



Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Make the Unions Weapons of Struggle!

No Vote to Labor! Down with Racist Protectionism!

Australia today presents a picture of economic devastation for working people. Hundreds of thousands of jobs have disappeared with at least one in three youth jobless. A recent Bureau of Statistics survey puts unemployment at 17 percent. Behind the bald statistics lies the reality of hardship and misery for millions. The ruling class is driven by the effects of an increasingly unstable imperialist "New World Order," polarising along lines of competing trade blocs. Left out of these blocs the Australian

rulers are thrashing around seeking to "enmesh" with Asia, ie, to get new fields of imperialist profit, while increasing the rate of exploitation and reinforcing racist white supremacy at home.

Victoria is the cutting edge of recession Australia. In Melbourne's manufacturing north-western suburbs more than one in five jobs have disappeared. All the pundits predict that Kirner's Labor government will lose big in the upcoming October state elections and be replaced by the Kennett Tories with a union busting agenda taking up where Kirner left off. As usual the sellout union bureaucracy (and their fake-left hangers on) are scrambling to secure another term of Labor rule. Behind the smarmy war of words between the ALP and Tories—"One Nation" versus "Fight-

back," "youth training wage" versus "youth wage"—lies a *bi-partisan* war on the working class and poor. Revolutionaries fight to unite the workers and oppressed in struggle against the bosses and their capitalist administration under Labor or Liberal. A vote to the Labor Party today is outright class treachery!

In 1983 we uniquely said: "No vote to Labor's program of Cold War, racism and social contract" pointing to the need for a political break with the Labor traitors through the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. (*Australasian Spartacist*, No 100, February/March). The decade of federal and state Labor rule has delivered and openly promises more capitalist austerity, union busting and racist reaction. The ALP/ACTU Accord led to an unprecedented

redistribution of wealth from wages to profits. Unions that stepped out of line, like the BLF and the Pilots' Federation were smashed by the Labor governments using naked state force, assisted by the scab-herding of union bureaucrats. The social situation of minorities has steadily worsened, with Aborigines targeted for racist police terror and murder. With the working class shackled on the home front the Labor government has been freer to act as regional cops of U.S. imperialism. In 1991 Australian navy ships (and U.S. spy bases in Australia) aided in the slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis. And Labor's slimy foreign minister Evans ran point for the reintroduction of imperialist troops into Indochina, where they were ignominiously defeated

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One Year After Yeltsin Countercoup

Soviet Workers Bleed



AP

Spartacist

"Tsar" Boris Yeltsin being blessed by Russian Orthodox patriarch last August. "Free market" austerity means impoverishment and economic devastation for Soviet working people. Many are driven to selling off their personal possessions to survive.

It is now twelve months since the forces of counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin and orchestrated by Washington gained the ascendancy in the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of the botched August coup attempt by the Kremlin "gang of eight," they launched a forced draft march toward capitalist restoration. Following the "shock treatment" inaugurated in January, the economy is dramatically collapsing. Hunger and homelessness are becoming commonplace. Inventories of meat and sausage pile up as people scavenge through garbage for scraps of food. The birth rate has reached its lowest point since the end of World War II, a measure of the desperation gripping Soviet society. The overwhelming mass of the working

people are being driven into the lower depths.

The juridical dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics last December exacerbated nationalist antagonisms and paved the way to recreating the kind of squalid fratricide which has destroyed Yugoslavia. Civil war rages in the Caucasus between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in Moldova between ethnic Romanians and the Russian-speaking minority. In Central Asia Islamic fundamentalists are surging forward. In the Ukraine, streets are being renamed in honor of notorious pogromists like the White Guardist Petliura and Nazi collaborator Stepan Bandera. Meanwhile, stridently chauvinist elements within and outside the Yeltsin regime seek to capi-

talize on the turmoil at the fringes of the Russian republic in order to cohere a counterrevolutionary Russian nationalist armed force out of the still multinational Soviet army.

The situation facing the Soviet working people grows ever more calamitous. Food prices have skyrocketed: bread now costs 20 times more and other products as much as 100 times more than they did

a year ago. Pensioners and others on fixed incomes are on the brink of starvation. The only thing being produced in any quantity is increasingly worthless rubles, with the printing presses literally incapable of keeping pace. Yeltsin now regularly has a plane stuffed full of rubles trailing him wherever he travels inside the Russian republic, to dispense

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**Mobilise Labour to Defend Immigrants!
Smash Nazi Pogroms in Germany!**

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Down With Keating's Anti-Immigrant State Terror!

On 24 August around 2000 Chinese held an angry protest against the brutal cop beating and deportation of Xing Jian Dong, a 30-year-old Chinese student imprisoned for three months at Sydney's Villawood detention centre. Jian's case highlights the racist police state terror meted out to hundreds of mainly Asian immigrants incarcerated in Immigration Department concentration camps.

Told by authorities on August 14 that he was to be deported the next day, Jian threatened to commit suicide. A fellow inmate told demonstrators Jian was sedated before five cops armed with large torches entered his room. After Jian asked about getting legal representation for an appeal to the court the cops beat him several times about the head. Still conscious, Jian slashed his wrist with a razor blade and then the blade went into his mouth. More cops arrived and the heavily bleeding Jian was dragged from his bed, smashing his head on the floor. Jian was reportedly then thrown into solitary confinement with his hands and legs bound before being carried by stretcher onto a waiting Chinese aircraft and deported the next day.

This is the real face of Keating's "One Australia." To divide an increasingly bitter working class and sell the idea of sacrificing ever more to rescue the bosses' decaying profit system, Keating and his ACTU labour lieutenants have unleashed an orgy of racist scapegoating against "low wage" Asian workers abroad and immigrants at home. To ensure the working class get the message the government has been amassing a stunning array of new laws along with more prisons and increasing resort to cop terror against the working class and oppressed. The systematic imprisonment and police killings of Aborigines is escalating, while Hobart wharfies picketing against scabs are arrested en masse and cops are unleashed on student protesters. The Immigration Department has massively stepped up Gestapo-style



ASp Photo

Sydney 24 August: demonstration against cop beating of Xing Jian Dong.

raids on factories and homes, rounding up thousands of poor and working class immigrants, many used as virtual slave labour in non-union sweatshops. More than 6000 were deported last year while 21,000 asylum seekers are today denied welfare, Medicare and the right to work. And under the White Australia capitalist state's racist rules only five percent of refugee applications eventually succeed! We demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers who have managed to make it here. Down with racist immigration laws!

The full force of this naked state power is demonstrated most graphically in the Immigration Department "detention centres" like the one Jian was held in. About 600 "illegal" immigrants, mainly Chinese and Cambodian, have been incarcerated in these centres like Villawood, Maidstone in Victoria and the more notorious camp in remote Port Hedland in north-western Australia. Many of the 280 mainly Cambodian

immigrants imprisoned at Port Hedland have been there for over two years awaiting the results of refugee applications. At one point sixteen Chinese prisoners were spirited away to solitary confinement in Roebourne jail for up to ten days after they refused to sign documents incriminating other internees.

In August nine Chinese, detained since their arrival in May, went on hunger strike protesting the star chamber hearings which rejected their claims for refugee status. Five threw themselves from the roof of a two-storey building in desperation. In these camps immigrants are deprived of all legal rights and left to the mercy of racist cops taking their cue from Keating's anti-immigrant scapegoating. The government has suppressed a 1986 Federal Court ruling giving magistrates discretion to temporarily free these internees. One magistrate described the system as "Nazi concentration camp stuff" (Age, 6 August). Shut down Immigration's concentration

camps! Stop the racist deportations!

In the wake of an outcry over the denial of legal rights Keating's ALP government has enacted a dizzying succession of new laws to accelerate their deadly deportation machine. In May when some of the Cambodians held at Port Hedland actually managed to file legal appeals Keating rushed through legislation preventing the courts from releasing any detainees. Then in July immigration minister Hand quietly enacted new regulations speeding up deportations and closing any loophole that may have allowed imprisoned refugees access to the courts. Keating's "One Australia/New World Order" targets immigrants as non-persons to be rounded up, incarcerated without trial and then deported.

Next Hand took aim at the Chinese, mostly students, granted four-year temporary visas following the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989. In a fit of "Yellow Peril" xenophobia that the ALP was built on, Hand hysterically claimed these 17,000 Chinese would soon turn into 300,000 through "chain migration" (Sydney Morning Herald, 4 August). He decreed the right to deport their sponsored spouses when or if the relationship ends and to deport their children should they leave home or cease to be dependants. So Big Brother welcomes you to the cruel hoax of capitalist "democracy" by telling you who to live with!

Now, trying to outdo the Liberals in a frenzy of racist scapegoating, Keating decrees that from next year new immigrants (apart from the few accepted on "humanitarian" or refugee grounds) will be refused unemployment and sickness benefits for six months. According to the Australian (21 August), 35,000 immigrants will lose all welfare support and two in every three unemployed "special benefit" recipients will have their cases "reviewed" next year. This racist state wants to drive immigrants into poverty and despair.

As their decrepit system goes down the tubes the capitalist masters and their Labor henchmen try to strangle working class struggle against capitalist immiseration using the sucker-bait of racist xenophobia. The multi-racial working class has a direct and immediate interest in seeing this anti-immigrant onslaught smashed—they alone have the social power to do this. To realise this power what is needed is a multi-racial, internationalist, revolutionary workers party to lead a struggle to destroy the White Australia capitalist state and establish a workers republic of Australia, as part of a socialist Asia! ■

Imperialist Minister Evans Cuts and Runs

Reprinted below is a Spartacist League letter submitted to the Melbourne University student newspaper, Farrago.

On 4 August foreign minister Gareth Evans came here to speak to a meeting on Cambodia. But when confronted by a small militant protest including Spartacist League supporters, Evans turned tail and ran. It is a good thing that this imperialist bully was made to feel some heat on the home front. Our chants, "Iraq, Cambodia, Bougainville—Evans has blood on his hands!" and "Australia/UN imperialist troops out of Cambodia! Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!" were taken up by other protesters and nailed Evans as the regional frontman for the imperialist "New World Order" of exploitation, immiseration and war.

Following the demo, the vice-chancellor, David Penington threatened

"tougher disciplinary measures," ranting that the anti-Evans demo reminded him "of the blackshirts of the early fascist movement in Germany" (Sunday Age, 9 August). What obscene Orwellian doublespeak. This reactionary snob and "heavy" in the Melbourne bourgeois establishment is proposing his own bit of political "cleansing" of this elite institution of capitalist class privilege. No doubt as director of Pacific Dunlop, Penington has had plenty of practice at "subduing" his vast number of Australian and Asian wage slaves. The bourgeois hue and cry about the supposed violation of Evans' "free speech" is hypocritical bullshit. Evans' every nauseating utterance is faithfully recorded by the hirelings of the capitalist media. The issue is not "free speech." We protested against Evans not principally for his views but for his deeds.

Evans' ALP government, as the U.S.

key regional junior partner, was up to its neck in the imperialist massacre of over 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians. In Australia's Papua-New Guinea neocolony the Labor government has funded and supplied Port Moresby's military repression and all-out blockade of Bougainville where thousands have died in a campaign of murder and disease. In Cambodia Evans ran point for a reactionary imperialist plan that despatched some 15,000 imperialist troops under the UN flag to both oversee the return of capitalist exploitation to Cambodia and threaten the Vietnamese deformed workers state.

The cringing reformists of Resistance moaned about the lost opportunity to "debate" Evans, while those of the International Socialist Organisation sought to confine the protest action to "education issues," effectively covering for the imperialist policies of the Labor government. No wonder. They share Evans & Co's hostility to the Vietnamese Revolution and call for the "highest possible vote for Labor" (Socialist, August 1992). The job of universities is to train the future administrators (including the future Evanses) to run this increasingly irrational and exploitative capitalist system. The institutions of "higher education" need to be taken out of the hands of Penington and his imperialist mates. To put education and all the resources of society at the disposal of the working people and oppressed will require a thorough-going socialist revolution. If you want to hasten this day we suggest you check out the Spartacist League. ■

Australasian

SPARTACIST

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Smash Nazi Pogroms in Germany!



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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Mobilise Labour to Defend Immigrants!

Smash Nazi Pogroms in Germany!

We reprint below an article from Workers Vanguard No 558, 4 September. Since then these fascist attacks have escalated, spreading to more than twenty cities and towns across Germany.

BERLIN, August 31—Horror scenes of racist terror from the northern seaport and shipbuilding center of Rostock have shocked the world. Culminating nights of pogrom assaults, the fascist killers set the immigrant dormitory in the working-class satellite city of Lichtenhagen aflame. Some 115 Vietnamese workers and their families barely escaped death by clambering onto the roof. As in the 1938 Kristallnacht pogrom against Jews, the Nazis wanted to burn the immigrants alive. Earlier, hundreds of rampaging fascist skinheads had beset the building housing refugees seeking asylum, particularly targeting Roma and Cinti (Gypsies). Several thousand local residents cheered them on, many yelling "Foreigners out!" and some chanting "Sieg Heil!" and giving the stiff-arm Hitler salute.

