



## Social Patriots Enlist for New Pacific War

# Down With Anti-Japanese Racism!

### For Proletarian Internationalism!

Dwarfed by a huge Australian flag emblazoned with "heart of a nation," second-hand dealer Bruce Whiteside proclaimed: "We are again facing a threat of invasion." The 1300 people packed into this hall on Queensland's Gold Coast in May, including the state Labor Party deputy leader Tom Burns, erupted into massive applause. Later the announcement of a bomb threat provoked cries of "the Japanese have done it" and "yellow peril."

The coming of Japan as the Asian economic "superpower," symbolised by the rise of the value of the yen against both the US and Australian dollars, has led to a surge in Japanese tourism and a mini-boom in property invest-



Sankei Shimbun

Tokyo stock exchange, largest in the world. Rise of Japan Inc fuels chauvinist fears in White Australia.

ment, which is now triggering a filthy anti-Japanese backlash in Australia. The hysterical, racist Gold Coast meeting prompted the Japanese consulate to complain that "people were confusing memories of World War II with the realities of modern-day Japan"

(Australian, 28-29 May). The 31 October morning edition of Yomiuri Shimbun, circulation 9.6 million and one of Japan's two main bourgeois dailies, carried a page four headline "Rising anti-Japanese feeling in Australia." Its article featured photos of fascist

National Action posters proclaiming "White Australia, the workers' cause!" and "Oppose the Japanese property invasion."

Anti-Japan chauvinism extends far beyond the tiny fascist fringe. Treasurer Keating weighed in, **Continued on page six**

## Russian Nazis Raise Their Heads

# Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!

Recent statements in Soviet newspapers report an ominous development. An outfit calling itself the "Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat" has been staging weekly demonstrations in the city of Leningrad. An Italian tourist who witnessed a Pamyat demonstration wrote to Moscow News (14 August), "A week has passed, and I'm still horrified. I felt as if I'd attended a real fascist meeting of the 1930s." "Surrounded by bodyguards in black shirts," Pamyat leader Dmitri Vassiliev rails against Jews while his cohorts blame the Chernobyl nuclear disaster on "enemy forces." The blood of every decent Soviet citizen boils over Pamyat's racist outrages. Leningrad must be cleansed of this fascist filth!

There is scarcely a street in

Leningrad which does not evoke memories of this hero city's 900-day stand against the Nazi invaders and of the million or more who died to defend this western gateway to the Soviet homeland. From the somber mass graves of the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of more than 500,000 Leningraders who died in the Nazi siege, it is but a few minutes' drive to the Rumyantsevsky Garden. Yet here, every Thursday, in this public park in the heart of Leningrad — the city of Lenin, the birthplace of the internationalist October Revolution — Pamyat has staged its disgusting spectacle. The proud people of Leningrad can't allow this to continue.

Leningrad writer Valery Voskoboinikov described one of the

**Continued on page eight**



Pamyat fascists march in Moscow, May 1987.

Novosti Press

# 1921 Leninist Resolution on Organization

The article below is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 460 (9 September) biweekly organ of the Spartacist League/US.

The Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League [US], is pleased to announce the publication of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." This 94-page bulletin contains a complete and accurate translation of the final German text of the Organizational Resolution of the 1921 Third Congress of the Communist International (CI), with accompanying introductory and documentary material. It is the first in the Prometheus Research Series, which seeks to make available important materials from the history of the international communist movement.

When the Third Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow in the summer of 1921, the revolutionary wave which had swept Europe following the October Revolution had for the most part receded. As against those ultraleftists who argued that the International must continue the "offensive" against the capitalist world order, Lenin and Trotsky insisted that the young International take stock of the lull in the class struggle. In the main Congress resolutions, which included not only the Organizational Resolution but also the "Theses on Tactics," the Bolshevik leadership attempted to codify the 20 years of experience in struggle against the tsarist empire — the unique Russian experience which produced the party capable of leading the world's first successful proletarian revolution — so that the new Communist parties in the rest of the world could study its lessons. "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work" is an important component of the great

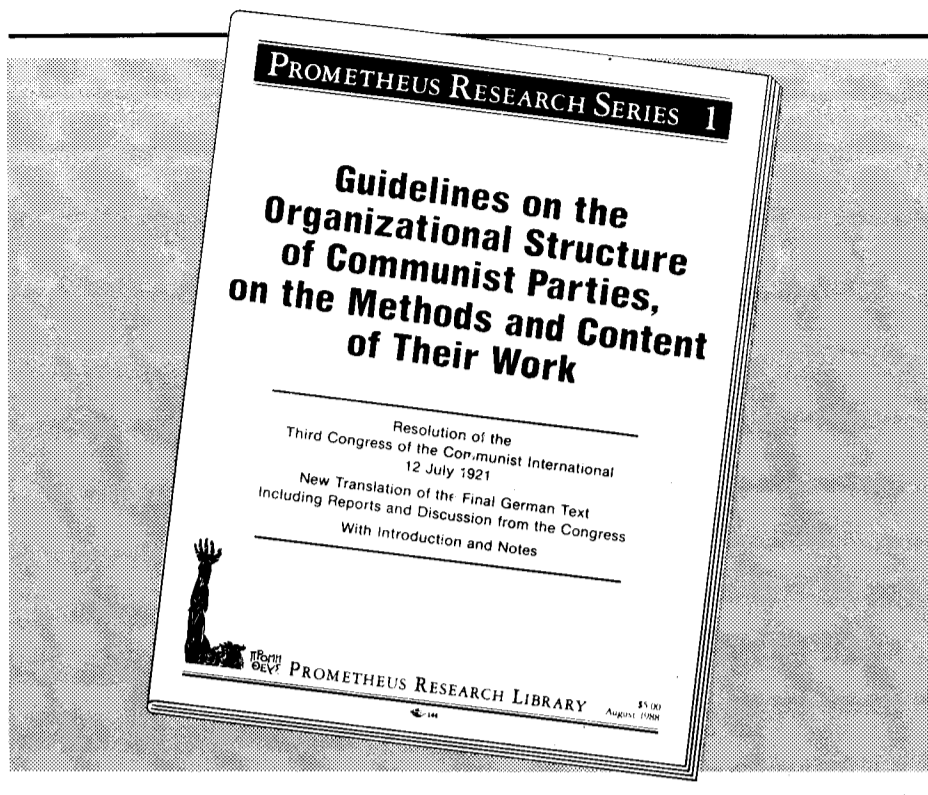
## Spartacist League

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revolutionary material of the first four congresses of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky's time.

Historians of the CI of this period (eg, the eminent EH Carr) have persistently diminished Lenin's role in drawing up the Resolution, especially misinterpreting his remarks endorsing it at the CI's Fourth Congress, his last intervention into the political life of the International. The Introduction to Prometheus Research Series No 1 documents the important role Lenin played in the drafting of the Organizational Resolution. The Resolution embodies Lenin's developed understanding of the party and his struggle to shape an authentic revolutionary vanguard out of the partially sorted-out components of former social-democratic parties which formed the bulk of the would-be Communist parties in Europe in 1921. Lenin was particularly concerned that the German party forge itself into a Bolshevik vanguard and the Resolution was drafted in German. With Germany very unstable and the German party one of the biggest in the Comintern, the perspective of world revolution reduced itself in the first instance to the perspective of a German revolution. (Events in Germany tragically confirmed the correctness of Lenin's urgent emphasis on the need for a Bolshevik party in Germany.)

The Organizational Resolution continued the sorting-out process begun in July 1920 at the CI's Second Congress with the famous "Twenty-One Conditions" for admission to the Comintern. The detailing of the organizational norms of discipline and democratic centralism was meant in part to weed out those centrist leaders who had followed their membership into the Communist International reluctantly. The Resolution explains the need for fractions, cells and working groups to forge the ties to the masses necessary to win leadership of the majority of the proletariat away from the misleaders

organized in the International Federation of Trade Unions ("Amsterdam International") and in the reformist Second and centrist "Two and a Half" Internationals.

Members of organizations on the left which base themselves on the "cell structure" used by the Comintern as it degenerated after 1924 will be particularly interested in "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." In contrast to the practice of the Stalinized Comintern, which in order to straitjacket internal discussion abolished party units based on territorial organization (eg, a neighborhood branch or citywide local) in favor of small "cells" ostensibly based on the factories, the 1921 Organizational Resolution advocates that cells and fractions operate in conjunction with territorial units.

The Spartacist League began to study the 1921 Organizational Resolution in the early 1970s under the impact of building the party's first industrial fractions. An educational session of the SL/US 1975 summer camp was then devoted to presentations on the Resolution. What was striking, but not accidental, was the extent to which the SL's organizational practice embodied, on the appropriate scale, the principles laid

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/US.

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down by the CI in 1921. The Resolution's applicability to the SL reflects our roots in earlier communist organizations in this country, from whom we have sought to choose the best practice. In stark contrast, the Trotskyist organizations of Europe and the ex-colonial world had their fragile human threads of continuity with the early Communist movement snapped by war and fascism and Stalinist terror.

Study of the Resolution has been hampered by the lack of an adequate English-language translation (the translations produced by the Comintern in the 1920s are flawed and also fail to include the amendments adopted by the Congress in its final session). The translation published in Prometheus Research Series No 1 appears to be the first accurate one ever based on the final German-language text. The bulletin includes a survey of the various language versions of the Resolution including the Russian in "A Note on Translation." Also included are the reports on and discussion of the Organizational Resolution at the 22nd and 24th sessions of the Congress. This material appears here for the first time in English.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," in private meetings with various delegations, and in his only speech to the Congress. His remarks remain the best testimony to the 1921 Resolution's significance for the international communist movement:

"That resolution must be carried out. It cannot be carried out overnight; that is absolutely impossible. The resolution is too Russian, it reflects the Russian experience. That is why it is quite unintelligible to foreigners, and they cannot be content with hanging it in a corner like an icon and praying to it.... They... must study in a special sense, in order that they may really understand the organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work. If they do that, I am sure that the prospects of the world revolution will be not only good, but excellent."

To receive a copy of Prometheus Research Series No 1 send \$8.50 (includes postage) to Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co, GPO Box 3473, Sydney 2001. ■

**BC Partisan Defense Committee**  
**CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES**

NUMBER 8 \$1.00 SEPTEMBER 1982

NO APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!  
SAVE THE SHARPEVILLE 6!

