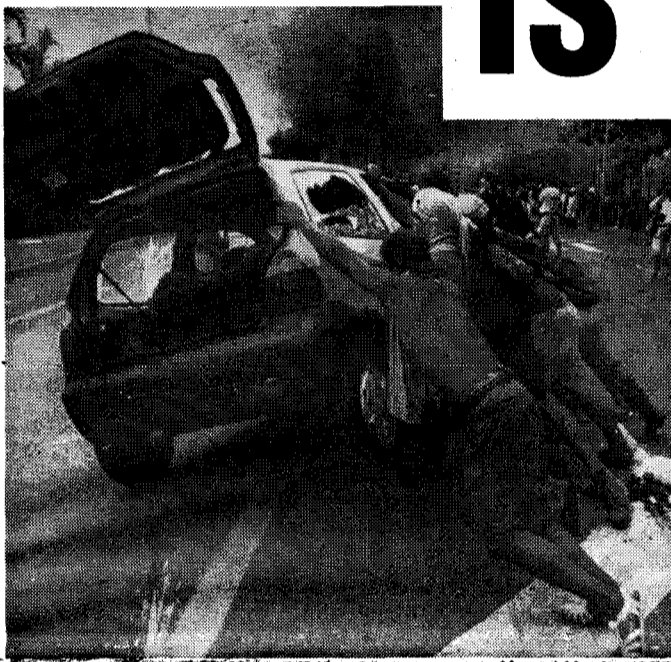


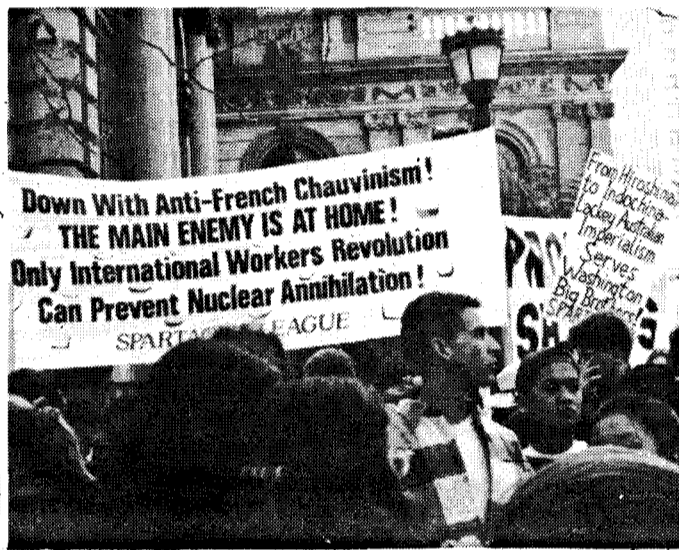


Independence for French Colonies! Australian Imperialism Hands Off the South Pacific!

THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME!



Marcel Mochet/AFP



Asp photo



Le Bolchévik

(From left): Mass demonstrations of workers and youth erupted in Tahiti in protest at nuclear tests. Spartacist banner at Hiroshima Day demonstration in Sydney opposes rampant anti-French chauvinism. Ligue Trotskyste de France at protest against French nuclear testing links call for independence for the colonies with defence of North Africans in France against racist state terror.

The orgy of chauvinism in Australia and France touched off by the dispute over renewed French nuclear testing in the Pacific underlines how capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably through trade war to world war, unless the problem is destroyed at its root by socialist revolution. The enemy of the workers and oppressed is not "the French" or "the Australians" but the rapacious capitalist ruling classes which dream of plundering the whole world while turning the screws on their "own" workers in the interests of profit. The real and terrible danger of war will only be ended by the workers of all countries joining together, rejecting all the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands. The International Communist League says: No to the French nuclear tests! Down with all imperialist militarism! Independence now for the French colonies! The main enemy is at home!

The decision by the Chirac government, which at the same time put "metropolitan" France in a racist state of siege with its anti-immigrant Operation "Vigipirate," to resume testing at Mururoa Atoll is a sinister imperialist and colonialist provocation which must be opposed by class-conscious workers internationally. This display of arrogant, aggressive nuke-toting chauvinism has provoked widespread revulsion all over

the world, not least in France itself. Populations in and around the Pacific Ocean have been especially outraged by the French government's brazenly colonialist statement that they intend to do what they want in their last colonial outposts in the Pacific. Chirac's boastful "screw you world" attitude also predictably provoked a powerful anti-French nationalist backlash amongst France's imperialist rivals.

But the hue and cry over the French nuclear tests by other capitalist governments is the rankest hypocrisy. The imperialist powers are lurching toward trade war and ultimately another global conflagration and the French nuclear tests and the national chauvinist howling of the Australian imperialists and their Labor servants against them must be seen in that context. The danger can be clearly seen today in the Balkans, ignition point for the first global inter-imperialist slaughter. While the French imperialists test their nuclear devices in Mururoa and the Australian imperialists pontificate on the dangers of nuclear weaponry to the ecology of "their" backyard, tons of NATO bombs have been rained down on the Bosnian Serbs, a campaign supported by the bellicose Chirac, America's slavish Australian junior partner Prime Minister Paul Keating, and French and Australian "left" chauvinists alike. As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed the nationalist slaughter in the former Yugoslavia on all sides while denouncing all

imperialist intervention. Now the character of the war has changed as the weight of Western imperialism is increasingly pressed against the Bosnian Serbs. In the face of NATO's terror bombing, we call for unconditional military defence of the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its clients of the Muslim-Croatian alliance, while fighting for workers revolution to overthrow all the nationalist butchers and forge a Socialist Federation of the Balkans.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has reopened the Pandora's box of inter-imperialist rivalries. The furore over the French tests not only exposes the vile hypocrisy of imperialist talk about "peace" and "non-proliferation," but also throws a harsh light on these mounting inter-imperialist tensions.

U.S. imperialism, the world's most dangerous nuclear power and the only one to have used nuclear weapons, slaughtering civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, is concerned that Japan not acquire nuclear weaponry. Japan (whose finance minister was among the myriad parliamentarians putting in an appearance in Tahiti) is opposed to the French and American nukes in the Pacific. Increasingly squared off against its American imperialist rivals for who will be first in the rape of the Chinese deformed workers state, Japan itself is preparing to forge its own nuclear arsenal. Japan is intent on extending its

neocolonial influence in the region to reconstruct a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." It already has tons of weapons-grade plutonium and the fourth-largest military in the world.

Objections in the European Union (EU) to French tests have been carefully calibrated to concerns about "safety" and "access to technical information." The most muted opposition has come from Britain and Germany. Britain clings to its own nuclear weaponry, dependent on American technological input, to sustain its claim to be a "great" power, and has a 1992 agreement with France for nuclear collaboration. German imperialism, the dominant power in Europe, greeted with "interest" Chirac's proposal to put the French strategic nuclear forces at the disposal of the EU. German imperialism, which at most is "a screw-driver's turn away" from having its own nuclear weapons, is mindful of widespread fears of German rearmament among the European targets of past German militarism—the French arsenal provides an option for them to annex a nuclear capacity.

Australian Imperialist Jingoism and Hypocrisy

Jackal Australian imperialism, which would be happy to see the back of French colonial power in the South Pacific to better play its own role of local counterrevolutionary gendarme and consolidate its own niche, has responded

continued on page 14

Joint Statement of Ligue Trotskyste de France and Spartacist League/Australia Protesting French Nuclear Tests

For International Working Class Action to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

A massive international outcry of protest stayed the scheduled execution in August of black American political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Hundreds of thousands have demonstrated from South Africa to Europe to the U.S. and Australia, trade unions representing millions of workers have taken up Jamal's cause and the case has come to symbolise the racist barbarity of the death penalty. Taken back by the scope of protests, "hanging judge" Albert Sabo granted the stay and then, as expected, on 15 September ruled against Jamal's appeal for a new trial. Jamal's attorneys have now filed a "notice of appeal" to the Pennsylvania state supreme court. As Mumia warned after the stay:

"The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now. Thus, the stay is a limited victory, not just for the Jamals and the Africas, but for thousands and tens of thousands of people from every corner of the globe...."

"Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge, who did what higher courts would've done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement, in Philadelphia and beyond, thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations."

"Whatever the reasoning, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*"

Framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop, Jamal is up against a

cabal of the racist Philadelphia police department, a District Attorney maniacally committed to pursuing the death penalty wherever she can, and Judge Sabo, who presided over Jamal's mockery of a "trial" in 1982 and has sent far more people to death row than any other judge in the U.S. Behind them stands a determined drive by the Democratic White House and Republican Congress to strengthen draconian police powers and accelerate the rate of state executions.

Hard on the heels of Sabo's ruling against a new trial, Jamal testified in his civil rights case against the Pennsylvania prison system in October, speaking in court on his own behalf for the first time since his frame-up conviction in 1982. In a vindictive and unconstitutional series of actions, prison authorities seized vital legal mail, obstructed Jamal's access to the courts and the media, and instituted "disciplinary confinement" for a period of 30 days, eliminating all phone calls to family, following the publication of Jamal's powerful book, *Live from Death Row*. It could not be more clear that the cops, prosecutors and judges comprise part of a system of racist capitalist state repression, that justice for Mumia will begin only when Mumia walks out of prison a free man!

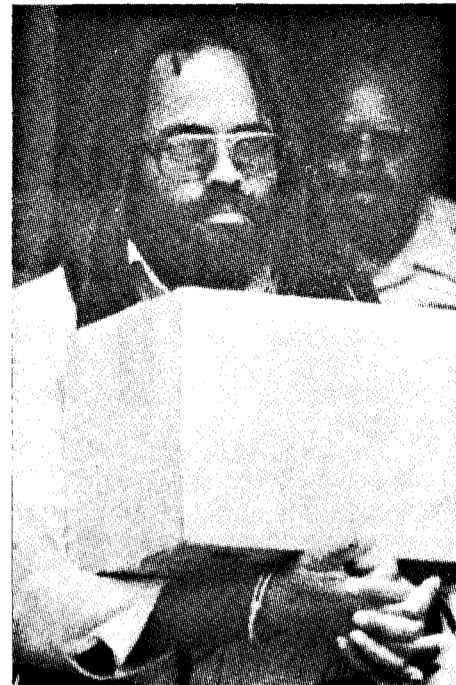
The U.S. state has long had Mumia Abu-Jamal in its cross hairs. At the age of 15, Jamal wrote for the *Black Panther* and as Minister of Information of the

Panthers, Mumia was featured on a front-page article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in January 1970. The FBI and Philadelphia police began daily surveillance of Jamal, including putting him on the FBI's notorious "Security Index" and ADEX list. While still in his teens, he was arrested during one of many cop raids during the notorious FBI CO-INTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party. (See Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*.)

In the hearing of Jamal's appeal, Sabo excluded more than 600 pages of FBI files submitted by the defence documenting the government's attempts to set up Jamal. Even the fraction of the evidence allowed by Sabo was enough to show that the prosecution's case against Jamal was a tissue of lies. Four eyewitnesses gave testimony showing that someone other than Jamal shot Philadelphia policeman Faulkner. Ballistics and medical experts took the stand to challenge the state's "evidence." In the battle that raged all winter between Jamal's supporters and the forces of death arrayed by the court, the DA and cops, truth and justice were continually ruled "out of order." When Rachel Wolkenstein—one of Jamal's attorneys and PDC counsel—tried to present evidence of racial bias in Pennsylvania's death penalty, Sabo outrageously ordered her jailed. He quashed over 25 defence subpoenas for witnesses, refused to allow evidence on four claims of constitutional violations, and ruled for the prosecution and against the defence on virtually every objection raised in the hearing. Even an exasperated *Philadelphia Inquirer* (13 August) editorialised that Sabo "seemed to be fighting the last war—ridiculing, interrupting and generally feeding the worst suspicions of Abu-Jamal's supporters."

Sabo rushed to issue his ruling against the appeal so that the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) demonstration scheduled to take place in Philadelphia the next day would turn into a pro-death "victory" celebration. The rally featured a mob of several thousand cops howling for Mumia's death. They didn't need lynch ropes and white sheets—their uniform and guns are the outfits these racist thugs use to carry out their reign of terror against minorities from Philly to Los Angeles. Thus, the genocidal ravings of fascist Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman in the O.J. Simpson case were, as Urban League leader John Mack trenchantly observed, simply the missing soundtrack to the videotape of the vicious cop beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1991.

The battle to free Jamal is a fight for all working people and minorities. If the racist rulers succeed in carrying out this legal lynching of an innocent man sentenced to die for his political beliefs—or if they keep him locked up for life—it will buttress the machinery of capitalist state terror. Protests have taken place around the world from Paris to Brazil; in South Africa militant union protests have repeatedly taken up Jamal's case and journalists' unions in Germany, Britain and South Africa have made Mumia an honorary member. If Jamal can be freed by worldwide protest it will strike a blow against capital punishment not only in the U.S., but internationally. It



Jamal entering court in handcuffs. AP

will also knock back the bourgeois politicians and labour traitors internationally who play the racist card of "law and order" in their drive to further immiserate the working masses, youth and all the oppressed.

The Battle for Mumia's Freedom: We Must Redouble Our Efforts!

As our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain wrote:

"The death penalty is a weapon of capitalist state repression bearing down on the working class, upon minorities and fighters against colonialism. The histories of American and British imperialism are filled with examples of political executions...."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 147, September/October 1995

This history is also embedded in the rule of White Australia capitalism, from its origins as a British penal colony through to its present role as junior partner to U.S. imperialism and counterrevolutionary gendarme in the Asia Pacific region. It was only in 1985 that the last legal vestiges of the death penalty were removed federally by Parliament and the High Court. (As in Britain, capital punishment still remains on the book for "treason," a reminder of the importance of the monarchy, rallying point for reaction.) The abolition of the state's "legal" right to capital punishment is a gain that must be defended down the line and historically the fight for the abolition of the death penalty has been linked to the struggles of the workers movement and oppressed. Broad public outrage over the Robert Tait case in the early 1950s prevented that execution. In 1967 Ronald Ryan was the last victim of hanging in a case that mobilised massive opposition to his execution, including militant protests by waterside workers in Victoria.

Established on the near-genocide of the Aboriginal people and the vicious, racist exclusion of Asian people, today the capitalist state carries out *de facto* racist executions on the streets and in the lock-ups on a massive scale, internationally notorious. The grim list of Aboriginal deaths at the hands of the cops and prison screws has grown under Hawke/Keating's Labor government: John Pat, David Gundy, Daniel Yock, Colleen Richman are but some of the scores of victims. Calls for "law and order"—from Labor and Liberal politicians alike, for even more restrictions on the right to own guns and for the

continued on page 16



July 26 march to U.S. embassy in Pretoria, South Africa protested threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Australasian SPARTACIST

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

Marxist journal of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).
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Workers Power's "International" Falls Apart: Chickens Come Home to Roost Over Balkans Betrayal

We print below the Spartacist statement on the recent series of splits which have blown apart the "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" (LRCI), published by our comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Power's refusal to take a stand on the side of the Bosnian Serbs against the heaviest imperialist onslaught since the 1991 Gulf War has finally blown apart its phoney "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" (LRCI). The bulk of its New Zealand section and all of its Latin American supporters have split away in the last six weeks, following several years of proto-factional struggle. The LRCI has now been reduced to its English group, a scattering in Ireland and Western Europe, and a handful of dazed supporters in New Zealand and Australia. As a centrist grouping on the British left posing as a Trotskyist alternative to the larger, reformist SWP [Socialist Workers Party] and Militant, the existence of Workers Power has long been an obstacle to the building of a genuine revolutionary vanguard party of the working class.

As NATO forces were bombing the Bosnian Serbs, a 5 September statement by Workers Power argued that two weeks of a concerted bombing campaign by war jets and cruise missiles did not constitute a decisive imperialist intervention! In fact, this was a decisive shift in the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim forces to the imperialist attack on the Bosnian Serbs, mandating a revolutionary-defencist stance towards the Bosnian Serbs. Yet WP baldly declared that "in the war between NATO and Republica Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides". This is an open repudiation of the elementary Leninist principle of *unconditional* military defence of a small nation or semicolonial people against imperialist aggression.

This betrayal did not fall from the skies. On the contrary, WP has long been egging on imperialist intervention. Echoing Thatcher and the US Republican Party, it has called for lifting the phoney "arms embargo" against the Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo. At the same time, it has boosted the "defend Bosnia" campaign, a stalking horse for UN/NATO military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs. As we of the Spartacist League/Britain noted in a leaflet calling for an emergency protest demonstration against the NATO bombardment, WP and the rest of the "Workers Aid" crowd have consistently acted as "the allies, dupes and agents of their big brothers in the pro-imperialist Labour leadership".

This open prostration before the imperialist terror bombers appears to have been the last straw for the "Proletarian Faction" (PF, now the Communist Workers Group [CWG]) in the LRCI's New Zealand organisation and for a tendency composed of the Poder Obrero (PO) groups in Bolivia and Peru. Nonetheless, while taking the LRCI to task for siding with the Bosnian Muslims, the PF's factional declaration does not breathe a word about the need to defend the Bosnian Serbs against NATO imperialism (including the numerous earlier air

assaults). Nor does the PF call for lifting the economic embargo with which the imperialists have been strangling Serbia.

While claiming to be against communalism on all sides in former Yugoslavia, the PF writes: "The LRCI had a correct position at the beginning of the war. We were in favour of defending Sarajevo, Tuzla and any multi-ethnic community against the Serbs but without supporting the Bosnian government. We were in favour of defending every community against Muslim, Croat or Serb militia attack." What does this mean, in the context of all-sided communal war? All of the competing nationalist forces in Bosnia claim to be defending "their" community against "ethnic cleansing" by

"Pax Americana". For this reason we pointed out that revolutionaries cannot be neutral between the Bosnian Serb army and the Croat-Muslim alliance forces when NATO bombs are hailing down on one side, and that our revolutionary defencist position mandated taking the side of the Bosnian Serbs during the past two months of imperialist attack.

While both splits from the LRCI chide Workers Power for a general strategy of elevating bourgeois democracy above the class interests of the proletariat, the PF is also trapped in the framework of bourgeois democracy. Its assertion of the right of self-determination to all nationalities in Bosnia is simply a recipe for

tailism and "new world reality" obfuscation that Workers Power elaborated in the early 1980s. WP's support to Yeltsin counterrevolution was no aberration. The road was well paved.

The politics of Workers Power are a quintessential example of what Trotsky characterised as the "crystallised confusion" of centrism. While formally adopting a position of Soviet defencism in 1980 over Afghanistan, WP condemned the Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed feudal reaction as "counterrevolutionary" (later also denouncing the Soviet withdrawal as "counterrevolutionary"). In 1981, they "critically" championed Solidarność even while admitting that Solidarność in power would mean capitalist restoration. In 1989, while claiming to be against the capitalist annexation of the former DDR by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, Workers Power sided with counterrevolution at every crucial stage. The following year, they supported the anti-Soviet, fascist-infested nationalist movement in Lithuania and were caught out collaborating with Russian fascists in sponsoring a "trade union" speaking tour by one Yuri Butchenko. In 1991, they stood, literally, on the Yeltsin barricades.

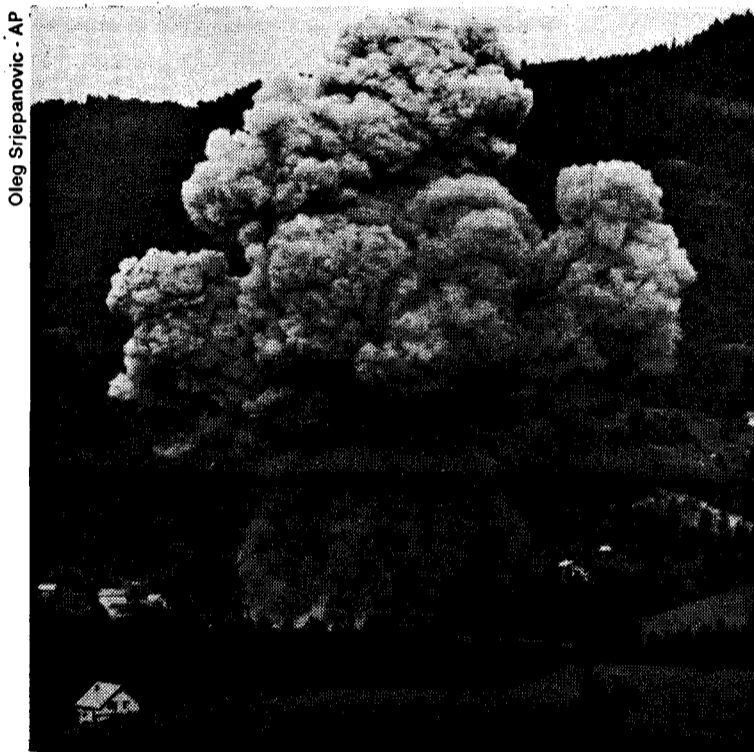
To counter the splitters' criticisms of its scandalous position on Bosnia, Workers Power points to its history of so-called "anti-imperialism". At best WP's history on this score is one of capitulation to petty-bourgeois nationalism, at its worst it included the embrace of the Ayatollah Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic revolution" in Iran. Under the rubric of the "anti-imperialist united front"—a slogan that has become a codeword for a popular front with petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist forces in the "Third World"—Workers Power also lined up on the side of the Galtieri dictatorship in Argentina during the Falklands/Malvinas war and has proffered political support to the Green nationalists of the IRA/Sinn Féin.