In the aftermath of the capitalist reunification of Germany which destroyed the DDR deformed workers state, mass unemployment has surpassed that of the depths of the Great Depression. With almost half of the workforce in the east—more than four million people—thrown out of work, the climate of desperation has created a fertile breeding ground for fascism. Immigrant workers are being used as scapegoats not just by the Nazis but by the rulers of the Fourth Reich. Bitterness which could and should be turned against the masters of German imperialism instead fuels the flames of fascism, as all the major parties push anti-immigrant hysteria and racism. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) have called and fought to mobilize the working class in defense of the besieged immigrant communities, as we continue to fight capitalist counter-revolution down the line, from Rostock to Moscow.

The Rostock pogrom unleashed a wave of terror against refugees around Germany. From Augsburg in Bavaria to Greifswald on the Baltic, at least 20 refugee centers have been attacked in the last week; a tent camp for asylum seekers in Leipzig was burned to the ground. In Berlin a bomb was set off at the monument for Jewish deportees. The capitalist state wants to use the outburst of Nazi terror to assault democratic rights. They are seeking to push through bonapartist measures—the use of police shock troops against demonstrators, and expedited trials to be used against leftists, immigrants and workers. And an all-party coalition in Bonn has whipped up hysteria about a "flood of foreigners," instigating the pogromist wave, in order to gut the right of asylum.

For months Nazis have tried to whip up hostility among the residents of Rostock/Lichtenhagen against the refugees. Since June more than 1,300 asylum seekers have been jammed into the building which has space for only a quarter of that number. Many families had to spend the night on the lawn outside for lack of beds, without even tents over their heads, forced to eat and relieve themselves there for lack of toilets and cooking facilities. It recalled conditions in the infamous Nazi concentration camp in Marzahn (Berlin) set up to hold Roma and Cinti, hundreds of thousands of whom were murdered by the Third Reich. Local, state and federal officials were squabbling over the situation, but



Murderous Nazi mobs torch Vietnamese workers' hostel in Rostock as anti-immigrant terror spreads through German cities.

did nothing, perhaps in a cynical attempt to stir up mass resentment. For this was a *state-authorized terrorist attack*.

The threats to go after the refugees had been known for days, published in the local paper. Police arrived early on but just stood by and watched; they organized the removal of the asylum seekers under the supervision of federal interior minister Seiters, and then withdrew so the arsonists could carry out their deadly work (with the Vietnamese immigrant workers still inside). Chancellor Kohl grotesquely sought to blame it all on "Stasi agents," whereas in fact fascists came in from Berlin and Hamburg, openly organizing their terror over CB radios. But the main "instigators" are the parliamentary parties who have all been pushing to "crack down" on immigration. The racist front stretches from the bourgeois Christian Democrats (CDU) and Free Democrats (FDP) to the Social Democrats (SPD), with the Greens calling for "quotas" and the ex-Stalinist would-be social democrats of the PDS demanding more cops.

A year ago, fascist thugs staged a pogrom in the lignite mining town of Hoyerswerda. The bourgeois media (and not a few "leftists") are portraying the entire population of the DDR, the former East German workers state, as a pack of racists. But while the Nazis have been feeding off the desperation produced by mass unemployment, the fascists are still a small minority. As the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) wrote in a 24 August leaflet, "other residents expressed their outrage" to our comrades over the fascist terror against the immigrants:

"Rostock is a workers city! Only a short while ago the shipyard workers demonstrated through plant occupations their willingness to fight the scorched earth policies of the Treuhand [the state agency set up to liquidate the DDR economy]. We Spartakists say: *Energetic actions by the Rostock metal and shipyard workers and their anti-fascist allies can prevent the Nazi pogrom!*"

Thousands of copies of this leaflet were distributed in Rostock.

On Saturday, August 29, some 20,000 anti-fascists marched through the streets of the Lichtenhagen district. This in itself was an achievement, as they were surrounded and continuously harassed by a huge police mobilization for civil war. Some 28 police "centuria" (hun-

dred-man squads) of riot cops and federal "border police" were sent in, along with hundreds of other cops and more than a dozen helicopters which menacingly buzzed the crowd. Cars and buses were stopped and searched on the Autobahn, and a 1,500-strong contingent from Hamburg was blocked for hours from joining the protest.

The SpAD leaflet noted, "While the pogromists were rampaging in Rostock, an SPD internal leadership meeting was giving a green light for dismantling the right to asylum." At the same time, the SPD approved the use of Bundeswehr troops for imperialist interventions around the world, of course only in UN "blue helmets." SPD chief Engholm is now rabidly demanding speeded-up deportations. Already the Social Democrats have been pushing for "collection camps" for refugees requesting asylum, and setting them up in states the SPD governs.

The escalation of racist terror has accompanied the rise of aggressive German nationalism set off by the capitalist reunification of the Fourth Reich. In the drive to *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR workers state, the SPD was the "Trojan horse of counterrevolution," as we Trotskyists declared. When Nazis defaced the Soviet war memorial in Treptow (East Berlin), the Spartakists initiated a united-front workers mobilization in January 1990, which was taken up by the SED/PDS and brought out 250,000 people seeking to oppose the drive to reunification and defend the DDR. But the bourgeoisie and their SPD agents upped the voltage of their destabilization campaign, pumping millions into hastily called DDR elections, and the bankrupt Stalinists took fright at the prospect of proletarian political revolution and civil war. With the strength of the West German economy, symbolized by the D-mark, the partisans of "Germany—one fatherland" won out.

Afterward came the bitter reckoning. The mass unemployment and social misery produced by the systematic destruction of East German industry has brought desperation and lumpenization. The sense of hopelessness is widespread in areas like Rostock's Lichtenhagen, home of thousands of former workers in the shipyards which built boats primarily

for the Soviet Union. Youth without any perspective of a job or any future at all are susceptible to fascist demagogues. But if the power of the working class were mobilized it would be a very different story. The public workers strike last spring dramatically showed this, spreading from West to East in wildcat action, to the consternation of the social-democratic ÖTV union bureaucrats and the Kohl regime.

As earlier in Eberswalde, where the cops stood by as the Angolan worker Amadeu Antonio was murdered by skinheads, and later beat up a memorial march, in Rostock the police prepared the way for the Nazis and then assaulted the anti-fascists. The weeklong pogrom began on Saturday, August 22, and escalated day by day until the police carried out the racists' demands for "foreigners out." Several thousand bystanders in part egged on the "brown mob." But the workers in Rostock are not a racist mass, as the anti-Communist propaganda campaign would have one believe. Decisive action by organized working people would have dispersed the couple hundred skinheads, shut up "eager onlookers" in a flash, and won the support of the many decent Rostockers.

Workers in the harbor and at the Warnow works particularly wanted to do something against the Nazis. But the SPD-led union bureaucrats, the same ones who had throttled the struggle of the waterfront workers against mass layoffs, *prevented* the mobilization of Rostock workers. On August 25, the local DGB union federation called for a protest that same day, but distributed a leaflet announcing it after quitting time, so that only a few hundred showed up. The DGB then refused to call for the big anti-fascist demonstration on August 29, and the IG Metall union closed their offices for two days beforehand.

The SpAD has repeatedly called for workers mobilization against the mounting Nazi/skinhead attacks. When the NPD fascists announced they would "celebrate" the Kristallnacht pogrom in Halle last November 9, the Spartakists fought for a united-front union-based action to stop the racist terrorists. We found considerable support among the workers in this concentrated industrial region. But after first endorsing, at the last minute the DGB bureaucrats withdrew and demobilized the unions. If instead of this shameful betrayal the Nazis had been stopped by a powerful workers action, they wouldn't have been so bold in showing their bloody face in Rostock, in the traditionally "red" (socialist) north.

The August 29 demonstration was dominated by the Autonomen, many of whom participated in courageous actions to defend the Rostock immigrant dormitories. Over the course of the week, almost a hundred were arrested by the same cops who made the Nazi pogrom possible, and who then threw anti-fascists into the same cells with skinheads. The Spartakist Workers Party demands: Drop the charges—Immediately end all prosecution of anti-fascists! Rather than indecisive street fighting with Nazi/skinheads, and guerrilla (theater) "war" with the far more heavily armed cops, it is necessary to bring to bear the social power of the workers and immigrants in order to beat down fascist terror. The Autonomen who yelled "Shame on you!" at the apartment buildings in Lichtenhagen

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Unions...

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in the 1970s by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The Partnership of Labour and Capital is a Lie!

Last year that mouthpiece of finance capital the *Financial Review* (15 August) counselled Australia's rulers:

"The sorts of changes needed in Australia's working culture are of the magnitude seen in Eastern Europe.... But where the accord's gradualism delivered commitment to award restructuring, an end (or at least a lengthy pause) to Australia's indexation fixation and a range of other important social wage ideas, the pace of change is relentless. The new world economic order to which the Australian economy is now quite properly exposed is a hard and unremitting task master."

The years of Accord givebacks and capitulations by the union tops have only increased the bosses' bloodlust for more draconian union busting and capitalist attacks. Today the bosses push "enterprise bargaining" aimed at destroying union-wide awards and undermining working class unity through atomised plant "agreements." The ALP/ACTU's only beef is that this cuts out the Arbitration system, the cornerstone of the union top's corporatism. Under its alternative "Australia Reconstructed" scheme to save Australian capitalism, the ACTU tops envisage the creation of 20 conglomerate business unions providing for the deepening of Arbitration-sanctioned "award restructuring." Recently the ACTU sold out the militant APPM strikers in Burnie on the altar of "award restructuring" by pushing through all the company-demanded givebacks.

The lieutenants of the capitalist class inside the union movement cripple the capacity of union struggle with their lie of the partnership of labour and capital. The Laborite union bureaucracy are the main prop to racist White Australia capitalist rule and the chief obstacle to a concerted class struggle fightback. Their highest loyalties are not to the membership but to the capitalist class. They have presided over the systematic dismantling of hard-won union gains and in many cases the destruction of unions themselves.

From the APPM picket lines in Burnie, to arrested Tasmanian wharfies, to last year's NSW 24-hour general strike that united the multiracial working class in struggle: there is seething working class hostility at capitalist austerity and a clear will to fight. But working class struggles have been kept isolated by the Laborite union leaders, ground down and then given the kiss off—in the Arbitration court. Enough is enough! Some *hard class struggle* is needed to turn things around. The power of the working class lies in its collective organisation at the point of production. Its weapons of struggle: the picket line, plant occupation, solidarity strike. The capitalists' arsenal is their state: Arbitration courts, cops, prisons and ultimately the army. Key to smashing the capitalist offensive is working class independence from the bosses' state. *Bury Arbitration—nothing important was ever won by the working class through the ballot box or the bosses' courts!* Every major union battle today poses the need for a class struggle leadership determined to mobilise the power of the working class. Such a leadership can only be built through a concerted political struggle against the Laborite union tops. This task requires being armed with a class struggle program for workers revolution to forge a workers government.

Protectionism is Poison

To "salvage Australian industry" the union tops push racist protectionist schemes which divide workers, lining them up behind their "own" bosses. These schemes undermine the necessary class unity of the multiracial Australian

working class setting them up against their class brothers and sisters in Asia. In August, Kirner and Victorian THC secretary Halfpenny addressed a "Save Geelong Jobs" rally of 2500 workers. Calling for industry tariff protection, it was organised by a lash-up of employers, unions and farmers' organisations. It recalled a vile racist protest action against Japanese cement imports in 1988 that assaulted Japanese seamen and local wharfies. Immigration controls and state protection of industry are the twin pillars of the Laborite racist myth of the white Australian worker sharing in the master's profits through the exclusion of "cheap" Asian labour. But from the Newcastle shipyards to NSW mines, where workers have been fed the sucker-bait of "unity" with their own exploiters, the bosses have only demanded "sacrifices" and givebacks from workers, sucked the industry dry, and then closed it down anyway.

Since WWII immigrant labour has formed the backbone of Australian manufacturing, doing the dirtiest, most dangerous and lowest paying jobs. Behind Australia's tariff wall, employers felt no need to modernise industry, relying instead on the grinding exploitation of especially non-English speaking immigrants. Now with manufacturing collapsing, these workers are thrown on the scrapheap by a racist ruling class that couldn't give a damn. At the same time the government carries out racist round-ups of "illegal" immigrants, throwing them into detention centre hellholes for deportation. The unions must fight for



Militant APPM Burnie strike; sold out by ACTU bureaucrats.

full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers.