Free All South Africa's Class-War Prisoners Page 2

Post Office and Telecommunications Australia have granted the hanging of the following prisoners: Johannesburg, 1 September 1982

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Page 5

S.F. Demos Demands Freedom Now for Gerolamo Pratt! Page 12

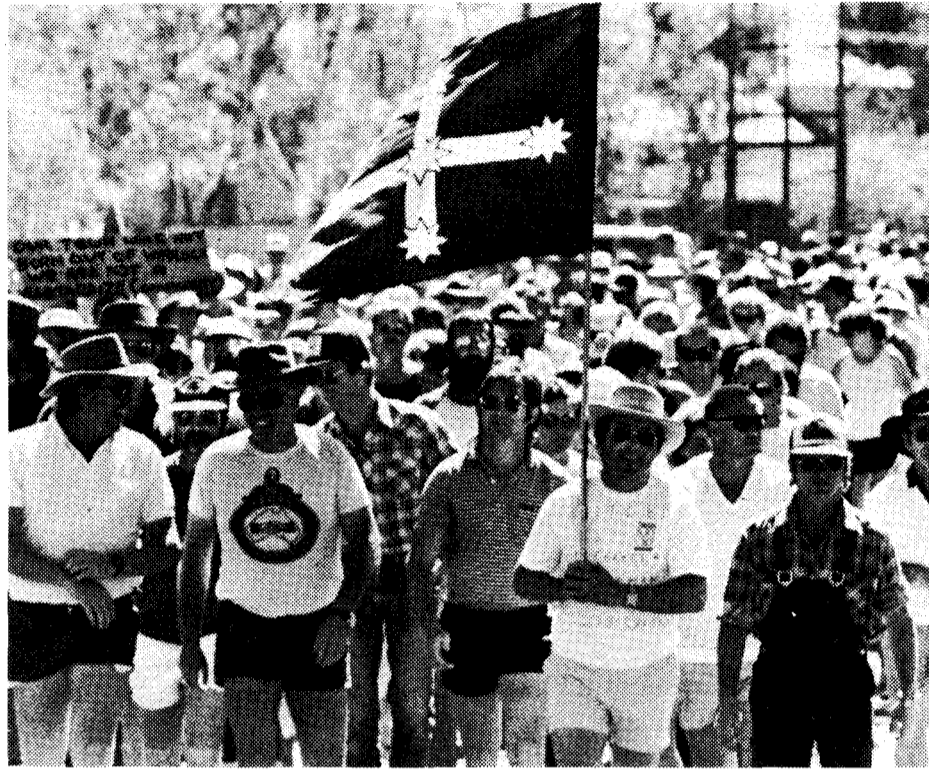
# Smash Hawke/ACTU/Bosses Union-Busting "Restructuring"!

## Unchain the Unions!

"The day the miners began surrendering to reality" was how the Australian (1-2 October) described the narrow vote by aggregate meetings of coal miners to accept their leadership's wholesale give-backs of working conditions. John Maitland and the union bureaucrats had run up the white flag before the fight even started, but it took them a year to wear down mineworkers' resistance to the betrayal of the five-day week, seven-hour shifts and Christmas shutdown. Fostering racist protectionism, Maitland and Co tried to shift blame from the big Australian coal bosses, for whose profits 3,500 jobs have already gone, onto the Japanese. With their do-nothing lobbying in Canberra and limited protest strikes, they steadily sapped the miners' will to fight, dissipated their militancy and left them isolated — then told them, you're isolated, you can't win a national strike. These are lies! Counting local and national strikes, the miners have been out for about two months out of the last year, in the front line of Hawke/Keating's war on unions. Had even that two months been spent in an all-out national strike that unleashed their enormous power, they could have been well on the way, at least, to a victory which could have rallied the whole working class, plus oppressed sectors like blacks and women, behind them. Instead, though the miners aren't completely broken, the bureaucrats' surrender was the green light for a stepped-up bosses' onslaught on award conditions across the board.

To get the latest measly three percent pay "rise," unions have had to agree to "award restructuring." This means the bosses can go after any and all award provisions that obstruct jacking up the rate of exploitation — shift and weekend penalties, overtime rates, leave provisions, rosters, safety, trade classifications, manning scales — just about anything that makes a job bearable. "Multi-skilling" means you have to do any job the boss wants; casual and contract labour, often non-union, is increasingly replacing unionised permanent workers. To enforce it, Hawke's Industrial Relations Bill will give a revamped Industrial Commission more teeth — powers to outlaw strikes, impose punitive fines, seize union assets and deregister unions. The Bill sanctions "enterprise agreements" whereby plants can "opt out" of observing awards and workers have to sign individual contracts, like the recent de-unionisation of the 500 meatworkers at the Castle Bacon factory in Victoria. Defend the unions — smash this slave labour Bill!

The name of the game is forcing fewer workers to work harder for longer hours in more dangerous conditions for a whole lot less pay. Pursuing what US economist David Hale called "a trade unionist version of Reaganomics," Hawke/Keating want to make the



Striking Mt Newman miners warned "scabbing is a health hazard." But Eureka flag nationalism is an obstacle on the road to workers power.

working class pay for their huge foreign debt and trade deficit as international trade rivalries hot up — slashing real wages to slow imports and "restructuring" industry in the hope of boosting exports. Naturally, the massive military build-up and the chauvinist Bicentennial spree are spared Keating/Walsh's budget axe, for Reaganomics complements Cold War Labor's enlistment in the anti-Soviet war drive of the Reagan years and beyond.

### ACTU UNION BUSTERS

Despite the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, some strikes have broken out here and there. In Melbourne last July, a week-long transport strike culminated in nearly half a million workers out for one day. But the militancy of the ranks was being cynically used by "left" Trades Hall Council secretary John Halfpenny as a pressure tactic on Arbitration over the national wage case, after which Halfpenny and the union tops dutifully applauded the court's three percent scam.

That same month a long strike at Williamstown Naval Dockyard, a historic centre of union militancy, ended in a crushing defeat. Last December the Hawke government privatised the yard and the new owner set about slashing the 1,000-strong workforce through "voluntary" redundancy. An ACTU-inspired plan to cut the number of unions to three provoked the strike. All 270 strikers were sacked and the ACTU then signed a new giveback agreement behind their back, leaving the yard closed, the workers sacked, the shop committee broken and its leaders blacklisted. The yard is to be reopened with jobs, wages and conditions slashed to bid "competitively" to build the twelve ANZAC frigates for Australian and NZ imperialism to police the Pacific.

Anti-Soviet war plans necessitate union-busting — at Cockatoo

Island Dockyard in Sydney, a Spartacist League supporter, Neil Florrimell, was sacked because he had consistently defended union conditions and fought for occupying the yard to save jobs, linking this to political opposition to protectionism, Hawke's Accord and his Cold War build up. Militants knew this anti-communist victimisation was a prelude to closure of the yard, but a two-week ironworkers strike to defend Florrimell was sold out. Now, workers are being told the yard could be closed as early as 1990.

In September, workers at Hoyts cinemas struck against demands that they sign away many jobs, working conditions and their right to strike in humiliating individual contracts. After three weeks on the picket line, the union tops forced a return to work, whereupon the boss sacked 120 strikers and moved to deregister the union. At the BHP-owned Mt Newman mine in the Pilbara region of Western Australia, 2,700 iron ore miners struck for three weeks, later joined by 700 miners at nearby Robe River. Originally two unions were out in defence of their union conditions and union

convenors but when BHP flew in extra staff as scabs, the entire workforce walked out. Many other sections of the working class are also under the same gun — teachers, postal workers, nurses, shop assistants, rail workers, seamen, waterside workers and building workers. What is striking is the contrast between the defeatist, legalist, ineffectual way the unions have fought these strikes and the no-holds-barred viciousness of the bosses.

Why is this class war so one-sided? Because the workers' supposed "leadership" is on the other side. Not content with being Hawke/Keating's industrial police and spearheading the smashing of the BLF, the ACTU bureaucrats have drawn up a blueprint for capitalist "restructuring," Australia Reconstructed. Its trial run was union-busting at Williamstown. But while Crean and Kelty imagine themselves following in Hawke and Keating's footsteps, the unions are going to hell, the percentage of unionised workers falling from 51 to 46 in the last decade, mostly under Labor. The "left" bureaucracy bleats that if they don't implement "restructuring," the so-called New Right will. They like to rail against "American-style" strikebreaking as at Hoyts, but it only succeeds because of their Australian-style class-collaboration. Crean/Kelty/Carmichael/McDonald — these are the union-busters!

### PICKET LINES MEAN DON'T CROSS!

Yet anger is building up, Labor's electoral base is increasingly alienated and the sellouts aren't going down that well. Militants are asking — how can we fight to win? A few fundamentals are worth re-stating. A strike that doesn't shut down production is a lost cause. Mass militant picket lines that mean "don't dare cross" are essential to concentrate the full power of the workers to stop production. Scabbing is too easy when, like at Hoyts, a "picket line" is only ten people or so handing out balloons and free tickets to the rival show down the

Continued on page nine

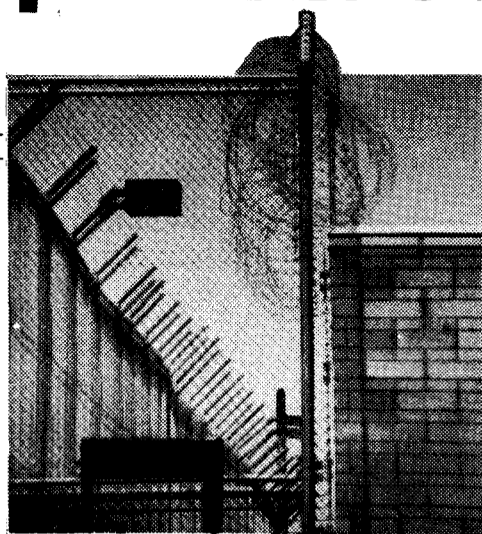


1969 — Mass strike by almost one million workers smashed Arbitration penal powers and freed Tramways union leader Clarrie O'Shea.