Despite their many, often at least semi-valid, criticisms of particular rightist positions of the LRCI, both the New Zealand and Latin American splits support the anti-Trotskyist line of the "anti-imperialist united front" and neither has any quarrel with WP's anti-Soviet, third-campist positions prior to 1991. Indeed, even after WP openly sided with the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, they cohabited a common "international" for four solid years. This reflects a centrist denigration of principle that would-be revolutionaries have to break from.

The fate of the LRCI is symptomatic of the general rightward lurch of the centrist left under the impact of the counterrevolutionary wave which has inundated the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe—hailed by the imperialists as the supposed "death of communism"—expressing their own programmatic despair over the prospect of proletarian revolution.

The LRCI's evolution is not accidental. As James P Cannon said in 1940 after the fight against the Burnham/Shachtman "third camp" opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party:

"The question of the Russian revolution—and the Soviet state which is its creation—has drawn a sharp dividing line through the
continued on page 4



Oleg Srijepanovic - AP

**U.S.-led
NATO
imperialists'
warplanes
pound
Serbian
positions in
conjunction
with Croat/
Muslim
ground
forces.**

other nationalities. And why single out the role of the Serbs in Tuzla and Sarajevo? In the course of the civil war, the Serbian population of Tuzla has been reduced from 20,000 to 8000, while former Serb villages in the surrounding areas have been razed to the ground.

The claim that the Bosnian Muslim regime uniquely stood for "democratic" and "multi-ethnic" policies was one of the lies pushed by fake leftists—echoing the imperialists—to justify support to the Izetbegovic government. If the Bosnian Muslim forces have carried out ethnic cleansing on a lesser scale than the Serb and Croat forces, it's largely because at least hitherto their military strength has been less. In Izetbegovic's 1990 "Islamic Declaration" he called for "the islamisation of Muslims". Today, his army incorporates elements who fought with the Islamic fundamentalist *mujahedin* in Afghanistan.

The Poder Obrero groups are also confused over Bosnia. While clearly taking the side of the Bosnian Serbs against direct imperialist attack, their declaration on the Bosnian question talks about "defeatism on both sides in this war when all play a reactionary role and use ethnic cleansing to produce semi-colonial, ethnic-centred bourgeois micro-states". Up until the decisive imperialist intervention of the NATO bombardment this would have been a correct position. But the Bosnian and Croatian militaries have clearly been *subordinated* to the imperialists, fighting a land war under NATO air cover designed to put the Bosnian Serbs under the heel of an imperialist

all-sided communal war. Bosnia is not a nation, and there is no Bosnian "people". Until the forced population transfers, which were an integral part of the recent communalist slaughter, the nations and peoples of former Yugoslavia were particularly heavily intermingled in Bosnia, making any attempt to place the province under the rule of any one of these peoples necessarily oppressive of the others. In such a situation, under capitalism, there is no democratic solution to the national question. Self-determination of one people can necessarily take place only through "ethnic cleansing", ie driving out the other peoples.

From Khomeini and Walesa to Yeltsin and Izetbegovic

Both split groups, whose positions overlap, trace the origins of WP's Balkans betrayal back to its support to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary counter-coup in the USSR in August 1991, while claiming that WP's programme had until then been Trotskyist. Thus, the Latin American statement maintains that the LRCI was Trotskyist at its foundation in 1989, but that "since the beginnings of this decade the stalino-phobic positions of adaptation to bourgeois democracy have pushed the LRCI towards centrism" ("Resolution of all the Latin American members of the LRCI", end of September 1995). In fact the LRCI's founding document, *The Trotskyist Manifesto*, perfectly captures the centrist cocktail of Cliff-derived Stalinophobia, Mandel-style

Workers Power...

(continued from page 3)

labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world—the Mensheviks, Social Democrats, Anarchists and Syndicalists, Centrists, Stalinists.”

— James P Cannon, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*

This applies no less to Workers Power and the United Secretariat than to those like the so-called International Bolshevik Tendency and the Revolutionary Internationalist League, who today claim to offer a “left” alternative to the disintegrating LRCI.

Afghanistan—the Russian Question Point Blank

The Poder Obrero groups say Workers Power made “a big revolutionary step forward [in 1980] when it broke with ‘state capitalism’ centrism and re-elaborated Trotsky’s theses for the unconditional defence of the Degenerated Workers States”. A month after the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, an article in *Workers Power* (February 1980) announced laconically, “we found it impossible to advance a principled revolutionary programme from any other standpoint than that of characterising the USSR as a degenerated workers’ state” (*Workers Power* no 12, February 1980). While this represented a leftward step from WP’s previous state-capitalist position, carried over from its origins in Tony Cliff’s organisation, their stance was far from a “principled revolutionary programme”.

With the 1980 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan the question of Soviet defence was, as we said at the time, posed point blank. The Red Army intervened on the side of the radical-nationalist PDPA regime in Kabul, which was threatened by an Islamic fundamentalist insurgency. The *mujahedin* took up arms



Workers Hammer

Spartacist protest in London on 5 September: Down with UN/NATO bombings!

Kremlin Stalinists and return to the proletarian internationalist programme of Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks.

Workers Power tried to carve out a position half-way between the Spartacists and the Labour Party leaders, who to a man (including famous “left” Tony Benn) voted to condemn the Soviet intervention. WP’s article “Whose side in the war?” began: “We oppose the invasion of Afghanistan”. At the same time, they opined that it would be “tactically wrong for revolutionaries...to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan”.

To square this centrist circle, they hid behind the search for a mythical “third force” (to be based on what they described as “the tiny Afghan proletariat”). Refusing to call for military victory to the Soviet forces, the most left-wing expression of their line was the statement: “In the present conflict between the Soviet Armed Forces (SAF) and the pro-imperialist rebels, we are not neutral. We are for the defeat of the pro-imperialist forces” (*Workers Power* no 12, February 1980).

Today, the “Resolution from all the Latin American members of the

and Trotsky”, at bottom a continuation of anti-Sovietism. As Trotsky noted, Soviet defence and third-campism are like fire and water. Right from those early days in Workers Power, ie in the specific case of Afghanistan, the water extinguished the fire. While remaining mired in the Labourite swamp of British social democracy, WP tried to carve out a niche to the left of the Cliffites and Mandelites. This however brought them head-on against the revolutionary programme of the Spartacist tendency. Flinching at what they perceived as the dreaded spectre of Spartacist “sectarianism” ie principled Trotskyist politics, WP balked at following through its break with Cliffism to a decisive conclusion.

In a classic demonstration of the axiom that “programme generates theory”, it was only two years after its formal line change that WP published its “re-elaborated” analysis of Stalinism, in the 1982 pamphlet *The Degenerated Revolution*. This “innovative” gobbledygook was the “theoretical” justification for WP’s line on Afghanistan and subsequent support to capitalist counterrevolution from Poland to Germany to Moscow. The document denied Trotsky’s characterisation of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a brittle caste whose contradictory character reflected its position of simultaneously being dependent on the existence of the collectivised property forms of a workers state while seeking to conciliate world imperialism in the name of building “socialism in one country”. Instead Workers Power proclaimed that the Stalinist bureaucracy was “invariably a counterrevolutionary force”, which is analogous to saying the bureaucracy is counterrevolutionary through and through. WP described the anti-capitalist social transformations carried out from above by Soviet forces in Eastern Europe after World War II, as well as the overthrow of capitalism by peasant-based guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, China and Cuba as “counterrevolutionary overturns”.

Workers Power’s “Critical” Support to Solidarność Counterrevolution

In August 1980 a mass strike movement catapulted Lech Walesa into the leadership of a sizable portion of the Polish working class. At that point we noted that insofar as the strike and its outcome enhanced the Polish workers’ capacity to struggle for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—which had mortgaged the economy to IMF bankers and conciliated the Catholic church and small-holding peasantry while lording it over the working class—revolutionaries could support it. At the same time we warned that “only a blind man could fail to see the gross influence of the Catholic church and pro-Western sentiments among the striking workers” (“Fight clerical reaction! For proletarian political revolution! Polish workers move”, *Spartacist Britain* no 25, September 1980).

At Solidarność’ first national congress in September 1981, the forces of

clerical reaction and capitalist restoration decisively triumphed. In sharp contrast to the Hungarian workers councils of 1956, which explicitly defended the planned, nationalised economy, the Solidarność congress resolutions made no mention of socialism. Instead they espoused “self-management” and production for profit and took up the CIA-inspired Cold War calls for “free elections” and “free trade unions”. We Spartacists recognised that Solidarność had become a company union for the Vatican, the CIA and the Western banks: a giant scab “union” (like the Thatcherite “Union of Democratic Miners”) which was making an open bid for power based on a programme of capitalist restoration. Raising the call “Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!” we argued:

“What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist programme stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the programme and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today Trotskyists find themselves in such a position over Poland, and it is necessary to swim against a powerful current of counterrevolution.”

—“Stop Solidarity’s counterrevolution!”
(*Spartacist Britain* no 36, October 1981).

We stood militarily with the Polish government of General Jaruzelski when it spiked Solidarność’ December 1981 power bid. At the same time we recognised that the Stalinist crackdown would only delay the day of reckoning, for Solidarność would have to be defeated *politically* within the working class. Thus our call to stop Solidarność counterrevolution was integrally linked to the need to forge a Trotskyist party that could lead a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Infatuated with this “mass movement” and reflecting the pressures of the Cold War Labourites for whom the call for “Solidarity with Solidarność” was the rallying cry of pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism, Workers Power swam in the stream of counterrevolution. While many fake leftists sought to dress Solidarność up as a “progressive” movement, Workers Power admitted that it was counterrevolutionary and supported it anyway! Even while acknowledging that all the “dominant tendencies” in Solidarność sought the restoration of capitalism, they went on to conclude that this did “not mean that we do not solidarise with Solidarność”!

The recent Poder Obrero statement continues to uphold this wretched line, writing approvingly that Workers Power “called for fighting with the Polish workers and Solidarność against the hard line Stalinist coup d’état but without making blocks with the church and the bourgeois parties and opposing to fight for the freedom of the KPN and other capitalist parties” (“Resolution”). But the church and the ultrarightist KPN were at the *political core* of Solidarność. It was hardly a long step from “solidarity with Solidarność” to standing on the Yeltsin barricades in 1991.

What About the Fourth Reich’s Anschluss?

The Latin American groups correctly note that the LRCI’s call for “a constituent assembly for the two Germans in 1989” meant that the East German deformed workers state would be subordinated to “the bourgeois forces of another capitalist country and that the East German Degenerated Workers State could be more easily destroyed by German imperialism”. But neither PO nor the CWG breathe a word about the LRCI’s 1989 call for the withdrawal of the Red Army from the former DDR, a demand which directly echoed NATO imperialism. The withdrawal of Soviet forces could, and did, only facilitate the revanchist drive for capitalist reunification. When Gorbachev acceded to the NATO powers and agreed to a withdrawal, this was a decisive factor



Franklin/Magnum

We Spartacists said “Hail Red Army” in Afghanistan. Centrist Workers Power opposed intervention and withdrawal.

in reactionary opposition to a series of bourgeois-democratic reforms, notably measures taken against the enslavement of women such as the “bride price”. Heavily backed with CIA money and US and British munitions, the *mujahedin* war also immediately posed the defence of the Soviet Union, on its crucial southern flank, against imperialism.

Recognising this and understanding that—whatever the intentions of the venal Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin—the Red Army intervention opened the possibility of extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples, the international Spartacist tendency (precursor of the International Communist League) said, “Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!” Many Soviet soldiers saw themselves as fulfilling their internationalist duty in fighting to defeat the imperialist-financed forces of Islamic reaction. But as we pointed out, for such internationalism to have been fulfilled required a political revolution to oust the

LRCI” seeks to pin WP’s burgeoning Stalinophobia solely on “a minority that postulated a hybrid between the theories of Cliff and Trotsky”, claiming that “since the 1990s the old minority was becoming the effective leadership of the LRCI. This explains very much the LRCI’s right wing evolution” (“Resolution”). The minority they refer to was led by Keith Hassell, an anti-communist lout who is WP’s current supremo. In 1980, Hassell called for *immediate* withdrawal of the Red Army, arguing that, “It simply is not true that a pro-imperialist Kabul government would necessarily be a worse political option for the Afghan masses than Stalinist occupation” (“The Afghanistan Discussion: The Danger Signs”, *Workers Power Internal Bulletin* no 36, February 1980). Tell that to the Afghan masses today!

Hassell’s line was programmatically identical to Tony Cliff’s. It was the WP majority, led by the late Dave Hughes, which formulated a “hybrid between Cliff

in the eventual counterrevolutionary *anschluss*.

The ICL mobilised the whole weight of our international resources to intervene massively in the critical days of winter 1989, when East Germany stood poised between the possibility of workers political revolution and a stampede towards capitalist reunification. We initiated the anti-fascist demonstration to protest the desecration of the Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin on 3 January 1990, which drew 250,000 people. The ruling Stalinist SED was forced to allow two Trotskyist speakers to address the rally from the platform. Our comrades attacked the incompetence and betrayals of the bureaucrats in Berlin and Moscow, calling for a workers militia and a Red Germany of workers and soldiers' councils.

Alarmed by this mobilisation, in which they correctly saw evidence of the forces that could prevail against capitalist *anschluss*, the West German bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats went into overdrive, smearing the Treptow protest as a "Stasi trick". This lie was echoed by Workers Power, which wrote at the time: "Shortly after the SED [Treptow] rally ... the SED government attempted to re-establish the security police (Stasi) but were prevented by mass mobilisations For revolutionaries this is the very stuff of revolution." The "mass mobilisation" hailed by WP, attacking Stasi headquarters in East Berlin, was a rightist mob shot through with Nazi skinheads and carrying West German flags inscribed with the call, "Germany, One Fatherland"!

As we pointed out in response: "This is the 'stuff' that capitalist counter-revolution is made of. But in its mindless enthusing over 'anti-Stalinist actions' Workers Power couldn't tell the difference between revolution and counter-revolution" ("Workers Power: right turn on East Germany", *Workers Hammer* no 113, March/April 1990). In the March 1990 elections (effectively a plebiscite on *anschluss*), the Spartakist Workers Party was the *only* party to clearly and unambiguously stand against capitalist reunification. WP's response? To call for "abstaining on the vote"! Instead, Workers Power joined the West German bourgeoisie and Social Democracy in screaming for a witch-hunting purge of SED members—which duly came in the wake of capitalist annexation of the DDR and continues to be pursued with a vengeance by the Fourth Reich.

Unconditionally Anti-Soviet: Sajudis and Butchenko

In 1990 Workers Power called for "unconditional" support to the drive for Lithuanian independence spearheaded by the thoroughly pro-capitalist Sajudis, which was crawling with outright fascists. In this, WP stood to the *right* of Margaret Thatcher, demanding that the anti-communist "Iron Lady" recognise Lithuania's "independence" and send whatever aid the Sajudis requested.

Today, the document of the New Zealand Proletarian Faction takes the LRCI to task for its scandalous appeal for British imperialist aid to the

Lithuanian nationalists. But it does so while accepting the basic anti-communist positions from which this grotesque demand sprang, arguing that the LRCI "correctly called for the unconditional right to self-determination of the Baltic states from the USSR i.e. in the case of Lithuania calling for independent workers state".

Unconditional support means just that—irrespective of the class nature of the resulting state. It does not mean "an independent workers state". The call for independence of the Baltic republics was a cover for capitalist restoration and the LRCI's line was nothing other than a capitulation to the imperialists' "captive nations" crusade, a longtime battering ram against the Soviet degenerated workers state. In contrast, the ICL defended the right to secession for all nations with an *anti-counterrevolutionary* leadership. As for the PF/CWG, despite its criticisms, at bottom its line comes down to "Workers Aid to Sajudis", expressed in its call for "the mobilisation of arms and volunteers from outside Lithuania" ("Declaration of the Proletarian Faction") to bloc with the anti-Soviet Baltic nationalists.

Neither the PF/CWG nor the PO groups mention the infamous Butchenko affair, in which WP (along with *Socialist Organiser*) organised a British speaking tour for a Russian fascist "trade unionist", Yuri Butchenko. Only when Butchenko appeared at a press conference alongside Roy Link of the scab "Union of Democratic Mineworkers", as part of the witch-hunt against Arthur Scargill and the miners union, did WP cease their sponsorship of his tour. Caught out, WP admitted that they had known all along that Butchenko was in favour of capitalist restoration in the USSR *and* that his visit was brokered by outright fascists. WP had actually met with Butchenko's "control" George Miller, the London representative of the NTS, a grouping which fought alongside the Nazis in World War II and was a creature of British and American intelligence during the Cold War. Nor was this the first time that WP's Stalinophobic appeals to "democracy" led it to betray the militant miners union. In the 1984-85 miners strike, WP echoed the Thatcher government and the scab-herding Labour Party of Neil Kinnock, in demanding a "strike ballot" be taken *after* the miners had already struck!

Yeltsin's White House and "Critical" Centrism

In the critical events of August 1991 in the USSR, a member of WP literally stood on the counterrevolutionary barricades and even provided a candid eyewitness account of the social dregs in front of the Yeltsin White House. The International Communist League argued that what was necessary was a call on Moscow workers to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. Such an independent mobilisation of the workers could have opened the road to political revolution through a showdown with the imperialist-backed forces of capitalist restoration. For its part, *Workers Power* (September 1991) ada-

manly insisted: "No matter what the socially counterrevolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades to defend the Russian parliament, it would be revolutionary suicide to back the coup-mongers and support the crushing of democratic rights"! We said at the time:

"The 'gang of eight' was incapable of sweeping away Yeltsin in its pathetic excuse for a putsch because, as we wrote, it was a 'perestroika coup.' But both imperialism and the forces of internal counterrevolution were aligned on Yeltsin's side. The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions. Trotskyists would have entered a military bloc with 'the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution,' as Trotsky postulated in the 1938 Transitional Program."

—*Workers Vanguard* no 535,
27 September 1991

Now, the New Zealand PF document excoriates the LRCI's call "for a

for a "united front" with Yeltsin... under certain conditions.

A similar line was held at the time by the tiny American-based Revolutionary Trotskyist League, who split with the LRCI following Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Trying to keep a foot in both camps, the RTL simultaneously argued that "no united front with Yeltsin and the restorationists was permissible" while in the next breath saying, "That does not mean that a common struggle against the coup could not have been waged alongside the workers, soldiers and others who had illusions in Yeltsin." This was also the position of the centrist Revolutionary Internationalist League in Britain, which called on Soviet workers to observe Yeltsin's strike call. These Stalinophobic centrists, like the LRCI split groups, couldn't take a straightforward position against Yeltsin's drive for capitalist restoration because to them any possibility of a military bloc with elements of the bureaucracy was anathema. We denounced groups such as the LRCI as "Traitors not Trotskyists" for their support to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the homeland of the October Revolution. And, while the PF and Poder Obrero groups now complain about WP's craven



AFF

Outside Yeltsin's "White House" August 1991: Workers Power stood with Russian nationalists, black marketeers, yuppies, priests and fascists.

'united front' with Yeltsin without conditions" as a position tantamount to a "united front" with imperialism. Nonetheless, the PF can't see any difference between the isolated and pathetic "Gang of Eight" coup plotters—whose programme for a more gradual and controlled introduction of capitalism came down to "perestroika without glasnost"—and Yeltsin, the spearhead for capitalist restoration who was supported by every imperialist power. On the contrary, they write:

"If Yeltsin was serious in opposing the coup we could offer a military bloc with him, but only if he 'broke with the bourgeoisie'. Revolutionaries would have demanded that Yeltsin not only called for and supported a general strike, but called on the army to defect and arm the workers."

While claiming to be for a "workers united front" against what they called Yeltsin's "popular front", the PF called on Yeltsin to lead a general strike and arm the workers! In other words, their "opposition" to the LRCI's line of unconditional support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution turns out to be a call

backing of Yeltsin, they did not find this sufficient cause to split from the LRCI at the time!

Seemingly on the other end of this spectrum is the so-called "International Bolshevik Tendency", which proclaimed its "military" support to the coup plotters, whose only "action" was to hold a press conference! The BT's grandiose gesture was simply a cover for them to finally rid themselves of the albatross of even the most formal nominal Soviet-defencism. They rushed to declare the Soviet degenerated workers state dead and buried as soon as the "Gang of Eight" collapsed, writing off in advance any possibility that decisive working-class resistance could have swept away the Yeltsin regime through a proletarian political revolution. Originating as a bunch of individual quitters from our organisation in the early 1980s, flinching from our forthright Soviet defencism, the BT spent the intervening years trying to peddle a counterfeit version of our politics which would be acceptable in social-democratic circles [see article, page six].

Workers Power now tries to cover for its support to capitalist counterrevolution by inane insisting that Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union remain "moribund workers states". Effectively revising Engels and Lenin on the state—defined as armed bodies of men who constitute an organ for the oppression of one class by another—WP's line boils down to saying that the nature of the state is determined solely by the extent to which property is nationalised. This neatly dovetails with the left Labourite view that "socialism" will be achieved by successive nationalisations through parliamentary enactment.

The "Anti-Imperialist United Front"

In a statement announcing the suspension of the Bolivian group and the *continued on page 17*



Workers Hammer

London, 16 May 1990: Workers Power in the Third Camp, shoulder-to-shoulder with Socialist Organiser in anti-communist "picket" calling for "Hands off the Baltic States" at Soviet consulate; (right) of one mind with anti-Soviet Cliffites over Lithuania.