The last ten years has seen a steady decrease in union membership. The craftist and racist union tops have criminally neglected the great bulk of predominantly immigrant non-unionised workers. The Australian Workers Union (AWU) has been running a grotesque racist campaign against New Zealand shearers. Rather than fight to organise all workers to fight the union-busting pastoralists, the AWU bureaucrats urge restrictions on New Zealand workers entering the country, with racist threats against Maori and South Pacific Islander workers. Victorian Minister for Agriculture Baker referred to "the flotsam of New Zealand society," while federal immigration minister Hand rants that New Zealand workers are taking 189,000 "Australian" jobs.

The strategic big battalions of the Australian working class (mining, transport and maritime) which have historically spearheaded and shaped class struggle fightbacks are today dormant, chained by the Laborite bureaucracy's social contract. Along with the rest of the working class their hard-won union gains and jobs are being sold off. *Unchain the unions!* A class struggle leadership would mount a concerted union drive to organise the unorganised. This will find a great reservoir of untapped working class power particularly amongst women workers who bear the brunt of the capitalist offensive. The workers' most fundamental right is the right to



Labor's anti-working class henchmen Kirner (left) and Keating.

work. The proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing number of workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. What's needed is a fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours! Make the bosses pay through spreading the available work around! For massive pay increases to make up for the years of Accord wage slashing! Such a struggle is key to uniting and organising the unemployed behind a working class fightback.

Protectionism can only lead to industrial rot as the productive forces of the world market are artificially forced behind the outmoded barriers of the capitalist nation state. In such conditions the tendency is towards trade wars and ul-

years the state-owned enterprises have been the Laborite sacred cow embodying the reformist pipedream of "creeping socialism." Against this socialists fight for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie through workers revolution. Now with the economy in dire straits the Labor governments' are dismantling their sacred cows with the aim of gutting union conditions, slashing jobs and imposing contract work in a wholesale union busting campaign.

In the face of mounting discontent and needing to enormously increase the rate of exploitation of working people, the capitalist governments have been driving towards a strong state. Every year has seen a big boost in money spent on cops and prisons. Kirner's election promise is 1000 more cops, and new cells for the youth prison, euphemistically named the "Turana Youth Training Centre." Is this what Keating means by "youth training?" Funds received from the federal government as a result of the Royal Commission into Black Deaths (a cover-up of racist state terror) were spent on upgrading police cells! After large student protests in Melbourne, cops staged raids on supporters of the International Socialist Organisation and announced the resuscitation of the notorious Red Squads.

The Labor governments have been in the forefront of the drive to instil reactionary social conformity. Under Big Sister Kirner this has a particularly sinister and oppressive flavour. TV ads bombard viewers with propaganda campaigns: the "Drug Offensive," "Stand up against child sexual abuse," "How will you feel tomorrow" (aimed at adolescents who drink). Many are backed up by police dob-in operations, calling upon the public to ring up and report a "child abuser" or "drug dealer." Kirner's Community Services Victoria "social workers" act like cops without guns. They run the youth prison, the "child abuse" campaign, and kidnapped the Family of Love children all in concert with real cops who are very much armed. Kirner postures as being for women's rights, but while closing down hospitals, a proposed new hospital in Werribee is to be administered by that arch institution of anti-woman reaction the Catholic Church (ie, no abortions, no vasectomies).

ALP "Socialist Left" Cover for Capitalist Looting

The Socialist Left-dominated Labor government in Victoria were up to their eyeballs in the 1980s "decade of greed." The big boost in profits under the Accord was supposed to generate industrial investment and the re-equipment of the economy. Instead there was an orgy of speculation, looting and greed. The Labor government threw billions of dollars into "picking winners." Now with the collapse of the VEDC, Tricontinental, Pyramid, etc, and the "disappearance" of billions of dollars, the government is picking up the tab. As one industrialist quipped: What's the capital of Victoria? Answer: 27 cents.

In financial crisis, the government has taken to looting state instrumentalities, like the SEC and Gas & Fuel, at bargain basement prices to pay off the debt. For

ALP "Left" Satellites in a Spin

Jim Percy's Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), forever searching for their chance to make it into big-time bourgeois politics, is pushing for a "new left political alliance" behind bourgeois politicians like ex-Australian Democrat Senator Janet Powell, who described Keating's recent budget as "realistic." It seems that the DSP have gone a long way from a decade ago when as the Socialist Workers Party they pledged undying loyalty to the ALP and called "for a Labor government with socialist

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policies." Now that they have turned "green," support for openly bourgeois parties is the go. One thing for sure though, the DSP have always been inveterate petty-bourgeois nationalists with an enormous opportunist appetite that far outweighs their size. They were "inspired" by the Wills by-election win earlier this year of the Laborite protectionist Cleary, who was backed by various union bureaucracies, and the textile sweatshop bosses. Of course the DSP loyally stress that preferences should go to Labor as the "lesser evil," fitting in nicely with Halfpenny's THC campaign to put "the Liberals last."

Even this is "ultra-left" for the ISO who have gone onto campaign footing for another three years of Labor government. The headlines of the ISO's *Socialist* scream: "Fight the Liberals every inch of the way!" Their support to Labor is strategic, based on a shared hostility to communism and support to "democratic" imperialism. Recently the ISO's co-thinkers in Canada launched a violent assault on our comrades and then called the cops. A Trotskyist League leaflet nailed them: "the IS really aspires to play the same role as the German social-democratic bloodhounds who after World War I worked to drown the German workers revolution in blood, murdering Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and hundreds of other working class fighters." Now the September issue of the ISO's rag attempts to justify their Labor-loyalism by labelling the German communists as "ultra-lefts" for having "attempted to take power in January 1919 without having won the majority of workers." We can well understand the ISO hating Luxemburg who called the German social democracy a "stinking corpse." They would have been out drumming up votes for the social-democratic bloodhounds. But as Lenin said at a protest rally following the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht: "The example of the German revolution proves that 'democracy' is only a camouflage for bourgeois robbery and the most savage violence."

A case in political pathology is presented by the Socialist Labour League. For years these frauds ran around calling for "special ALP conferences" and lobbying ACTU conferences, demanding that a non-existent "left-wing" drive the "right-wing" out of the ALP and fight for a "Labor government with socialist policies." Now they write off unions as "mechanisms for the intensification of exploitation" and as "old, discredited and bankrupt organisations." Claiming that the union bureaucracy "no longer rests upon the working class" they liken them to the corporatist "union" leaders under Mussolini's fascist Italy (*Workers News*, 28 August). The SLL's present anti-working class rejection of unions is consistent with their Stalinophobic line that Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through." This line has served as a "theoretical" justification for siding with every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary movement targeting the degenerated Soviet workers state. For years the SLL were the paid mercenaries of Arab bourgeois regimes. They took money to print a Vietnamese fascist newspaper, the *Bell of Saigon*, which called on its supporters to "exterminate" communists, and routinely slandered and cop-baited leftist organisations. Their reactionary anti-union position begs the question—who are they setting out to work for now?

As Leon Trotsky said in 1938, the world political situation is chiefly characterised by a historical crisis of proletarian leadership. The Spartacist League is a section of the International Communist League committed to the forging of a class struggle workers party. This is a critical precondition to the Australian proletariat taking its place in the worldwide struggle for socialism, uniting especially with the powerful Japanese proletariat and the toilers of Asia. For international socialist revolution! ■

Anger Builds Against "Post-Apartheid" Swindle

Struggle Sweeps South Africa

AUGUST 4—South Africa's millions-strong black working class has hit the apartheid rulers and shut down the country with a nationwide two-day general strike. A week of mass actions is to follow, including occupying government buildings and a march on Pretoria tomorrow. Called by the African National Congress and its labor ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the campaign sought to pressure the government in the "power sharing" talks aimed at masking white supremacy under neo-apartheid rule. But the ANC broke off negotiations following the June 17 massacre in Boipatong township near Sharpeville by Inkatha thugs abetted by the apartheid police and army.

The weeklong campaign of protest has been carefully managed. The *New York Times* (4 August) reported that the strike "had been scaled back until it became more of a cathartic ritual aimed at letting off steam in the townships before a resumption of talks." But with anger mounting in the black townships and unions, the regime is braced for a season of turmoil which could "get out of hand" and slip the ANC/COSATU leash. Already, more than 20 people have been killed since Sunday.

On Monday and Tuesday, Johannesburg's streets were deserted. Factories were silent, stores shut, schools closed, and urban centers were ghost towns due to the absence of the millions of black workers without whom the South African economy grinds to a halt. At least 80 percent of the black workforce reportedly participated in the strike in the major urban areas. In the townships, blacks demonstrated in the streets. Flaming barricades were erected in Manenberg and elsewhere around Cape Town. In Soweto and Daveyton large crowds marched on precincts to protest cop killings.

The ANC, which was compelled by its mass base to call the general strike, tried until the final hours to call it off. A deal with the gold barons and Jo'burg stock-brokers to replace the strike with a voluntary national "day of reconciliation" failed when the De Klerk regime ordered employers to make no concessions to the ANC. Emboldened by his victory in last March's whites-only referendum, De Klerk has been ramming repressive laws through parliament, calling up thousands of white reservists and hinting at a return to the state of emergency. The regime finally attempted to discredit the ANC with a deliberate provocation, orchestrating the Soweto Day massacre of 43 in Boipatong township.

The apartheid rulers moved 5,000 additional troops into the black townships on the eve of the strike. Demonstrations took place as tanks and personnel carriers continually rumbled past. The general strike was initially motivated to "bring down" the De Klerk government and install an interim government. Black workers and township youth took this call seriously, and began preparing. South Africa is in the midst of the biggest strike wave in years, with 650,000 days lost in 1992—more than double the number in the same period last year. Conditions are ripe for a crescendo of class struggle, but the ANC/COSATU leadership along with the South African Communist Party have cruelly deceived the workers.

As the masses, outraged by the government-orchestrated campaign of violence that has killed over 6,000 people in the last two years, burn to pick up the struggle to *smash the apartheid state*, the ANC/COSATU/SACP move to cut back

the strike to a toothless two-day protest was met with anger and disgust. There is particular anger among public sector unions, who have been preparing their membership for months to take over government facilities, and who watched as militant Transvaal hospital strikers were fired en masse. This comes on the heels of the vindictive firing of 6,000 Toyota strikers in Port Elizabeth.

The liberal *Weekly Mail* (17 July) quoted one unionist who said, "We're confused as to what the usefulness of having a one-day action would be. This mass action is supposed to be unprecedented, but this will not amount to that at all." The ANC and its SACP braintrusters cynically play with the general strike as a pressure tactic in their waltz with the

the "tap" school (turning mass action on and off) of Nelson Mandela and ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and the "Leipzig option" (escalating mass demonstrations such as toppled the Honecker regime in the fall of 1989) linked with SACP leader Chris Hani, also head of the ANC's "military arm" Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Cronin declares any thought of insurrection "unrealistic." But in reality all wings of the SACP are thoroughly committed to seeking a "power sharing" deal with the apartheid rulers. Their only squabble is over the pace and the terms.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's strategy of fomenting intercommunal warfare to terrorize the black masses and then blaming the ANC for "black-on-black



Der Spiegel

Massive protest march held in Capetown this August. Black proletariat has the power to bring down racist Apartheid regime.

capitalist rulers. But employing this powerful weapon of class struggle inevitably raises the question of which class shall rule. And in bloody South Africa, all experience has demonstrated that just to achieve basic democratic rights the apartheid ruling class must be overthrown. The black workers have the power to do this; what they need is a leadership prepared to use it. Above all, ANC, SACP and COSATU tops have made it clear that a fight for power is the last thing they want.

Amid reported tension between "hard-liners" and "moderates" over the scope and goal of the strike campaign, on July 16 the ANC felt compelled to issue a document entitled "Campaign for Peace and Democracy," emphasizing that the campaign "is not a programme for insurrection. Neither is it aimed at a 'peaceful overthrow' of the regime.... Insurrection is not on the agenda. Neither would it be a voluntary choice of the ANC, both now and in the future." Nelson Mandela proclaimed himself "keen" to get the negotiations going again, provided the government would concede any one of fourteen "demands" presented by the ANC.

The *Weekly Mail* (10 July) reports a raging three-way fight in the Communist Party over the August strike campaign. The ANC Youth League, echoing grassroots militants, reputedly wanted to use the mass action campaign to bring the government down. A document by SACP right-winger Jeremy Cronin on different "strategic assumptions in our ranks" identifies the "don't rock the boat" school associated with ANC international department head Thabo Mbeki,

violence" backfired when the government's "hidden hand" became all too clear in the Boipatong slaughter. Not only did hundreds of witnesses see the army bring in Inkatha death squads, it later became known that a unit of the notorious (and supposedly disbanded) *Koevoet* ("crowbar") paramilitary force, based at a nearby Goldfields mining compound, took part in the massacre. In protest, the 300,000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) walked out of wage negotiations.