# Shut Down Immigration's Concentration Camps! Stop Hawke's Racist Deportations!

Late on the night of 21 October NSW cops swooped through Kings Cross in central Sydney raiding brothels and hotels in search of Asian women. Forty-three women, Thais and Malaysians, were arrested, guilty of nothing but avoiding the net of Australia's racist immigration laws. The prostitutes, many of whom had valid papers but offended the law by working, were victims of exploitation by the criminal underworld, Sydney police and politicians and finally the racist Hawke government. Under the full blaze of television cameras more than half the women were herded in tears into the airport for immediate deportation. The remainder were interned at Villawood Detention Centre, awaiting the same fate. It was a publicity coup for the government, intent on proving itself a better watchdog of White Australia than Howard's Liberals clamour to be. A mass deportation few could be expected to protest, aimed to appeal to racist and sexist chauvinists by targetting immigrants at once women, prostitutes and Asian. And a message to the 60,000 to 70,000 "illegal" immigrants living in Australia that they could be next.

Two weeks later about 23 immigrants being held in Maribyrnong Detention Centre in Melbourne went on hunger strike, in protest against not getting a fair hearing in their bids to stay in Australia. Seventeen ended their hunger strike on a promise from immigration officials that their cases would be considered. The majority were quickly deported. Women and children were separated from the men and forced. The Palestinian strike leader was "disappeared." Later it was confirmed he had been deported to Singapore. His appeal to the Determination of Refugee Status (DORS) Committee was rejected. The appeal included a support submission from Gerry Hand, minister for Aboriginal affairs, saying "I have reason to believe that (the man) will be severely persecuted, punished and jailed for his political activities" (*Age*, 14 November) — on his return to the Middle East. Which is precisely the treatment he got here! The Palestinian Human Rights Committee in Melbourne, which also



**Policing the borders of White Australia. Arrested Indonesian fishing boat under naval escort off Darwin. Inset: barbed wire and security cameras surround Maribyrnong Immigration Detention Centre.**

supported his appeal, said that the only response from the immigration minister, Senator Ray, was an edict stating that he won't intervene in any cases. The working class must demand the right of asylum for all victims of reactionary terror! Stop racist deportations!

*Australasian Spartacist* spoke with one of the hunger strikers, Fijian Indian Peter Nagaiya. He was held in Maribyrnong for 110 days and twice rejected for refugee status. His wife was arrested on 21 November when making her regular twice-weekly report to police. The Spartacist League alerted press and left wing ALP MPs to their plight. The *Age* and SBS television carried the story and Immigration told the family their deportations would be reconsidered. Then on 22 November they were cruelly deported anyway. Their son-in-law and daughter also face deportation. The daughter told us that following a terrifying 6 am immigration department raid and the arrest of her husband in August, she suffered a miscarriage in an advanced state of pregnancy. They are penniless, victims of a

fake documents racket which feeds off the desperation of those turned down by Immigration, and unable to work while their case is being considered. Their story, one of misery, fear, destitution and victimisation is that of tens of thousands of Asians, Islanders and refugees from the Middle East and Africa who managed to get through the frontier of this white racist enclave.

The high-security Detention Centres at Villawood, Maribyrnong and around Australia are virtual concentration camps. Illegal migrants are held for long periods, often incommunicado. A 1983 enquiry into Villawood by the Human Rights Commission was told of 24-hour television surveillance (including in toilets and showers), no physical contact with visitors permitted, babies and small children held in unsuitable conditions, telephone calls only in English, censorship of mail, no right to bail, and no access to legal or welfare advice. And detainees were charged \$34 a day for staying there! A Melbourne solicitor described Maribyrnong, "People are caged up. There's barbed wire around the grounds and no exercise yards of any magnitude. They lose human dignity. They're unaware of the facilities available." These concentration camps are an affront to humanity. They should be shut down, razed to the ground and turned into parks for the common enjoyment of the people who live in those neighbourhoods.

The racist chauvinism of White Australian capitalism mirrors that of the racist states of apartheid South Africa and Zionist Israel, except that here the equivalent of the blacks and Arabs are the masses of Asia, thousands of miles away. As we said in our article "Ugly Racist Furore over Asian

Immigration" (*Australasian Spartacist*, no 128, October/November 1988): "All attempts to maintain Australia as a privileged white outpost in conflict with the surrounding region are not only reactionary but historically doomed. Geographic and economic reality dictate that one day the population will be many times larger, and of mainly Asian descent. The only progressive way this can happen is through socialist revolution to expropriate the White Australia bourgeoisie.... We aggressively oppose the White Australia immigration laws and all forms of racially and nationally discriminatory quotas, and defend the rights of migrant workers — 'legal' or not — against chauvinist persecution and deportation. We demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born working people who have managed to make it into the country!"

Behind the veneer of the "immigration debate" the Hawke government is enforcing a vicious crackdown against illegal Asian immigrants. Early this year we denounced the deportation of nine Tamils back to the bloody communalist horror of Sri Lanka: "This potentially murderous act was a calculated statement to the world that the Cold War Hawke regime plans its Bicentennial to be an obscene 'celebration' of the 200-year history of racist White Australian capitalism" (*Australasian Spartacist*, no 124, February/March 1988). Hawke defended the deportations: "If we have a position where some people can just fly in and say 'Here we are, now you must keep us because if you don't we will be hurt when we go back,' you make a mockery of an orderly immigration system" (*Australian*, 8 January). Now another three Tamils, currently held in Villawood, face



**Rally against Hawke's racist fees and quotas for overseas students, Sydney, 1985. Spartacist placards include "Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and students!"**

## Hawke's Cops Doing Botha's Dirty Work

# Defend PAC Against "Terrorism" Frame-Up!

On Friday 14 October Hawke's federal cops in Canberra raided the office of the black nationalist Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), the main anti-apartheid organisation other than the ANC. The cops also raided PAC representative Maxwell Nemadzivhanani's home and searched a community housing project where his wife, Kerry Browning, a long-time ACT anti-racist activist works. Twenty cops spent 18 hours ransacking files, personal possessions and household effects, seizing carloads of material. Doing the dirty work of the South African embassy, the Hawke Labor government has framed up Nemadzivhanani and Browning for the firebombings of South African and US diplomatic cars between April and August this year. Browning faces ten charges with potential sentences of 15 years to life. Nemadzivhanani could get 15 years on two charges, including intent. The "evidence" produced by the cops was an empty coke can and a "black substance," supposedly a home-made bomb!

The vindictive racism implicit in the heavy charges laid against Browning (a white woman married to a black man) was emphasised by a second cop raid on 21 November. They again searched Browning's workplace taking various documents including a register of the immigrant residents. Later they attempted to smash their way into the Nemadzivhanani home with a hammer, then searched the house, brutally pushing their two children, aged three and seven, along with the grandmother outside. The next day Browning was slapped with two more charges alleging she sent a letter threatening the US

ambassador and the police — an allegation which she denies. Browning, the sole breadwinner was then denied bail on the grounds that she would not be inconvenienced, but appealed to the Supreme Court. The next day she was released on a whopping \$10,000 surety and placed under a



ASP photo

Maxwell Nemadzivhanani

10 pm-6 am curfew until at least 1 December when the charges are to be heard! Drop all charges now! Defend Browning, Nemadzivhanani and the PAC against Hawke's racist cops!

A PAC press release issued after the raid denied any engagement in illegal activities in Australia. In an interview with Australasian Spartacist, Nemadzivhanani elaborated: "We would see bombing cars as an agent provocateur activity which provides a weapon for the establishment to

destroy us and also the people in Australia. Secondly, the only people who can benefit from that is the apartheid authorities and their embassy, because they get to have us isolated and get public sympathy around them and it's not our job to create sympathy for them.... Such issues to us are politically sensitive, they don't make military sense either. We would be the last people to undertake such activities."

Nemadzivhanani noted that the cop raid was "designed to intimidate anti-apartheid activists here in Australia" and denounced it as a service to South African intelligence: "During the raid, among the over 300 bags they took, they took photographs of our army, and those photographs have no bearing on the government case. They took addresses of PAC members inside [South Africa]. Those addresses have no bearing on the case. We can only suspect they will hand that over to South African security.... We will not be surprised if we see new state witnesses in the six PAC trials going on inside the country of late following this raid.... We see Australia as siding entirely with enemies of our people and directly pandering to the interests of the US and the South Africans."

The "terrorism" frame-up of the PAC contrasts with cop indifference to the real and escalating terror carried out by fascist groups against anti-apartheid and anti-racist activists. In Canberra earlier this year there were arson attacks on Radio 2XX's transmitter building, the Southern African Liberation Centre and BLF offices. In Sydney the Afrikaner fascist AWB, which has links to National Action, has been escalating its attacks on anti-

apartheid activists, including a midnight "necklacing" of an effigy at the home of Uniting Church Minister Dorothy McMahon. McMahon has publicly complained about cop refusal to provide protection for her and her parishioners against a prolonged and systematic campaign of terror by the National Action fascists.

The Coalition Against Apartheid formed in Canberra to defend the PAC includes the Canberra Trades and Labour Council amongst its 31 supporting organisations. Rather than mobilising the working class they seek to pressure the ALP government to "repair some of the damage which has been done to Australia's international reputation as an opponent of the [South African] regime" (CAA press release, 23 October). But Hawke is an anti-Soviet ally of Botha and one of US imperialism's most craven Cold War lackeys. Hawke rules over Australian Apartheid where the death rate for blacks in prison is higher per capita than for South African blacks! His occasional hypocritical anti-apartheid platitudes are a posture for public consumption — an acknowledgement of the hatred the world's working people feel for the apartheid butchers.

An attack on one is an attack on all! The working class has the social power and the interest to smash these attacks. There must be a storm of protest by the left and labour movement over this outrageous frame-up.■

Send protest messages to **Lionel Bowen, Attorney-General, House of Representatives, Parliament House, ACT, 2600. Send copies and donations for defence to Coalition Against Apartheid, GPO Box 4, Canberra 2601.**

deportation. A mere 356 claims for refugee status were even considered by the DORS Committee in 1985-86 and around 500 in 1986-87. Australia is notorious throughout Asia for its racist immigration laws, its consulates' derogatory denials of even tourist visas to the vast majority of applicants, its zealous officials at airports using the infamous Section 36 of the Immigration Act to turn people around at the airport or hold them for months in detention. A recent decision by a Federal Court judge on a case of four Tamils held that the rules of natural justice do not apply to those held under Section 36 as they have technically not entered Australia!