New Zealand Permanent Revolution Group

Strange Things Under Wellington's Rocks

During a recent trip to New Zealand, comrades of the Spartacist League/Australia encountered the Permanent Revolution Group (PRG). Ever-so-modestly, the PRG claims to have established itself as "the leading exponent of revolutionary politics in New Zealand." But it's a pretty weird "revolutionary" organisation which on its home turf has done next to nothing about the international campaign to free black death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal; which has virtually nothing to say about the strategic Maori question or indeed against racial oppression in New Zealand; which can put out an "orthodox"-sounding polemic in Britain against Workers Power's pro-imperialist line over Bosnia, but is silent at "home" about New Zealand troops in Bosnia; whose work is characterised by the type of popular-frontist coalitionism revolutionary Marxists have always fought against tooth and nail; and, for good measure, which is led by a proven, massive liar and sexual sociopath—one Bill Logan. We turned over some Wellington rocks, and some very unsavoury things slithered out.

We in the International Communist League (ICL—of which the SL/A is the Australian section) know Logan all too well. He was expelled at our first international conference in 1979 for crimes against communist morality. Charges against Logan were brought by the Central Committee of the Australian section of our international, detailing at least 18 specific cases where he abused his position as national chairman to grossly interfere in the most intimate personal life decisions of comrades. The motion on his expulsion was passed unanimously and after the conference we took the unusual step of publicly releasing our internal discussion bulletins documenting the Logan case so that this information would be generally available

to the workers movement. We also know his current international bloc partners—the so-called International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT)—and refer our readers to the ICL pamphlet *The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?* as well as the other material advertised on page seven for the goods on this lash-up and its cast of characters. Almost all of the founding members of the IBT individually resigned from our international tendency in the early 1980s; they coalesced from several interlinked clots of embittered ex-members in the U.S., Germany and Canada, later to be joined by Logan and his New Zealand PRG. As we wrote in the recent ICL pamphlet cited above:

"Although they came together as a formation largely motivated by subjective malice, on a political level they were the crystallized reflection of the pressure of anti-communist public opinion. Insofar as the BT claims to present a version of Spartacist politics it is a counterfeit one: along with their anti-Sovietism goes an indifference—at best—to the necessary link between the struggle for black freedom and the struggle for working-class emancipation in the United States."

We are now at a considerable distance from Logan's machinations within the relative isolation of New Zealand's capital city. But our intersection with the Wellington-based PRG confirmed that this outfit is no exponent—"leading" or otherwise—of revolutionary politics.

"Colour-Blind" BT Provocations and the Campaign to Save Mumia

In recent months, Logan has been quite the globetrotter: hitting London, New York and elsewhere. Considerable literary output in Britain and the U.S. by the IBT, dovetailing with Logan's travels, has been devoted to a smear campaign against the work of the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S.

and its fraternal organisations internationally which are the legal and social defence organisations of the ICL and have been spearheading the international campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther Party member and U.S. death row political prisoner framed up by the racist U.S. rulers (see article, page two). The American ruling class are determined to undercut the growing domestic and international support for Jamal. In a front page article, the *Wall Street Journal* (16 June) went after the supporters of Jamal as leftist crazies and went out of its way to smear the Spartacist League as a cult—a particularly sinister accusation in today's American political climate, after the Waco massacre and MOVE bombing. And where does the *WSJ* get its "information"? From the BT, which is cited right there in the article (there is no other source for this big lie).

The battle for Jamal's life has become the cutting edge against the racist death penalty in the U.S., and against its reintroduction elsewhere; fighters against racist oppression across the globe have championed his cause. In the short time available to our comrades visiting New Zealand we attempted to publicise his case and encourage others, including in the trade-union movement, to join the international outcry on Jamal's behalf. As for the PRG, stung by the exposures of their antics, they claimed that in fact they had been working on the case in New Zealand. But when asked for the evidence of their "work" so that it could be publicised more broadly, the PRG was unable to produce a single motion in a trade union, Maori or student body, a single statement or letter of support, even a single piece of propaganda of their own.

Similarly the BT journal *1917* has, in the eight years that we and others have been fighting for this man's freedom, published *not one* substantial article on Jamal's case. The "real work" of the IBT over the case of Jamal has consisted of its attacks on the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee. Indeed, the IBT's leaflet over the national demonstration initiated by the PDC in London on 22 July whitewashes the fake left who *consciously organised a rival rally on the same day to demand further imperialist sanctions (the prelude to NATO bombings) against the Bosnian Serbs.*

As we put it in our pamphlet on the IBT:

"Their sudden interest in this case comes at a time when the PDC has been censored from speaking at events in defense of Jamal in Philadelphia and Vancouver. We have also been physically assaulted on more than one occasion by the International Socialist Organization in the U.S. and in Italy by Rifondazione Comunista when we attempted to bring the defense of Jamal to their members.

"We are revolutionary communists and absent a broader tide of revolutionary social struggle, larger forces to our right will try to exclude us from any issue they choose to interest themselves in. Conveniently the BT now pops up, providing arguments in advance for the various leftists, anti-communist liberals and black nationalists who, now that the case has

become popular internationally, would like to see us pushed aside. The BT says it's all our fault. But what does this say about them?"

The IBT's non-interest hitherto in the campaign to save Jamal from the racist rulers is linked to their "indifference at best" to the race question in the United States. Then there's the PRG in New Zealand. Like Australia, New Zealand is a white imperialist enclave, its history marked by deep-going xenophobia and racism toward other Asian and Pacific peoples. Yet unlike Australia where the Aboriginal people suffered total defeat and dispersion through European settlement, New Zealand was founded on the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi signed by the (British) Crown and Maori chiefs (with Maori land stolen through the "Maori Wars" later). Today at least 13 percent of the population are Maori and within the New Zealand workforce Maori people comprise at least eight percent. The special oppression of the Maori people extends to every aspect of New Zealand society. Thus, as with black people in the U.S., the Maori people have been both integrated throughout NZ society while at the same time forcibly segregated at the bottom of it; this is reflected in the large number of Maori workers in the NZ proletariat and the disproportionate number of Maoris (at least some 20 percent) in the ranks of the unemployed.

Recently the social-democratic myth of Maori/Pakeha "equality" has exploded in angry Maori demonstrations and occupations throughout New Zealand, in the context of an overall bourgeois offensive against the working class and poor. Yet the PRG in its eight years of existence has had barely a word to say on this question which is a *strategic* question of the fight for workers revolution in New Zealand, nor on the closely related question of the Polynesians. One of the PRG's few references to the Maori people can be found in "Where We Stand" (*Campus Bolshevik* No. 4, April 1993) which reads: "We oppose resolutely all ideologies such as feminism and Maori nationalism, which seek liberation through fundamentally separate and 'autonomous' women's and nationalist movements. On the contrary, such pseudo-autonomy only guarantees defeat: the root of all oppression is class society and a movement 'autonomous' from the struggle to destroy that society can only side with the existing order."

A revolutionary integrationist, class-struggle fight for genuine full equality and justice for the Maori people is what is required. Unlike Workers Power and its recent split (now the Communist Workers Group [CWG]), for instance, we do not believe that the Maori people in New Zealand constitute a nation. Nationalism in fact plays the role of handmaiden to Labourite parliamentarism—leaving the struggle for Maori rights to bogus "constituencies" rather than mobilising the social power of the integrated working class for united class struggle for genuine equality. At the same time, there are special questions associated with the dispossession of the Maoris by the British colonialists; for



Workers Vanguard

PDC and other forces mounted emergency demos to save Jamal on 5 June. Above: demo in midtown Manhattan.

instance, we are militant defenders of land rights. As we wrote in another context in Australia:

"We support any attempts by the Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of the land which has been stolen from them as well as to whatever compensation can be wrested under the tight-fisted [Mabo] High Court ruling. However, elementary justice—not only for the dispossessed Aboriginal people, but for all the exploited and oppressed—demands not some limited, ultimately reversible, concessions in the bosses' courts but the expropriation of industry and agriculture by proletarian revolution."

—“Mobilise a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!”
ASp No. 150, Spring 1993

There are other questions of racial oppression in New Zealand about which the PRG has had precious little to say. For instance, while remaining minuscule, recent Asian immigration has been met with racist backlash. In New Zealand, as in the rest of the lairs of the IBT, the PRG's crusty "colour-blind" position is one which harks back to the social democracy before the impact of the Russian Revolution was felt. Such a position was fought down the line by the Russian Bolsheviks throughout the various national sections who struggled to break from the legacy of the "yellow" socialists of the Second International and fight against every manifestation of oppression and anti-democratic discrimination on the road to the seizure of workers state power.

Surveying the world from the rarefied heights of Wellington's Victoria University—which overlooks the New Zealand Houses of Parliament—the "Pakeha socialists" of the PRG buy into the bourgeois/social-democratic lie of a "bi-cultural" egalitarian New Zealand society hook, line and sinker. In the U.S., where the black question is strategic to the fight for workers revolution, the BT made a point of opposing our initiating labor/black struggle leagues linked to the party, initiated in part as an attempt to build on the success of our anti-fascist actions (needless to say, the BT was nowhere near most of these actions). As we noted in our SL/US 1983 conference document, the ET (External Tendency, precursor to the BT) "sees the 'working class' as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses. What the ETs really mean by the 'working class' is the labor bureaucracy pure and simple."

Anderton's Spurned Suitors

The PRG claims to have "established a public profile as the leading exponent of revolutionary politics in New Zealand" through...its year-long entry into Jim Anderton's New Labour Party (NLP). In the context of an extremely right-wing Labour government pushing ultra-Thatcherite policies (known as Rogernomics after its Finance Minister Roger Douglas), and miffed about losing out on leadership of the New Zealand Labour Party, the vile "little New Zealand" Labourite Anderton led a parlia-

New Zealand riot cops attack Maori land rights protesters at Takahue, September 1995.



Kenny Rodger

mentary split from the New Zealand Labour Party, harking back to "true Labour values." The NLP represented not the slightest political break from Labourite class-collaboration. Today, in fact, the NLP is in a popular-frontist bloc with not only the Greens and Maori nationalists but also with the outright reactionaries of the Democrats, the former "Social Credit Party." Anderton's own description of the Alliance was: "the New Labour Party, all cloth-cap socialists who want to build smokestacks all over the country, and the Greens, who wear kaftans and sandals and don't want anything, the Democrats, who want to print money, Mana Motuhake...that wants to assault Parliament with M-16 rifles (!) and the Liberals, who don't like anybody much" (*Australian*, 1 September 1994).

The PRG boast that their entry into Anderton's NLP "was one of the few principled and successful applications of the Trotskyist entry tactic in recent memory" and pompously headline their article: "The 'French Turn' in New Zealand/Trotskyism and the New Labour Party" (1917 No. 9, First Quarter 1991). The comparisons are laughable. When Trotsky proposed the entry tactic in the 1930s, major class upheavals throughout Europe and in the U.S. had propelled youth and workers, unstained by responsibility for the past betrayals of the Second International, into the Socialist Parties. The crushing of the German proletariat by fascism had tremendous impact and left-wing formations within the SPs, revolted by Hitler's coming to power, were casting about. Describing the American Trotskyists' entry into the SP, James P. Cannon wrote:

"As far back as 1928 it had been recognized by our enemies, even by the most ignorant, that Trotskyism is no provincial dogma. Trotskyism is a movement of world scope and world perspective. Trotskyism proceeds from the standpoint of internationalism and concerns itself with the problems of

the proletariat in all parts of the world.... "The Spanish civil war, the Moscow trials, and the turmoil in the French labor movement—these questions dominated the whole internal life of the Socialist Party... and we organized a deliberate campaign to educate the rank and file of the party on their meaning."

—*The History of American Trotskyism* (1972)

Apart from their ludicrous lack of proportion, the PRG's "French dip" into the NLP (which netted by their own account "several" recruits) was marked by a maximum of fawning organisational loyalty and an absence of political struggle over the key questions dividing revolutionary from reformist politics, thus, in effect they stood on the latter. The PRG writes:

"We were quite open that we supported the New Labour Party and wanted to build it. And we did indeed build the NLP: we canvassed for support, organised fundraising dinners, chaired meetings, typed newsletters, and carried out the whole gamut of mundane organisational chores associated with any political movement. We made it clear that we saw this attempt at establishing a democratic workers' party open to all tendencies—including revolutionaries—as a good thing."

—*Against Centrism (An Exchange of Documents between the Permanent Revolution Group and the Communist Left)* (1991)

And in 1917:

"When it was first founded, New Labour was a party with the potential to be a voice of ordinary working people, of the oppressed and disadvantaged; it could have been a vital and dynamic gathering place for people with a broad range of viewpoints from the working-class movement. But twelve months later it is now clear that the NLP and its membership can only be a tool for some out-of-power bureaucrats wanting to be in power: NLP democracy is dead."

These genuflections toward a "democratic workers' party open to all tendencies"—a "good thing," a "vital and dynamic gathering place" according to the PRG—simply recall the hoary old Kautskyite theory of the "party of the whole class"—the unity of reformists

and supposed "revolutionaries." And what happened "twelve months later" was no change in the political character of the NLP, which was from its inception "a tool for some out-of-power bureaucrats," but the fact that Logan's PRG was expelled by Anderton & Co. Like spurned lovers after being given the boot, they screamed "unfair," and whined incessantly about "democracy" and the NLP's constitution:

"The principles and objectives of the NLP are stated in its constitution; we support all of them. It doesn't say anywhere that you have to believe that Parliament is a sacred and eternal institution. The PRG accepts and has repeatedly declared its acceptance of the principles and objectives of the NLP...."

The PRG blubbered about the "need for a hearing" and they even "suggested that the matter be put to arbitration: we can find a respected, independent trade-unionist or two, put both sides of the argument and get an impartial view on the constitutional issues"! It went so far as to swear that "We believe in democracy in the left, with decisions made by majorities. We can accept being in a minority."

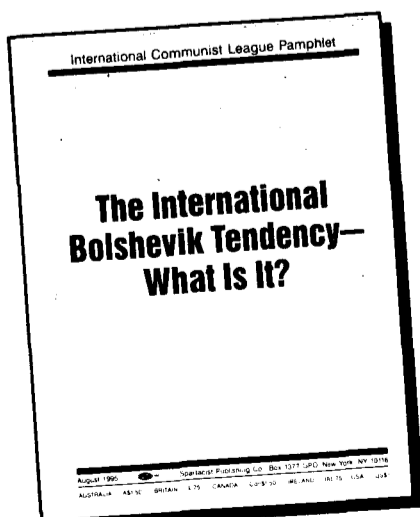
This was no Trotskyist tactic of entry to polarise on a revolutionary programmatic basis a left-moving social-democratic milieu, but rather parochial, legalistic prostration of the PRG before the altar of Anderton's NLP. Such examples of "entry work" are a dime-a-dozen amongst fake Trotskyists who seek not to split the social democracy along class lines, but attempt to play the role of loyal left advisers to the Labourite traitors.

From the "French Turn" to Anti-French Chauvinism ... and Bosnia

While we were visiting New Zealand, the front pages of every major bourgeois daily paper shrieked against French

continued on page 8

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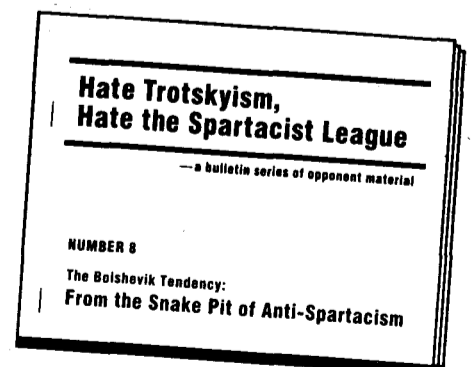
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As V.I. Lenin said, "He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot who can be dispensed of with a simple gesture of the hand." In our "Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League" bulletins the International Communist League has sought to make available the best, the most left-wing or at least most representative polemics against our organisation by leftist opponents.

For the BT, political argument takes a back seat to the self-serving claim that the ICL is a "cult." But the BT does have politics: their fraudulent "bloodthirstiness" covers for a fundamental capitulation to bourgeois anti-communism. Four bulletins in the "Hate Trotskyism" series reproduce BT material:

- Bulletin No. 4: 1917 No. 1
- Bulletin No. 5: "The Bolshevik Tendency"
- Bulletin No. 6: "From Malice to Provocation"
- Bulletin No. 8: "The Bolshevik Tendency: From the Snake Pit of Anti-Spartacism"



- Winter 1986, \$1.00 (32 pages)
- July 1988, \$2.50 (26 pages)
- March 1991, \$2.50 (16 pages)
- July 1993, \$6.00 (128 pages)

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PRG...

(continued from page 7)

nuclear testing in the Pacific, if anything even more hysterically chauvinist than the Australian media (no mean feat). We in the SL/A produced jointly with our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France the statement protesting the nuclear tests printed on page one which declares: "The Main Enemy is At Home! Independence for French Colonies! Australian Imperialism Hands Off the South Pacific!" For their part, the "revolutionaries" of the PRG were to be found ensconced within a class-collaborationist lash-up called, simply, "NON"! Meanwhile the PRG was distributing their *Bolshevik* (No. 6, August 1995) headlined: "Stop the Testing at Mururoa!" The PRG devoted two paragraphs to Bosnia in this statement, but did not once mention, let alone demand the removal of, *New Zealand troops in Bosnia* who have been part and parcel of the NATO imperialist onslaught against the Bosnian Serbs! All the PRG's sloganeering that "The Main Enemy Is at Home" and "No Illusions in NZ Junior Imperialism" doesn't amount to a hill of beans in their "own backyard."

The PRG claims in the same statement to defend the deformed workers states, including their development and testing of nuclear weapons. But, the PRG is quick to add: "We have no illusions in the corrupt, bureaucratic Stalinist regimes which rule in the deformed workers' states. Nuclear testing conducted by a Fidel Castro or a Deng Xiaoping is just as likely to disregard the needs of their own populations." First, the PRG, in their haste to distance themselves from their paper-thin "defence," have invented something



Peter Meecham

Scab-herding New Zealand cops assault waterfront workers at the Port of Lyttelton, June 1995.

that does not exist: Castro has no nukes; there used to be a Soviet nuclear shield covering Cuba, prior to the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR. Secondly, the PRG's statement was presumably music to the ears of the PRG's bloc partners, the Cliffite Socialist Workers Organisation, in "NON." While the PRG slaps the SWO's wrists over its grotesque call for the New Zealand government to *deploy Navy frigates to Mururoa against the French*, the PRG never tells its readers that it was working jointly with these "frigate mongers" in "NON" at the time.

Stack this up against the IBT's leaflet circulated in Britain and entitled "A

Watershed for Workers Power/LRCI capitulates to pro-imperialist sentiment over Bosnia" (September 1995) where in correctly comparing the NATO assault on the Bosnian Serbs to the imperialists' murderous Gulf War against Iraq, the IBT lecture: "Marxists defend any indigenous formations in semi-colonies against imperialism, no matter how reactionary their politics." In addition to its own deafening silence on the question of New Zealand troops in Bosnia, the PRG/IBT's record on the Gulf War reveals how bogus their "Marxist" posturing is.

Thus, PRGers informed us that during the Gulf War they were part of a coalition "against" the war, which they proudly announced to us they departed when their bloc partners made their pro-imperialist stance explicit by including support for the UN sanctions and imperialist starvation blockade of Iraq in the coalition platform. Furthermore, the PRG's public forum as advertised in *Campus Bolshevik* No.1 (March 1991) was titled "The Gulf Crisis: Blood for Oil!"—the standard slogan of the reformists and centrists who refused to fight for the *defeat of imperialism and the defence of Iraq*. It was the ICL which fought from the start for this elementary Leninist position. In stark contrast, the BT was so eager to be at one with the latter that in the Bay Area they even voted *against* adding the call to "end the blockade of Iraq" to such a coalition's list of demands. So much for their "anti-imperialism."

Not Simply One of the Swamp Things

The PRG's origins are in fact to be found in the Wellington swamp of

left social democracy. (We note its absence from Auckland—the large commercial, industrial and heavily Polynesian city of New Zealand—in favour of the university/parliament town of Wellington.) After laying low in New Zealand for a period of time following his expulsion from our international tendency, Logan emerged as a political activist in the Wellington gay-rights milieu and later began his foray into the New Zealand "far left." Forming a tendency within the Socialist Alliance grouping—whose newspaper's masthead carried the logo of the counter-revolutionary Polish *Solidarność* and which was composed of supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat and the Communist Left (then supporters of the British Revolutionary Communist Party)—in 1987 Logan's grouping pronounced itself a public tendency. Failed fusion discussions between the PRG and the Communist Left took place during 1988-89. The CL went on to join the right centrist Workers Power's LRCI (many of those same CL members have recently left the LRCI and are now constituted as the CWG). For its part, the PRG fused in May 1990 with the BT "on the basis of their essentially identical programme": virulent anti-Spartacism.

As we have no section in New Zealand, however, Logan's PRG has been cultivated in a specially strange way. Here you have a group now attached to the "IBT"—the IBT which since its inception has reviled virtually every major campaign of the ICL and whose whole profile is that of an organisation whose mission in life is to dirty our good name and seek to sterilise our efforts—most of whose members have had little or no contact with the ICL in their lives! This is, to say the least, not a normal basis for political existence as understood in the Marxist movement. Logan, meanwhile, has emerged as the leading light of the IBT and even their own squalid internal factional documents give evidence that he's up to his old tricks: what *does* go on in those three-day-long "communist criticism" sessions behind the doors of the PRG's Wellington headquarters? Surfing the internet, we came across a document by someone purporting to be a former member of Logan's group, entitled "Notes on Trotskyism as it is Played Out at the Far End of the Galaxy on Sheep Station Zero" (24 October). We have no knowledge about the bona fides of the author, but his lurid tales of doors being "secured" until the PRG's meetings were over, people being prevented from leaving the room during their "ComCrit" sessions and other "classic cult stuff" rang a bell distinctly reminiscent of the Logan that the ICL expelled as a necessary act of self-protection for our organisation and its individual members.