Frantically seeking damage control over the Boipatong massacre, the government appointed a commission of inquiry, including several British criminologists, to "evaluate" the police investigation. Their report was a predictable whitewash, denying police complicity while slapping the government's wrist for "inadequate planning." The next week, another scandal which surprised no one rocked Pretoria, as leading pathologist Dr. Jonathan Gluckman (who did the autopsy on murdered activist Steve Biko) declared, "I can't stand it any longer," and revealed files proving nearly 200 blacks who had died in detention were actually murdered by the police. As De Klerk blustered that an investigation was under way, three more young men met their death that week while under arrest.

The despair and anger felt by South Africa's black and coloured (mixed-race) population reached the boiling point, and would not be satisfied by the orchestrated marches and sit-ins at government offices which until now have comprised the bulk of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "mass action campaign." After the Boipatong massacre, ANC leaders in the

continued on page 11

Cliff's "Neither Washington nor Moscow" State Capitalism:



Spartacist



Newsweek

In Soviet Union and Poland, SWP sides with counterrevolution. Cliff cheered pro-Yeltsin August counter-coup (left) as well as others like pro-KPN clerical reactionary "Fighting Solidarity" who in 1989 greeted U.S. chief Bush (right).

Pimping for Yeltsin, Walesa, and Mujahedin Cut-throats

The following polemic against Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), British parent group of the International Socialist Organisation originally appeared in *Workers Hammer No 129 (May/June 1992)*, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.

* * *

In 1950 Tony Cliff's organisation (today's Socialist Workers Party) was expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea against U.S. and British imperialism. At the height of the Cold War the Labour government swung in behind the U.S., sending troops to fight the Koreans and later the Chinese also. Three million Koreans were slaughtered in that war, conducted under United Nations auspices. When the Cold War turned hot in Korea, Tony Cliff's theory that the USSR is "state capitalist" provided the rationale for straightforward capitulation to the British Empire.

Virulent hatred of the Soviet Union has been the hallmark of the SWP ever since. As Cliff himself said: "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength" (*Leveller*, September 1979). Their ostensible "third campism" notwithstanding, this "neither Washington nor Moscow" crowd has unfailingly found itself in the camp of Washington and London whenever there has been a hard counterposition between imperialism and the degenerated and deformed workers states. Indeed the SWP prides itself on being the most virulent anti-Soviets around. Its hard-line support for the Yeltsinite forces of capitalist counterrevolution—joining "the struggle on the August barricades" in the USSR—is but the most recent example. In Afghanistan against the Red Army it supported the drug-peddling CIA cut-throats who enslave women and skin teachers alive for teaching little girls how to read and write. SWPer Paul Foot effectively accused Margaret Thatcher of being "soft" on Russia with his *Daily Mirror* "exposés" asking "Are we putting beef into Russia's invasion?"

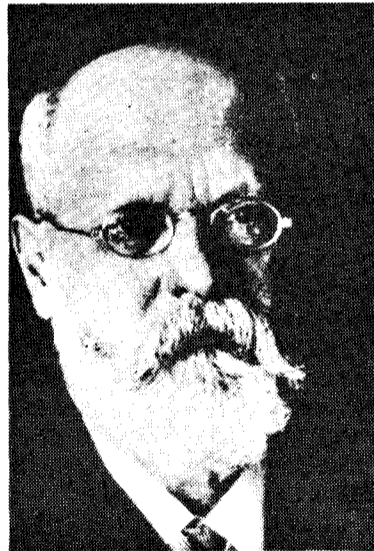
Poland was an acid test for the left. Today of course the reactionary policies of Solidarność are more than evident, and the fake left goes around claiming that Walesa and Co "betrayed" its original ideals. But by the time of its

founding conference in 1981, Solidarność had consolidated around a pro-capitalist programme, echoing the CIA call for "free trade unions" and free parliamentary elections, demanding that Poland join the IMF. Lane Kirkland and Irving Brown (the CIA's main "labour operative" in smashing Communist-led unions after World War II) were invited. Meanwhile Solidarność was getting

that the Catholic Church was the driving force behind the creation of Solidarity. The reality was very different" (*Socialist Review*, 23 January-19 February 1982). The SWP did "criticise" Solidarność—for ostensibly not being "militant" enough in carrying out counterrevolution! Thus, in an article written at the time Chris Harman identified as the "left" the "various

form of exploitation to another form..." (*International Socialism* No 46, Spring 1990). A step sideways? When in March 1990 in the DDR there was an overwhelming vote for the Christian Democrats, the SWP proclaimed: "Nevertheless, Kohl's election victory should not dismay socialists" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 March 1990). Tell that to the embittered working people of what was East Germany, where up to 40 per cent are facing unemployment, where fascist activity is on the rise, where women are being driven out of the workforce. Meanwhile, the capitalist reunification of Germany gives a major boost to the German Fourth Reich, posing the threat of imperialist war. Or how about Poland, where the counterrevolutionary Solidarność government, having drafted in the likes of Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs (moulded in the infamous Milton Friedman school of capitalist "shock treatment") to implement IMF guidelines, has overseen more than a 30 per cent decline in standards of living, sacking a million Polish workers in a year. Meanwhile the powerful Church hierarchy has set its sights on abolishing abortion rights. Indeed, the regimes emerging in Eastern Europe bear a strong resemblance to the oppressive, anti-Semitic regimes that existed there in the interwar period. That's called counterrevolution, and underscores the principled insistence of Trotskyists to defend the deformed and degenerated workers states and collectivised property forms against internal capitalist restorationism as well as against imperialist attack.

In the aftermath of the deliberately inept "perestroika coup" in the Soviet Union last August, *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) proclaimed "Communism has collapsed... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." In cheering for Yeltsin, the Cliffites predictably took their cues from Bush, Major, the imperialists and Labour traitor Neil Kinnock. (And in fact the SWP goes so far as to criticise the likes of Ken Livingstone from the right because he supports the wretched pro-market Party of Labour which for the SWP is not sufficiently anti-Communist. For Cliff et al "talk of [Yeltsin-inspired] fascism is scaremongering and only drives the PL [Party of Labour] further into the arms of the old style Communists" [*Socialist*



no credit



Christopher Davis (Report)

Renegade from Marxism, Karl Kautsky (left) is political godfather of SWP honcho Tony Cliff (right).

millions through CIA conduits, including German social democracy, the "socialist" governments of France and Sweden, and the AFL-CIO "International Department." Ronald Reagan and the Vatican "agreed to undertake a clandestine campaign to hasten the dissolution of the communist empire.... The operation was focused on Poland.... Both the Pope and President were convinced that Poland could be broken out of the Soviet orbit if the Vatican and the U.S. committed their resources to destabilizing the Polish government and keeping the outlawed Solidarity movement alive after the declaration of martial law in 1981" (*Time Magazine*, 24 February).

The SL called for "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" In contradistinction, the fake lefts cheered on the Vatican's, CIA's and Thatcher's favourite union. The SWP sought to deny the close ties between Solidarność and clerical reaction: "Both the Western press and Western Stalinists give the impression

radical leaders with their strong regional bases—Giazda in Gdansk, Rulewski in Bydgoszcz, Jurzyk in Szczecin" (*Socialist Review*, 15 November-13 December 1981). Marian Jurczyk, today the leader of Solidarność '80, got about a quarter of the votes as a right-wing opponent of Walesa within Solidarność in 1981. At the time Jurczyk declared that three-quarters of the Stalinist leadership were really Jews who had changed their names and that "a couple of gallows would come in handy" to deal with these "traitors to Polish society" (*Workers Vanguard* No 507, 27 July 1990).

So what do the Cliffites now say? Over the last couple of years, SWP honchos Alex Callinicos, in his *The Revenge of History*, and Chris Harman have sought to bring state capitalism "up to date." Harman writes "that the transition from state capitalism to multinational capitalism is neither a step forward nor a step backwards, but a step sideways. The change involves only a shift from one

Workers Review, February 1992].) But the Soviet working masses are hardly rejoicing over the ascendancy of Yeltsin's openly capitalist restorationist forces. The outcome is not yet decided: it is desperately necessary to construct a genuine Leninist/Trotskyist party to lead the fight to smash the counter-revolutionaries through proletarian political revolution. The alternative, the destruction of the first workers state by the bourgeoisie, would be an historic defeat not only for the Soviet masses but for the world proletariat, paving the way for new trade wars and a new world war as the big imperialist powers intensify their competition for hegemony.

USSR in the 1920s: Cliff v Trotsky

Tony Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia*, completed in 1948, was hardly the first attempt to devise a "new class" theory for the Soviet Union. Less than ten years earlier Trotsky and the leadership of the American SWP had waged a hard faction fight against Max Shachtman and James Burnham, who flinched from defending the USSR when this became unpopular with the petty bourgeois intelligentsia at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Shachtman termed the Soviet Union "bureaucratic collectivist." Despite the ostensible "theoretical differences," the Cliffites loosely collaborated with the remnants of Shachtman's organisation (the old American IS). What all of the state caps and bureaucratic collectivists have in common is the gut impulse to "hate Russia." The particular "theories" always have an artificial, jerry-built quality, because they are not based on concrete reality but rather are slapped together in order to provide a rationale for refusing to defend the workers states against imperialism and counter-revolution. Appropriately enough, the first "state capitalist" was Karl Kautsky, whose 1918 polemic *Terrorism and Communism* characterised the Soviet state to that effect.

Of course, it required quite some doing for Cliff to "prove" that the USSR is "capitalist," given the absence of key features that characterise this mode of production—capitalist competition, the profit motive, the reserve army of the unemployed, periodic crises of overproduction, etc. But Cliff's revision of elementary Marxism is downright shameless. As we pointed out in our pamphlet *Why the U.S.S.R. is Not Capitalist* some years ago, he "proves" that competition exists in the Soviet Union by redefining it to mean military competition with the capitalist states. Denying the elementary principle that under capitalism owners of factories seek to maximise profit, Cliff asserts instead that they seek to maximise economic growth, or accumulation, so-called "production for production's

sake." (This is among the most idiotic of Cliffite assertions; if capitalist production were really capable of expanding indefinitely, there would be no reason for a planned economy.)

Hence, workers in the USSR are supposedly "exploited" because too many weapons and machines are produced relative to consumer goods. This piece of charlatanism is a rationalisation for the social-democratic politics of the SWP, with its rabid denunciations of "Soviet imperialism." Moreover, it is deeply insulting to the working class, which is in effect depicted as being incapable of transcending trade-unionist or economist consciousness. No workers state in the world could survive if it did not take appropriate measures to defend itself against the imperialists and increase the rate of industrialisation. This would necessarily cut into the resources available for immediate consumption. Certainly this was all the more the case for the young Soviet workers state, which emerged from tsarism with a largely peasant economy encircled by hostile imperialist powers. In fact, the working masses of Lenin and Trotsky's Russia were passionately internationalist and made countless material sacrifices to advance world revolution.

Visiting a Soviet factory towards the end of the Civil War, the American communist and journalist John Reed recalls being saluted by one youth: "For three years the Russian workers have been bleeding and dying for the Revolution, and not our own Revolution, but the World Revolution. Tell our American comrades that we listen day and night for the sound of their footsteps coming to our aid. But tell them, too, that no matter how long it may take them, we shall hold firm" ("Soviet Russia Now," July 1920). Nor was this at all uncommon. The Red Army was viewed not only as a means of defending the Soviet Union but as an auxiliary instrument of revolutionary war, where appropriate. Thus the war fought against Pilsudski's Poland was motivated by the desire to achieve a common border with the German proletariat.

The failure of the German revolution in October 1923 and a decimated, war-weary working class provided fertile soil for the conservative apparatchiks. They sneered at the possibility of revolution abroad, gradually converting the Comintern into an agency for the conciliation of alien class forces, like the British TUC and Chiang Kai-shek. Instead they preached to the working masses to "build socialism in one country"—Russia—"at a snail's pace." The kulaks, or wealthy peasants, were urged to "enrich yourselves," the power of the petty traders or NEP men grew, class differentiation increased in the villages. Bukharin became the main ideologue for this policy. It is no accident that the Gorbachevite intelligentsia,

who in the main became fervent proponents of capitalism and admirers of Western "democracy," began by idolising Bukharin.

Trotsky, on the contrary, called for the voluntary collectivisation of agriculture and the planned industrialisation of the economy. In particular, he pointed to the need to strengthen the social weight of the proletariat. For this he was denounced as a "superindustrialiser" by Stalin, Bukharin and Co, who falsely

tom line of the Cliffites here is consistent with their virulent Stalinophobia: they repudiate the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to defend the "democratic rights" of the exploiters, in this case the nascent bourgeoisie, kulaks and NEP men.