The airports are not the only place where the government guards its frontier against the Asian masses. In between the war games the Australian military plays against an imaginary Indonesian invasion, the Navy patrols the northern coast stalking Indonesian fishermen. The Macassans, forebears of these fishermen, visited Australian shores and mixed with the Aboriginal population in the north for centuries. They were hounded and driven out

of the country by punitive tariffs in 1906, hard on the heels of the proclamation of the White Australia policy. Nearly 650 trochus shell and shark fishermen have been caught so far this year and jailed or repatriated, their boats — their livelihoods — confiscated. Now arrogant immigration department officials plan to burn the boats. "We also want to show the Indonesians we mean business. Torching the boats is bound to get publicity over there" (Australian, 19-20 November). Anti-Asian racism has always gone hand-in-hand with anti-communism,

and the Cold War Hawke government has stirred the pot of anti-Indonesian chauvinism to strengthen its "national consensus" as it mobilises for anti-Soviet war.

Racist exclusion at borders, refusals of refugee applications and deportations are shamefully ignored by the nationalist left, which accepts the necessarily racist immigration laws of this white imperialist bastion. "The White Australia policy is dead!" claim the likes of the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party. It's a lie and they know it. But the

"immigration debate" has provided them with a pretext to defend the hated Hawke government, on precisely the cutting question which divides revolutionaries from social-democratic Australian nationalists. The Fourth Congress of the revolutionary Communist International directed in 1922 that communists in Australia "must conduct a vigorous campaign against restrictive immigration laws and must explain to the proletarian masses... that such laws, by inflaming racial hatred, will rebound on them in the long run" (Theses on the Eastern Question). The working class has a strategic interest in the fate of their Asian class brothers and sisters under the weight of capitalist oppression abroad. What's needed is some of the class-struggle internationalist spirit that saw Australian trade unionists shelter and fight for Indonesian seamen who jumped ship during the post-war Indonesian struggle for independence. The liberation of the Australian proletariat demands an internationalist revolutionary party to fight for a racially-integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia. ■

### Telegram of Protest

Senator Ray, Minister for Immigration

15 November

"Recent reports of hunger strike of up to 23 detained persons of Fijian, Malaysian, Indian, Iranian and Palestinian origin being held in inhuman conditions at the Maribyrnong Detention Centre in Melbourne highlight once again the racist White Australian immigration policies of the Hawke Labor government. Refusal to grant resident status and government deportation criminally endangers the lives of persons fleeing reactionary terror. We demand: No deportations! No reprisals! Immediate release of all detainees and their right to asylum! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and students!"

Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

## Anti-Japanese Racism...

Continued from page one

complaining that "The Japanese view Australia like a sort of lung.(!?) But if we are a lung, we should be treated like a lung with a bit of respect and sensitivity," adding that "we don't just want some concrete jockeys from Tokyo throwing up blockhouses up and down the coast" (*Financial Review*, 18 July). In March Liberal opposition leader John Howard went to Tokyo and, hoping to retrieve the reputation stolen from his party by Hawke as the Cold Warriors par excellence, called on Japan to join "a triangular political and security relationship with the United States and Australia," and eventually "go nuclear" to "counter the Soviets" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 March 1988). Columnist Peter Hastings summed up mainstream bourgeois opinion: "Howard out of step on Japan" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 March). Whereupon Howard launched his racist "One Australia" policy against Asian immigration in a desperate grab for electoral popularity over a Labor government which was already carrying it out, with a vengeance.

Japan-bashing goes hand-in-hand with the racist furore over immigration promoted by the ruling class. The bourgeois dailies have been filled with recollections of "Japanese brutality" in World War II, all designed to remind the population of the enemy in the Pacific War. The recent revelations of Australian war crimes — the cold-blooded machine-gunning of 350 Japanese troops adrift in lifeboats off the New Guinea coast in 1943 — serves to confirm that the endlessly canvassed crimes of the Japanese were matched by similar atrocities by the "democratic" Allied imperialists. Not to mention the ultimate war crime, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The controversy was cynically engineered by the likes of the NCC and Captive Nations to try and torpedo the government's new war crimes legislation providing for trials of Nazi war criminals in Australia. Howard's line was that Australian servicemen should be exempt from the bill. Attorney-General Bowen said they would be, because their Japanese victims were "engaged in hostile action" — two days after their ships

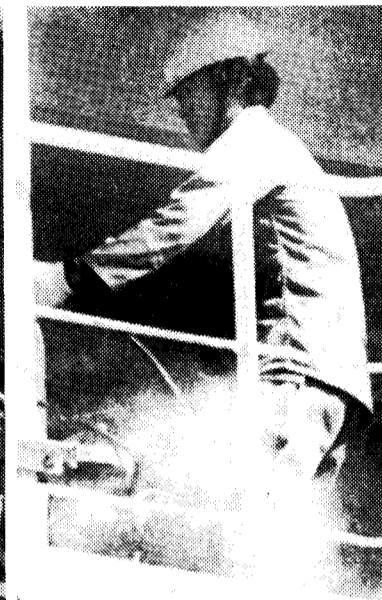
had been sunk! Everyone knows that the likelihood of Australian war criminals being tried forty years on is less than zero. And the Nazis won't get their just-deserts from Hawke/Bowen; they should be shipped back to East Europe and the USSR to face tribunals of their victims. The Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun* (circulation nine million) responded: "The controversy has completely blurred the fact, shocking to the Japanese, that 350 defenceless Japanese troops were

(Marxist-Leninist), which direly warns that the "Australian traitor class of capitalists and politicians" is preparing public opinion for "Japanese airbases in Arnhem Land."

If the Maoists are the most rabid on the left and these days a small, discredited sect, they are far from alone. The Laborite bureaucracy's racist protectionism resulted in an ugly demonstration at Port Melbourne on 30 August. As a protest against cheap Japanese cement imports 400 cement

is fracturing along the same fault lines as in the 1920s and 1930s when depression, trade war and economic autarchy led to the second imperialist world war. Cold War ideologists have proclaimed the Pacific Rim the most dynamic arena for capitalist growth and the "highway to the 21st century." In reality the entire Pacific region is being shaken up by a rising tide of inter-imperialist rivalry centred on the resurgence of Japan and the relative decline of the productive

## Protectionist Poison



Bosses, AWU tops whip up racist protectionism. In the second of two attacks, cement workers hurl cement bombs at Japanese ship, hitting a seaman, Port Melbourne, 2 November.

killed. Whichever way, Japan is always cast as the "villain" (*Australian*, 24 November).

### ANTI-JAPAN JINGOISM — DEADLY THREAT TO WORKING CLASS

Perhaps the clearest expression of the current wave of anti-Japan scaremongering was one front-page article titled "Japanese Imperialism — The Rising Menace to the Australian People" with an underline "After the Toyotas, cameras, investments — the troops." On page five appears a contribution from "a patriot," a member of Bruce Ruxton's reactionary Returned Services League. The Murdoch gutter press? Wrong. This jingoist hysteria comes from the social-patriotic left, namely *Vanguard* (6 April), paper of the pro-China Stalinists of the Communist Party of Australia

workers, members of the AWU, armed with cement bombs, attacked Japanese seamen and local wharfies gathered to unload a Japanese ship. This obscene display exemplifies the reactionary logic of protectionism. The cement workers were given a paid day off by the bosses and organised by the AWU tops to wage war on Japanese seamen. By this shameful act they have committed a crime against the interests of the proletariat of both Australia and Japan. Trade war is a precursor to imperialist shooting war. Down with the poison of protectionism! The main enemy is at home!

The "left" leadership of the strategic coal mining unions surrendered to the ruthless assault on jobs and conditions by the coal bosses and Hawke government, blaming the Japanese importers for the crisis. This racist poison is typified by an article from the Miners Federation journal *Common Cause* by Queensland mineworker Don Schmidt, which complains that the coal importers "prostituted themselves to the Asian masters." Scandalously this was reprinted without criticism in a flyer advertising a meeting in October on the miners, by the Sydney Defend the Unions Committee, a reformist sandbox supported by the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the International Socialists.

### WALL ST/JAPAN INC RIVALRY FUELS WHITE AUSTRALIA CHAUVINISM

The capitalist economic order in the Pacific and on a world scale

capacity and financial strength of the US. This decline was rapidly accelerated by the Reagan regime's drive to achieve nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. The US is now the world's largest debtor nation while Japan is its major creditor. In fact Japan has been footing the bill for Star Wars. Immediately George Bush was announced president-elect the central bank of Japan warned him to cut the deficit, or there would be trouble. Hopeful talk of a new era of "mutual dependence" between Japan and the US as Japanese finance capital props up Wall Street and the US Treasury to "manage American decline" is unreal — the relationship is inherently and explosively unstable.

Nowhere is this changing balance of power viewed with more alarm than by the ruling class of White Australia. Even before Admiral Togo sank the tsarist fleet at Tsushima in 1905, White Australia was obsessed with the rise of Japan. Today, standing outside the world's emerging trading blocs, Australia is caught in the middle of a growing conflict pitting its US military protector against the country that has been its major economic lifeline, but which is also its historic Asian enemy. The White Australia bourgeoisie feels vulnerable and scared. Hawke has waged war on the unions to drive up the rate of exploitation at home, but on its own that is not enough. Hence the grandiose plans for "enmeshing with Asia" riding on the back of US power. The white racist basis of Australian capitalism, however, makes a pathetic utopia out of the