Whatever the PRG is, it has nothing to do with the revolutionary struggle for the smashing of racist capitalism and the construction of the socialist order. As we have warned of the IBT, including its New Zealand component: this is a political animal of a truly bizarre and dubious sort. *Caveat emptor!* ■

Spartacist Internal Discussion Bulletins "On the Logan Regime"

Bill Logan, now a leader of the International Bolshevik Tendency, was expelled in a unanimous vote by the delegates to our 1979 international conference for "crimes against communist morality and its substrate human decency." The following three internal discussion bulletins of the International Communist League (formerly international Spartacist tendency) contain documentation of the brutal and sadistic nature of Logan's regime:

On the Logan Regime, Part I:
"Run, run, run, run, run, run...chop." — January 1979, \$4.00

On the Logan Regime, Part II:
"What do you mean, overthrow?" — January 1979, \$4.00

On the Logan Regime, Part III:
The Dishonorable Schoolboy Sent Down — January 1979, \$4.00

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Renegades unite—
First conference of the "International Bolshevik Tendency."



**Only International Workers Revolution Can Save Humanity from Nuclear Annihilation!****Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Imperialist Carnage**

We print below an article by our comrades in the Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The hideous war crime of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki committed by the Washington imperialists—fully supported by their Canberra lackeys—was also the opening shot of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The “New World Disorder” ushered in by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state is marked by heightened inter-imperialist rivalries which threaten to plunge humanity into a thermo-nuclear holocaust, a third imperialist war. This threat will only be ended when the working class internationally divests the bosses of state power and establishes workers rule. Today, against the orgy of grotesque anti-French chauvinism and Australian nationalism unleashed by the bosses and their Labor servants in the wake of the Chirac government’s announcement of plans for nuclear testing in the Pacific, we assert that the main enemy of the workers and oppressed is the rapacious ruling class *here*. As servile partners of U.S. imperialism, the white Australian rulers have on their hands the blood of the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the heroic Korean and Vietnamese working masses, the workers and peasants of Indonesia, the peoples of the South Pacific—as well as that of the Aboriginal people, Asian immigrants and working masses “at home.” We oppose *all* imperialist militarism and demand the ouster of the U.S. bases. *The main enemy is at home!*

from Japanese Spartacist

Fifty years ago, on 6 August in Hiroshima and three days later on 9 August in Nagasaki, U.S. imperialism committed one of history’s greatest crimes—the nuclear bombing of two major Japanese cities. In a matter of seconds these two cities, one an industrial centre and the other a port city, were reduced to irradiated rubble, and an estimated 200,000 people were incinerated in a ruthless display of military might intended to intimidate the Soviet Union and proclaim to all the hegemony of arrogant U.S. imperialism in the postwar order. The bombs that obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, crude prototypes by today’s nuclear standards, are an ominous portent of what the next world war will bring.

Tens of millions died in the imperialist-created slaughterhouse called World War II that was fought, in the main, between competing ruling classes over the redistribution of markets. The world proletariat had no interest in which set of exploiters emerged victorious: the side of

the international working class in WWII was with the defence of the USSR, created by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and the uprisings in the colonies that sought to throw off the chains of imperialist subjugation.

The expectation of a postwar “American century” was short-lived: the Chinese Revolution and later America’s long, dirty war against Vietnam exploded U.S. imperialist triumphalism. Soon too the defeated imperialist powers Japan and Germany had rebuilt powerful capitalist economies, while the U.S. remained the unchallenged “world policeman,” borrowing and spending for armaments instead of industrial investment. Inter-imperialist rivalry was muted in the interests of Cold War unity against the USSR and all the deformed workers states. Today, the collapse of Stalinism, quickly ushering in capitalist counter-revolutions in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, has created the “new world disorder”: the intensification of trade rivalries and interimperialist conflict is already laying the basis for another global conflagration.

Nuclear Nightmare

On the morning of 6 August 1945, in a matter of seconds, Hiroshima was transformed from a thriving urban centre to a killing field of unimaginable proportions. An eyewitness survivor described the horror: “With a violent flash that ripped the sky apart and a thunderous sound that shook the earth to its foundation, Hiroshima was pounded to the ground in an instant. Then, from where a whole city once was, a huge column of fire bounded straight up toward heaven.... The dead and wounded lay fallen, piled up, everywhere; the carnage was like a scene in hell. Then, fires broke out all over and soon merged into a huge conflagration.... As a fierce whirlwind blew, half-naked and stark naked bodies, darkly soiled and covered with blood, began moving.... One after another fell down and died” (*Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi*, “Record of the Hiroshima A-Bomb War Disaster”).

Ground Zero in Nagasaki was the Urakami District, a valley that was home to Nagasaki’s main residential communities, schools, churches and factories. Compared to Hiroshima, the blast damage was even more severe. Forty percent of all buildings were destroyed and 6.7 square kilometres of the city were completely demolished and reduced to rubble. According to one eyewitness, “fires erupted all at once over a huge area, and burned furiously until, all at

**広島、長崎と
帝国主義の大虐殺**

アメリカの原爆投下がソ連を威嚇するため日本の民間人を焼き殺すなか、1945年8月6日の広島は、市民の最初の犠牲者となった。

国際的な労働者革命のみが、核による
滅亡から人類を救出することができる!

¥100
スパルタシスト

1995年8月
No. 17
労働組合員
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Japanese Spartacist (No. 17, August 1995) cover dramatically portrays Hiroshima, 6 August 1945: imperialist war crime which incinerated Japanese civilians; opening shot of the Cold War against the USSR.

once, the huge conflagration died down. For a while, the whole earth was roaring and belching fire” (Juji Takatani, *Bakushin no Oka ni te*, “On a Hill Near Ground Zero”).

In a 22 August 1945 public speech, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon delivered a stinging indictment of this conscious, murderous act:

“What a commentary on the real nature of capitalism in its decadent phase is this, that the scientific conquest of the marvelous secret of atomic energy, which might rationally be used to lighten the burdens of all mankind, is employed first for the wholesale destruction of half a million people.”

In both cities a fireball with a diameter of about 30 metres and a temperature of approximately 300,000 degrees Centigrade was formed one ten-thousandth of a second after the explosion. The fireball expanded and reached its maximum size one second following explosion. Thirty minutes later, moisture condensed on rising ash and dust, and came down as “black rain,” laden with atomic fallout, to contaminate food and drinking water. Fifteen percent of the energy from an atomic bomb is released in the form of radiation, and approximately 20 percent of the deaths in both cities were attributed to initial exposure to gamma rays and neutrons emitted within one minute of the explosion. Half of the *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) were marked for

life with keloid scars, the result of thermal radiation burns. They suffered from massive bleeding, lowered white-cell and platelet counts, leukemia and multiple myeloma, cancers of the thyroid, breast, lungs and salivary glands. Delayed growth and congenital malformations such as microcephaly (an abnormally small head, often accompanied by mental retardation) appeared among thousands of children exposed to radiation *in utero*. The after-effects of this nuclear nightmare continue to affect the survivors and their descendants from these two devastated cities.

WWII, Imperialist Savagery and Racism

While Hiroshima and Nagasaki stagger the imagination with imperialism’s capacity to inflict death and destruction upon the world’s innocent civilians, this savage war crime expresses the logic of 20th century imperialist war. World War I inflicted massive casualty rates in the trenches that shocked the world, but World War II technologically extended this wholesale destruction of human life to the civilian population of most of the combatant nations. This imperialist savagery was especially directed against the degenerated workers state in the USSR, where over 20 million lives were lost, and

continued on page 10

Hiroshima...

(continued from page 9)

pre-revolutionary colonial China, where Japanese imperialism slaughtered millions upon millions.

WWII in the Pacific, fought over which competing imperialist power would rape China, was also fueled by the U.S. bourgeoisie's deep-seated anti-Asian racism. Using the attack on Pearl Harbour as a rallying cry to whip the American population into a war fever, American war propaganda continually depicted their Japanese adversaries as "sneak attackers," and the most common epithet for the Japanese was "yellow monkeys," portraying them as animals with no inherent right to exist. Anti-Asian "yellow peril" racism in the U.S. has a long history, going back over a century to the anti-Chinese exclusion laws. Shortly after Pearl Harbour, nearly the entire West Coast Japanese population was rounded up and carted off to barren concentration camps, while their homes, shops and farms were confiscated. Ernie Pyle, a famous American WWII GI reporter, described this racist attitude when he transferred from Europe to the Pacific in 1945: "In Europe we felt that our enemies, horrible and deadly as they were, were still people.... But out here I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman and repulsive; the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice." This racist disdain was warmly reciprocated by the Japanese army officer corps.

American racism was perfectly mirrored in the war propaganda of the right-wing militarist regime in Japan. The press was a barrage of anti-scientific Japanese chauvinist garbage, from the grossly anti-Semitic cartoons—borrowed from Hitler's Nazis, with whom Japan was allied—and other racist crap aimed against the Americans. Government propaganda trumpeted endless mystical-fascistic "eugenic" and "cultural" glorifications of Japan's "destiny" to dominate the other peoples of Asia. Even today this racist government refuses to acknowledge the thousands of Korean forced labourers who also died in these atomic blasts, and forbids memorials to these victims inside the official "Peace Parks."

Japan's debilitating 1943 naval defeat at Midway determined the eventual outcome of the war, but the American ruling class consciously planned not merely to defeat Japan but to inflict genocidal mass murder. By 1945, with Japan's military defeated and in disarray, the U.S. military continually flew murderous incendiary bombing raids on the Japanese civilian population centres: by August 1945, 58 Japanese cities had been levelled by intensive U.S. bombing. A concentrated March 1945 air raid on Tokyo in one day inflicted 100,000 deaths and burnt to the ground major portions of Japan's capital. By 1945 the bombing tonnage delivered by the mass-produced B-29s employed in the Pacific theatre had surpassed the savage bombing carried out in Europe.

This imperialist savagery reached its apex with the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a ghastly blood-letting driven by racist spite, since the

defeated Japanese bourgeoisie had been actively seeking a peace settlement weeks before the B-29s flew their nuclear sorties. Martin Sherwin makes the point that in doing research for *The World Destroyed—The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*, he never found a document where Germany was mentioned as a potential nuclear target. It was U.S. government policy to drop the bombs without prior warning to "make a profound psychological impression," to target an area with a "war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses," an area undamaged by conventional bombing so the bomb's effects could be accurately measured. Both Hiroshima and Nagasaki met this criteria.

U.S. president Harry Truman, upon receiving the news that Hiroshima had been levelled, exulted that "This is the greatest thing in history!" and gloated: "With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces.... We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely...." U.S. imperialism used these nuclear weapons for both racist and political reasons. *Workers Vanguard*, published by our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S., wrote 15 years ago: "With racist calculation the already defeated Japanese were chosen as the human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the USSR—that the USA will stop at *nothing* to maintain world dominion."

The Japanese bourgeoisie's racism and chauvinism was brutally evident everywhere. Castigating their imperialist opponents as cowards, mongrels, beasts and hairy barbarians, Japanese officers routinely ordered the execution of American and British prisoners, rationalising that only cowards who deserved to die would surrender. But the chauvinist and genocidal frenzy of Japanese imperialism was mainly unleashed on the masses throughout Asia whom the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was designed to conquer. While claiming they were fighting a war of liberation to free Asia from Western and white colonial domination, the new Yamato masters of East Asia imposed their own style of imperialist exploitation that proved just as vicious and oppressive as the former British, Dutch and American overlords.

Japanese imperialism's racist atrocities were especially directed against the Chinese, both in mainland China and among the overseas Chinese populations throughout East Asia. Newly commissioned Japanese officers were often tested for combat readiness and *samurai* spirit by being ordered to behead bound and emaciated Chinese prisoners. Infantrymen learned bayonet techniques on live Chinese POWs. The viciousness of Japanese occupation policies in Asia was vividly demonstrated by the Guangdong (Kwantung) Army's massacre, rape and torture of unarmed civilians after the fall of Nanjing (Nanking) in December 1937. Japanese politicians today cringe at the mention of Nanjing and some recalcitrant conservative politicians have denied that these events took place. Right-wing bigot Shintaro Ishihara, in 1990, stated that this was a Chinese "lie"

Australian Imperialism, junior partner of Washington, mobilised for dirty, losing colonial war against revolutionary Vietnamese workers and peasants.



Australian War Museum

used to tarnish Japan's image. But in Nanjing, from mid-December 1937 to the end of January 1938, a million Imperial Japanese Army troops embarked on a killing spree, massacring more than 340,000 Chinese. Beheadings, live burials, impaling with swords and bayonets, disembowelling and castration were carried out on a mass scale. More than 20,000 women were raped and murdered. Between the air raids and the ground war, one-third of the city was completely destroyed.

But Nanjing was hardly an isolated incident as Japanese imperialism's genocidal war against China was systematically pursued. The infamous Unit 731 was given the task of developing biological warfare agents to widen the massacre of Chinese people and, like the Nazi scientists of death in Europe, carried out heinous medical experiments on defenceless prisoners. Augmenting Japanese imperialism's killing machines was the use of forced labourers throughout the newly "liberated" Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and the Japanese homeland, with astronomically high fatality rates. The seizure of Asian women to serve as "comfort women," the *ianfu*, was widespread and systematic. These women were forced into sexual slavery to service the Japanese Army in the field, from Manchuria to Indonesia (see Japanese *Spartacist* No. 13, September 1992, and *Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer-Autumn 1992, "Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women"). A large percentage of forced labourers and *ianfu* were taken from Korea, then a Japanese colony since 1910. Dozens of slave labour camps were built throughout China in a program reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Forced labourers worked in coal mines for 16 hours a day, subsisting on a starvation diet, penned in with electrified barbed wire fences, and fed opium to make them "less conscious of exhaustion, hunger and pain, allowing them to work much like robots" (*Korea Times*, 15 July 1993).

This is the real legacy of the Second World War: imperialist carnage. Nanjing, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chilling examples of the slaughter and devastation that will be repeated in a coming war if the imperialist bourgeoisie is not overthrown by proletarian socialist revolution.

Revolutionary Opposition to Imperialist War

During WWII the American and Japanese social democrats supported their own bourgeoisies while the Stalinist parties, following their line of "anti-fascist" class collaboration, took the side of the "democratic" Allies. It was only Trotsky's Fourth International, founded in 1938, that stood on Lenin's 1914 position of revolutionary defeatism on all sides of the imperialist conflict, and fought for unconditional military defence of the USSR against German imperialism, and for victory of all anti-colonial struggles. The FI fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist

bureaucracy which undermined the defence of the USSR and imperilled the remaining gains of the October Revolution, and for world socialist revolution to break the imperialist encirclement of the USSR. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) of today stands on the shoulders of the Fourth International and the then-revolutionary American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who opposed U.S. imperialism during WWII and immediately denounced the criminal nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. We also honour the heroic Soviet spies, the "Red Orchestra" network of Leopold Trepper, which operated in Nazi-occupied Europe, and Richard Sorge and Hotsumi Ozaki, who were executed by Japanese imperialism on 7 November 1944 for their courageous defence of the USSR. (See Japanese *Spartacist* pamphlet, "All Honour to Richard Sorge and Hotsumi Ozaki!", November 1994, reprinted in English in *ASp* Nos. 155 and 156.)

In May 1940 an emergency conference of the Fourth International was held, and its main document, written by Leon Trotsky, on "Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," concluded:

"At the same time we do not forget for a moment that this war is not our war. In contradistinction to the Second and Third Internationals, the Fourth International builds its policy not on the military fortunes of the capitalist states but on the transformation of the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the capitalists, on the overthrow of the ruling classes of all countries, on the world socialist revolution...."

"Independently of the course of the war, we fulfill our basic task: we explain to the workers the irreconcilability between their interests and the interests of bloodthirsty capitalism; we mobilize the toilers against imperialism; we propagate the unity of the workers in all warring and neutral countries; we call for the fraternization of workers and soldiers within each country, and of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battle front; we mobilize the women and youth against the war; we carry on constant, persistent, tireless preparation for the revolution—in the factories, in the mills, in the villages, in the barracks, at the front, and in the fleet.

"This is our program. Proletarians of the world, there is no other way out except to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!"

During WWII, most of the leading European Trotskyist cadres were physically destroyed by Nazi anti-communist terror or murdered at the hands of the Stalinists. In the USSR itself, the Left Opposition had been mercilessly exterminated by Stalin's purges. Trotskyists in Asia, primarily the Communist League of China led by Chen Duxiu (Tu-hsiu), were driven underground by imperialist occupation and comprador bourgeois white terror. This placed a great responsibility on the American Trotskyists to uphold the banner of the Fourth International and fight against the imperialist war.

The SWP's courageous internationalist stand against imperialist war ran afoul of

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

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the liberal Democratic Party "New Deal" Roosevelt administration. The day after Pearl Harbour, 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters union, who had led a series of victorious strikes to unionise the Minneapolis truckers and Midwest "over the road" drivers, were sent to prison for their revolutionary opposition to WWII. SWP leader James P. Cannon commented at the time: "Nothing could better symbolize our irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, and to the capitalist state preparing and waging the war; and nothing, also, could better symbolize our enemies' recognition of our attitude than this unexpungeable fact: that they declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison on the same day and at the same hour—December 8, 1941" ("The Workers and the Second World War," October 1942).

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism During World War II

During the war the SWP remained true to its revolutionary internationalist banners, upholding the principle of revolutionary defeatism. Among the workers organisations, it was only the SWP that denounced the racist West Coast round-up and incarceration of the Japanese American population. Carrying out its pledge to pursue the class struggle during the war, the SWP supported the coal miners' wartime strikes against the coal bosses, and championed the fight of black soldiers against the hellish Jim Crow segregation within the army. American Trotskyists fought against the no-strike deals and voluntary overtime schemes pushed by the social-patriotic Stalinists and social democrats to support the Roosevelt government. And honouring its pledge to defend the USSR against imperialist attack, SWP merchant seamen risked their lives to sail the dangerous Murmansk run to bring urgently needed war supplies to the USSR during the life-and-death struggle against Hitler's attempt to destroy the homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In Europe and Asia the Trotskyist movement fought, against incredible odds, to oppose their own bourgeoisies and forge links between the workers of the warring nations. Trotskyists in Europe distributed revolutionary and antiwar literature, and built a clandestine communist cell within the German armed forces at Brest in France. Within the resistance movements in the Nazi-occupied areas, the Trotskyists opposed the nationalist and anti-German chauvinist stance of the Stalinists and fought for fraternisation with German soldiers. In the Warsaw ghetto the Trotskyist newspaper *Czerwony Sztandar* ("Red Flag") was published. In Asia, the Chinese Trotskyists centred their activities among the urban proletariat long after Mao Zedong (Tse-tung) marched into the countryside. Trotskyists participated in the "Quit India" movement that opposed British colonial control of the subcontinent. The Vietnamese Trotskyists led the 1945 Saigon workers' uprising that fought against the entry of French and British imperialist troops sent to re-establish colonial rule, while the Stalinists welcomed these "democratic forces" with open arms. The American CP was so craven in its support for U.S. imperialism that they even hailed the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution had electrified the labour and radical movements all over the world. The unprecedented carnage of world war produced revolutionary ferment worldwide, and in Russia the proletariat took state power, breaking the imperialist chain at its weakest link. The new Third International, founded by the Bolsheviks for the purpose of extending revolution especially to the advanced capitalist nations, regrouped behind the banner of Communism not only the left wing of the reformist Socialist parties and revolutionary syndicalists in Europe and America, but also the advanced layers of the proletariat in the backward countries, as

well as the best elements of the anti-colonial movements, emancipated women, etc.

But Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union—as mouthpiece and policeman for a nascent privileged bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the proletariat and articulated its own conservative program, the anti-revolutionary theory of "socialism in one country"—destroyed the Comintern as an instrument of world revolution. By the late 1920s, the Communist parties throughout the world were Stalinised parties which looked not toward defending the USSR by extending the revolution internationally, but toward achieving an illusory detente with imperialism. Stalinisation of the Comintern was facilitated by the presence within its sections of many former Socialist leaders who had changed their allegiances but not their opportunism, but at bottom it expressed the same factors that produced a bureaucracy in Russia: the ebbing of the immediate revolutionary wave and the prospect of continued isolation of the Soviet Union, encircled by hostile capitalist powers and the unremitting pressure of the imperialist world market.

The Stalinist parasites perverted Lenin's internationalist program into its antithesis (and physically eliminated the Old Bolsheviks themselves). But Stalin's Comintern continued to be identified with the tremendous authority of the Russian Revolution. This made the CPs a more effective instrument for betrayal of new revolutionary opportunities than the openly social-patriotic parties of the social-democratic Second International. The years immediately after WWII were laden with revolutionary opportunities, but the key and decisive instrument necessary for a socialist revolution—Leninist leadership—was either too small or missing altogether. The Stalinists' support of the "democratic" imperialists during the war led them to disarm the European resistance movements right after the war, to prevent a struggle for proletarian power, to break the militant Vietnamese workers' uprising, and to murder the Trotskyists fighting against Allied imperialism in Greece and Vietnam.

