



Fascistic MP Hanson Rides Wave of Chauvinist Reaction

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Capitalism!

The election of the vile racist bigot Pauline Hanson to the Australian parliament last year was a sharp pointer to the reactionary social climate fostered by the capitalist rulers' assaults on immigrants, Aborigines and working people. Hanson won election to the formerly "safe" Labor Party seat of Oxley, Queensland, calling for an end to immigration until Australia's unemployment "problem" is "solved" and for reversing the pitifully minimal social programs and land rights rulings gained by the brutally oppressed Aborigines over the last two decades.

With the official (vastly understated) jobless rate at close to nine percent and youth unemployment over three times that, Hanson's racist scapegoating and calls for higher tariffs to save "Aussie jobs" have found an audience among both economically insecure shopkeepers and farmers and among many backward white workers. Her fascistic ravings that Australia is being "swamped" by Asians and that "multiculturalism" is "sapping the lifeblood of the nation" proved too embarrassing for the right-wing Liberal Party, which disendorsed her before the elections. And the Australian bourgeoisie isn't too happy that her tirades against Asian people and cultures have already lost them business in the booming markets of Asia. On the other hand, the launching of Hanson's One Nation party has become a rallying point for outright fascists like National Action, which sells Hanson t-shirts and writings from their "bookshop" bunkers, while on the streets there has been a dramatic rise in racist assaults.

The vaulting of this certified racist pig from her Ipswich fish-and-chips shop into parliament was part of the right-wing shift that brought John Howard's "Conservative Coalition" to power over the Labor Party. Howard's Tory regime has already moved to impose drastic restrictions on immigration, block even token measures benefiting Aborigines and enforce strikebreaking laws. But it was the previous 13 years of Labor Party governments which paved the way for Howard and Hanson. On behalf of the capitalist rulers, the Labor Party oversaw the smashing of militant unions like the Builders Labourers Federation



Neil Elliot

and imposed austerity measures on working people. Under Labor, killings of Aborigines in police custody soared, while thousands of immigrants were deported or locked up in concentration camps.

Hanson is but the most naked face of Australia's deeply racist capitalist profit system. By targeting in the first instance the most vulnerable sectors of society like immigrants and Aborigines, the ruling class seeks to divide the working class and weaken the trade unions in order to slash wages, working conditions and social benefits. This is not unique to Australia. Around the world, the capitalist rulers have launched vicious racist attacks against immigrants and others as a wedge to destroy trade-union rights and social welfare programs as they drive up the rate of exploitation.

While skinheads and other fascists have been openly welcomed at meetings launching the One Nation party, these events have also been met with protest demonstrations drawing hundreds, sometimes thousands, of radical youth, Chinese, Vietnamese and South Asian immigrants, Aborigines and trade unionists. Earlier this year, a militant demonstration of some 700 anti-racist protesters in Tasmania shut down a One Nation founding meeting. The demonstrations peaked on 7 July with an outpouring of well over a thousand protesters in the heavily immigrant Melbourne suburb of Dandenong.

The reformist left have centred many of these protests around calls to "fight

the right," chanting "Howard and Hanson have got to go!" This is nothing but an attempt to *derail* the fight against racist reaction into the dead-end of the Labor Party "lesser evil." In contrast, the Spartacist League has called for building a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. Our contingents at anti-Hanson protests have raised such slogans as: "Bipartisan war on minorities emboldens Hanson, Campbell—For workers action against bosses' racist attacks!" and "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—Close the deportation camps!" We fight for socialist revolution to get rid of the capitalist system of exploitation which has given rise to Hanson's racist filth. Key to this perspective is splitting the proletarian base of the Labor Party—a bourgeois workers party—from the racist, pro-capitalist Labor parliamentary and trade-union tops.

Capitalist State's Assault on Democratic Rights

In response to the large, voluble demonstrations against Hanson, the government has increasingly turned to brutal cop repression, with phalanxes of hundreds of cops and charges by mounted police against protesters. Dozens of arrests have been made, including of five anti-racist protesters at Dandenong. We say: Drop all charges against anti-racist protesters!

Following the Dandenong rally, where a fracas led to the wounding of a



AFF

One Nation party meetings: Above, Hanson greets skinhead supporter in Geelong, Victoria, 18 July. Left, militant integrated crowd protests Hanson in Perth, Western Australia, 4 May.

Hansonite bigot, the bourgeois press launched a smear campaign labelling leftist protesters as "violent." The Melbourne *Herald Sun* (9 July) referred to "the Militant Organisation, the Socialist Left and Spartacus [sic]" as "familiar faces to the police"—an ominous threat to set up leftists for stepped-up repression.