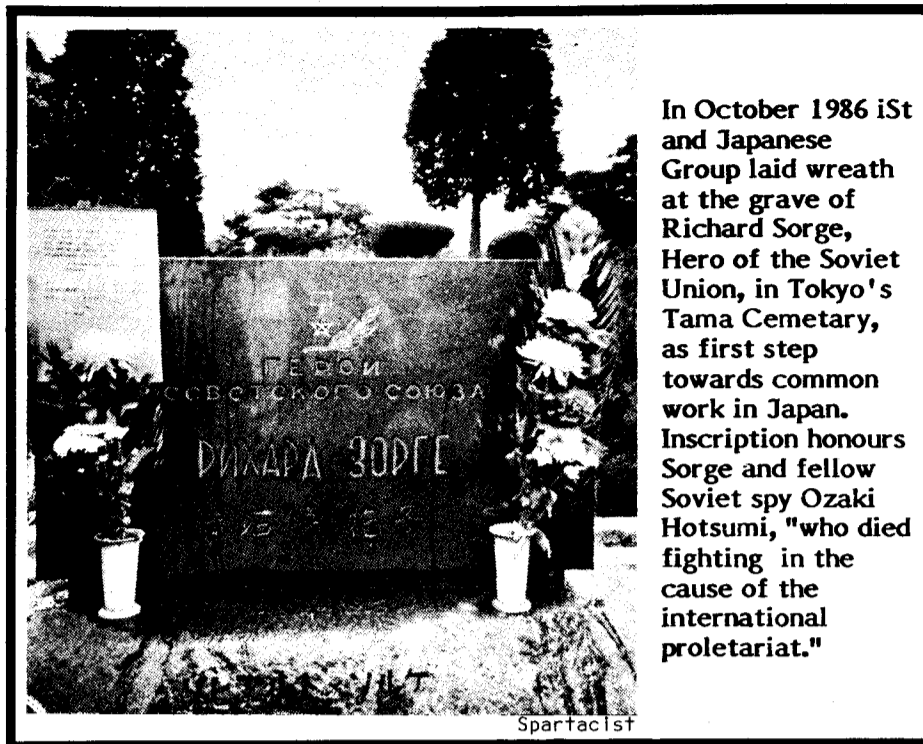
Hiroshima, 1945 — imperialist barbarism.

dreams of economic integration with the region. That image is slipping out of sight as the prospect of a new Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere looms over the horizon threatening to supplant declining US imperialism. For example, Japan has been taking a higher profile in regional crises — offering to finance a counterrevolutionary "peace-keeping force" in Kampuchea. In December last year the Japanese prime minister, Noboru Takeshita, announced in Manila a \$US2 billion loan package for ASEAN, the bulk of it destined for the Philippines to help prop up the fragile Aquino regime. Preserving the giant US bases in the Philippines has been the main foreign policy concern of the Hawke government of late, because those bases represent the military power behind which White Australia shelters.

For Canberra the rebirth of the Japanese military — Tokyo is the third largest military spender on the planet despite the so-called "anti-war" constitution — is the re-emergence of a threat which is mitigated for now by the continuing US nuclear hegemony. Hawke's answer to Pacific region instability is to lock in ever harder as regional deputy sherriff for the US anti-Soviet war drive. While Australia's rulers need yen, they also have no intention of taking their marching orders from Tokyo. Hence Hawke and Beazley's ostentatious public announcement on 22 November of the new, renegotiated Pine Gap and Nurrungar bases agreement, guaranteeing their presence for a minimum of ten years — a "time frame" to ensure their use in the nuclear first strike US imperialism is preparing for the Soviet Union. And quite unlike the furore which forced Hawke to back down on MX missile testing in 1985, in 1988 Labor's parliamentary left made not a whimper about the bases.

The anti-Americanism of the reformists has nothing to do with genuine anti-imperialism but is a reflection of the frustrated chauvinism of a necessarily junior and lackey imperialist country. Applied to Japan this is even more starkly true for it involves an adaptation to the worst traditions of Laborite white racism. As the Hawke/Keating hard times grind on, the Laborite bureaucracy seeks to divert and contain working class anger with anti-Asian protectionism. They would have the working classes of Australia and Japan fight all over again the imperialist horror of 1941-45. The cycle of capitalist depression and war can be broken only by the proletariat in power. A revolutionary workers party must be built to defeat Laborite nationalism and win the proletariat to the program of revolutionary internationalism. As the American Trotskyists of the SWP wrote just days after the atom-bombing of Japan:

"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 in 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



In October 1986 iSt and Japanese Group laid wreath at the grave of Richard Sorge, Hero of the Soviet Union, in Tokyo's Tama Cemetery, as first step towards common work in Japan. Inscription honours Sorge and fellow Soviet spy Ozaki Hotsumi, "who died fighting in the cause of the international proletariat."

Spartacist

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

#### IMPERIALIST WAR AND STALINIST RACISM

In bidding for power in 1983 in the midst of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive Hawke stressed that his model was wartime Labor "hero" John Curtin. All the remnants of Australian Stalinism also look back to the politics of the CPA of the late thirties and the war as their "great" period. Abandoning any pretence of proletarian internationalism the Stalinists beat the drum of anti-Japanese jingoism for all it was worth. This jingoism is shamelessly celebrated by historian Rupert Lockwood in his book War on the Waterfront, an account of the 1938 waterfront bans on pig iron to Japan. Lockwood lauds the Stalinists as the true patriots, warning of the "Japanese threat," as opposed to ruling class "quislings" typified by "pig-iron Bob" Menzies supposedly appeasing Japanese militarism. During the war the CPA descended into obscene racism, breaking working-class strikes and greeting the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with a vile racist cartoon: "Jappy ending."

The Pacific War was a classic imperialist conflict for the resources and markets of Asia which the white imperialists, especially Australia under Labor and its Stalinist sergeant-majors, fought as a race war. General Thomas Blamey, Commander of the Australian Armed Forces, said in an address to his troops in New Guinea in early 1943: "Your enemy is a curious race — a cross between a human being and an ape.... We must go on to the end if civilization is to survive. We must exterminate the Japanese" (quoted in John W Dower, War Without Mercy). Dower said, "The reputation of not taking prisoners also became associated with Australian troops in general." Against the tide of hysterical racism, the Trotskyist Fourth International uniquely upheld the Marxist position of revolutionary defeatism against all the warring imperialists, combined with intransigent defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The rancid Maoists have no shame but their partners in "left

unity," the SWP and SPA, cannot so easily escape the contradiction between their socialist pretensions and the racist logic of their shared commitment to "independence and national sovereignty." The SPA in an editorial on the anti-Japanese Gold Coast meetings concludes with some evident embarrassment, "Let there be a campaign against selling off the farm, but racism ... never!" (Guardian, 1 June). Twist and turn as they might neither the SPA nor anyone else will ever find a "progressive" Australian nationalism apart from the whole reactionary tradition of White Australia.

The political bandits of Nick Beams' Socialist Labour League (SLL) denounced the Maoists with an editorial in Workers News (15 April), "Maoists push racist filth." Promoting themselves as "born again Trotskyists" they quote from a statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International of their new guru, David North: "The trade union and labour bureaucracies, which today attempt to tie the working class to their 'own' bourgeoisie on the basis of economic nationalism, will become the recruiting sergeants for imperialist war tomorrow." Despite its superficial orthodoxy, the SLL polemic is just empty verbiage. For all their warnings of the threat of imperialist war there is not a word about the Soviet Union, the primary target of the imperialist war preparations from the US to Japan to Australia. From Afghanistan to

Poland, on this fundamental class question they have been with the Maoists in the camp of "their own" imperialist ruling class, for whom anti-Soviet Cold War is insurance for White Australia. Coming from a group which calls on the Labor "lefts" to "form a workers government," denunciations of protectionism aren't worth the paper they're printed on. The fight against Laborite racism is inseparable from defence of the Soviet Union and Vietnam!

Prior to, and ever more virulently during the Pacific War, the CPA peddled the racist ruling class propaganda portraying the Japanese people as a "fanatical horde" ready to "die as one with the emperor." Today the left nationalists buy the lie, promoted by the Australian and also by the Japanese bourgeoisies, each for its own reasons, of Japanese capitalist society as one reactionary mass, collectively mourning their dying emperor and with a uniquely loyal, quiescent working class. They deny the immense objective weight of the proletariat in Japan and wilfully ignore the role of the Allied occupation army, which stabilised capitalist class rule in Japan by breaking militant trade unionism and purging tens of thousands of communists in the 1950s.

The present wave of anti-Japanese hysteria being promoted by the Laborite bureaucracy is a deadly danger to the working class. It is the road to class defeat, to the subordination of the proletariat to a ruling class bent on busting the unions and ever more grinding austerity to make weak Australian capitalism "competitive" in a capitalist world in its death agony. Ultimately this is the road to a renewed and final imperialist bloodbath. Against this relentless drift to barbarism an internationalist multi-racial Bolshevik party must be built through splitting the working class away from the death grip of racist, pro-capitalist Laborism. We are committed to building sections of the reformed Fourth International in both Australia and Japan to link concretely the struggle for a racially integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia, with the mighty power of the Japanese proletariat, whose destiny it is to play the decisive role in shattering imperialism in Asia and the Pacific.■



Eastern Department at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, Moscow 1922. Included are Tan Malaka of Indonesia and MN Roy of India (back row, third and fourth from left), Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam (front left), Eizo Kondo and Sen Katayama, founders of Japanese communism (front, second and third from left), Jock Garden, WP Earsman and Tom Payne of Australia (back, fifth and seventh from left, front right).

# Crush Pamyat...

Continued from page one

Pamyat rallies (Moscow News, 14 August):

"One speaker demanded that it should be forbidden for Russian men and women to marry members of definite alien races. Another called for the immediate deportation of Jews and members of other 'alien races' to 'their historical motherland.' Still another suggested declaring a ruthless war on those who 'concealed their ethnic origin under a Russian name'."

In recent months, leaflets have appeared on walls demanding, "Russia is for Russians — Death to Yids!" Jewish gravestones in cemeteries in Moscow and elsewhere have been defaced. At a poetry reading by Andrei Voznesensky, who recently published a poem denouncing these acts, anonymous notes were sent to the stage reading, "All of you are Jews or sold out to Jews," "We will kill you." With their appeals for an anti-Semitic "Final Solution," with their ostentatious black shirts, with their racist diatribes against all non-Russian nationalities, these Great Russian "patriots" are more than extreme nationalists or latter-day Black Hundreds tsarist pogromists. They are dyed-in-the-wool Nazis, the Great Russian offspring of Hitler.

Pamyat should be made to feel the wrath of the survivors of the 20 million Soviet citizens of all nationalities who died fighting the Hitlerite invaders. For every one of these Pamyat fascists, there are tens and hundreds of fascist-hating workers, students, veterans and youth in military service who would eagerly come out to the Rumyantsevsky Garden on a Thursday to teach the Russian Nazis a lesson. Who can doubt that a single militant demonstration of 50,000 outraged Leningraders, suitably prepared to defend themselves, coming out to burn Nazi swastika flags in Pamyat's face, ready to chase these Nazis to the nearby Neva River or drive them into the canals, would put an end to Pamyat? The Pamyat Nazis must be crushed before this festering sore becomes a gangrenous cancer threatening the Soviet state and its multinational people.