The assertion that capitalism was restored with the institution of collectivisation and the five-year plans is particularly dim. Subsequently the Soviet economy grew rapidly, while the rest of



Franklin/Magnum

Afghan women take up arms against arch-reactionary drug-peddling CIA cut-throats who skinned teachers alive for teaching little girls how to read and write.

claimed that the Left Opposition's programme of proletarian internationalism and qualitative extension of economic planning was counterposed to raising the living standards of the Soviet working masses. In short, the Stalinist epigones demagogically utilised the kind of vulgar workerism espoused by Cliff in order to undermine the genuine Bolsheviks. The warnings of the Left Opposition were ignored, the kulaks began large grain strikes, the country was brought to the edge of a social explosion. Finally, the centre led by Stalin broke its bloc with the Bukharinite right, and made an about-face. Borrowing elements of the programme of the Left Opposition, Stalin moved against the kulaks and began to launch collectivisation and the five-year industrial plans.

Now certainly the Trotskyists did not endorse the brutal methods of Stalin. But they never considered making a programmatic bloc with the Bukharinites, let alone with outright bourgeois opponents of the regime. In fact their position was stronger than that. Fearing that the breakdown of the country might actually lead to civil war, Trotsky was prepared to make a military bloc with the Stalinist wing of the bureaucracy against the open capitalist restorationists. In a declaration to the Sixth Comintern Congress, Trotsky asserted: "...the Thermidorean, kulak, bourgeois, bureaucratic tail may try, at the peak of some future hill, at a time of even greater difficulties, to strike a really serious blow at the head; that is, try to move from the present semilegal forms of capitalist sabotage to direct civil war.... Oppositionists will fight for the party, for the dictatorship, for the October Revolution.... If the bureaucratic stupidity of the party apparatus should prevent the Oppositionists from occupying their places in the ranks of the regular army at the moment of extreme peril, they would fight the class enemy as guerillas..." (Trotsky, *Challenge of the Left Opposition*, [1928-29]).

Writing about this period, Chris Harman asserts that there was a "civil war" in which the victory of the Stalin faction spelled the destruction of the Soviet workers state (*International Socialism* No 46, Spring 1990, p20). In fact, it never came to civil war but had there been one, the Trotskyists would have been on the opposite side of the barricades from the likes of Cliff and Harman! The bot-

tom line of the Cliffites here is consistent with their virulent Stalinophobia: they repudiate the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to defend the "democratic rights" of the exploiters, in this case the nascent bourgeoisie, kulaks and NEP men.

the world was sunk in the Great Depression. The palpable superiority of the planned economy, even one distorted by Stalinist mismanagement, was a powerful weapon that attracted many workers to communist ideas. In his 1935 work *The Workers State, Thermidor and Bonapartism* Trotsky pointed out:

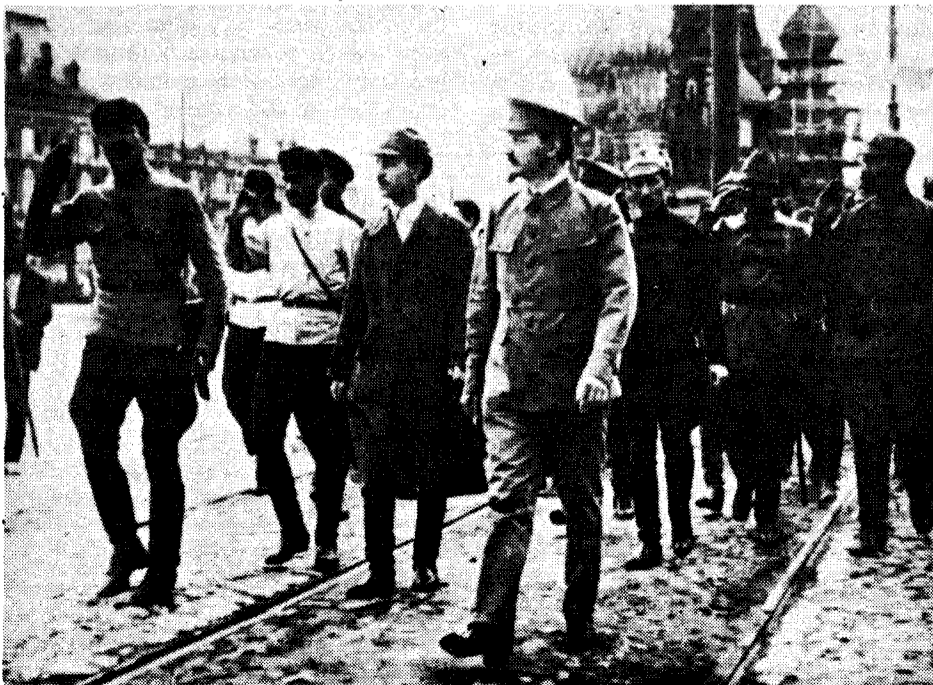
"In 1928, an open split took place in the bureaucracy. The Right was for further concessions to the kulak. The Centrists, arming themselves with the ideas of the Left Opposition whom they had smashed jointly with the Rights, found their support among the workers, routed the Rights, and took to the road of industrialization and, subsequently, collectivization. The basic social conquests of the October revolution were saved in the end at the cost of countless unnecessary sacrifices."

"The prognosis of the Bolshevik-Leninists (more correctly, the 'optimum variant' of their prognosis) was confirmed completely. Today there can be no controversy on this point. Development of the productive forces proceeded not by way of restoration of private property but on the basis of socialization, by way of planned management. The world-historical significance of this fact can remain hidden only to the politically blind."

Cliff's predictions go awry

There are quite a number of stories about East Europeans and Soviets who, having obtained copies of Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, cannot believe that it was written half a century ago, so vividly does it capture the social reality of the deformed workers states. Quite the contrary is true for Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia*, with its sterile and one-dimensional stereotyping of an Orwellian society of slaves and slavemasters in which "the standard of living of the masses not only lagged far behind, but even declined absolutely compared with 1928" (p51). During the first five-year plan wages did fall drastically. But then they began to rise, dropped during the Second World War and were restored to the 1928 level by the time of Stalin's death in 1953. From 1955 to 1968 real wages increased by 56 per cent. Under Brezhnev, in fact, in the late '70s industrial investment was cut back while consumption levels were maintained. By Cliff's lights, the arch-Stalinist Brezhnev should be seen as a "liberator."

And what about the critical events occurring in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union today? Since he characterised these societies as state capitalist,



United Press International

Trotsky and his staff inspect troops in Red Square. Red Army smashed White Guard reaction. Kautsky labelled Soviet Union "state capitalist."

Cliffites...

(continued from page 7)

of course Cliff denies that there could be such a thing as capitalist restoration. In fact, he is absolutely categorical that Western-style capitalism could not emerge there: "From a state-owned and planned economy there can be no re-tracing of steps to an anarchic, private-ownership economy" (p273). And again, in a polemic with Trotsky, Cliff subtitled one section "The internal forces are not able to restore individual capitalism in Russia: what conclusion as regards its class character?" Cliff says: "Before the experience of the World War II, it was an understandable if incorrect assumption that private capitalism could be restored in Russia without its occupation by an imperialist power. But the victory of the concentrated, statified Russian economy over the German war machine silenced all talk of such a possibility" (p326).

According to Cliff, "This deduction of the probable programme of the anti-Stalinist opposition from the objective data of bureaucratic state capitalism is clearly supported by the actual programmes of two organised anti-Stalinist movements which appeared during the World War II—the Vlassov movement and the Ukrainian Resurgent Army (UPA)" (pp273-4). The fascist UPA was founded in 1940 in the newly Soviet-occupied western Ukraine, in collaboration with the Wehrmacht, explicitly to fight against the Red Army. The UPA collaborated with the remnants of Petliura's Ukrainian government in exile, notorious for its anti-Semitic pogroms. The other group mentioned by Cliff is the movement of General Vlasov, the leader of the Russian fascist forces who fought on the side of Hitler against the Red Army. Vlasov must be about the purest example of a counterrevolutionary you could imagine. "Whether the Vlassov leaders were sincere or not is irrelevant," says Cliff. Ye gods! But from Cliff's virulently Stalinophobic standpoint, nothing could be worse than Stalinism, including Hitler's Nazis. With this methodology the SWP ends up indiscriminately supporting every opposition to Stalinism, no matter how reactionary, from CIA-backed Afghan cut-throats to Nazi-infested Baltic nationalists.

Cliff's work tells you precious little about the Soviet Union but a lot about the mindset of the author. Its fundamental appeal, with its overriding emphasis on workers' consumption, is to trade-union economism. As Cold War I began in earnest, the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lackeys set up a hue and cry about the Red Army occupying Eastern Europe. Cliff's book reflects the prejudices of British social democracy with its virulent attacks on Soviet "expansionism," and the implicit message that Britain is better because at least it had "free" unions. One might add that Cliff's sneering at accumulation and rapid growth is entirely in character with the prevailing attitudes of left Labourism in the post-war period with its attempts



U.S. Army

U.S. troops occupy Seoul in 1950. Tony Cliff broke with Trotskyism, refused to defend North Korea against imperialism.

to prop up a decaying capitalism based on fossilised industry.

Modern-day state-capitalist charlatanism

Of course those like Callinicos or Harman who attempt to "update" Cliff's theory of state capitalism never acknowledge that he ruled out the restoration of private property in Eastern Europe. That the modern-day Cliffite pontificators have had to simply drop essential chunks of Cliff's theory and hope that nobody will remember what he said only underscores the fact that the whole edifice built up by Cliff is ridiculous impressionism built on sand and exploded by historic events. A couple of decades ago the Cliffites were explaining that the "capitalist superpowers"—the U.S. and USSR—had staved off economic crisis through the arms race and military spending. But this theory of the "permanent arms economy" died a quiet death when it became impossible to deny that Germany and Japan, which were spending proportionately less on the military budget, had more dynamic economies than the U.S. Furthermore, the Cliffites postulated that state capitalism was the highest expression of capitalist imperialism, and that Western capitalist economies would more and more "resemble" that of the USSR. The statist economies of war-time Germany, America and Britain were supposed to be the harbingers of the future. But the Reagan years, along with Thatcher's dismantling of the welfare state, has made that a non-starter, too.

So Cliff's heirs simply junk his analysis and prognosis while claiming to base themselves on his theory. According to Harman, the trend since the First World War to the 1970s was state intervention in national economies, which came to its logical fruition in Eastern Europe. However, now, "The most successful enterprises in the West became those which began not merely to sell internationally, but also to organise production internationally. Multinational capitalism began to supplant state capitalism as the vanguard of the system" (*International Socialism* No 46, Spring 1990, p45). So capitalist concerns expanding internationally and corporate mergers across national lines is "new"? Lenin described exactly such phenomena

in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, where he shows that inter-imperialist trade and economic rivalries explode into military wars. Today with the collapse of Stalinism we are witnessing a sharpening of such inter-imperialist rivalries. Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism gave the U.S. ruling class the green light to try to corner the world oil stocks at the expense of its German and Japanese competitors. Some 100,000 Iraqis died in this bloody manifestation of the "new world order." Were the Soviet Union to be destroyed—which is what the Cliffites are cheering for—it would bring the world that much closer to nuclear war and annihilation.

In stark contrast to the banalities of Cliffite theory, Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* presents a powerful and cogent development of the contradictory qualities of Soviet society. The enormous gains of the USSR—including the right to guaranteed employment, health care, and education—all gave concrete expression to the vastly superior potential of the planned economy over capitalism. But still the economy lagged significantly behind those of the most developed capitalist countries in productivity of labour. As Trotsky noted:

"The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique.... It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow.... Under a nationalized economy, quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery"
—(*The Revolution Betrayed*, pp 275-6).

Thus, it is not the centralised economy but the absence of workers democracy which is a major reason for stagnation. But there is an inherent tendency for Stalinist regimes to abandon central planning in favour of introduction of "market methods," ie, at bottom the attempt to improve labour productivity through the whip of unemployment. Precisely this lay behind Gorbachev's perestroika, which unleashed forces which today threaten

capitalist restoration as well as the virtual dismemberment of the USSR.

Arguing in part against the Cliffites of his time, as well as against the Stalinists who falsely claimed that socialism had been achieved in the USSR, Trotsky wrote: "To define the Soviet regime as transitional, or intermediate, means to abandon such finished social categories as *capitalism* (and therewith 'state capitalism') and also *socialism*. But besides being completely inadequate in itself, such a definition is capable of producing the mistaken idea that from the present Soviet regime *only* a transition to socialism is possible. In reality a backslide to capitalism is wholly possible" (p254).

Trotskyists view the Stalinist bureaucracy as a privileged *caste*, balancing between the collectivised property forms and world imperialism. As such—and in counterposition to what is said by state capitalists and other advocates of "new class" theories—it plays no independent role. This was evident during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—a nascent political revolution—in which the ruling Stalinist party crumbled and 80 per cent of its members went over to the side of the insurgent, pro-socialist workers. Likewise in today's crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the bureaucratic caste is fragmenting and disintegrating in a manner in which no historical *class* would.