The targeting of anti-Hanson demonstrators as "violent" is only the latest in a series of moves by the bourgeois state to curtail the democratic rights of the left, minorities and the trade-union movement. In 1992, the then Labor government of Joan Kirner in Victoria staged early morning gestapo-style raids on seven students, including members of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). This was accompanied by a smear campaign blaming leftist groups for "violence" at student protests against education cutbacks, naming the ISO, Left Alliance and the "Spartacist" League.

At the time, the police announced the establishment of a "special investigation unit aimed at cracking the violent socialist organisations," i.e., the resurfacing of the notorious cop "Red Squad" (see "Student Anger Mounts at Keating's Austerity," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 145, Winter 1992). Since then, the state has victimised a range of leftists and minorities for "speech crimes," including the ongoing attempt to prosecute radical former editors of

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For a Revolutionary Workers Party that Champions All the Oppressed!

Former Black Panther Defies Deportation Attempt

We publish below an 11 July letter by the Partisan Defence Committee to acting minister for immigration Amanda Vanstone protesting the arrest and threatened deportation of former U.S. Black Panther Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin during a speaking tour in July. After spending four days in jail, Ervin's visa was restored and he was released by order of the High Court.

Ervin continued to be hounded by the government as he defiantly resumed his tour, addressing hundreds of people at meetings in Melbourne and Sydney. Hours after his departure from Australia, the Howard government vindictively cancelled Ervin's visa—denying him the right to return—and labelled him an "excluded person." The government has also moved to further tighten its racist entry restrictions and curtail appeal rights for visitors and immigrants.

Dear Madam,

On Tuesday, 8 July, visiting United States black activist Lorenzo Ervin was seized by Australian authorities, thrown into solitary confinement in a Brisbane high-security jail and, according to his lawyer, assaulted in custody. Ervin is a

former member of the U.S. Black Panther party who has travelled to 22 countries, and recently completed a six week tour of Britain. The day before his incarceration Ervin commenced a four week speaking tour of Australia, hosted by the anarchist group Angry People. After protests across Australia and internationally, this morning the High Court ordered Ervin's release from jail but the victimisation continues; Ervin is now reportedly required to vouch for his "good character" and "show cause" why he should not be deported. **This is an outrage! The Partisan Defence Committee protests the jailing of Lorenzo Ervin and the continued threat of deportation. No deportation! Hands off Lorenzo Ervin!**

Lorenzo Ervin hijacked a plane from the U.S. to Cuba in 1969 at the age of 19 believing the U.S. police and FBI had issued "shoot to kill" orders against him under the FBI's COINTELPRO program which was designed to "neutralise" the Black Panthers and other radical groups; 38 Black Panther Party members were assassinated and many others jailed under COINTELPRO. Today Mumia Abu-Jamal, award-winning radical journalist and former Black Panther, is a political prisoner on death

row in the U.S. and is fighting for his life. Mumia was framed up for a police shooting he did not commit and sentenced to death. The PDC and other activists are fighting for Mumia's freedom; in 1995 our campaign for justice for Mumia resonated around the world resulting in a stay of execution. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist U.S. death penalty! Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, another former Black Panther and COINTELPRO frame-up victim has finally been released from jail after serving 27 years for a crime his jailers knew all along that he did not commit. Pratt's release is a vindication of the fight against systematic vicious injustice meted out to anti-racist activists and leftists by capitalist governments around the world.

The witchhunt of Ervin in Australia began with Pauline Hanson's fascist One Nation Party calling him a "proven terrorist" and demanding his deportation. Prime Minister John Howard and Acting Immigration Minister Amanda Vanstone then moved to deport Ervin alleging that he is "not of good character," while the media kept up a barrage of descriptions of Ervin as a "terrorist" and "convicted hijacker and kidnapper." The motive behind this racist hysteria was stated succinctly by the Brisbane *Sunday Mail* (6 July): "Mr Ervin said he was still an anarchist and black revolutionary committed to the defeat of white supremacy." Ervin was quoted as saying:

"I think it's for specific political reasons, to make me a whipping boy and to keep me from being able to speak to the Aborigines, but also to be able to prevent me from going back from here and talking about what's happening" (*Australian*, 9 July).

The Howard government has escalated the racist, anti-working-class war against immigrants and Aborigines. The death toll for Aborigines in Australia's jails continually rises, while hundreds of mainly Asian immigrants are thrown into deportation camps. Obviously the White

Australia policy continues and it is little wonder that the government fears international scrutiny. The allegation that Ervin is a "kidnapper" is bitterly ironic coming from the state which for decades kidnapped the children of the brutally oppressed Aboriginal people in order to "assist" the supposed "dying out of the race." Ominously, the same day as Ervin was arrested, Howard defended Australia's "race record" stating that he was "no longer prepared to accept unreasonable, ill-founded and uninformed criticism of the tolerance credentials of the Australian community" (*Age*, 9 July).