Victorious Red Army tramples Nazi swastika, Austria, 1945. Twenty million Soviet citizens died to rid the Soviet Union of Nazi murderers.

## WHY HAS PAMYAT BEEN TOLERATED?

Writer Voskoboinikov bitterly relates how at one of the weekly Pamyat rallies:

"One scene was particularly outrageous, when one of the Leningraders raised a poster with the words: 'Workers of all lands, unite!' Before the eyes of both militia and 'commisars' this poster was snatched out of his hands and torn up, and he himself was immediately pushed back by Pamyat militants. Why did the militia officials so carefully 'safeguard' the interests of the sponsors of the meetings?"

It is an open secret that Pamyat has its protectors within the bureaucracy. One of its Moscow leaders is Valery Yemelyanov, a professional anti-Semite attached to the Soviet diplomatic corps in the 1950s, who was convicted of the grisly murder and dismemberment of his wife in 1980. He was let off with a short term in a psychiatric hospital, only to re-emerge in Moscow when Pamyat became active. As we wrote last year, "With the advent of Gorbachev's glasnost (openness), everything from leftist currents to sinister ultranationalists are coming out of the closet" ("Pamyat: Russian Fascists Raise Their Heads," Workers Vanguard no 434, 7 August 1987). Obscenely declaring itself the guardian of

Russia's "memory" (pamyat in Russian), Pamyat crawled to the surface and started organizing.

While still party chief in Moscow last year, arch-perestroika advocate Boris Yeltsin granted a two-hour audience to a Pamyat delegation. Both Raisa Gorbachev and anti-Gorbachev "hardliner" Yegor Ligachev heap praise on Russian artist Ilya Glazunov, whose latest work commemorates the 1,000th anniversary of the Russian Orthodox church by depicting Stalin, Trotsky and Lenin leading a Bolshevik mob over a road of skulls, under the gaze of Russian tsars and saints! (The government's official celebration of the millenium in June swelled Russian nationalist obscurantism — and seems to have provided the occasion for Pamyat to initiate its weekly rallies.) Most recently, tsar-lover Alexander Solzhenitsyn (who blames the gulags on Lenin) was invited to participate in an official committee appointed to erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's crimes.

With its conservative program of "socialism in one country," its repudiation of Leninist internationalism, its embrace of the hoary traditions of Russian nationalism, the Stalinist bureaucracy at best politically disarms the Soviet masses in the face of nativist fascist reaction and at times dangerously overlaps with outright Great Russian reactionaries. In his murderous campaign

to smash the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, Stalin resorted to vile anti-Semitism. The Russian fascist groups that flourished among the counterrevolutionary emigre communities in the 1920s and '30s ultimately came to praise Stalin because he "had killed more Communists than Mussolini, Hitler, and Chiang Kai-shek combined," as one historian of Russian fascism observed.

## IS THIS WHERE GORBACHEV'S RUSSIA IS HEADING? TO PAMYAT? IT HAD BETTER NOT BE!

Describing the dual character of the nationalist bureaucratic caste, resting atop the internationalist foundations of the workers state created by the October Revolution, Trotsky wrote:

"If it were possible to X-ray politically the whole Soviet apparatus, we would find in it: concealed Bolsheviks, confused but honest revolutionaries, bourgeois democrats, and finally, candidates for fascism."

— "New Defectors" (March 1938)

Under glasnost and perestroika, a whole political spectrum which had lain dormant under decades of heavy-handed repression has come to the surface in Gorbachev's Russia. Pamyat stands at one extreme — outright fascist counter-revolution. Lopping off that excrescence would open up possibilities for a revolutionary transformation that would bring authentic socialism to the Soviet Union.

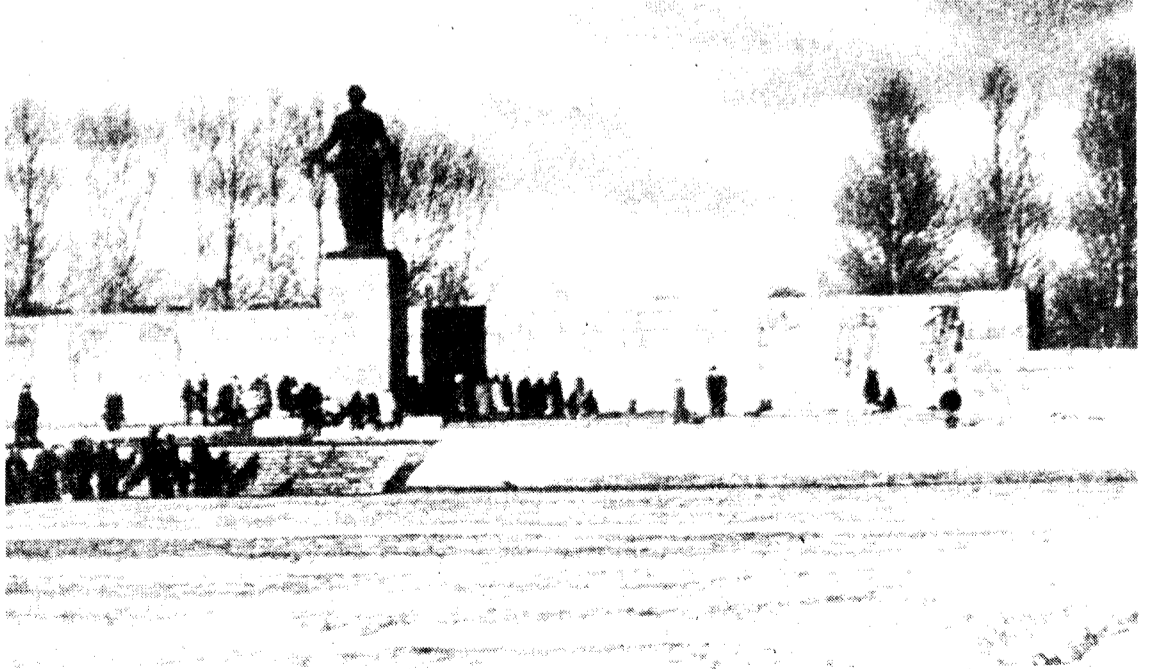
Having in the past suppressed everything which was seen as a threat to its bureaucratic order, now that the lid has been somewhat lifted, the Stalinist regime allows Great Russian fascists to run loose in the streets. We certainly do not look to the Stalinist regime, which won't recognize genuine fascists under its very nose, to now crush the Pamyat menace. Many Soviet citizens may be fearful, with good reason, that any crackdown would be a signal for renewed all-sided repression. The Soviet people must reassert their right to mass political demonstrations.

What is necessary now is an aggressive mobilization organized as widely as possible — from below, independently of the authorities — in Leningrad, to ensure

USSR Embassy



Lenizdat



Leningrad: birthplace of October Revolution and hero city in fight against Nazi invaders. Armed workers mobilized to defend the city during 900-day siege (left). Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery, burial place of over 500,000 of the one million Leningraders who died in the siege.



## Unions...

Continued from page three

street. Most of the projectionists scabbed so the reels kept rolling. The Mt Newman strikers have a better idea of what a real picket line is, judging from their solicitor's warning, "scabbing is a health hazard — just don't do it" (West Australian, 13 November). Many of the staff quit because they didn't like the idea of living as a scab in a small, strongly union town. However, some production continued at the mine and port and the picket aimed more at dissuading staff from performing struck work rather than stopping them crossing. Potential scabs need to be educated — you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs. But building mass picket lines means fighting the pernicious Australian tradition of mutual scabbing by different craft unions. At Williamstown, just twelve storemen and packers picketed for months before the bosses finally provoked the other unions into walking out. The real alternative to the Australia Reconstructed plan for no-strike "industrial unions" through forced amalgamations is not to defend the craftist status quo, but to forge real industrial unions in struggle on the picket line — one union covering all workers in a plant. And strike committees elected at mass meetings of all unions are necessary to take control of the struggle out of the hands of the sellout bureaucrats.

### YOU CAN'T WIN PLAYING BY THE BOSSES' RULES

After the BLF, SEQEB, Mudginberri and Dollar Sweets defeats, an array of state and federal anti-union laws, court-imposed damages and punitive fines have virtually outlawed any effective strikes or bans. And the bureaucrats brandish them as threats to stifle any struggle. Maitland direly warned the miners of the as yet untested NSW Essential Services legislation and the

threat of deregistration. We'll fight when times get better, he said. But things aren't going to get much better in this crisis-ridden capitalist system and its precisely in hard times that workers need to fight for demands like 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, against unemployment. The bosses make the rules and the unions weren't built by playing by them. Maybe, when a strike is won by mass picketing, "illegal" secondary bans, defiance of court orders and stashing the union funds somewhere safe, some strike leaders might have to go to jail. But that's the price the working class has always had to pay to defend its basic interests. One important victory could spark an upsurge of old-fashioned class struggle that could make all the anti-union laws a dead letter — like the 1969 mass strike which freed O'Shea and buried the penal powers.

### FOR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP!

Making the unions weapons of struggle is above all a political question. It requires a fight for class independence from Arbitration and the capitalist state; for proletarian internationalism against protectionism and racism; for defence of USSR/Vietnam against imperialism; against male chauvinism and the special oppression of women; and to oust the pro-capitalist Laborite misleadership of the working class. In all the mass meetings the crying need is for revolutionary caucuses to offer a clear alternative program for victory. The bureaucrats are sacrificing the working class to keep the ALP in office; we must split the ALP along class lines to forge a revolutionary workers party that stands for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie.

Maitland's recent charade of "disaffiliating" the Miners Federation from the ALP is no more than a cynical manoeuvre and a pressure tactic. However, it has got his sometime "left" critics,

the greatest preponderance in the relationship of forces against the dangerous Pamyat fascist fanatics. People from many different political persuasions can join together in action to smash Pamyat. They will undoubtedly attract many Leningraders with embittered memories who make up in zeal what they lack in physical stamina. Massive and determined demonstrations must eliminate this nativist Hitlerite menace, presenting the authorities with an accomplished fact.

It will take a Trotskyist party at the head of the Soviet working people to restore genuine soviet democracy. The crushing of Pamyat as a necessary measure of

self-defense by the Soviet people will be a step on that road.