Because of this contradictory character, the bureaucracy at times finds itself compelled to take measures to defend the planned economy against the imperialists or internal counterrevolutionaries. Thus even the conservative bureaucrat Brezhnev sent Soviet troops to fight the CIA-backed mujahedin, albeit in a half-hearted manner. In practice the dual character of the bureaucracy is denied not only by the open state capitalists like the SWP, but by numerous pseudo-Trotskyist organisations like Workers Power, the Militant and the WRP. Their *de facto* line that the bureaucracy is "counterrevolutionary through and through" lands them on the same side of the barricades as the Cliffites, whooping it up for Polish Solidarność and Boris Yeltsin. Capitulating to the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" blitz, Workers Power has virtually returned to its Cliffite origins. In a 50-page "critique" of Tony Cliff published in *Permanent Revolution* in the summer of 1991, Workers Power's Paul Morris cannot bring himself to call for the defence of the Soviet Union, nor does he mention a single one of the numerous Cliffite betrayals on Korea, Afghanistan, etc.

Third campists and their apologists not only assign an independent historical role to the bureaucracy, but treat it as a greater enemy than imperialism. This is why Trotsky noted that: "Every political tendency that waves its hands hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its 'non-proletarian' character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism" (*The Class Nature of the Soviet State*). The crisis of Stalinism not only serves to underscore the vacuity of the theory of state capitalism, but shows anew that those who carry this virus will necessarily act as the running dogs of imperialism. ■

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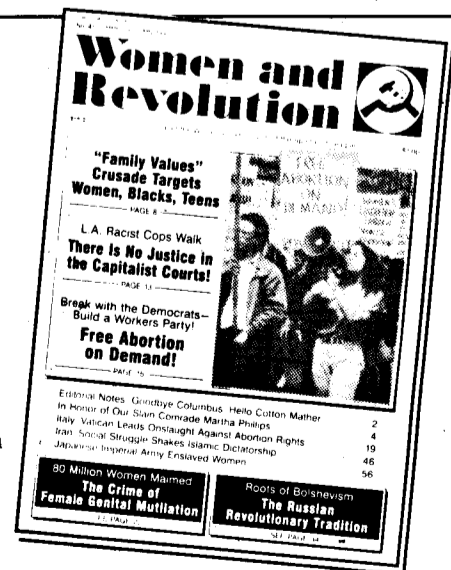
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Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

to workers who have not been paid for weeks or even months.

But despite the horrendous situation the workers have been plunged into, aside from the enormously popular health workers walkout last spring, various strike threats, particularly by the strategic oil workers and usually over non-payment of wages, have remained empty. Notably, the CIA-connected "independent" miners union, which was so quick to strike for Yeltsin in 1990-91, has kept the coal miners from mobilizing their power against the ravages of Yeltsin's "shock treatment."

Until now mass unemployment has not hit. But already factories throughout the country are forcing workers to take long unpaid summer "holidays": in the defense industry center of Ryazan, all 24 of the major factories have either

absence of mass organized working-class resistance and with the Soviet army in increasing disarray, the danger is sharply posed that the forces of capitalist restoration will be able to consolidate a bourgeois state, however fragile, unleashing a bloodbath against workers and national minorities.

Politically atomized and paralyzed by decades of Stalinist bureaucratism and betrayal, the Soviet workers are today being offered nothing but the most retrograde nationalism by Stalin's heirs. The situation has grown rotten and overripe. It is urgently necessary to cohere an internationalist cadre in an all-Union Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus firmly committed to the program of the October Revolution, before every vestige of the revolution is swept away.

Counterrevolution Seeks a "Strong State"

As the milieu of yuppie intellectuals and speculators around Yeltsin has dissipated, representatives of the managers

stroika coup" of elements of the bureaucracy that also aimed at restoration of capitalism, but at a slower pace and under their control. Where the yuppie speculators would like to destroy the country's industrial capacity to satisfy imperialist *diktat*, the factory managers chafe that the IMF will destroy the enterprises they someday hope to own outright.

In turn, shifts in the army have brought another trio to the fore: Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who ordered troops to defend Yeltsin last year; Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, former commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan; and Major General Aleksandr Lebed, head of the army unit outside Yeltsin's "White House" last August, and now head of the Russian (formerly Soviet) 14th Army in Moldova. Grachev, Lebed and Rutskoi all served under Gromov in Afghanistan. While the so-called "patriotic opposition," spearheaded by hardline Stalinist has-beens who now find themselves shunted aside, rails against Yeltsin's sellouts to the West, all of these groupings and layers converge around Russian nationalism and forces who are determined to restore capitalism with an iron hand. And their overriding need is to forge a state apparatus capable of suppressing the workers.

From the moment he gained the ascendancy Yeltsin has been working feverishly to consolidate a bourgeois state. He now appears to have a repressive force loyal to the counterrevolutionary regime, in the elite Russian OMON units. OMON squads were unleashed against a Soviet Army Day march in February, again in June to disperse demonstrators outside Moscow's Ostankino television center, and to tear down the one Soviet flag which was still flying over a public building in Leningrad. At the same time, the trial currently under way in Moscow of the banned Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) as a "criminal" organization aims at sending a warning to potentially recalcitrant elements in the apparatus as well as to all who would resist the restorationist drive.

Yeltsin has begun building up an exclusively Russian army, and the Soviet Navy has begun flying the old tsarist naval emblem, the St. Andrew's cross. As fighting escalates between the ethnic Romanian Moldovan-nationalist regime of Mercea Snegur and Russian-speaking nationalists in the Transdnier region, there are increasing calls for a full-scale Russian military intervention. General Lebed of the 14th Army denounced the Snegur regime as "fascist," and at least one battalion is fighting alongside the Russian-speaking irregulars and Cossack "volunteers" in tsarist regalia.

Stalinist groups like the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP), chief organizers of anti-Yeltsin protests, increasingly dispense with even lip service to the cause of socialism as they sign on as drum majors in the sinister chauvinist crusade. The "patriots" seek to cohere a "strong state" by playing the card of Great Russian chauvinism and anti-

Semitism. While Pamyat and other fascists now parade with impunity through the streets of Leningrad, a June 12 conference in Moscow of the Russian National Synod, the *Sobor*, marked an important stage in the strengthening of more powerful fascist-corporatist forces.

Writing in the late 1920s, at a time when Stalin's conciliation of the petty capitalist Nepmen and rich peasant kulaks was increasing the danger of capitalist restoration, Leon Trotsky commented:

"Is it actually likely that in the event of the defeat of the [proletarian] dictatorship, bourgeois democracy will replace it? No, that is the least likely of all possible variants. Revolutionary dictatorship has never in history been replaced by democracy."

In order to consolidate its hold, the nascent bourgeoisie would have to go beyond a transitional regime to consolidate "a more serious, solid, and decisive kind—in all probability, a Bonapartist or, in modern terms, a fascist regime."

The legacy of decades of Stalinism, which usurped political power and atomized the proletariat, has opened the door to the present counterrevolutionary situation. Today it is clearer than ever that the only way to reverse the counterrevolutionary tide lies in the mobilization of the multinational Soviet proletariat. After last August's coup and counter-coup, we raised the call: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We noted that "while Yeltsin & Co now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, the outcome is not yet definitively decided." We added: "Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counter-revolution" (*Workers Vanguard* No 533, 30 August 1991).

There is overwhelming sentiment against the reintroduction of capitalist exploitation, reflected in the up to 90,000 who turned out to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution last November and again in March by an anti-Yeltsin protest of more than 200,000. But the Soviet working people can and must launch themselves on the road of independent political struggle before they find themselves locked out of their jobs and deprived of any possibility for struggle. As we warned in a 25 February leaflet, of which some 100,000 copies have been distributed:

"Workers: the moment is growing late. Do not wait until your children grow pale from hunger. The would-be bosses are taking the streets of Moscow away from you. Form authentic soviets now! Drive out the restorationist forces through workers political revolution! Defeat all attempts at nationalist fratricide—down with the poison of anti-Semitism! What is needed urgently is to bring together the cadre of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, dedicated to restoring the proletarian foundations upon which the multinational Soviet workers state was built."

—WV No 546, 6 March

Stalinists Aid Counterrevolutionary Drive

The various degeneration products of the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy have locked themselves into the counter-revolutionary drive, either through open support to a "market economy" or through promoting Russian nationalism, which is the cement of the restorationist forces. Despite their occasional claims to oppose capitalist restoration, the RKRP, whose most prominent spokesman is Viktor Anpilov, and a handful of smaller "hardline" groups like Stalin apologist Nina Andreyeva's All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (VKPB), have formed a grotesque "red-brown coalition" with outright Great Russian chauvinists like Alexander Nevzorov, the fascist Zhirinovskiy and the *Sobor*. At protests organized by the "Toiling Russia" coalition, workers who turn out to oppose capitalist restoration find themselves inundated with chauvinist rhetoric from the podium. This serves not to

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Spartacist

Yeltsin's militia (police) move to break up June 22 demonstration in Moscow.

shut their gates or gone on three-day weeks since July 1. Overall, production dropped 15 percent just in the first quarter of the year. In the critical military goods sector, sales are expected to plummet by up to 85 percent this year, leading to as many as 2.5 million layoffs. If subsidies to bankrupt state industries are cut off, as many as 15 million more could be unemployed by year's end, raising the possibility of a massive social explosion.

Yeltsin banked on imperialist dollars and deutschmarks to finance his counter-revolutionary drive. In June he went to Washington to sign away the core of the Soviet army's nuclear defense—the multiple-warhead SS-18 and SS-24 missiles—but got nothing in return. The International Monetary Fund bankers' cartel continues to demand more blood. Grandiose promises of a vague \$24 billion aid package evaporate as the IMF withholds even the first billion unless Russia slashes its budget deficit by two-thirds, privatizes state-owned industry and cuts off subsidies to bankrupt enterprises—all by Christmas. Even Yeltsin is forced to resist the IMF ultimatum to jack up domestic oil prices to world market rates, which would completely wreck industry dependent on cheap energy.

It is clear to all that this chaotic situation cannot long continue as it is. The wheels of industry can no longer continue to turn on the basis of IOUs—more than two trillion rubles, almost \$20 billion, since January. The government's privatization scheme (based on doling out coupons to the workers which can be converted into cash) would produce hyperinflation on the scale of Weimar Germany in 1923. Calls are growing on all sides for a "strong government" to "save Russia." Sergei Baburin, a leading spokesman for the "patriots" of the "Russian Unity" bloc in the parliament, claims: "By the end of this year we shall almost certainly have an iron-fisted dictatorship in this country. The only question is, what kind?"

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) warns: *In the*

of state-owned industry have moved into the corridors of government. In July a "Civic Union" bloc was formed by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi, a former military officer, who recently surpassed Yeltsin in the polls; Arkady Volsky, a former aide to CP leaders Andropov and Gorbachev, now head of the powerful "Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs" which controls two-thirds of industry; and Nikolai Travkin, head of the virulently anti-Communist Democratic Party. In May three industrial figures associated with Volsky were appointed to Yeltsin's cabinet, apparently undercutting the sway of his "free market" economic czar Yegor Gaidar.

Some Western commentators worried that Yeltsin's recent appointments would slow down the capitalist "reforms," noting that the "military-industrial complex" was the base of support for last year's failed coup plotters. But no less an imperialist spokesman than the *New York Times* (2 August) gives the new cabinet ministers "solid credentials as advocates of a free market system." This only underlines our comment at the time of the August fiasco that it was a "pere-

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Soviet Union...

(continued from page 9)

mobilize but to *demobilize* workers in search of struggle.

The sinister gathering of the Slavophile *Sobor* on June 12 included monarchists, black-shirted fascists and Cossacks in full regalia—as well as the RKR. Reportedly financed by the head of the Nizhni Novgorod stock exchange and headed by “former” KGB general Alexander Sterligov, who sided with Yeltsin last August and has worked under Rutskoi, the *Sobor* railed that the Yeltsin regime is an “administration of national treason” which is “Russophobic and Jew-loving,” and declared that “a shadow government has been formed and is ready to take power immediately.” The conference featured anti-Semitic notables like writer Valentin Rasputin, who raved that “Communism was an evil that won over the country.” The presidium elected by the conference included Rasputin, as well as the monarchist Nevzorov and anti-Semitic “red” general Albert Makashov, a member of the RKR Central Committee.

The rump Stalinists have increasingly taken on the political coloration of the openly pro-capitalist nationalists they tail. A recent issue of the Toiling Russia newspaper *Shto Delat* (“What Is To Be Done”) carried a rehash of the anti-Semitic tsarist secret police forgery, “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” illustrated with a photograph of Yeltsin standing in front of a Star of David. Nevzorov, Zhirinovskiy and Makashov were all prominent at the June 12 demonstration called by Toiling Russia outside the Ostankino television center to demand a chauvinist “Russian Hour,” while signs proclaimed, “Russian TV Means TV Without Jews.”