The decisive lack of authentic revolutionary leadership allowed the Stalinist Japanese Communist Party (JCP) to also derail the 1945-47 postwar strike wave when the working class, who bore the brunt of the misery and near-starvation conditions created by the war, could have overthrown its despicable ruling class. As Japan's imminent defeat became more and more obvious to the home population, the seeds of revolution began to sprout. The captive Korean population began its fight for freedom by engaging in sabotage of war production inside Japanese factories—a recent magazine article lists 445 separate incidents involving over 78,000 Korean workers. By the end of the war the conscripted soldiers of the Imperial Army, who had been sacrificed by the tens of thousands, no longer believed they should die for the Empire. Takeo Yamauchi, a former platoon leader who surrendered to the U.S. following the Battle of Saipan in 1944, captured this mood in a recent interview: "I was determined to survive at any cost because I was convinced that a revolution would be born out of Japan's defeat. I did not want to die without participating in it" (*Japan Times*, 13 August 1992).

Japanese imperialism's defeat led to a potentially pre-revolutionary situation, but the Japanese Stalinists, respected for their opposition to the war, remained wedded to the Stalinist line of class collaboration. JCP leader Kyuichi Tokuda, when released from prison, hailed the occupying American army as liberators who would bring a new era of democratic revolution by overthrowing the emperor system and creating a "People's Republic." American imperialism had no such intentions, and consciously propped up Hirohito and materially aided the Japanese bourgeoisie's fight against the insurgent proletariat. The growing strike

wave, the unprecedented leaps in industrial union organisation and the factory occupations came to a head in the proposed 1 February 1947 general strike. The Japanese bourgeoisie, demoralised and losing their confidence to rule, was rescued by Douglas MacArthur, American commander of the Allied occupation, who banned the general strike, and by the JCP leadership, who called it off at the eleventh hour. This was a historic betrayal of the Japanese workers.

In the U.S. the American Communist Party (CP) sought to continue the no-strike bans, even after the war was over, naively believing that the ostensible "friendship" between U.S. imperialism and the USSR would continue indefinitely. During the 1945-46 American postwar strike wave, involving over five million workers who were demanding big pay raises after more than four years of "patriotic" austerity, the CP helped the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats atomise and suppress the workers' social power. The Stalinists played a key role, as they did before the war, in shackling the unions to the Democratic Party politically, a subordination to the class enemy that continues today. In the absence of a mass revolutionary leadership of the working class the postwar strikes won significant gains but the subsequent anti-communist "red" purges in the unions expelled militant leaders and solidified a reactionary union bureaucracy of anti-Soviet Cold Warriors. In Japan, where the opportunities were greater, the JCP's conscious betrayal in February 1947 ensured the dominance of MacArthur's occupation forces, propped up the reactionary Yoshida government and re-stabilised capitalism and the emperor system.

Trade Wars and Imperialist War in the Pacific

With the demise of the USSR and Eastern European deformed workers states, the inter-imperialist intersection of interests based on anti-Sovietism that existed during the post-WWII Cold War period has come unglued. Today's "New World Order" is one of trade blocs, with a U.S.-dominated Western Hemisphere, a German-dominated Europe, and Japanese and American imperialism vying for economic predominance in East Asia. Trade wars are unavoidable and, as demonstrated by the history of world capitalism, are an inherent and insoluble component of the irrational capitalist economic system. In the 20th century these contradictions have produced two ghastly world wars; for the American and Japanese proletariat, the only way to prevent a new Pacific War is to overthrow, by socialist revolution, the imperialist rulers.

Today Europe, especially with the fratricidal war in the former Yugoslavia, is looking more and more like the pre-1914 period, and in the Pacific there are echoes of the intense pre-war 1930s inter-imperialist trade rivalries over Asian markets, mainly China. The recent decision by the Clinton government to announce a 100 percent tariff on imported Japanese luxury cars, which could deny Japan \$6 billion (¥510 billion) worth of exports, has inflamed the escalating U.S.-Japan showdown.

Reflecting the longstanding U.S. government budget and trade deficits, now swollen to more than \$2 trillion, and accelerated by the Mexican peso crisis, the dollar is now in a free-fall devaluation against the Japanese yen and German D-mark. In the last decade, the yen has tripled in value against the dollar. The Clinton government is enjoying the competitive devaluation which has had an effect similar to outright protectionist measures: American goods are cheaper in Japan and Japanese goods are more expensive in the U.S. But this is only temporary. In the long run U.S. imperialism can only overcome its lack of competitiveness by military means, beginning with the mass slaughter of Iraqis in an attempt to control the world's oil resources.

Japan is taking a hard line against Clinton's new trade war which has salted the wounds created by the rapid appreciation of the yen. The falling dollar is creating havoc in the Japanese economy, dependent on its huge and favorable trade surplus to pay for energy and raw material imports, especially oil, that are vital to production. Industry is being squeezed by a deflationary crisis which is prompting cost-cutting and pushing Japanese production overseas, mainly to low-wage Asian countries. Japan would like to create its own trading bloc, a new Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, but this increased investment in Asia puts it, once again, on a collision course with U.S. imperialism. To finance their trade wars and prepare for the inevitable military confrontation, both U.S. and Japanese imperialism must intensify the exploitation of the working class to finance increased military spending, and ready their institutions of state repression to crush any opposition to their imperialist designs.

The deindustrialisation of America, along with the bipartisan attacks on unions and the poor, has driven the working class's standard of living down by about 20 percent. Clinton and opposition leader Newt Gingrich are dismantling or gutting nearly every social

continued on page 12

RALLY!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

11am, Sat. 12 August

Sydney: Town Hall Melbourne: G.P.O.



Partial list of endorsers: Indigenous Students Association (UNSW), Left Alliance, NSW Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance, Spartacist League, Students' Association of Sydney College of the Arts, Sydney University SRC, UTS Student Association.

Initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. For further information phone: Sydney (02) 281 2181, Melbourne (03) 9654 4315.

Hiroshima...

(continued from page 11)

program that has existed since the "New Deal" 1930s. While they are taking away school lunches for children, they are raising federal and state budgets for cops and prisons. For blacks, written off as an expendable surplus population, and other minorities, the U.S. is a racist and segregated hellhole patrolled by sadistic and trigger-happy cops, like the ones that nearly beat Rodney King to death in front of a video camera. Virtually every gain of the civil rights movement has been wiped out, abortion rights are the target of politicians and right-wing terrorists alike, and the rate of incarceration is the highest in the world, as jail is increasingly the system's only answer to the plight of a generation of minority youth who have been thrown on the economic scrap heap. The hideous bombing of innocent people in Oklahoma City by ultra-racist rightists is seized on as a further excuse to fuel the drive toward government bonapartism and the rollback of basic civil liberties. This is a harbinger of what Japanese capitalism intends to do to its working people using the excuse of the Aum poison-gas atrocity. The official racist policies of the American government are underscored by the expanded use of the barbaric death penalty and symbolised by the signing of a death warrant for black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose execution is set for 17 August.

Japan Inc. has also tightened the thumbscrews of capitalist exploitation. Through a combination of ever tinier pay raises and reduction of paid overtime, along with layoffs, bankruptcies and plant closures, the real wages of Japanese workers are now falling. The official unemployment rate, in the land of "guaranteed lifetime employment," has now reached the highest level in recorded postwar history. The bursting of the economic bubble and the undoing of the short-lived recovery due to the yen's rapid appreciation has hit women and immigrant workers the hardest. Japanese government bureaucrats seek to reverse the declining birthrate by driving women out of the workplace and restricting their access to higher education. The economic recession has also unleashed an avalanche of xenophobic state repression against immigrant labourers. The bourgeoisie is incensed that these workers are doing menial jobs in Tokyo or Osaka when they should be back home building Toyotas for a fraction of their Japanese wages. The recent Hosokawa right-wing popular-front government and "Socialist" Murayama, Japan Socialist Party (JSP) front man for Liberal Democratic Party rule, have overseen these austerity measures. It is noteworthy that Japan and the U.S., these two imperialist combatants for hegemony of the Pacific, are also the only two modern industrial societies that still use the death penalty to repress their own populations.

War of Words

The growth of U.S.-Japan inter-imperialist rivalry has also seen a no-holds-barred escalation on the propaganda front, centring on the 50th anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Japan and Tokyo's surrender, as each ruling class attempts to inject its population with a dose of nationalist and chauvinist hatred for the other. The opening shots were fired with the U.S. anti-Japanese media blitz in late 1991, 50 years after Pearl Harbour, which once again depicted the Japanese as an immoral and unscrupulous race that, without warning, engaged in a "sneak attack." Tokyo responded by issuing clear and unambiguous instructions to the Emperor, who was visiting Hawaii at the time: no apology for Pearl Harbour!

As the 50th anniversary of the gruesome nuclear bombings grew nearer, the propaganda assaults on both sides became more nasty. In 1994 the U.S.

Postal Service announced plans to issue a "commemorative" stamp depicting an atomic explosion against a red sky with a caption: "Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945." The stamp was never issued, but later the Smithsonian Institute was forced to cancel an exhibition on Hiroshima billed as a "re-examination" of the "conventional [American] understanding" of the Pacific War with Japan. An outpouring of right-wing flag-waving denounced the exhibit as "unbalanced" because it depicted the suffering of Japanese civilians. Clinton summarised American imperialism's arrogant dismissal of its war crimes by flatly stating in April 1995 that the U.S. had no reason to apologise for dropping the bombs.

Japan is having a much harder time, as it hardly wants to commemorate its defeat. The three-party ruling coalition government agonised for months over the wording of a compromise Diet resolution that expressed "remorse" but didn't apologise. This dispute was nothing more than a tactical difference within the ruling

Japan in the 1930s. World War II in the Pacific was preceded by the erection of trade barriers that impelled Japan to turn to colonial conquest, as it couldn't survive then—and can't survive today—solely within its national boundaries. Western imperialism placed an embargo on scrap steel slated for Japanese industry and, in the months preceding Pearl Harbour, cut off Japan's oil imports. Fifty years later Japan is just as vulnerable to economic strangulation by having its raw material and energy supplies, especially oil, cut off through economic or military means. Protectionism is trade war and can lead only to imperialist war.

The proletarian vanguard must especially fight against protectionist poison within the working class. In the U.S. the racist AFL-CIO union bureaucracy continually waves the American flag, supports anti-Japanese trade actions and stages stunts like destroying Toyotas with sledgehammers in union parking lots. The strike by



Saigon, 21 August 1945: Vietnamese Trotskyist contingent in mass demonstration against return of French imperialism. Stalinists joined with French rulers to crush Trotskyist-led Saigon workers uprising.

class over how to reassert its desired dominance of Asia. Liberal opinion, led by the social democrats who wanted an outright apology, thought a soft line would open up more investment doors than their previous unsuccessful attempt to control East Asia by bayonet. But a quite sizable hard-line opposition emerged that vowed to vote against any kind of apology, while regurgitating the lie that Japan fought to liberate Asia from white colonial rule. More denials of the Nanjing massacre surfaced, and former foreign minister Michio Watanabe sparked another embarrassing brouhaha for Japan by stating that the 1910 occupation of Korea was "peaceful and legal." The compromise resolution expressing "remorse" was passed by the Diet on 9 June, but the Ozawa-led *Shinshinto* bourgeois opposition, comprising 171 Diet members, boycotted the vote. In our pamphlet last year on the heroic Soviet spies Sorge and Ozaki, we addressed this question:

"The Japanese proletariat's response should be to neither ask for nor accept an apology from this ruling class. We need a revolutionary workers party that will sweep the rapists of Nanjing into the dustbin of history, and extend proletarian internationalism and material aid to Japanese imperialism's victims, not under the exploitative and racist *hinomaru* but under the red flag of a Japanese workers republic."

—"All Honour to Richard Sorge and Hotsumi Ozaki!" November 1994, reprinted in English in *ASp* No. 155.

The bourgeoisie's war of words is the language of trade war, and Clinton's threat to impose a punitive tariff on Japanese cars together with the dollar's remarkable slide is reminiscent of the "get tough" protectionist measures U.S. and British imperialism used against

members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) against the Japanese-owned Bridgestone/Firestone tyre manufacturers' American facilities was defeated in May 1995, as the workers' militancy and social power were diverted by the URW leadership into racist anti-Japanese appeals to the Clinton government to intervene against Bridgestone. This protectionist poison is directly counterposed to the urgent appeals that should have been made to unite Bridgestone workers in both Japan and the U.S. in a fight against their common exploiter.

This suicidal strategy is also put forward by the union bureaucracy here. *Rengo* (the eight-million-strong trade union federation) recently marched against the rise of the yen, and the JCP, like most of the left, supports agricultural protectionism, denounces foreign rice as "unclean" and leads reactionary mobilisations of rural tractors on the streets of Tokyo. The right-wing Hosokawa popular-front government, whose job it was to impose austerity measures on the Japanese working class, put the social democratic JSP in charge of the police to ensure there would be no union resistance. These "socialist" misleaders, who point the finger of blame across the Pacific at their own bourgeoisie's imperialist rival, are helping prepare the working class to support another world war. These social patriots must be swept away along with the ruling classes they so faithfully serve.

The Main Enemy Is At Home

War is the mother of revolution, and time and again history has proved this Marxist adage correct. World War I led directly to the October Revolution in

Russia, but the numerous revolutionary opportunities that existed at the close of WWII were defeated only by the crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership. But Hiroshima and Nagasaki now foreshadow the terrible possibility that in a third world war—given the longstanding nuclear capacity of U.S. imperialism and the ability and desire of the Japanese ruling class to produce and deliver (the H-2 rocket) their own nuclear weapons—civilisation as we know it could be destroyed. The urgent task of the proletariat now is to overthrow the nuclear madmen in Washington and their counterparts in Tokyo *before* they can inflict a nuclear holocaust on mankind.

We, the ICL, like the Trotskyists of the WWII era, also face tremendous odds and our forces are still small and weak. But we share the revolutionary optimism of the earlier generation of Trotskyist internationalists, and we draw inspiration and historical lessons from their courageous example. The founding Trotskyist cadres, above ground and underground, from Hitler's concentration camps, Roosevelt's prisons and Stalin's gulags, fought for mankind's socialist future, not because they carefully weighed the chances of success or failure, but because it was the only recourse the working class has ever had. Today most of the left is disoriented and demoralised by the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR, and have been taken in by the bourgeoisie's triumphalist "death of communism" propaganda. We, on the contrary, understand that these events are the most powerful vindication of Trotsky's analysis that the Stalinist perversion of Leninism was leading the USSR straight to disaster, and of his program of workers political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers and return the Soviet Union to its founding principles of workers democratic rule and proletarian internationalism.

The working class has suffered a historic setback with the destruction of the USSR. The remaining deformed workers states, China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, are under tremendous imperialist pressure to open their economies to their former colonial rulers, the imperialist exploiters. These workers states can only survive if the Stalinist bureaucracies, who are paving the way for internal capitalist counterrevolution, are ousted through proletarian political revolution, and if socialist revolution triumphs in the imperialist centres. Mankind's future will be determined by whether the proletariat can stop the imperialists, who are squaring off for another war to redivide the world's markets. During the Cold War period the USSR's arsenal of nuclear weapons stayed the hand of bloody imperialism, and the heroic victory of the Vietnamese in defeating U.S. imperialism bought us time. But that was yesterday, and today we face a new and much more dangerous situation. The American SWP faced an analogous period at the end of WWII and their response to the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki also describes the situation we face today:

"Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny into their own hands. The fight for socialism is now more than a fight to end poverty and inequality, to abolish the exploitation of man by man. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race. Mankind must now exterminate the capitalist system—or be exterminated!"
—*Militant*, 18 August 1945

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スバルタシスト

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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

In Wake of Anti-French Chauvinist Hysteria:

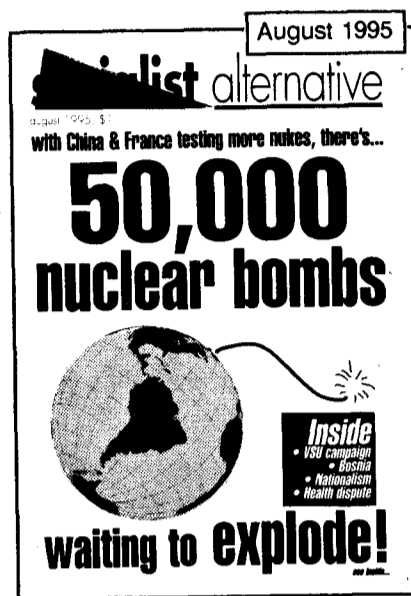
“New World Order Socialists” Target China

During the recent orgy of Australian nationalism and anti-French chauvinism whipped up over French nuclear testing in the Pacific, and soon after the U.S. Clinton administration's latest bout of sabre-rattling against North Korea's nuclear sites, strident calls have as well been raised against the nuclear tests conducted by China in May and August. Such attacks on the Chinese deformed workers state's nuclear capacity complement the imperialists' drive to subvert the planned, collectivised economy of China and to restore that vast land to untrammelled capitalist exploitation, i.e., to the degradation and immiseration of its many-millioned proletariat and toiling masses.

In the context of heightened inter-imperialist rivalries which mark the New World Disorder, the U.S. and Japanese rulers are increasingly squared off over who will be the first in the rape of the Chinese deformed workers state: the last time these powers competed for China, the result was the extension of World War II to the Pacific. Jackal Australian imperialism, and the Labor government which serves it so faithfully, slavers over market opportunities in China and has counselled its Washington big brother to take a more “softly, softly” approach to “human rights” issues and trade disputes, the better to compete for the spoils. In August, massive, rabid, flag-waving “celebrations” over the defeat of Japan in World War II underscored Canberra's loyalties.

While running point for U.S. imperialism's strategy for counterrevolution “on the installment plan” in China, the Labor government is also vehemently hostile to and fearful of the deformed workers state's military weight in the region. An article in the *Australian* (29 September) summarised Keating & Co.'s particular “issues” against China, including “Beijing's ambitions and military posturing on the Spratly Islands; China's missile launches off the north coast of Taiwan;...The continued nuclear test program; China's role in selling advanced weapons technology to potential nuclear States in the Middle East and South Asia” and noted: “A series of remarks by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, indicating he sees China as the chief emerging threat to the region and that he wants to promote South-East Asian solidarity to check potential Chinese assertiveness.” Canberra meanwhile continues to provide a strategic Pacific post for the Washington nuclear madmen's global network of destruction from the U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar. And in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union—which had been the industrial and military powerhouse of the non-capitalist world—the Pentagon's nukes are aimed at, among others, China. We say: *U.S. bases out! Smash the Australia/U.S. alliance!*

For decades, the Soviet nuclear arsenal prevented U.S. imperialism and its allies from turning China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba into mounds of irradiated rubble. Now, as they are ever more under the imperialist gun and the threat of internal counterrevolution, the internationalist task of defending these states is posed point-blank. The Spartacist League of Australia unconditionally defends the Chinese deformed workers state and the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Upholding the right of the Chinese state to defend itself against imperialist powers armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons, including by developing and testing its



Papers of Socialist Alternative, Democratic Socialist Party and Socialist Labour League howl along with ALP tops and bourgeoisie in hostility to China's right to defend itself against nuclear-armed imperialist powers.

own nuclear weapons, is an obligation of the world working class. Our unconditional military defence goes hand in hand with the call for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy whose policies have brought China to the brink of counterrevolution; such a struggle by the Chinese workers in defence of the gains of their revolution would provide a tremendous impetus to and must be linked with proletarian struggles in South Korea, Australia, Indonesia and especially in imperialist Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

More overtly bellicose against China over the recent nuclear tests than Keating's Labor government, however, has been an unholy alliance of right-wing Opposition spokesmen, nationalist trade-union bureaucrats such as ACTU honcho Bill Kelty and virtually the entire fake left. Just as the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), the recent split therefrom, Socialist Alternative (SA) and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) threw themselves headlong into building the most rabid “French out of our backyard” national-unity mobilisations, these “new world order socialists” have loudly denounced Chinese nuclear testing. Just as these “left” chauvinists urged the Australian bourgeoisie to get tougher in driving their rivals, French imperialism, from the Pacific, so now they echo the bourgeoisie's desire to profit from the disarming and ultimately the destruction of the Chinese deformed workers state.

In addition to rank anti-communism, the fake left are imbibing in the worst “traditions” of White Australia nationalism and xenophobic fears of the “threat from the North.” These “left” Laborite nationalists are running point for their “own” bourgeoisie's strategic interests in the region: doing their bit to channel vague anti-nuclear sentiment, flag-waving anti-French—and anti-Japanese—chauvinism against the gains of the Chinese Revolution. They are in fact serving to line up the youth and workers for the imperialists' hoped-for *coup de grace* against China.

The DSP's *Green Left Weekly* (GLW, 23 August) bluntly headlined its editorial “Stop Chinese nuclear tests” and stated: “The testing of a nuclear bomb by the Chinese government on May 15 and August 17

is a stupid and reactionary step, one which is dangerous to the people of China and of the whole world....

“In fact, one of the first results of China's latest test will be to take some of the political pressure off French President Chirac over the planned tests at Moruroa.”