Reporting on an attempted Nazi demonstration in Moscow in 1982, the New York Times (29 April 1982) commented: "Memories of the war against Nazi Germany and its 20 million Soviet victims remain sacred in the Soviet Union, and Muscovites who heard reports of the attempted rally generally expressed shock that anyone would openly profess fascism." When the handful of Russian Nazis showed up in Moscow's Pushkin Square to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, they were immediately pounced on and given short shrift by hundreds of students and youthful sports fans

## "The Partnership of Capital and Labour is a Lie"

In his article "The Maritime Strike" (Labor Action, 28 November 1936, reprinted in Notebook of an Agitator), American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon wrote:

The maritime strike of the Pacific Coast, now four weeks old, is still stalemated and is clearly becoming a test of strength and endurance. A good deal is said about strike "strategy" — and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits — but when you get down to cases this strike, like every other strike, is simply a bullheaded struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's dam is the strategy that begins with this conception.

The problem of the strikers consists in estimating what their strength is, and then mobilizing it in full force and pressing against the enemy until something cracks and a settlement is achieved in consonance with the relation of forces between the unions and the organizations of the bosses. That's all there is to strike strategy. You cannot maneuver over the head of the class struggle.

We pass over entirely the question of who is "right" in the maritime strike, for we believe with Ben Hanford that the working class is always right. From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand — not merely the ship-owners; all bosses are alike — would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their places when they drop in their tracks.

Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; "justice" has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world.

the Socialist Labour League, all tied in knots. Having previously clamoured for the ALP "left" to expel the right and form a workers government, the SLL now demands that Maitland get serious about disaffiliation. Its Workers News says "Miners should leave the ALP precisely because it has a nationalist, that is capitalist, program!" Yet the same article calls for "the sacking of the Hawke-Keating right wing from the Labor government, the re-organisation of the Labor government to implement a socialist program" (4 November). Forever

"exposing" open class traitors by "placing demands" upon them to overthrow capitalism, the SLL's cynical, tailist methodology only entangles it in absurd contradictions. Spreading Laborite illusions everywhere they go, such "left" opponents are in fact a godsend for the bureaucracy. The Trotskyist party will not be built by pretending the ALP can carry out a socialist program, but only in an open struggle against all the ALP tops, parliamentary and trade union, left and right. Build a revolutionary workers party! Unchain the Unions!■

from the Spartak, Dynamo and Red Army Clubs.

The political climate which emboldens Pamyat to show its face has been enhanced by the Gorbachev regime's encouragement of capitalist profiteering and its disavowal of even lip service to the cause of the international class struggle. But there are many thousands of Red Army vets who remain proud of having fulfilled their "internationalist duty" combatting CIA-backed

reactionaries in Afghanistan, and are well trained in defending themselves and the Soviet state against reactionary rabble. They are not about to let a ragtag gang of Nazis muscle their way into the city of the October Revolution. The mullah-led child-murderers should have been wiped out in Afghanistan; the Pamyat Nazis had better be stamped out in Leningrad!

— Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 461, 23 Sept 1988

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# Labour/Black Power...

Continued from page twelve

where the KKK was stopped. At the rally, the speakers platform became a tribune for those who have resisted state terror to speak of their pain, their anger and determination. Nelson Johnson, survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, Beverly Africa on behalf of MOVE, leaders of Philadelphia unions, black and gay organizations, socialist groups including the Spartacist League — these were among those who reaffirmed the common goal of this united front to stop the Klan, and presented their own particular points of view.

This victory against the fascists came on the eve of American capitalism's election "contest" to pick which millionaire would head up the ruling-class war on the working people, the poor and minorities. After a decade of Carter/Reagan reaction, and a campaign between Republican plutocrats and the Democrats' technocrat/Dixiecrat ticket, many saw in the November 5 Mobilization a way to fight back. Altogether, over 100 union locals and officials, as well as numerous civil rights and gay organizations, student groups, endorsed and contributed their efforts. The appeals from labor are a testimony to the deep chord struck by the mobilization.

There was a real outpouring of community and labor volunteers in Philly. A quarter million leaflets were passed out on the streets, thousands of posters snapped up. Literature depots were set up at a union hall and local universities. Sound trucks cruised the streets. On campuses across the country, where minorities have been under siege, the November 5 Mobilization became an opportunity for the first nationwide protest against racist attacks. While the newspapers and TV tried to black out the anti-Klan protest, following the party line of the Main Line bourgeoisie, radio spots announcing the demonstration were played on black radio, Hispanic radio, sports radio, news radio, campus radio.

The anti-Klan protesters came out on a cold, rainy Saturday morning to make a defiant statement. A week earlier, in a "pact" with the KKK, federal authorities praised the Klan for its "straightforward" negotiations and "orderly" intentions as the fascists backed down in the face of the mounting mobilization. Two-bit KKK "grand dragon" John Weiss whined on Tom Metzger's "WAR" ("White Aryan Resistance") phone tape: "We had to stop and postpone it because of the opposition who are socialists who came out with literature covering from New York to God knows where."

Weiss and Metzger had threatened to bring hundreds of white supremacists into Philly. The November 5 Mobilization stopped a major incursion of the KKK/skinheads into a multiracial Northern city. In the days before the demonstration, there were vicious reminders of the fascist threat. In New York a gang of skinheads assaulted a New Jersey family who objected to their Hitlerite epithets. Temple



Sholom, in Philadelphia was defaced with swastikas. Skinhead Jon Metzger was invited to spew his filth on the NBC Geraldo Rivera show. Just how fascists "debate" was shown when the skinhead thugs initiated a brawl on national TV, assaulting black reactionary Roy Innis and breaking Rivera's nose. As we go to press, in Portland, Oregon on November 13 an Ethiopian man, Mulugeta Seraw, was beaten to death with baseball bats by a gang of white supremacist skinheads.

A handful of skinheads from Baltimore appeared at the rally, not knowing that Weiss had turned tail and canceled out. They sported Confederate flags and Nazi swastikas on their black jackets and gave stiff-arm "Heil Hitler" salutes for the TV cameras. The cops tried to escort five Nazis into the rally in an attempt to provoke trouble. But they were met by black, white and Hispanic workers defense guards lining Market Street in solid formation who quickly closed ranks and repelled the skinhead scum. The squad of trade-union marshals was one of the most impressive parts

of the anti-Klan demonstration. They came from AFSCME [American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees] District Council 33 and a hefty contingent from the Laborers' union in Philly, from black shipyard workers in the Virginia Tidewater area, transit workers from New York and Chicago, phone workers from NYC, and dozens of other unionists who came to insure a safe, orderly and democratic demonstration.

### "PARTISAN ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKING CLASS"

The Partisan Defense Committee, which issued the call for the mass labor-centered mobilization to stop the KKK, is a class-struggle non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Charles Brover, co-chairman of the PDC, told demonstrators that the PDC is based on the heritage of the International Labor Defense, headed by James P Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. "We're partisan on the side of the working class," he said:

"The first lesson of common struggle is that an injury to one is an injury to all. That means we are non-sectarian. We defend cases irrespective of people's political views. That means we defend people with whom we disagree, sometimes people who wouldn't defend us if the tables were turned. We rely on the independent power of the working class and not at all on the courts."

The November 5 Mobilization was a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist strategy for combating fascism with mass united-front action. This revolutionary strategy contrasts sharply with the reformists and nationalists who ended up as irrelevant side-shows to the November 5 Mobilization. The "African People's Socialist Party" postured with stopping the Klan "by any means necessary," but their only real activity was to petition "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to protect black Philadelphia!

In a grotesque display of the twisted "logic" of black nationalism, the APSP leaflet demanded blacks not rally with the "Ku Klux Kommunisten." When a black woman worker getting off the Boston bus was told the leaflet she had been given was for "blacks only," she crumpled it up and threw it back. Across the street from the quad, the All-Peoples Congress front group of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a picket line of a couple hundred, then marched to City Hall. The APC never intended to mobilize the social power of labor and were too sectarian to join those who did. They were also cut off from their usual Democratic Party allies, who were too busy violence-baiting the November 5 Mobilization.

### BATTLE OF CLASS FORCES

From the moment the Partisan Defense Committee issued the call "All Out to Stop the KKK," it touched off a battle of opposing class forces in Philadelphia. Mayor Goode, backed up by anti-communist outfits like the misnamed "Fellowship Commission" and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, immediately went on the warpath, slandering our demonstration as prone to "violence" in order to keep people away. There's something obscene about the black mayor, who ordered the bomb dropped on MOVE, slandering the people who organize to stop racist terror as a

## All Out to Stop the Ku Klux Klan on November 5!

The KKK lynchers and the violent skinhead filth are threatening to strut into the heart of Philadelphia at Independence Mall on November 5. With their burning crosses and their swastikas, they are a deadly threat to blacks, Jews, Hispanics, gays, Catholics, unions — all of us.

The Klan and skinheads have already marched in Valley Forge, and Parkside where they got a hot reception. Now they're bringing their deadly provocation to Philly. There must be a massive, defiant display of labor/black power, together with minorities and all intended victims of the lynchers, on Independence Mall on November 5 to stop these fascist terrorists.

Make no mistake—the KKK are sadistic killers, in and out of their white sheets. Their idea of "free speech" is what the government did to MOVE—burning alive eleven black people, including five children. And the MOVE mothers are still locked up in jail!

We do not forget the Birmingham church bombings, the Greensboro massacre and now the torching of synagogues in NYC. And the degenerate skinheads with their Nazi regalia and jackboots want to act out their murderous Hitlerite fantasies. If we don't stop them here, who will be next to pay with their lives?

These labor-hating racists say they are going to bring their lynch ropes and Nazi salutes to the Liberty Bell, in the "cradle of liberty." For millions that "liberty"

meant being born into slavery. The Civil War took care of chattel slavery. We need to finish the job—and one step toward that can be by stopping the KKK skinheads now.

The unions were built against the violent opposition of the KKK, and if the unions' power is unleashed we can make the streets of Philly safe from these racist criminals.

We will be at Independence Mall, Saturday, November 5 to honor the working people who built this country and have been denied the fruits of their labor. Today as black America is under the gun, all of labor is facing a union-busting offensive to roll back hard-won gains, remember the PATCO air controllers who were dragged away in chains! The Klan and skinheads are a threat to our livelihoods and our lives. The power to stop them lies with the integrated, combative unions in this city—transit, sanitation, Teamsters, teachers, longshoremen.