In the political spectrum of the Soviet left, proceeding from red-brown to pale pink, other remnants of the former CPSU tend toward social democracy. Alexei Prigarin’s Union of Communists and Anatoly Kryuchkov’s Russian Party of Communists—which both issued out of the Marxist Platform wing of the former CPSU—and Roy Medvedev’s Gorbachevite Socialist Party of Labor (SPT) all support the introduction of a market economy with one qualifier or another.

Students...

(continued from page 12)

part of the anti-red witchhunt in Melbourne we immediately called for the broadest union, student and minority action to oppose this frame-up. In contrast the ISO plead for an “independent inquiry” into the capitalist state’s racist hired thugs—sounds like the Royal Commission into Black Deaths in Custody whose role was to whitewash a systematic state campaign of racist murder. Indeed the ISO joined the bourgeois campaign to clean up the “image” of their front-line troops of capitalist “order” demanding “Sack all racist cops” (*Socialist*, March 1992).

The ISO bought right into the anti-woman, anti-youth “family values” crusade when they joined a reactionary demonstration for censoring *People* magazine. ISO honcho Diane Fields described it as “one of the best demos I’ve been to this year” (*Socialist*, July 1992). In sharp class opposition revolutionaries fight against thought-police censorship! We demand state out of the bedroom! The ISO’s “defence” of women’s abortion rights means pushing the minimalist, liberal demand of “a woman’s right to choose.” Defence of abortion rights for all, including poor and immigrant women can only be championed by the call for free abortion on demand, linked to the call for free quality health care for all. For women’s liberation through socialist revolution!

The most common headline you are likely to read in the ISO’s paper *Socialist*



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Moscow demonstrator's sign reads: "Gorbachev-Yeltsin: Capitalism = Fascism. No to the private property of criminal millionaires. Confiscate what has been stolen from the people and put it to use for Soviet collective enterprises and farms."

Manifesting some degree of identification with the old Union, these groups organized a small protest, which the RKR and Toiling Russia conspicuously boycotted, at the opening of the trial of the CPSU on July 6.

But counterrevolution will not proceed on the terrain of social-democratic gradualism, and these groups also find themselves sucked in by the undertow of the increasingly emboldened Russian-chauvinist movement. All three of them joined the RKR and such reactionary outfits as the “Union of Cossacks” and the “Fund for the Restoration of the Shrine of Christ the Savior” in signing a popular-frontist “Declaration on the Founding of the United Opposition” in March which called for “salvation of the Fatherland...through joint action on the basis of civil peace.” The SPT even praised the *Sobor*.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Writing of the Stalinists’ bloc with nationalist reactionaries last January, we warned: “This is not only a sinister but a dangerous game, for the fascists whom it fuels and legitimizes will treat their erstwhile ostensibly Communist ‘patriotic’ allies no less ruthlessly than they will treat the Soviet workers, Jews and other nationalities, should they be given half a chance” (*WV* No 543, 24 January).

is “Fight the Right.” How? They call on the Labor government to...“tax the rich.” Such reformist tinkering with the capitalist system leaves control over production, employment, wages and prices in the hands of the wealthy owners of capital. The racist imperialist ruling class of this country is not about to “restructure its priorities” and cease to be the enemy of the working class and oppressed. What is needed is the *expropriation* of the capitalist class through workers revolution.

For all their rhetoric like “Screw the Rich” and “Stuff the Bosses” the ISO’s politics are based on an underlying loyalty to the Keating government and a fundamental commitment to the capitalist state. The justification for their call to vote Labor at every election is the parliamentary cretinist notion that the ALP is the “lesser evil” to Hewson’s Tories. But everything the Liberal opposition has threatened, from the reintroduction of fees to union busting, the Hawke and Keating governments have delivered! The ISO, taking their cue from the ACTU traitors, called the sell-out of the Burnie strike a “victory” (*Socialist*, July 1992). The oh-so-radical ISO are hostile to any working class struggle that might bring down Mr Recession and his party of war, racism and unemployment.

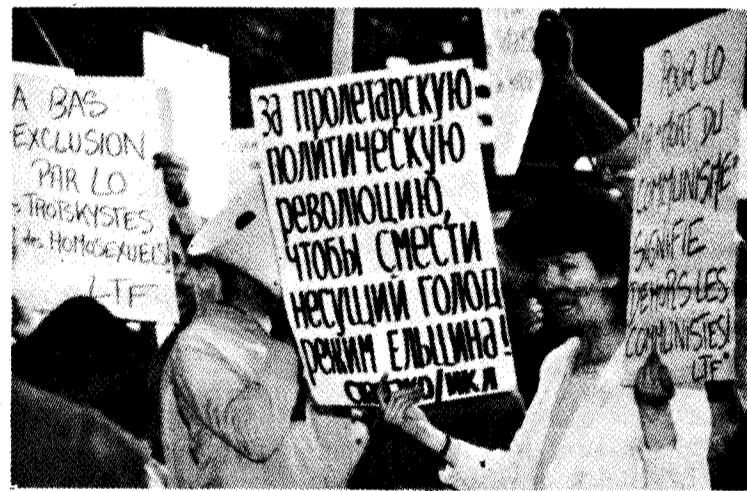
ISO: Love the ALP, Hate the October Revolution!

The ISO’s craven Labor-loyalism goes hand in hand with their vitriolic anti-Sovietism. Their “Third Camp” position of “neither Washington nor Moscow”

Now, having done the donkey work for more powerful forces, the Stalinists find themselves increasingly dispensable. At the *Sobor*, Sterligov denounced communism as “hostile to the old national traditions of Russia...so it is quite impossible to collaborate with people who are carriers of this ideology.”

Last August, various self-styled Trotskyist groupings cheered on the yuppies, priests and fascists manning Yeltsin’s barricades. More recently outfits like Sergei Beits’ Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy—affiliated to the Labourite Militant group in Britain). have taken to tailing the RKR et al. without a hint of criticism of the

ICL sign: "For Proletarian Political Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Starvation Regime!"



Le Bolchevik

has always meant fulsome support of every imperialist provocation and internal counterrevolutionary threat against the Soviet degenerated workers state since the Cold War. Along with the bourgeoisie and its Labor lackeys, the ISO support the reactionary Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan who are terrorising Kabul and driving women back into the veil and feudal servitude. They cheered the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany which has unleashed a wave of racist terror, created mass unemployment and ravaged the previous social gains including women’s abortion rights. They positively grooved over the break up of Yugoslavia which has brought fratricidal nationalist slaughter in its wake. While the SL fight for workers political revolution to smash Yeltsin’s counterrevolution the ISO hailed Yeltsin’s countercoup in the Soviet Union which has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide threatening the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution with nationalist bloodletting and spiralling “free market” misery. And lest anyone doubt which side the ISO are on they echoed imperialist triumphalism, crowing that “communism is dead”... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing” (*Socialist*, September 1991).

The ISO is viciously hostile to the communist politics of the Spartacist League, excluding us from its “public meetings.” And they have drawn this line in blood. At a “public debate” on 14 August the ISO’s Canadian counterparts launched a savage physical assault and called the cops on our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada. As our

fascism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism which is rampant in the “patriot” milieu.

There are Soviet militants who want to fight for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky. Millions know what capitalism has in store for them, and want to resist the destruction of their livelihoods and the devastation of their society. The forces of counterrevolution have yet to consolidate a stable capitalist regime.

The October Revolution of 1917 shattered the tsarist prison house of peoples and emancipated the workers and peasants from capitalist exploitation. It served as a beacon for workers and oppressed the world over. But as Trotsky warned shortly after the political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24, Stalinism is “the gravedigger of the Revolution.” After nearly 70 years of bureaucratic betrayal, the fate of the first workers state in history hangs in the balance.

If the multinational Soviet proletariat is not to be drowned in a fratricidal bloodbath and ground under the iron heel of imperialist exploitation, it must carry out a revolutionary struggle to oust the capitalist-restorationist regimes and take political power in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Those who conciliate Great Russian chauvinism and other nationalisms are roadblocks to the struggle against counterrevolution. The International Communist League is fighting to cohere a nucleus of internationalist fighters committed to the program of Lenin and Trotsky’s Red October. That is the only road forward.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 557, 7 August 1992

Canadian comrades stated in their leaflet: “...seeing this vehemently anti-Soviet outfit united with the cops against the reds should tell you more about them than a thousand issues of [their paper] *Socialist Worker*. We will not be silenced!”

Fight for a Communist Youth Movement!

Under Keating’s “New World Obedient Order” youth are supposed to be at home, disciplined and regimented, the future cannon fodder for a new imperialist war. The stark choices confronting humanity are, in the words of Rosa Luxemburg, socialism or barbarism. These words spoken on the eve of 1914 are today truer than ever as the post-Cold War period is producing a “New World Disorder” of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries, evoking parallels with the prelude to the imperialist carnage of WWI. What is needed here and internationally is a socialist revolution to rip the wealth out of the hands of the ruling class so that we can begin to build a planned, socialist, egalitarian society that guarantees jobs, education and quality health care for all. A society free once and for all from capitalist economic chaos and war, liberated from racism, women’s oppression and bourgeois morality—a world where everyone can develop their creative potential to its fullest. Revolutionary minded students have a key role to play as participants in the struggle for socialism. We have a world to win. The Spartacist League is dedicated to this struggle. Join us! Build a communist youth movement! ■

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Germany...

(continued from page 3)

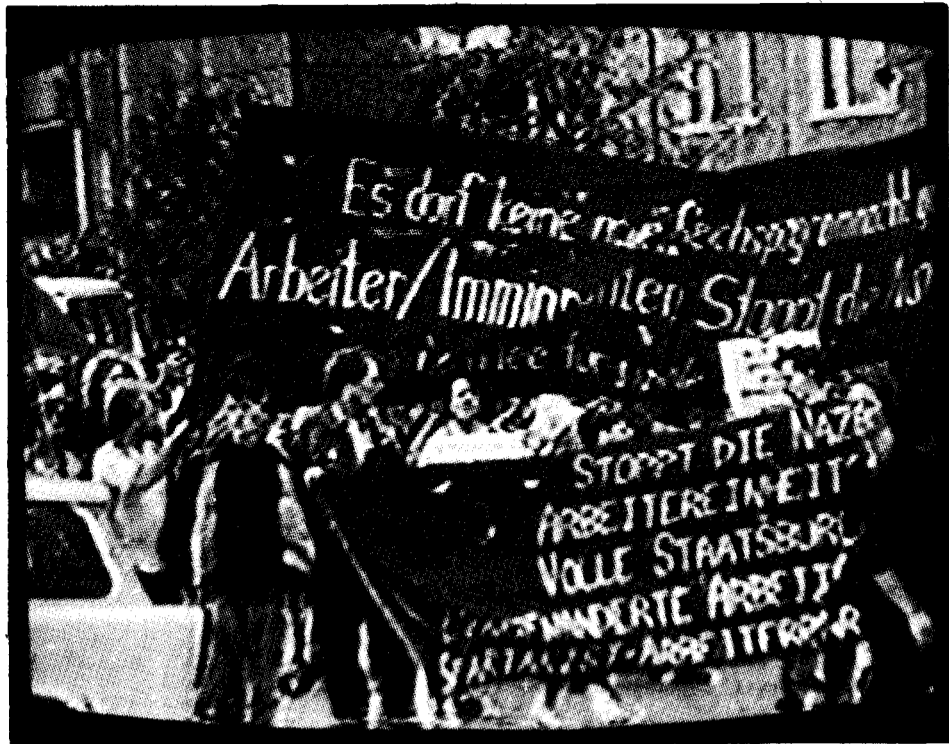
thereby equate the workers with the sellout DGB tops.

The Spartakists fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for all who have made it into the country to have the same rights as everyone else. The liberal demand for a "right to remain," which is also raised by Autonomes youth, means keeping immigrants and asylum seekers in a second-class status.

The Party of Democratic Socialism scandalously called for "understanding" of the racists. A commentary in the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (24 August) asked, referring to the residents who clapped and chanted "Sieg Heil!": "Are they therefore extremists, even fascists, on the warpath? Nonsense, they are neighbors—nice people like the Müllers, the Meiners, the Schulzes who live next to me and you.... There was noise and filth and strange people." The Rostock PDS chairwoman expressed solidarity with the "months-long discontent and protests of the Lichtenhagen residents." Earlier, *ND* was pushing a racist campaign against immigrants running gambling games in shopping districts. Now they're worrying about supposed "criminal activity" by the organization of Roma and Cinti! For these arch-reformists who yearn to be "respectable" social democrats, it is the refugees who are "the problem," not the Nazi murderers.

Gregor Gysi, Hans Modrow and the entire PDS parliamentary group marched prominently in the August 29 protest. But this had the character of an alibi. Until then, there had been no organized PDS presence in the various demos against the Rostock pogroms. And on the day of the national demo they held a meeting of the "Committee for Justice," the so-called "East Committee" in which the PDS sits side by side with far-rightist Diestel, in Berlin. But quite a few PDSers have been shocked by their leadership's disgusting apologies for the racists.