The “Neither Washington Nor Moscow,” “third camp” social democrats of the ISO and its SA offspring likewise lost no time in jumping on the anti-China bandwagon. In the very first issue of its newspaper, *Socialist Alternative* (August 1995) SA headlined: “with China & France testing more nukes, there's...50,000 nuclear bombs waiting to explode!” denouncing “Chinese dictator Deng Xiaoping” along with John Major, Jacques Chirac and Clinton. Next came SA's September issue: “China is no better.” Not to be outdone, the ISO proclaimed: “Chinese nuclear testing and nuclear weapons are abhorrent” (*Socialist Worker*, 1 September). Finally, the political bandits of the Socialist Labor League (SLL)—who “defended” the former Soviet Union by supporting every hostile force on every border of the USSR—signed up. In its major editorial on French nuclear testing, the SLL baldly states: “The resumption of testing by France, as well as by China, has provoked widespread and legitimate concern among working people and youth in many parts of the world, including the

Pacific region and Australia” (*Workers News*, 22 September).

Despite their divergent paper programs on the question of the class nature of the Chinese workers state, addressed more fully below, the ISO, SA, DSP and SLL all land on exactly the same side of the question of China's nuclear capacity: the imperialist side. When the defence of the Soviet Union was urgently posed throughout Cold War II—from Afghanistan to Poland, from East Germany to Moscow—they were on that same side. Now, in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialists have sharply stepped up the drive to overturn the revolutionary conquests in the remaining workers states; simultaneously inter-imperialist rivalries have intensified as the major capitalist powers lurch toward trade war and ultimately another global conflagration. As we noted in the joint statement with our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (see page one): “The ‘leftists’ and pacifists who line up with their own ruling class against its imperialist rivals are not building a new ‘peace movement’ but are participating in a drive toward bloody new imperialist wars!” To that we can add of these “new world order socialists” that they are scabbing on the defence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Trotskyists Demand: Defend China and Its Nukes!

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was a world historic event which put an end to brutal imperialist exploitation and the remnants of feudal barbarism. Unlike the 1917 Russian Revolution, however, the Chinese Revolution was deformed from the beginning. Mao's peasant-based armies marched into China's urban centres, imposing the rule of the highly bureaucratized Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as the U.S.-backed, corruption-riddled Kuomintang regime collapsed and fled to Taiwan. But like other Stalinist-led partisan/peasant-based regimes, the CCP could find no “third road” between capitalism and collectivised property forms. Basing itself on the Soviet model, the CCP nationalised major industry and instituted collectivised property relations in the countryside, eliminating the grinding poverty and backwardness that imperialism had imposed on China for generations.

Taking place in the wake of the Soviet Red Army's victory over Hitlerite fascism throughout Eastern Europe, which resulted in the consolidation of states qualitatively similar to that of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Revolution drove U.S.

continued on page 15



Yenan 1937: Peasant woman with bound feet publicly denounces landlord. 1949 Chinese Revolution led to elimination of feudal subjugation of women.

Military Museum, Peking

Main Enemy...

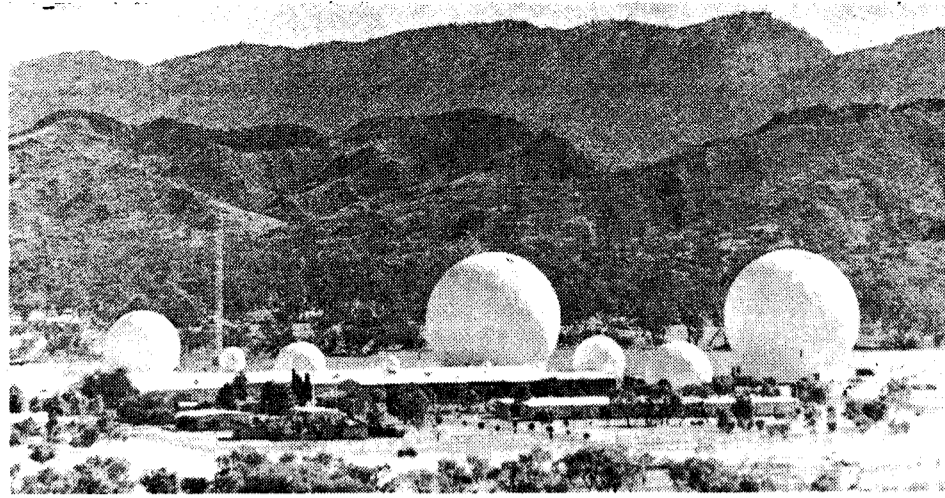
(continued from page 1)

in kind with a vile Australian nationalist anti-French campaign. Not only have protests targeted French diplomatic offices but also French restaurants and individual French-descended residents. Scandalously if not surprisingly, the social-patriotic Laborite misleaders of the Australian working class have called on the workers to participate in the bourgeoisie's campaign to boycott French products and ships. Trade union and Labor Party leaders who would never say peep about the counterrevolutionary ANZUS treaty and American military bases and who were prominent in the racist outcry about an Asian "invasion" when small numbers of Chinese refugees landed on the north coast in late 1994 vie with hoary old reactionaries from ex-servicemen's organisations fresh from the racist "Victory in the Pacific" commemorations.

Under a thin veil of anti-nuclear verbiage, "far-left" social-democratic hangers-on, like the Democratic Socialist Party and the International Socialist Organisation have offered themselves up as the "best builders" of this campaign, urging the government to do more. In New Zealand, the co-thinkers of the ISO, the Workers Socialist Organisation, explicitly call for a frigate to be sent to Mururoa. The "leftists" and pacifists who line up with their own ruling class against its imperialist rivals are not building a new "peace movement" but are participating in a drive toward bloody new imperialist wars! The Spartacist League/Australia, which fights for a workers republic in Australia, part of a socialist Asia, has denounced this nationalist *union sacrée* as a class betrayal of the interests of the workers and oppressed in Australia and internationally, leading ultimately to social-patriotic unity in the bourgeoisie's war to defend their markets and spheres of influence in another inter-imperialist war—in the case of the Australian bourgeoisie, in the position of subordinate ally of the considerably more powerful and dangerous U.S. imperialist power.

The Australian and New Zealand governments have fallen over themselves to distinguish their protests about the tests from any identification with the anti-colonial protests. And well they might. The White Australian imperialist enclave was not just shaped through the genocidal expropriation of the Aborigines but also the mass expulsions of Chinese and Pacific Island workers who were key to opening up the settlements of north Queensland and other parts of Australia. They don't want a restive anti-imperialist population to threaten the profits of the likes of Colonial Sugar Refineries. Canberra braintrusts and arms the army of its Papua New Guinea neocolony, whose people are manifestly victims of White Australia imperialism, in a murderous war against the Bougainville people.

The high moral tone and anti-nuke posture that minor imperialist powers like Australia and New Zealand sometimes take is only a symptom of their resentments at their subordinate roles and frequently in the interests of their greater imperialist patron. In 1950 the Australian government invited the British imperialists to conduct nuclear testing at Maralinga, on the lands of the Aboriginal Tjarutja people, irradiating the site and contaminating it with plutonium. Today the U.S. Navy still rules the oceans and Australia is pivotal in U.S. control of the southwest Pacific and Indian Ocean. The U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar are part of a global network of the world's biggest nuclear madman and "world policeman." When Gough Whitlam tried to tinker with this arrangement in 1975, the Australian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists had him unceremoniously dumped by the CIA crony installed as the queen's governor general.



Centralian Advocate

Spy bases at Pine Gap, vital to U.S. military arc across the Pacific, used in imperialist slaughter of Iraqi people during Gulf War. U.S. bases out now!

From the Korean War to the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to its support to the bloody CIA-engineered 1965 massacre of communists, workers and peasants in Indonesia which paved the way for Suharto's "New Order," jackal Australian imperialism has played the role of counterrevolutionary gendarme in the region. As in Indonesia before the coup in 1965 and more recently with Australian investment in Vietnam, Australian frontmen often serve where U.S. imperialism cannot openly go.

French Imperialism's Colonialist Nuclear Arrogance

For nearly three decades, the *force de frappe* warheads had targeted major cities in the USSR, threatening tens of millions of Soviet citizens with the horror of nuclear annihilation. From de Gaulle to Mitterrand, French imperialism flaunted its arsenal of nuclear terrorism to posture as a *grande puissance* in the anti-Soviet alliance. While the French social-chauvinist left, from the social democracy to the Stalinist PCF [French Communist Party], rallied to the defence of this anti-Soviet arsenal, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, opposed the *force de frappe* and imperialist militarism as part and parcel of our revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. It was the existence of the Soviet nuclear arsenal which stymied U.S. imperialist moves to use its atomic weaponry, notably in Asia during the Korean and Vietnam wars. So today with the nuclear arsenal of the Chinese deformed workers state, we Trotskyists couple the urgent struggle for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy with the unconditional military defence of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which includes the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to maintain and develop nuclear weaponry.

By aggressively asserting the determination to maintain and modernise the *force de frappe*, Chirac is wielding his nuclear terror machine as a direct threat to all potential rivals of French imperialism which might one day threaten its

"vital interests," and against all the neo-colonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke. Chirac's ravings are not simply macho posturing: the 50th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—a racist mass murder which was also a bloody message to the Soviet Union—is here to remind us that ultimately, the imperialist bourgeoisies will resort to the most hideous acts of barbarism, including nuclear genocide, to defend those same "vital interests."

Chirac's policies abroad are also intended to cement a racist, nationalist consensus at home. His election promises to increase police funding and tighten immigration controls indicated clearly what his "populist" concerns about unemployment and the "fractures" in French society really meant. Now using the pretext of the criminal bombings in metropolitan France and elsewhere Chirac has deployed the police and the army in Paris to institute a veritable state of siege, unleashing a racist operation of identity checks, round-ups, and deportations aimed to terrorise the communities of second-generation North Africans who were born in France but are still deemed "immigrants" in the eyes of the racist, colonialist French state. The current police terror is intended to intimidate anyone who fights social reaction and forestall trade-union struggle as the capitalists demand new attacks on the living standards of the working class and especially sweeping cuts in social welfare provisions. The LTF has called united-front protests and demanded:

"The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight. Stop the charter flights and deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto/estates! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defence guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

The leaders of the reformist PS [Socialist Party] and PCF refuse to fight the racist roundups or against colonial repression in Tahiti. The despicable silence of these social-chauvinists on these issues reveals their dedication to a "cleaner" French imperialism. Their refusal to challenge either the imperialist aims of the



Thomson/AP

As racist Australian ruling class promotes France-bashing chauvinism, social-patriots march with bigots at anti-French protest in Canberra, on Bastille Day, 14 July.

bourgeoisie or the racist "consensus" at home shows their "protest" against the French nuclear testing for what it is, empty hypocritical posturing which leaves the chauvinist consensus around the *force de frappe* unscathed.

But France's oppressed colonial subjects have exploded in outrage. On 29 June more than 10,000—over a tenth of Tahiti's population—marched in Papeete to protest Chirac's decision. Two days later, several thousand protesters marched in Nouméa, in New Caledonia, where the independentist trade union USTKE, recalling the bloody assault ordered by Mitterrand's Prime Minister Chirac against Kanak independentist fighters in Ouvéa in 1988, carried a banner declaring "Gossanah, Mururoa, Chirac murderer." Prominent in the massive Tahiti demonstration, apparently the biggest ever in the island, was the independentist party Tavini Huiraatira, whose leader Oscar Temaru then sailed to Mururoa on board Greenpeace's flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior II*—named after the ecologist group's ship sunk in 1985 by French *saboteurs* acting on orders from "socialist" president Mitterrand. And when a new round of protests shook the island in early September, protesters stormed Tahiti's main airport, setting fire to part of the terminal.

Marching in Mitterrand's footsteps, on July 9 Chirac had *Rainbow Warrior II* taken out by hooded French Navy thugs and seized her crew. We denounce this grotesque act of piracy, and we won't forget the long list of bloody terrorist attacks carried out by French colonialism in the region under both right and "left" governments, from the assassination of Kanak independentist leader Eloi Machoro by Mitterrand's praetorian guard in 1985 to the murderous sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and the Ouvéa slaughter. French imperialism out of the Pacific! Immediate independence for Polynesia, New Caledonia and all the other remaining French colonies!

Eco-Chauvinism and the Drive Toward War

The diverse currents of petty-bourgeois protest, the pacifists, the environmentalists, the anti-nuclear groups, who oppose the tests are at best utopian. The real hazard, environmental and otherwise, of nuclear weapons is the drive to use them in imperialist war. The Greens have no solution to the looming inter-imperialist rivalries, but rather line up behind their respective imperialists over Bosnia. The pacifists think they can make their rapacious capitalist ruling classes better, make them disarm and live peacefully side by side. Their protests display a "not in my backyard" selectivity, not unlike the Third World governments who bulldoze shanty towns because they are "ruining the neighbourhood." A few years ago the environmentalist outcry about overfishing in the waters off north Australia, dovetailed neatly with rabid racist protectionism directed at Asian fishermen. Under capitalism proposals such as the call to reduce total energy consumption can only mean that the vast mass of people in the Third World should continue forever to go without adequate drinking water and electricity, while the well-off in advanced capitalist countries make a few gestures like putting their (non-French) wine bottles in the right recycling container.

The capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois nation-state have become a decisive fetter on the development of the economy and of society, with the drive for new markets and new sources of labour and raw materials inherent and leading inevitably towards war. Capitalism, irrational and degenerate, now dooms tens of millions even in "advanced" countries to suffer in poverty and ignorance amidst plenty. In the imperialist epoch, the period of the death agony of capitalism, the tendency toward world economy collides with explosive sharpness against private ownership of the means of production and the nation-

China...

(continued from page 13)

imperialism, in particular, quite mad. Fanatical anti-communists like Senator Joe McCarthy led the witchhunters in demanding to know "Who lost China?" Within a year, tens of thousands of U.S. troops poured into South Korea, defending its puppet military dictator Syngman Rhee against the Soviet-backed regime in Pyongyang. As we noted in "New World Order Targets North Korea":

"During the Korean War, the U.S. repeatedly threatened to nuke the North. Two weeks after the outbreak of fighting in June 1950, General Douglas MacArthur sent a 'hot message' to the Pentagon demanding 10 to 20 A-bombs to 'sweeten up my B-29 force' (Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings, *Korea: The Unknown War* [Pantheon, 1988]). And it wasn't just the 'loose cannon' MacArthur, either. Three days after Chinese and North Korean forces launched a punishing counteroffensive, Truman publicly declared that the use of nuclear weapons was under 'active consideration,' explicitly refusing to rule out civilian targets."

— *Workers Vanguard* No. 574,
23 April 1993

This was no empty threat, coming soon after the hideous war crime of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki committed by the Washington imperialists—fully supported by their Canberra lackeys—which was also the opening shot of Cold War I against the USSR. According to sources such as the U.S. Brookings Institute and Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod's *To Win a Nuclear War—The Pentagon's Secret War Plans* (1987), Washington threatened to use nuclear weapons in earnest between 19 and 25 times from 1946 to 1980. This included serious consideration of French imperialism's request to come to its aid with tactical nuclear weapons at the time of their humiliating defeat in Indochina at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and later over the Cuban "missile crisis" in 1962.

While American imperialism was bogged down in the long, bloody, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the Soviet Union managed to achieve rough nuclear parity with the U.S. (Mao Zedong [Tse-Tung] at the time cemented an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR, inviting the vile Richard Nixon to Beijing at the height of the Vietnam war. Later China launched a reactionary invasion of Vietnam in retaliation for Vietnam's toppling of the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia—a progressive act by the Viet-

state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the armies for the protection of customs. The task of the proletariat is not the defence or "improvement" of the national state but its complete and final liquidation. Only when the proletariat internationally rips the means of production from the hands of the national bourgeoisies through the socialist revolution can the mighty productive energies of the world be liberated, finally uprooting every kind of racism, backwardness and obscurantism, and creating the socialist system which can feed and house and educate everyone.

The Australian nationalists seized upon Bastille Day as an occasion for their anti-French crusade. The French capitalists have long since turned July 14, into a celebration of the imperialist "gloire" of France, not the anniversary of the day that the exploited and oppressed masses opened the prison doors. The French Revolution offered citizenship to all drawn to its promise of "liberté, égalité, fraternité" and abolished slavery, whereas today dark-skinned "immigrants" are criminalised and deported. Many of the original white settlers in Australia were convicts, including a significant number, Irish and others, transported for their radical activity in sympathy with the French Revolution. But the Australian ruling class lives in the spirit of Edmund

name which opened up the possibility for a future for the Cambodian people.) First under Jimmy Carter and then Ronald Reagan, Washington responded by launching Cold War II and a furious round of nuclear armament programs, from developing the "first-strike" MX missile to deploying Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe, only minutes away from the Soviet heartland, to the infamous "Star Wars" program.

Now, in the absence of the Soviet nuclear deterrent, U.S. imperialism holds



Chinese People's Volunteers advance against imperialist forces during Korean War.

a gun to the head of the embattled Castro regime in Cuba, maintaining its crippling economic embargo while flooding the economy with U.S. dollars. It imperiously demands the right to inspect North Korea's nuclear sites, backing up its sabre-rattling with a massive military presence in the South. In China and Vietnam the imperialists seek to undermine and dismantle the anti-capitalist economies primarily through imperialist investment and trade. In this effort they have been crucially assisted by the criminal policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies, committed to the reactionary dogma of "socialism in one country" and its corollary, "peaceful coexistence" with rapacious imperialism.

Mao's version of "socialism in one country" led to disastrous policies that more than once threatened to ruin the People's Republic and which set the stage for the rise of Deng Xiaoping. Today, under the watchwords of Deng's "open door" policy, grotesquely recalling the imperialist encroachment at the turn

Burke, the arch opponent of the French Revolution. The ideals of that Revolution, progressive, humanist and liberating, are borne today by the communist fighters for workers socialist revolution.

Today the choice posed by Rosa Luxemburg at the turn of the century—"socialism or barbarism"—is even starker. Facing nuclear-armed imperialist powers, it is socialism or annihilation. The threat of a thermonuclear World War III will only be avoided by the triumph of international working-class revolution, opening the way to a genuinely classless society of abundance and universal equality in which the full tremendous power of modern science and technology, including nuclear energy, will be put to the service of human progress. This requires an international and internationalist leadership—a genuinely communist International, reformed on the political foundations of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. From Paris to Canberra, we Trotskyists of the ICL say: *The main enemy is at home! Long live proletarian internationalism! Workers of the world unite!*

Ligue Trotskyiste de France,
Spartacist League of Australia,
sections of the International Communist
League (Fourth Internationalist)

5 October 1995

of the century, much of China's coastal regions have been turned into "special economic zones" (SEZs) open to imperialist exploitation. Stepping up their efforts to shatter the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed employment, housing and food for China's masses, an increasingly independent layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs are tied to the world capitalist market. The result of Deng's "socialism with Chinese characteristics"—the introduction of "market reforms" (hardly unique to China)—has been a

Washington Nor Moscow" Labourite leftists stood *with* Washington (and here, Washington's junior partners in Canberra) against the USSR. When Yeltsin's Washington-backed counterrevolutionary counter-coup triumphed in Moscow, the Cliffites grotesquely brayed: "Communism is dead', our newspapers and TV declare. It's a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." (*The Socialist* [Australia], September 1991). And they thought they were going to hit the big time.

Rather than creating an opening for the growth of Cliff's version of "democratic socialism," however, the triumph of counterrevolution ushered in ...counterrevolution. Yeltsin's increasingly bonapartist capitalist regime in Russia today presides over the growth of all varieties of nationalist, fascist and monarchist reaction. And the impact of this historic defeat for the proletariat has been manifest on every continent on the planet. While the Cliffites internationally predicted an "upturn" and launched sub-Menshevik recruitment campaigns, outside of Britain the results have been largely barren. Cliff exhorted the troops to ever greater efforts and condemned any doubters as "conservatives" and "routinists" who had to be pushed aside to make way for new blood. Cliff reportedly sent emissaries to Australia to clear out the dead wood: the result is SA.

In the recent split, up to a third of the organisation were either expelled or quit. Neither the ISO nor SA have said anything in their respective publications about the political basis for the rupture, and the identical politics of the two publications attest to its cliquish character. The internal documents reveal that, similarly to an earlier split in the 1980s, both sides proclaim differences only on "perspectives" (e.g., campus-based parochial reformism versus community-based parochial reformism like the "Save Albert Park" and "No Airport Noise" campaigns). At bottom, the split resulted from a crisis of expectations.

But they still have the Labor Party to campaign for, the wretched Labor Party which has been in government for well over a decade, presiding over the depredations of the bosses against the workers and oppressed and serving Australian imperialism's big brothers in Washington. Sure enough, the punchline of a recent ISO pamphlet "Why is Labor so rightwing?" is: "In the contest between Liberal and Labor, socialists stand united with the millions of working class people who hate the Liberals and the bosses, who are frustrated at the ALP's record, but who are not yet convinced of the socialist argument for revolutionary change. In other words, we are *with* Labor-voting workers who want to see change...." In other words: vote Labor. In contrast, we communists tell the truth today, just as we did in the last general election when we wrote:

"Both Labor and the Tories are bidding to administer capitalist depression in the context of 'New World Disorder.' This demands a massive increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class. The only road forward for the working class today is hard class struggle to turn back the tide of capitalist attacks. No vote to Labor! What is urgently needed is the forging of a revolutionary workers party!"

— *ASp* No. 148, Autumn 1993

Fake Left: Lining Up Behind the U.S./Australia Alliance

The ISO, SA, DSP, et al., in their eager pursuit of the latest "mass movement" (i.e., the anti-French chauvinism and nationalist *merde* thinly veiled by anti-nuclear weapons verbiage) spit on the gains of the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese workers and peasants and the world's working masses. What's next: a map in their respective publications showing menacing red arrows descending from China to imperil "poor little Australia"?