When the KKK tried to march against immigrants in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the integrated power of 5,000 workers and minorities, backed by over 70 unions and union officials from Norfolk to Boston, sent them packing. The fascists must be stopped—and we can stop them here. All out to stop the KKK and skinhead thugs on November 5! Be there!

INITIATED BY THE PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
1530 Locust St., Suite #92, Philadelphia, PA 19102 • (215) 790-1822



Philly labor, minorities: This is the power that can stop the Klan!

A quarter of a million of the November 5 Mobilization call were distributed on the streets of Philadelphia.



Workers Vanguard

Solid line of union marshals from Philadelphia and East Coast defend November 5 rally from skinhead provocations.

"danger." There's something shameful about the ADL, which purports to defend Jewish people, slandering those who would prevent another Holocaust as "violent."

Within the labor movement, the union bureaucrats who have rolled over in front of Reagan reaction hardlined it against the November 5 Mobilization. In face of strong support for the demonstration from key city unions, the Central Labor Council pressured a few endorsers to withdraw as speakers. "Progressive" union tops like Transport Workers local head Roger Tauss and Hospital Workers chief Henry Nicholas refused to endorse, just as they stood silent when Goode bombed MOVE. Instead, they were lining up their union members as voting cattle for Dukakis. The Democrats campaigned desperately in Philly in the final week — in one of their rare joint appearances, Jesse Jackson joined Dukakis and Wilson Goode at a rally in Germantown.

In the interests of the Philly establishment, the Philadelphia Inquirer tried to do in the anti-Klan demonstration, first by blacking it out, and then toying with a little yellow journalism redbaiting smear. Inquirer staff writer Murray Dubin probed for a "background" job on the Mobilization: instead of listening to the speakers he crawled into the medical tent to ask the doctors if they were out-of-towners! A unionist in Michigan told the PDC that Dubin had called him up, fishing for whether his endorsement was legit, implying he was "duped" by the PDC. The unionist strongly stood by the PDC and its meticulous practices.

The city's campaign of lies and intimidation continued right through the demonstration. On the eve of the rally, Park Service police split the rally site with steel barricades, hoping to fence in the anti-Klan protesters. An 11 pm protest by the PDC got them taken down. One New Jersey black family who drove over an

hour to attend the demonstration was blocked from entering Independence Mall by Philly cops who told them, "It's not a rally against the Klan, it's a rally against the police." The cops are used to having free rein and were enraged at the integrated labor power protecting the rally.

#### BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Driven inside by the rain after two and a half hours, the rally

to struggle separately for its own liberation. At the close, when the Nat Turner Brigade filed out to the bus for the long trip back home, the auditorium rang with applause and cheers for the black worker militants. As each of the other contingents filed out, the hall was filled with thundering chants of "We Stopped the Klan!"

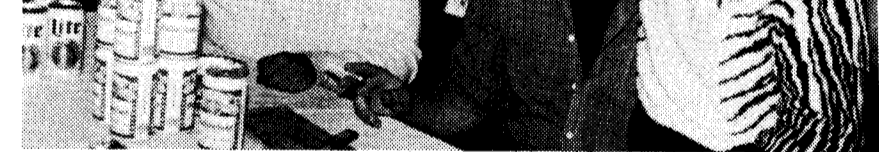
Our victory came in a reactionary social and political climate where abortion clinic bombers are followed by the "god squads" of Moral Majority terrorizing women, where racist attacks mount on the campuses and on the streets of white enclaves, where AIDS victims are witchhunted, and homeless people left abandoned on the streets of this vastly rich country. The November 5 Mobilization showed that the working people of America are ready to fight to defend the interests of their class, if given the chance. The key is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist party with the program and determination to lead the coming class battles and champion the defense of all the oppressed.

The Greensboro Massacre by a KKK/Nazi death squad in Novem-

ber 1979 gave the go-ahead to racist terrorists in America. But from Detroit to San Francisco to Chicago and Washington, DC, labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League successfully interdicted the Klan in the Northern cities of America in the first years of Reagan reaction. The SL, although a relatively small communist organization, provided the leadership, and our revolutionary program expressed the felt desire of thousands who came out to stop the Klan. In each case the mass mobilizations were built against the Democratic Party mayors and the so-called leftists who tailed after them. In each case, it was black and red together, getting a taste of the social power that the struggle for socialist revolution will unleash.

— Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 465, 18 November 1988

Stopping the KKK on November 5 cost a lot of money — for printing over 420,000 leaflets, posters, advertising, organising buses and much more. Supporters in Australia have already contributed generously but more is still needed. And souvenir copies of the November 5 Mobilisation poster are available for \$5 or more (including postage) through the Spartacist League, GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.



Workers Vanguard

Members of the Committee for Dignity & Justice to the Homeless (inset) joined hundreds in celebrating victory over Klan at the Blue Horizon Auditorium.

continued at the Blue Horizon Auditorium in North Philly, where over 600 packed the hall. For many the party was the first integrated social event they had ever attended. White college students from Madison celebrated with black shipyard workers and longshoremen from the South. The mobilization was a living refutation of the old "New Left" program of "sectoralism," in which each oppressed group is supposed

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November 5 was a signal defeat for the Klan and skinheads, and a victory for the working people and minorities across America. The racist terrorists

## Spartacist League/ANZ Telegram

November 5 Mobilization  
1530 Locust Street Suite 92  
Philadelphia PA 19102 USA

Sydney NSW

All solidarity with November 5 Mobilization to stop the KKK. We salute the working people who built your country. Your struggle against fascist terror is a beacon to the working class and oppressed in this bigoted racist land.

With greetings from Spartacist League/ANZ



Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League/US  
24 issues — \$10

Mail/make cheques payable to Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co  
GPO Box 3473, Sydney 2001.



**November 5, Philadelphia, USA**

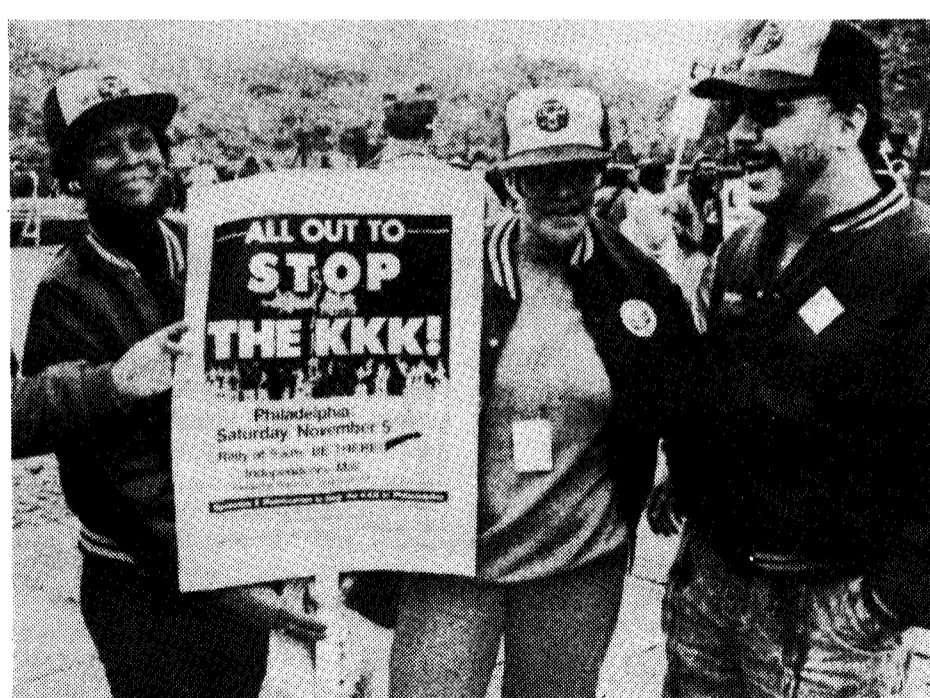
# Labour/Black Power Stopped the Klan!



Workers Vanguard photos

As the Malcolm X contingent pulled up at Philadelphia's Independence Mall after a 19-hour bus ride from Madison, Wisconsin, they formed up and marched in together with the two Chicago busloads, chanting, "Stop the Klan, this is the hour — Labor and blacks have got the power!" On this rain-soaked day, they joined with over 1,000 determined anti-Klan protesters on the site where the KKK and Nazi skinheads had said they would stage their "white pride" provocation. On November 5 there were no fascist killers in Judge Lewis Quadrangle — only a victorious celebration of black, white, Hispanic working people and students who were there to ensure the Klan won't ride in Philly.

Defending the rally against fascist intrusion was a disciplined and effective workers defense guard of union members, many in union caps and jackets, from the Philadelphia area and up and down the Eastern seaboard. This was a taste of the labor and black power



Over one thousand trade unionists, black activists, students and leftists united to make sure Klan didn't ride in Philly.

that had forced the Klan and Nazi skinheads to back down. When the KKK lynchers and skinhead thugs threatened to strut into the heart of Philadelphia, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call for a mass mobilization under the banner, "All Out to Stop the Klan!" In response, hundreds of people from Philly joined 13 busloads from the East Coast and Midwest to be there at the

November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Many came in contingents named for heroes of the struggle against slavery: the Nat Turner Brigade from Norfolk, Frederick Douglass (Baltimore/Washington), John Brown (Cleveland), Harriet Tubman (Toronto/Cornell), General William Tecumseh Sherman (New York) and the Massachusetts 54th from Boston. Other contin-

gents honored slain Chicago Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; Nicaraguan Sandinista Nora Astorga; Jewish Soviet general David Dragunsky, a World War II hero; and Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper, head of the "Red Orchestra" network which operated inside Nazi-occupied Europe. The November 5 Mobilization Notes reported that: "Upon learning the driver of their bus belonged to the same union local as Ray Phillips, the Greyhound striker murdered by a scab driver five years ago, Chicago trade unionists named their bus the Ray Phillips Brigade."

Philadelphia was the city where the Reagan White House and its black overseers engraved their racist signature in the blood of black people. On 13 May 1985 the government dropped a bomb on the MOVE commune, incinerating eleven black people, including five children, turning a black neighborhood to ashes. On 5 November 1988, this was the city

Continued on page ten

SUMMER 1988/1989