The Rostock pogroms have even sent a shock wave through sections of the



Rostock, August 29: 20,000 march against anti-immigrant terror. Spartakist contingent called for mass worker/immigrant mobilisations to stop the fascists.

Social Democracy. SPD vice chairman Thierse wants to use the anti-"foreigner" uproar to push the racist demand for "lower quotas" of immigrants in Germany, while grotesquely blaming xenophobia on the DDR's "state events for friendship of the peoples"! But at the August 26 Berlin protest, members of the Jusos (Young Socialists) carried a banner: "Rassismus auf Raten, Sozialdemokraten?" (Racism On the Installment Plan, Social Democrats?). Many listened attentively to bullhounding by the Spartakists. At Rostock on the 29th there were banners of the Jusos and the Falken (the SPD high school student group).

The SPD is trying to show itself "capable of governing" by being the main force behind the anti-Communist witchhunt in reunified capitalist Greater Germany. Thus it is the SPD "justice" minister of Berlin who has jailed former DDR chief of state Erich Honecker (who is now confirmed to be suffering

from cancer) and former DDR security chief Erich Mielke. The SpAD has repeatedly denounced this persecution, calling for freedom for Honecker, Mielke and others, such as anti-fascist hero Gerhard Bögelein. *Der Spiegel* (31 August) printed an interview with Mielke from his cell in Moabit prison, in which, among other things, he notes that "If we were still there, there would not have been such incidents as the uproar against the asylum seekers center in Rostock."

That is certainly true. The East German deformed workers state was built upon the ruins of the Hitler-fascist regime that was smashed by the Soviet Red Army. For years, Vietnamese workers worked with and lived among their German coworkers in Lichtenhagen without fear of fascist attacks, as did DDR contract workers from Cuba, Mozambique and Poland. One survivor of the Rostock pogrom, Thinh Nguyen Do, expressed the hope "that we could again live

South Africa...

(continued from page 5)

townships were met with crowds demanding "We want arms!" Meanwhile, the government launched what was obscenely termed a "peace offensive"—ordering over 5,000 soldiers and police into the townships surrounding Johannesburg. The ANC/SACP/COSATU leadership, if only to retain a modicum of credibility with its mass base, was forced to call the general strike. But not until it had exhausted every possibility of a big fat sellout.

In the words of a memo from the COSATU head office to its affiliates, the union federation was trying to "bring business on board" and trade off the general strike for a "voluntary shutdown of industry" by the bosses. SACCOLA, the South African Coordinating Committee on Labour Affairs, comprised of the ten biggest conglomerates in South Africa, including the giant Anglo American mining corporation, tentatively agreed to a "day of national reconciliation" August 3 in lieu of the general strike. In return, COSATU pledged to stop all strikes until October!

This was an attempt to carry out an end run around De Klerk by lining up with the so-called *verligte* ("enlightened") bourgeoisie around Anglo American in a classic "popular front," like Spain in the 1930s. As Trotsky wrote in July 1936 upon the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War:

"By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, and paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat

with years of new torments and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."

The London *Independent* (21 July) noted that "Cosatu has to persuade its harder line members—in particular the dedicated Marxists among them—that they have not sold out 'the masses' to 'bourgeois capitalism.'" Well, they sure tried, but in the end, it was SACCOLA which backed out, on De Klerk's orders.

The final agreement was for a week of protests monitored under the aegis of the United Nations. After Mandela's appearance at the Security Council, former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance was dispatched as a special envoy to the De Klerk regime (*New York Times*, 17 July). South African foreign minister Pik Botha thought Vance was a good choice—not surprising, since Vance played a major role in covering up evidence of joint Israeli-South African nuclear testing in 1979 (see Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option*). Now a UN-supervised "transition" à la Zimbabwe is the ANC's sellout of choice.

As anyone knows who recalls the U.S.' vicious slaughter in Iraq, the UN is a fig leaf for U.S. imperialism, and that's precisely why Mandela wants it. The man to whom the oppressed black population looked to lead them to equality holds the petty-bourgeois nationalist view that anything is preferable to workers revolution, even alliances with the bloody "New World Order" which has always backed apartheid South Africa to the hilt.

Meanwhile, competing black nationalists of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the NACTU labor federation it leads, as well as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), opposed the general strike, arguing that it is an ANC

pressure tactic on "negotiations" which they claim to oppose. In fact this puts PAC and AZAPO in a bloc with Buthelezi's Inkatha, which is ordering its worker-troops to scab on the strike in the interests of the apartheid rulers. PAC complained that ANC loyalists were "bullying residents" into obeying the strike call.

Revolutionaries would seek to intervene in the present "general strike" and transform it from a protest into a serious class mobilization pointing to the struggle for power. But showing that its stance "against collaboration" is a complete fraud, PAC met with Cyrus Vance in Johannesburg on July 23. PAC leader Benny Alexander declared, "If we could have the international community involved...there is no reason not to be in CODESA" (IPS, 29 July). PAC also met with the De Klerk government in Nigeria in April, at a meeting it proclaimed as "preparatory" to a major summit between the two sides (*Weekly Mail*, 10 April).

When black auto workers at Mercedes-Benz in East London had their strike squashed in 1990 by SACP/COSATU stars Joe Slovo and Moses Mayekiso, the strikers bitterly quipped about the new "tribe" of sellout bureaucrats, the "WaBenzi," wheeling around in their Mercedes. Today, anger is rising as this cynical layer reaps the perks of the capitalist "good life" for themselves. When ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki's BMW was stolen recently, the MK got it back for him. Oliver Tambo's new 3 million rand (\$1.1 million) house was bought and paid for by Lonrho, an international conglomerate which owns the Western

together with the German population as we did earlier at the time of the DDR." The DDR bureaucracy made much of international solidarity, and gave praiseworthy support to Chilean refugees, ANC and SWAPO fighters from southern Africa. But because Stalinism is fundamentally a *nationalist* doctrine, claiming to build "socialism in one country" (or in the DDR, in half a country), it was unable to root out *nationalist, anti-foreigner attitudes deeply inculcated by the bourgeoisie*.

The stark fact is that after 45 years of Stalinist rule, German nationalism exploded in the space of a few weeks and months of counterrevolution, and has continued to escalate since. And the deadly threat is not just potential. It is close to miraculous that no one was killed in the Rostock pogrom, but already in the first eight months of 1992 at least ten people have been killed in assaults by fascist thugs and mobs in Germany. In fighting for proletarian political revolution in the DDR, the Spartakists emphasized the need for an *internationalist* program by publishing greetings in Vietnamese, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish to workers in East Germany, as well in Russian to Soviet troops stationed there. We also denounced the dangerous consequences of the Stalinist bureaucracy's policy of housing "foreigners" in separate areas.

The ÖTV strike showed the possibility of common working-class struggle in Germany, East and West, as did the national mobilization to protest the pogroms in Rostock. But the decisive element is the forging of a workers vanguard party on a revolutionary program. The fascists cannot be rooted out without a fight for jobs for all, which requires a frontal assault on the capitalist system that is ruthlessly annihilating jobs and industry in the ex-DDR, condemning older workers to the scrap heap and offering no promise to the young, except to be used as cannon fodder for the Fourth Reich. The Spartakist Workers Party, section of the International Communist League, seeks to build this revolutionary party. ■

Platinum Mines of South Africa. And while millions of blacks eke out an existence in the squatters camps and bantustan hellholes, dodging Inkatha spears and police gunfire, ANC leader Cyril Ramaphosa is moving in next door to Anglo American's retired chairman Harry Oppenheimer in the posh suburb of Brenthurst. As the *Financial Times* (29 June) snidely remarked, "Who knows what disputes may now be settled by a neighbourly chat between two of South Africa's most formidable power brokers."

South Africa is experiencing an upsurge of mass struggle. The bourgeois press is screaming as scabs find themselves pelted with rocks and their cars torched. The *Weekly Mail* quotes labor observer Pat Stone that "in the supercharged political climate," the current strikes are reminiscent of the big labor battles in rail in 1989, adding: "We are now going back to the Eighties, when strikes were viewed by communities as directed against apartheid."

The combative South African black proletariat has been uniquely receptive to the fight for communism, raising the red flag with hammer and sickle in strikes and demonstrations, as it sees before it an implacable enemy in *apartheid capitalism*. Yet its road to power is centrally blocked by...the "Communists" of the SACP. In reality, these reformists tie the workers to the racist rulers through COSATU's perpetual "popular front" with the ANC, in turn linked to the *verligte* capitalists. Break with the ANC/SACP! Forge an authentic communist party! South African black workers—claim the fruits of your labor. Go for the real gold—take the power! Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No 557, 7 August 1992.

NUS/ISO: Keating's Loyal Student "Activists"

Free, Quality Education for All! Mobilise the Power of the Workers!

Below we reprint a Spartacist leaflet from 21 August which has been widely distributed amongst students in Sydney and Melbourne.

It is no wonder youth are angry and student protests have swept campuses across the country. Having destroyed the industrial plant and looted millions for themselves, the rulers of this country have no jobs for an entire generation of poor and working class youth. Consequently they see no need to spend money to educate them. High schools in working class areas—overcrowded, understaffed and run down—increasingly resemble holding pens, while the introduction of fees, more restrictive quotas and the further gutting of Austudy ensures higher education is even more the preserve of the wealthy few. With little prospect of getting a job, youth are being subject to a barrage of anti-sex, anti-"drugs" moralist propaganda along with more laws and more cops to keep them off the streets and on the "straight-and-narrow." And for under 18-year-olds lucky enough to get a job the Liberals promise \$120 a week. Labor promises even less but with the sweetener of some non-existent "training."

Welcome to Keating's Recession Australia, where the ruling class and the Labor government want the working class, youth, immigrants, women and all the oppressed to pay for capitalism's crisis! While intensified "New World Order" inter-imperialist rivalries threaten to leave their white imperialist enclave out on a limb, the Australian rulers desperately search for new spheres of imperialist exploitation in Asia. This is linked to their "restructuring" plans of massive layoffs, union busting and givebacks at home.

The "social consensus" that underlies Keating's "New World Order stability" is fragile. Fearing that student protests may signal the outbreak of broader social struggle against recession austerity, federal and state governments have launched a vicious, anti-communist witchhunt targeting leftists and students. Continuing cop attacks on demonstrations, dawn raids on International Socialist Organisation (ISO) members along with trumped up charges of "violence" are all meant to coerce and regiment an obedient population ruled over by a strong state. We demand: Cops off campus! Drop the charges against the Austudy Five! Hands off the left and labour movement!

Students repelled by what capitalism promises them can be a factor by taking a side against Keating's capitalist attacks, as partisans of the working class and oppressed. The very same rulers that are ripping up the right to education are destroying workers livelihoods and



Spartacist supporters in Melbourne and Sydney fight for a class struggle program to defeat Keating's education cutbacks and capitalist austerity during student protests in August.

slashing social services. The wealth of this country is created by the massive, multi-racial working class. It is they who have the social power and the class interest to rule.

The main obstacle to any real class struggle fightback are the labour lieutenants of capital—the sellout Laborite union bureaucracy which has policed capitalist givebacks and union busting. Earlier this year the paper mill workers in Burnie set up mass pickets and fought scab-herding cops to defend their union conditions and jobs. Their determined strike showed the potential of working class power to beat back the union busters. But they were knifed in the back by the union and ACTU misleaders preaching faith in Arbitration, acceding to virtually the full gamut of the bosses' demands. Now, in addition to speed-ups and givebacks, hundreds of jobs are to go—the bitter fruit of ACTU betrayal.

What we urgently need is a revolutionary workers party to lead the working class and oppressed in smashing this rotting capitalist system. For workers revolution!

Scratch the Surface of ISO "Militancy" and You Get ...

From the outset of student protests, the role of the self-styled leaders in the National Union of Students (NUS) has been to keep the protests "clean" for Labor by channelling the just anger of students into the parliamentary, pro-capitalist framework. As NUS honcho Rob Houghton described it, they want "to make the loans scheme a political [ie, electoral] liability." Their occasional demand for freely available public education is just window dressing for their strategy of begging Labor for a bigger slice of the ever shrinking pie. Spartacist League (SL) supporters have fought for

a class struggle perspective to open all tertiary institutions to the working class and oppressed. No fees! No quotas! For a living allowance for all!

For its part, the ISO, while doing the donkey work for the NUS, declare that "students have the power to stop government attacks." No! In and of themselves students cannot defeat Keating's austerity because they have no social power. They constitute a heterogeneous petty bourgeois layer in society divorced from the means of production. ISO "student power" comes down to campaigns to "Sack the Vice Chancellor." Who is going to do this? The businessmen in academic garb who run the university for the bosses? Communists demand: Abolish the Administration! For staff/student/campus worker control!

When ISO supporters were busted as
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Keating's "New World Obedient Order": No Sex, No Jobs, No Future!