For the ISO and SA, such treachery is standard operating procedure: their "state capitalist" godfathers, now Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, were born in renegacy from the Trotskyist movement, expelled from the Fourth International for their public repudiation of the defence of North Korea against U.S./British imperialism in 1950. Their pledge of loyalty to British imperialism was sealed not only over the Korean War, but by their unwavering loyalty to the British Labour Party. During Cold War II, the Cliffites attacked the Thatcher government *from the right* for the reported export of British beef to the Soviet forces fighting on the side of social progress in Afghanistan while declaring that a "Mojahedin [CIA-backed Islamic reactionaries] victory will encourage the opponents of Russian rule everywhere in the USSR and Eastern Europe" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 February 1989). Cliff & Co. reached another low when, during the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, they sent SWP supporters across miners' picket lines. For decades, these "Neither

As for the DSP, this pink and green outfit formally abandoned any claim to Trotskyism in the 1980s. The DSP believes that China is not a capitalist country and in its editorial "Stop Chinese nuclear tests," the DSP admits that "While aggressive imperialist countries such as the US, Britain and France maintain nuclear weapons, China certainly has a right to maintain a sufficient nuclear arsenal to deter attack." But just not test it! Having split from the late Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat" (USec) the DSP maintains a chummy relationship with the outfit. Small wonder: the USec's "defence" of the deformed workers states is likewise

continued on page 16

Jamal...

(continued from page 2)

reintroduction of the death penalty have been raised from Court's Western Australia to Carr's New South Wales. Meanwhile, the cops have carried out a virtual killing spree in the recent period. In Victoria alone 24 people were gunned down by the police in the last six years. Today Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who comprise less than two percent of the population make up a whopping 14 percent of those behind prison bars. Since the whitewash Royal Commission into black deaths in custody concluded its findings, the rate of Aboriginal imprisonment has risen by 51 percent and the rate of deaths in prison has almost trebled. Already this year ten Aboriginal men have died in custody.

In July and August, a series of united-front demonstrations initiated by the PDC took place from the U.S. and Canada to Europe to Japan and Australia. In the U.S., Teamsters, hospital and municipal workers, longshoremen and others were mobilised. The demonstrations in Melbourne and Sydney on 12 August were endorsed by powerful unions such as the branches of the Maritime Union of Australia in New South Wales and Victoria and the Australian Meatworkers Union, as well as the labour councils of both Newcastle and the NSW South Coast. The CEPU's Victorian telecommunications branch also organised a showing of the PDC video *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The NSW plumbers' union distributed leaflets on the job and donated money to Jamal's legal defence, a collection taken up at a general meeting of NSW TAFE teachers raised \$150 and workers from four Sydney printshops circulated a petition demanding union action. Protest messages were sent by the 60,000-strong NSW Australian Manufacturing Workers Union and the construction division of the CFMEU (Construction, Forestry, Mining & Energy Union); from New Zealand, the key Seafarers' Union also sent a letter of protest to Pennsylvania governor Ridge. Even sections of the ALP have felt compelled to protest the railroading of Jamal, as demonstrated in letters from ex-prime minister Bob Hawke and federal minister of consumer affairs, Jeanette McHugh.

The PDC protests mobilised workers, students, youth, immigrant organisations, Aborigines and supporters of struggles against capitalist oppression from Bougainville to Kurdistan. In Melbourne, the Australian Education Union carried its banner and supporters of the Turkish and Kurdish Workers Association, Left Alliance, the Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women, anarchists and others rallied; a spokesman from the Leonard Peltier Support Group addressed the demonstration about the plight of the many political prisoners in the U.S. Over 100 rallied at Sydney's Town Hall; those who addressed the militant protest included NSW assistant secretary of the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance,



Partisan Defence Committee-initiated demonstrations in Sydney (left) and Melbourne (right) in August mobilised workers, immigrants and youth as part of worldwide campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal.

spokesmen from the Bougainville Freedom Movement, the UTS Student Association, the Anarchist Black Cross, the Communist League, the Iranian/Iraqi Refugee Council, Canberra "Friends of Mumia" and the Workers Communist Party of Iran and Iraq. Speakers from the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs presented a revolutionary strategy to fight against racist state repression.

Despite the impressive endorsements of key union organisations for the protest actions, however, with few exceptions, these did not materialise into any action on the day of the protest or otherwise. Why? Because the fight for Jamal's freedom cuts across the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australian alliance now presided over by the Labor government, because the mobilisation of the working people for such a cause also cuts across the vile nationalist, protectionist policies of the trade-union tops, because the White Australia Labor leadership is up to its neck in its own national version of the racist barbarity that has resulted in the attempted execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Laborite trade-union bureaucracy had other fish to fry: namely, lining up behind jackal Australian imperialism against its imperialist rivals, the French, in the Pacific. And the bureaucrats were in on the rabid, grotesquely nationalist (and pro-U.S. imperialist) "celebrations" over the victory of the "allies" in the Pacific War against the Japanese.

In turn the response of the reformist and centrist left to the critical battle for Mumia's freedom has been—at best—muted. The Democratic Socialist Party simply boycotted the united-front rallies called in Jamal's defence. As for the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), this outfit—known for its anti-communist thug attacks against our supporters active in the defence of Jamal in the U.S., its years-long silence on Jamal's persecution and its enthusing over police "unions" while pushing the anti-Marxist position that police are "workers in uniform"—managed a token presence, declining the invitation to address the rallies. In Melbourne, Workers Power scrawled an endorsement of the united-front protest minutes

before the rally started. The Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) has covered the case in its press and formally endorsed the protests, but the SPA didn't lift a finger to participate in or build these actions. (For more on the antics of these Laborite "leftists," see articles on French nuclear testing and China, and Workers Power polemic this issue.) When it comes to the "struggle" to vote Keating back into office in the upcoming elections, however, we have no doubt these groups will shake off the lethargy they displayed over the actions on Jamal's behalf.

As our comrades in Britain succinctly put it: "Miserable British capitalism, a sea of poverty and oppression. Miserable British Labourism, a puddle of cowardice and betrayal. It would be hard to dream up two better arguments for the perspective, to which we are committed, of building a revolutionary Marxist party." The same goes with a vengeance in Australia after over 13 years of Labor rule. What is required is a *political struggle* to break the working masses from the pro-capitalist ALP tops and the stranglehold of the Laborite trade-union bureaucrats to mobilise the necessary social power in struggle against the racist bosses. We look to the internationalist traditions of the Australian working class: from the union actions in defence of the just struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S./Australian imperialism and on behalf of the struggle for Indonesian independence to the militant mobilisations against the death penalty in the 1950s and 1960s.

Unlike our reformist opponents, we Marxists put no faith in the "justice" of the capitalist state. While availing ourselves of every legal recourse to save Jamal's life, we fight to mobilise mass protest on the streets, seeking in particular to tap the social power of the organised working class. The struggle against the death penalty is part and parcel of the struggle to put an end to the capitalist system which rests on violent repression against the working class and the exploitation of divisive racism. In the U.S., it is integral to the struggle to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War through a third, socialist American

revolution. Here, the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is linked to and is an acid test for those who would fight to smash White Australia capitalism—junior partner of U.S. imperialism. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

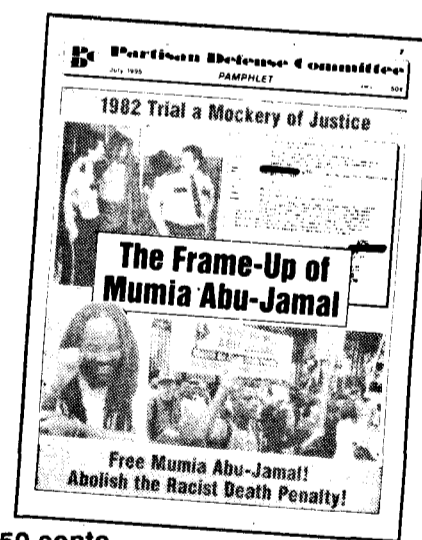
Join the campaign!

Contributions for Jamal's legal defence should be made out to "Partisan Defence Committee—Jamal Legal Defence," and sent to the PDC (address as below). Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA, USA, 17120, and please send copies to the PDC. Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA, USA, 15370-8090.

The Partisan Defence Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

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

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China...

(continued from page 15)

not worth the paper it's printed on (see ad page 17). The *Green Left Weekly* (4 October) followed its own grotesque editorial with a reprint of a statement from the USec's leading sectional paper, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire's (LCR) *Rouge*, which includes the reactionary and stupid call for "the universal banning of the [nuclear] weapons and the dismantling of existing stocks." Obscenely lumping China in with the imperialist powers and now-capitalist Russia, the statement says that what stands in the way of this "universal disarmament" is that "Paris, London,

New York, Moscow and Peking don't want that." (We wonder however what the LCR makes of the DSP's uncritical enthusing over the Bastille Day "national unity" mobilisations in Australia, replete with disgusting, racist calls to "nuke the frogs.")

The SLL, followers of David North's U.S.-based Workers League, stake a thoroughly bogus claim to Trotskyism. Just as those in the social-democratic camp, the Northites' forerunners howled along with the bourgeoisie against the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, supported counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland and the SLL and its international co-thinkers stood with Yeltsinite counterrevolution in the former USSR. They denounced the Spartacist tendency as "Stalinists" and "Stasi

agents" for our Trotskyist intervention in East Germany in 1989/90, for our unequivocal opposition to capitalist reunification. In spite of its monotonous denunciations of "middle class radicals," the SLL adopted exactly the same methodology: while berating the DSP and ISO for "providing a useful cover for the ambitions of the Australian capitalist class" during the mobilisations against French nuclear testing, these political bandits similarly embrace the same "legitimate concern" over Chinese nuclear testing. Moreover, the thoroughly anti-Trotskyist equation of Stalinism and imperialism has long been a hallmark of this outfit; in recent years they have dotted the i's and crossed the t's as North & Co. wrote off the trade unions as "direct instruments of imperialism."

For revolutionary Marxists, i.e., Trotskyists, the task is clear: we stand for the defence of China against imperialism, against the threat of capitalist restoration and internal counterrevolution, for proletarian political revolution. This perspective is inextricably linked to the internationalist struggle to smash imperialism from within through workers revolution in the major capitalist centres. The "new world order socialists" who refuse to defend the gains of the revolutionary struggles of the working masses are, simply put, traitors to the world working class. *Imperialist hands off China. North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba! From Pine Gap to Nurrungar: U.S. bases out! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! For international socialist revolution!* ■

Workers Power...

(continued from page 5)

expulsion of Jose Villa (one of the leading members of the Latin American tendency), the LRCI's International Secretariat charged that they had capitulated to Latin American nationalism. What hypocrisy! Capitulation to petty-bourgeois Third World nationalism is inscribed in the very programme of the LRCI, the 1989 *Trotskyist Manifesto*. This "re-elaboration" of the Transitional Programme argues that "so long as bourgeois or petit bourgeois forces have a real mass influence in the anti-imperialist struggle it is necessary for the working class to use the tactic of the anti-imperialist united front [AIUF]." WP seizes on a formulation from the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and perverts it in the same way Stalin did in justifying political support for the Chinese bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang.

Of course, there can be specific united-front actions of an anti-imperialist character between proletarian revolutionaries and bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist forces, for example, a joint protest demonstration against British troops in Northern Ireland. Similarly, revolutionaries extend military support to nationalist forces fighting imperialism, as in the case of the Algerian FLN's struggle against the French army and *colon* terrorists. We would also support and if necessary defend measures taken by bourgeois-nationalist regimes against foreign capital, like Cárdenas' nationalisation of Mexico's oil fields in 1937 or Nasser's 1956 nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

But for the LRCI, the "united front against imperialism" in fact becomes a formula covering up political capitulation to a supposedly "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie. This is a flat denial of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, which is based on the understanding that the bourgeoisie in backward countries is dependent on imperialism and that correspondingly even the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution can only be accomplished through a proletarian seizure of power.

One of the more egregious examples of Workers Power's application of its "anti-imperialist" strategy was its support for the Khomeini movement in Iran in 1978-79 (about which both the CWG and PO are silent). Here in the name of the "anti-imperialist united front" they embraced a movement whose goal was the imposition of feudal Islamic reaction. To do so they simply denied reality, ie they backed the mass demonstrations in the streets of Tehran in late 1978, early 1979 which placed Khomeini in power.

The international Spartacist tendency warned that the victory of Khomeini

would mean white terror against the left, medieval oppression for women, the murder of homosexuals and a Persian-chauvinist assault against oppressed national minorities. Our slogan was "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs: For workers revolution in Iran!" Where Trotskyists fought against the subordination of the militant oil workers, whose strikes showed the potential for bringing down the hated regime of the shah through proletarian revolution, Workers Power argued "workers must be willing to 'strike together' with the mullahs, bazaaris, students, peasants etc, ie to form a de facto anti-imperialist military united front" (*Workers Power*, February 1979).

Accusing us of "gross distortions worthy of the capitalist yellow press", Workers Power assured its readers that "it is plainly untrue that [Khomeini's] movement is explicitly for the return of women to the seclusion of the home and their submission to barbaric punishments". Claiming that the Khomeini movement was "anti-imperialist", WP attacked our line as "sectarian" and asserted: "The Spartacist position would in practice rule out an anti-imperialist united front against the Shah in Iran". But while the shah was at the time favoured by Washington and other Western capitals, he was not simply a "puppet of imperialism" as the Stalinists dubbed him in order to justify their explicitly stagist strategy. Whether under the shah or the mullahs, Iran is a sub-imperialist regional power in its own right. What was posed by the mullah-led mass demonstrations in Iran was *nothing other* than a struggle to replace the shah's autocracy with an Islamic theocracy.

Having supported Khomeini on the road to power, Workers Power went on to side with Iran when it began its ghastly war with Iraq in 1980, a chauvinist border feud which resulted in the slaughter of over a million working people. Once again the excuse was that the imperialists backed Iraq—although in fact they profitably armed both sides to the teeth.

The "anti-imperialist united front" (much beloved of Guillermo Lora, the leader of the group from which Poder Obrero [Bolivia] emerged) was a point of mutual attraction between WP and the LRCI's former Latin American sections when they intersected each other in the latter part of the 1980s. The Poder Obrero groups today remark approvingly that in 1981 Workers Power "had the courage to agitate for the victory of Argentina in the war that was fought by its 'own' British imperialism" ("Resolution").

Our line in the Malvinas/Falklands war was "Sink Thatcher! Sink the Junta!"—ie *revolutionary defeatism* on both sides—declaring that the best possible outcome would be if the war ground up the military machines of both governments. Argentina was not a semi-colony nor was this a war against imperialist ag-



Workers Hammer

London, June 1981: Spartacist League anti-imperialist contingent in protest march against Westminster butchers' H Block murders.

grandisement. Britain went to war with the Argentine bourgeoisie over a desolate piece of land hundreds of miles from the Argentine mainland, which had had no Argentine population for 150 years. As for the oil fields around the Malvinas, the Argentine and British governments are cheerfully divvying up the potential proceeds in friendly New York confabs.

Workers Power's line of military support for General Galtieri's Argentina may not have had fatal consequences in Britain, but in Argentina and elsewhere in Latin America it was a criminal betrayal which bolstered national chauvinism against proletarian class struggle. For Trotskyists in each country, *the main enemy was at home!* We pointed out that the war was strictly an attempt by two hated right-wing regimes to divert popular hostility into the channel of chauvinist hysteria. While refusing to draw any political conclusions, Poder Obrero now admits as much, writing: "When Argentina attacked the Malvinas the gorilla dictatorship wanted to distract the Argentine workers from holding them responsible for their massacres and for the economic crisis which it was creating, and thus to avoid being overthrown" ("Declaración de Poder Obrero [Bolivia] y Poder Obrero [Peru]").

In Northern Ireland, WP's "anti-imperialism" is simply conciliation of petty-bourgeois Green nationalism. Workers Power's slogan of "critical but unconditional support to the IRA" leads them to justify (or worse) every time the IRA pulls a Harrods, Enniskillen or Shankill Road bombing, and British or Protestant civilians die for the accident of their birth. (Meanwhile, closer to home, the LRCI's Irish group condemned the Enniskillen bombing—reflecting the rotten-bloc character of their "democratic-centralist" international.) Most overtly, the LRCI has extended outright *political* support to Green nationalism through its call for "critical support" to the petty-bourgeois Sinn Féin in elections.

But, for the Revolutionary Internationalist League the problem with WP is that it doesn't go far enough in capitulating to petty-bourgeois nationalism. In its publication "Split in Workers Power", the RIL chastises WP for its "initial refusal... to call for a vote to *Sinn Féin*". The RIL also condemns the LRCI for "sectarianism" for not calling for a vote to the ANC in last year's elections in South Africa. While WP were to the left of the RIL they have no principled objection to voting for popular fronts. Calling for a vote for this nationalist popular front meant endorsing the shackling of the combative black proletariat of South Africa to its "own" exploiters. The bourgeois-nationalist ANC was brought in to rule as the junior partners of the white capitalist class in order to preserve neo-apartheid rule. What is posed here is nothing less than the elementary Marxist principle of the class independence of the proletariat. But WP has time and again demonstrated its own willingness to cross the class line on this fundamental question by offering electoral support

to the reformist workers party component of popular-front coalitions.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The LRCI leadership, the CWG and the Latin American groups all reject the perspective of reforging Trotsky's Fourth International and sneer at the fight of the International Committee in 1953 against its destruction by Pabloite liquidationism. The PF writes off the Fourth International as dead in 1946. Workers Power locates the "degeneration" of the FI over Yugoslavia, an "analysis" borrowed straight from the Cliffites, who occasionally trace their origins to a fight against "the shamelessly opportunist support for Tito's Yugoslavia by the rest of the Trotskyist movement" (*International Socialism* no 76, March 1975). But the Cliff group fought against Trotskyism, not Pabloism, arguing as early as 1948 that the USSR and the deformed workers states were "state capitalist". Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for publicly repudiating the FI's unconditional military defence of the North Korean deformed workers state against imperialism.

Trotsky wrote that those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. That applied not only to the defence of the now-destroyed gains of the October Revolution, but also to the subjective instrumentality necessary for proletarian revolution, the vanguard party. From this vantage point, the PF and Workers Power naturally disdain Trotskyists like James P Cannon who fought the liquidationism of Michel Pablo, albeit belatedly, partially and primarily on their own national terrain.

As we wrote in our Prometheus Research Bulletin, *Yugoslavia, East Europe and the Fourth International: The Evolution of Pabloist Liquidationism*: "This petty-bourgeois idealism and disdain for the centrality of the party question—that is, the crisis of revolutionary leadership—is typical for the British pseudo-Trotskyist left. Steeped in years of chummy hobnobbing in the Labour Party milieu—whether 'deep entrism' like Grant's Militant Tendency and a host of Usec supporters over the years, or perpetual 'critical support' to Labour in elections à la Workers Power—for them Trotskyism consists of erudite analyses rather than *the fight to build an independent revolutionary vanguard.*"

Our tendency arose from factional combat against the rightward degeneration of the once-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party in the 1960s. We also fought tooth and nail against the degeneration and worse of Healy's Socialist Labour League, but these fights in turn stemmed from the early International Committee's resistance to Pablo/Mandel, whose centrist adaptationism destroyed the Fourth International.

The essence of Trotskyism is the fight for a revolutionary leadership to lead the proletariat to power internationally. As

continued on page 18

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SPARTACIST

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"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution"

Spartacist League Debates

Ernest Mandel

SEE PAGE 2

Ernest Mandel, 1923-1995

SEE PAGE 2

Wohlforth: Who Is This Road Kill?...24

Letter to the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action For a Bolshevik Workers Party in South Africa!...33

Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) and the International Communist League...43

National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle Independence for Quebec!...56

AUSTRALIA A&Z BRITAIN C1 CANADA C&P2 IRELAND UK1 SOUTH AFRICA R3 USA US11-20

Weipa Strike...

(continued from page 20)

its proposed draconian anti-union legislation, faced with widespread strikes and a 24-hour union blockade of the state. The ACTU's official imprimatur for national strike action against CRA was significant; for Kelty & Co. to take such a tack speaks to the angry, fighting mood at the base. The November strikes forced CRA to temporarily halt its union-busting plans at Weipa and demonstrated the immense social power the unions have when it's used. It is desperately necessary to fight! We warn: nothing can be won by relying on the bosses' Arbitration courts nor by buying the trade-union tops' arguments for "cooling it" until Labor can be voted back into governmental power to administer the bosses state! We say: *One out, all out! CRA workers from Western Australia to Queensland to New South Wales are on the front line—don't let them stand alone!*

Workers know the bosses are on war footing and are looking for the signal to wage a counteroffensive in defence of their union organisations and their livelihoods. The hidebound Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, far from leading such a struggle, has paved the way for the current employer offensive—and then some. Thirteen years of Labor government and its Accord—policed "in the national interest" by the ACTU sell-outs with their subservience to the bosses' state, its Arbitration courts and the Labor government's union-busting "industrial relations" reform legislation—has meant massive job losses, dwindling union membership, record levels of unemployment. According to the latest analysis by the OECD, the gap between the incomes of rich and poor is greater in Australia than most advanced countries.

Bureaucratic betrayal and the introduction of enterprise bargaining by the



Seamen's Journal

Iron Arnhem crew join picket line in support of New Zealand seamen under attack in 1989. For internationalist class-struggle action!

Labor government has meant that today less than a quarter of West Australian mines are unionised and, nationally, most base metal mines are worked by contractors. Indeed, only a quarter of all private sector workers nationally are now unionised. The bosses are eager to rid themselves of collective bargaining, the closed shop and other hard-won gains while the IRC-dictated "super unions" have further undermined elementary industrial unionism. The Accord—imposed initially during the Cold War II period—has enforced "wage restraint" to the extent that CRA and its ilk can afford to lure whole sections of the workforce away from union organisations with (short-term) hefty pay packets. In exchange, the bosses count on these contract workers to *scab* on the unionists fighting for the most basic workers rights—which is exactly what happened at Weipa during the five-week strike of the 75 unionists when the contract employees kept working.

Meanwhile, West Australian Premier Court's planned anti-union moves gave a taste of some of the draconian measures the bosses seek to impose:

compulsory strike ballots, preventing union access to sites, and hefty individual fines for unionists striking in defiance of the anti-labour laws. While major strikes and the unions' blockade of the state forced Court to shelve much of this, the state government bulldozed through secret ballots and has made clear that there is more to come. A centrepiece of Tory Kennett's union-busting legislation in 1992 was widespread introduction of individual contracts. As strikes and protests took place throughout Victoria, it was the Laborite Trades Hall Council, then led by John Halfpenny, which demobilised the actions and told everyone to go home and "vote Labor" in the next election.

Class-conscious workers must understand that this parliamentary circus is a dead end! If today the bosses consider dispensing with Keating's services, it is because the Labor government, first under Hawke then under Keating, along with the ACTU tops, has laid the groundwork to enable an all-out capitalist offensive to be launched in the raw. We say: *No vote to Labor!* There is no class basis whatsoever to extend even

the most savagely critical support to Keating & Co. What is needed is to break the Laborite stranglehold on the ranks of the labour movement through hard class battle, to unleash the workers immense social power in a struggle against the whole capitalist system. Such a revolutionary struggle would stop at nothing short of doing away with the rule of profit, expropriating the bloodsucking bosses and replacing the boom-bust system of capitalist anarchy with a rationally planned economy organised through a government based on workers councils: i.e., a socialist revolution. That requires the forging of an authentic Leninist vanguard through splitting the working-class base from the pro-capitalist leadership of the ALP.

It's more than high time to take the gloves off—to hell with appeals to the ALP tops! Reject the ACTU's sell-out deals! For all-out strike action by maritime, miners, power and transport workers! Roll back the contract system! Smash enterprise bargaining! Enforce the closed shop! For uniform wages and conditions for the same job at the highest level on an industry-wide basis! Down with union-busting privatisations! In order to prevent bureaucratic sabotage and coordinate the struggle, it is necessary to elect strike committees and dump the giveback bureaucrats! For picket lines that nothing and nobody crosses! For industrial unions forged through struggle on the principle of one out, all out! Rip up the anti-union legislation through hard class struggle! Bury Arbitration! For the complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state!

In such a battle, the organised working class will have fighting allies amongst broad sections of the population: radicalised youth facing massive unemployment, slave-labour wages and attacks on education rights; Aboriginal people under the gun of vicious state repression; Asian and other immigrants forced to work in sweatshop conditions, victimised by racist attack and ignored by the trade-union tops; women workers whose plight

Workers Power...

(continued from page 17)

Trotsky wrote in the founding document of the Fourth International:

"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind. It is now the turn of the proletariat, i.e., chiefly of its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."

Far from being a "re-elaboration" of the Transitional Programme, the LRCI's founding document is an explicit repudiation of this central point. Thus, *The Trotskyist Manifesto* claims:

"Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* ... pronounced that the crisis of humanity was

reduced to the crisis of leadership. However, today it would be wrong simply to repeat that all contemporary crises are 'reduced to a crisis of leadership'.

"The proletariat worldwide does not yet face the stark alternative of either taking power or seeing the destruction of all its past gains."

This was written on the eve of the social counterrevolutions in Eastern Europe and the USSR!

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has released a wave of pent-up imperialist frenzy against the poor, the dark-skinned, the oppressed and the working people of every continent. The "neo-liberalism" that Poder Obrero describes so savagely in Latin America, the unending absolute decline of the African continent under IMF tyranny, the rapine of capitalist encroachment into China and Vietnam (where conditions in the "special economic zones" resemble those Engels described in the Manchester mills of the 1840s), the catastrophic collapse of the

ex-Soviet economy, accompanied by epidemics of the diseases of poverty and the burning fires of nationalist despair, the steady, if unfinished, assault on the "welfare state" in Western Europe—all this only drives home with renewed impact what Trotsky wrote in 1938.

A necessary task in resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership is the fight for revolutionary regroupment through a process of splits and fusions, seeking to break subjectively revolutionary elements from reformist class collaboration and centrist wavering. The ungluing of the LRCI is convincing evidence that an "international" based on lash-ups where all parties hold their differences in reserve, and with enough programmatic "flexibility" to span British Labourism and Latin American nationalism, cannot avoid the fate of fracturing along national lines or dying silently in the shadow of defeats, just like the centrist components of the London Bureau. As Trotsky said:

"By its very nature opportunism is nationalistic, since it rests on the local and temporary needs of the proletariat and not on its historical tasks. Opportunists find

international control intolerable and they reduce their international ties as much as possible to harmless formalities...on the proviso that each group does not hinder the others from conducting an opportunist policy to its own national taste."

—"The Defence of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition" (September 1929)

The LRCI's prostration before the altar of bourgeois "democracy" reflects how deeply it has imbibed the "death of communism" cant of the imperialist rulers. But they are hardly drinking from a new well. Throughout Cold War II, Workers Power consistently found itself in the camp of its "own" bourgeoisie behind the forces of capitalist counter-revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. As it went along, the centrist trimmings on its Laborite anti-Sovietism were shed, leading to its bald-faced capitulation to imperialism over Bosnia today. Those repulsed by the LRCI's present politics would do well to recall that those who do not learn from the past are condemned to repeat it.

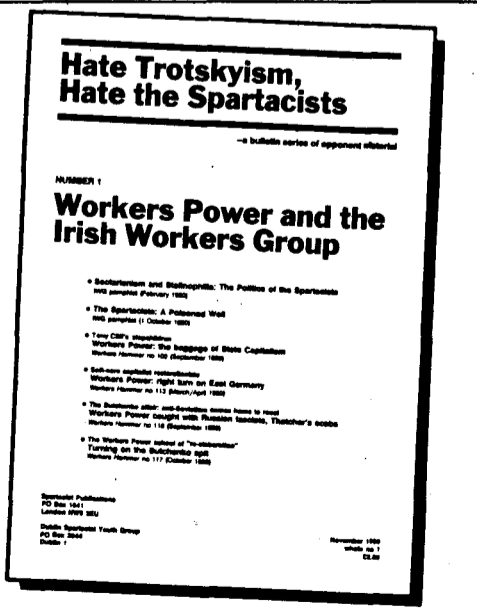
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has steadily worsened under Labor; the ranks of the unemployed. A fighting program would include the call to *organise the unorganised! For full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the round-ups and deportations of foreign-born workers—close Keating's concentration camps! For a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights! Free abortion on demand! For free, quality health care for all! Free 24-hour childcare! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! For a sliding scale of hours! For a sliding scale of wages to defend against the ravages of inflation!*

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

Sydney Morning Herald business commentator Max Walsh wrote (17 November): "a John Howard government would not need to change the Industrial Relations Act. It could achieve its stated outcomes of a much more market-oriented labour environment by simply allowing the legislation introduced by Laurie Brereton and largely written by Bill Kelty to remain untouched." This fact underscores how suicidal it is to look to the Laborite Accord-style union-busters to defend against the bosses' assault. Any real class fight necessarily comes straight up against the capitalist state—the Arbitration courts, the corporatist structure which has so well served Australian capitalism, the maze of anti-union legislation and the bosses' armed forces. Not only the Arbitration courts, but the cops and airforce respectively were used to crush the militant BLF and the pilots. *And remember it was the witchhunting, anti-Communist Chifley Labor government which in 1949 mobilised the troops to crush the miners strike!* The defeat of the strike ushered in the Menzies years of Cold War reaction, of ANZUS and the establishment of the U.S. spy bases, of Australian lackey imperialism's willing participation in every dirty counterrevolutionary war in Asia from Korea to Malaya to Borneo to Vietnam.

The solid racist conservatism of Cold War I finally cracked both with opposition to the Vietnam War and when the class struggle opened up somewhat with the 1969 mass strike against the jailing of Victorian tramways secretary Clarrie O'Shea for defiance of the draconian penal laws. Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists downed tools and hit the streets in strikes and mass protests. O'Shea was released and the penal laws remained on the books only as a dead letter for years after. That struggle showed that the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. However, as long as the bosses rule, gains won with even the most militant trade-union struggles are necessarily partial and reversible. Thus today, the working class faces a renewed round of vicious attacks from the bosses and the government.

The fight in the mines over the very existence of the trade unions is not due to the machinations of the "rogue" CRA bosses. (To know CRA—now the largest mining company in the world—is to loathe it, as not only the Weipa miners but the local Aboriginal population and the people of Bougainville can attest.) It is rather dictated by the necessity of decaying capitalism, now in a period of heightened inter-imperialist rivalries, to drastically jack up the rate of exploitation. As we wrote in our last issue:

"Like the capitalist rulers internationally in the post-Cold War New World Disorder ushered in by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the Australian bourgeoisie has put into high gear its anti-working class offensive. As part of this offensive, the Labor government is hell-bent on 'downsizing' state enterprises and implementing union-busting privatisation of industries and basic utilities such as water and power. Aimed at breaking the power of strategic trade unions, 'restructuring' and the accompanying privatisations are meant to drive down wages and conditions in general and to further the Australian bourgeoisie's

project of 'enmeshing with Asia,' i.e., the exploitation of labour and markets in the Asia-Pacific region."

—"Smash Union-Busting Privatisation!"

ASp No. 156, Winter 1995

Squeezed between the escalating rivalry of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists in the region and groaning under a massive foreign debt, the Australian bourgeoisie must make the workers pay more and more. Meanwhile, the union bureaucrats have played the bosses' racist divide-and-rule game to the hilt, pushing protectionist, anti-immigrant and nationalist poison. Their main campaign in the recent period was to treacherously line up workers behind Keating's chauvinist drum-beating against Australia's French imperialist rivals in the Pacific under a thin veil of "anti-nuclear" verbiage. Furthermore, the centrepiece of the response to major assaults against the MUA, including the proposed sell-off of ANL, and against the miners' unions was the push for "Australian ships for Australian seamen" and, in the case of the CFMEU tops, blaming the Japanese bosses for the job losses. This racist chauvinism is a betrayal of the interests and internationalist traditions of the working class—from the waterfront battles on behalf of the Indonesian independence struggle to workers' actions in defence of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the U.S./Australian imperialists' dirty, losing war.

For Internationalist Class Struggle! Make the Bosses Pay!

A hard-fought battle here would give impetus to struggles from the super-exploited neo-colonial peoples of the Pacific to the powerful proletariat of



The Age

Militant Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) protest jailing of their general secretary in 1985. BLF was smashed in 1986 by the Hawke Labor government.

Japan and the reawakening toiling masses of Indonesia. During the British miners heroic year-long struggle in 1984-85—knifed by Laborite betrayal—the outpouring of worldwide support attested to the fact that the proletariat—an international class—saw that fight as their own. In addition to the support given by the local Aboriginal community to the Weipa miners, the Bougainville Freedom Movement has come to the defence of the beleaguered miners. The South African COSATU trade-union federation proffered its solidarity with the West Australian workers' strike actions against the Court government.

The venal British bourgeoisie chose to destroy the coal industry and shut the mines in order to smash the militant National Union of Miners. But this route is not an option for the Australian bosses; they need the mines. Nor can they function without a maritime workforce, power or transport. Except for maintaining a sustainable number of koalas for the tourist trade, the reality is that Australia is a huge hole in the ground (mining) and a big farm (rural commodities), and needs the means to get these products to port and ship them

out for export. Joint action by miners, wharfies, transport and power workers to shut down the country in a fight for all the working people and the oppressed facing the depredations of capitalism will rapidly pose the question: which class rules? To resolve that question on behalf of the proletariat requires the forging of a revolutionary party dedicated to nothing less than the expropriation of the bosses and the seizure of state power by the working class. *For workers action committees to bust the union busters and run the country!*

In response to the November strikes, the fake left has offered up its usual fare of abject Labor loyalism or worse. The bottom line for the reformists is that the Labor government should be pressured to tinker with its legislation while in exchange the workers ward off the prospect of a Liberal victory at the ballot box. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) answered its own rhetorical question "Should we punish Labor at the ballot box?" with a resounding "no" (*Socialist Worker* No. 328, 27 October). In its leaflet on the November strikes, the ISO bleats: "It's time to call a halt to Labor doing the Liberals' dirty work" and calls on "the Labor government to repeal the section of the Industrial Relations Act that allows non-union contracts."

The Stalinist leftovers of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) noted that the recent ACTU Congress made a decision to "seek government assistance in combatting these activities of CRA," that "so far that assistance has not been forthcoming" and that, you guessed it, "it seems to us that the time has arrived for the unions by combined action to take

on CRA and by that and any other means available to compel the Government to amend the necessary legislation so as to make individual contracts, as part of enterprise based agreements, illegal" (*SPA Maritime Bulletin*, 8 November). The SPA continues: "The elections provide a favourable opportunity for pressing the Government on legislation and it is clear that the employers will continue their drive against the unions with greater vigor if the Labor Government is defeated in the elections." Then the SPA licked the ACTU tops' boots, pontificating about the "need for firmness but not rashness": "If the 75 workers are faced with a demand by the company that negotiations be broken off until such times [sic] as they return to work they will need to give fresh consideration to their position" (*Maritime Bulletin*, 22 November). With "friends" like these, who needs Jennie George?

For the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP): "The basic cause of this mess [!] is the ACTU's agreement with Labor to accept the government's policy of 'wage restraint.'" It goes on to call for "a new unionism" and the "creation of a new workers party, based on a programme in the interest of the majority, democrati-

cally organised and fully supportive of the struggles of working people for decent living standards and a liveable environment" (DSP leaflet, "We Support the Weipa Workers" [undated]). Its talk about a "new workers party" boils down to the DSP's standard electoral support not only to the ALP, but in fact to *outright bourgeois parties* from Greens to Democrats to Independents: this is nothing new but the program of popular-front betrayal.

Finally, there is the Socialist Labour League (SLL), the Australian followers of David North. The Northites announced some years ago that the trade unions were dead and buried—thus trading in their (and their forerunners') years-long ritual grovelling to the Labor Party and ACTU tops for obscenely writing off the mass organisations of the working class altogether. Now—just when the bosses want to deal a rabbit chop to the trade unions—the SLL, in an article headlined "CRA: the political issues" (*Workers News*, 17 November) baldly states: "The working class cannot overcome its problems if it is atomised on an individual basis. But if workers remain in the grip of their old organisations—the unions—they will continue to suffer defeat after defeat." What alternative then to the unions do the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the SLL offer the working class? None. The SLL's line can only be a "left" cover for the most demoralised and least conscious elements to desert not the leadership of the unions, but the unions themselves, not to a program for revolutionary struggle, but into the waiting arms of the bloodsucking companies. Such a position is consistent with the recent Northite sneering at the elementary principle that picket lines mean don't cross as the "hallmark of the backward politics of middle class adventurers" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 25 September). It is also fully in line with these political bandits' scabbing internationally on the gains of the degenerated and deformed workers states as they sided with the forces of capitalist restoration from Solidarność in Poland to Yeltsin's counter-coup in the former USSR.

Against the social-democratic and Stalinist betrayers of the world working class, we Trotskyists have fought and now fight to defend and extend the historic gains of revolutionary struggles and for the program of socialist revolution internationally. Today, as the imperialist drive against the working class intensifies defensive struggles continue to break out. As we go to press, the French workers have launched another general strike against the government's proposed wage freezes and cutbacks in the state welfare system. Working people from Germany and Italy to South Africa and South Korea have demonstrated through their protests and strikes that they are not in the least reconciled to the rulers' attacks on their living standards and lives. Nor are the workers and oppressed here. In the fight to forge a revolutionary party, we look to the example of Lenin's Bolsheviks who in 1917 led the Russian workers to establish the first workers state in history. That revolutionary task is posed ever more urgently today. No to the Labor traitors—build a revolutionary party! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

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Miners, Maritime, Transport, Power: All Out to Smash Bosses' Anti-Union Offensive!



Anna Rogers



Louise Kennerly

Weipa strikers make a point to Jennie George (left); ACTU's Kelty and George with Hawke, stitching up a deal in bosses' Arbitration court.

ACTU Knifes Weipa Strike for Labor Government

4 DECEMBER—A very fragile truce hangs over the recent battle between labour and capital in the CRA dispute as the bosses weigh up their options for an assault of historic proportions against the unions. Mining giant CRA's declaration of war against striking workers at its Weipa bauxite site was met with one of the most powerful series of strike actions since the 1970s. The union movement exercised an impressive display of social muscle as coal miners and maritime workers ignored anti-union laws and threats of sackings to close down the docks and pits across Australia for days.

The immediate precipitant for the November strikes was CRA's issuing of writs against 75 strikers who, since October, had been waging a rearguard struggle to maintain union organisation at the site. With 11,000 of the 16,000-strong workforce nationally having been enticed or pressured into individual contracts in the past three years, CRA has been in the vanguard of the widespread drive across industries to marginalise and eliminate unions. Even according to the company's figures, union workers receive 30 percent less than those on individual contracts—between \$12,000 and \$20,000 a year less—for the same work at the same site. Confidential individual contracts have become a condition of employment for new hires who in turn must forfeit union representation. CRA's union-busting is of course totally "legal" under the Labor government's legislation; after vain attempts at redress through the Industrial Relations Commission (IRC), the Weipa miners struck in early October.

On 10 November, CRA got the green light from the IRC to serve writs against the picketing miners. Two thousand workers at ten coal sites in Queensland and New South Wales walked off the job. Under massive pressure from below for action, the ACTU was forced for the first time in decades to announce a campaign of national strikes against the mining bosses' union-busting. Some 17 hours ahead of the officially scheduled strike, on 16 November Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) members went out, shutting down every major port in the country. On 17 November the CFMEU (Construction, Forestry, Mining & Energy Union) announced it would go ahead with its national coal strike, joined by two other unions in the industry (the CEPU and AMWU). In defiance of the IRC, on midnight 19 November the miners walked off the job. Strike action was also considered by workers in power, oil, chemical, manufacturing, rail, road and air.

On 17 November the IRC had ordered a "compulsory conference" between CRA and the ACTU. The very next day, ACTU head Kelty and the MUA tops announced that the wharries would end the national port strike. Wharries in Sydney and elsewhere remained out briefly despite the back-to-work orders. Grotesquely, Kelty called in Bob "Lazarus" Hawke to "argue the workers case" in the IRC hearings. (Hawke, first as ACTU head and then as prime minister, has personally smashed a number of key unions and quashed strikes: from derailing in 1975 the threatened massive workers retaliation against the Kerr coup

which ousted Whitlam to the coup de grâce delivered against the BLF and the crushing of the pilots' strike.) The CFMEU's John Maitland announced a return to work by coal miners from midnight, 22 November, citing "calls by the Industrial Relations Commission and strong representations from the Prime Minister that national strike action cease" (CFMEU press release, 21 November).

Through 29 November, the Weipa miners—offered the paltry eight percent rise they had earlier rejected—hung tough and refused to end their strike against CRA. ACTU president elect, Jennie George, was despatched to Weipa to pressure the miners back to work. Reluctantly, the Weipa miners agreed, but "a number of miners warned after the vote that they would strike again unless CRA granted them equal wages.... They also expected a resumption of national strikes in their support by coalminers and maritime employees if the Industrial Relations Commission did not hand them total victory against CRA" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November).

Naturally, the Labor fakers could be counted on to—and did—move heaven and earth to defuse the potential for full-scale class struggle, with the federal elections looming and Keating's job very much on the line. As the (London) *Financial Times* (24 November) observed: "Federal politics hangs like a cloud over the main hearing room of the Australian Industrial Relations Commission in Sydney.... A federal election is less than six months away, and the

fracas has big political ramifications." Thus, Kelty's "line in the sand" became a quick march to the quicksand of Arbitration. Keating, Kelty & Co. patted themselves on the back over a "historic victory" for the Arbitration system when CRA was slapped on the wrist by the IRC and backed off—some—for now. But the striking CRA workers at Weipa—as well as at Boyne in Queensland and Vickers in New South Wales—were hung out to dry.

When the MUA members went back and the miners were told to return to work in exchange for the limited (and extremely reversible) concessions by CRA, the bosses' press heaved a sigh of relief. "Battle lost, but not the war" headlined the *Sydney Morning Herald's* editorial (23 November): "it would be premature for the ACTU to celebrate its victory. All it has done, in the words of the ACTU secretary, Mr Kelty, is draw a line in the sand against individual work contracts. That line is a shaky one and will have to be defended time and time again—not just against CRA but against other companies all over Australia." For its part, CRA "vowed to pursue a strategy of putting all employees on non-union individual staff contracts, despite a serious setback" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November).

Recently, however, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (2 December) reported: "CRA may be forced to give in on unions" in the aftermath of the November strike action. Earlier, in October, the Tory state government in Western Australia was forced to make partial backdowns in

continued on page 18