The attacks on Ervin recall the witch-hunt carried out against Aboriginal and union militants who were part of a thousands-strong demonstration which "invaded" Parliament House in response to a police attack on Aboriginal protesters in Canberra on 19 August 1996. The student editors of the *Rabelais* newspaper face the threat of long jail terms for printing articles the haughty capitalist rulers deem "unacceptable." Yet another hysterical campaign is now demonising anti-Hanson protesters as "violent," and particularly targeting leftist groups for supposedly "inciting to violence": a clear preparation for more police repression. The government hypocritically rants in defence of "free speech" for racists like Hanson and meanwhile continues to constrict the bounds of "acceptable" dissent, curtailing the democratic rights of the labour movement, minorities and the left.

The Partisan Defence Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We demand: **No deportation! Hands off Lorenzo Ervin!**

Yours sincerely,

C. McCarthy

Indonesia: Free Dita Sari and All Victims of Suharto's Repression!

The number of people killed at the hands of Indonesian dictator Suharto's troops and cops steadily mounted in the weeks leading up to the sham 29 May parliamentary elections. The weekend before over 140 charred bodies were pulled from a shopping mall in a provincial capital after riot police trapped hundreds of supposed "looters" in buildings which were set aflame. For a month, there were repeated clashes in the capital of Jakarta between government forces and supporters of the two tame "opposition" parties permitted to contest the elections, which were rigged to give the regime's Golkar party an overwhelming majority.

The main target of Suharto's repression is the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD) and leaders of newly emerged independent trade unions, many of whom are supporters of the PRD. We reprint

below a 14 May letter by the PDC to the Indonesian embassy, protesting the sentences handed down to Dita Sari and other labour and leftist militants.

Dear Sir,

On 22 April in Surabaya, Dita Indah Sari, president of the Indonesian Center for Labour Struggles (PPBI) was sentenced to six years jail for "sowing hatred against the government," and Sari's co-defendants Coen Husein Pontoh and Mohammed Soleh were both sentenced to four years jail.

On 28 April in the Central Java District Court, Budiman Sujatmiko, chairman of the Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD), was sentenced to 13 years jail for "undermining the state ideology and

inciting students and workers to demonstrate against the government." Sujatmiko's co-defendants also were sentenced to long jail terms: Suroso (seven years), Ignatius Damianus Pranowo (nine years), Yakobus Eko Kurniawan (eight years) and Garda Sembiring (twelve years). Five supporters of the defendants, protesting outside the court, were arrested on 28 April.

In the South Jakarta District Court on 28 April Petrus Hari Hariyanto (PRD secretary general) was sentenced to six years jail alongside his co-defendants Ken Budha Kusumandaru (four years), Victor da Costa (18 months) and Ign. Putut Arinoko (18 months). Wilson Bin Nurtias and I Gusti Agung Anom Astika are still being tried in South Jakarta.

We demand that these brave militants as well as Muchtar Pakpahan (leader of the banned SBSI trade-union federation) and all victims of right-wing repression be released immediately and the charges and sentences against them be dropped!

These militants were arrested after, and made scapegoats for last year's 27 July anti-government demonstrations protesting the military's brutal eviction of supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri from the headquarters of the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party. But the size and determination of the 27 July protests, where thousands battled troops and armed riot police who were ordered to "shoot on sight," speak to a deep-going opposition to the repressive Suharto dictatorship.

The regime's tirades against a supposed "Communist threat" evoked—as was intended—the spectre of the horren-

dous anti-communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the Suharto-led military and by anti-communist mobs in 1965. Australian and U.S. imperialism aided and abetted this massacre in order to keep the region safe for capitalist exploitation. The message is as clear as it is brutal: All who oppose Suharto's "New Order" government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years.

Dita Sari's "crime" was to lead more than ten thousand workers from ten factories in the Tandes industrial district of Surabaya on strike against starvation wages on 7 and 8 July last year. The very existence of the 1962 anti-subversion laws (which carry sanctions up to and including death) and the draconian sentence meted out to Dita Sari and the fact that Muchtar Pakpahan is still being dragged through the courts despite his serious ill-health, all bear testimony to the regime's mortal fear of the spectre of the huge and combative Indonesian working class organised in struggle.

The crimes of the Suharto regime have not escaped the attention of the organised working class internationally, witness the Maritime Union of Australia's recent bans on Indonesian shipping in defence of their imprisoned Indonesian brothers and sisters.

Those murdered, disappeared and imprisoned by the Suharto dictatorship will not disappear from the memory of the international working class! The Partisan Defence Committee demands that all detained leftist militants and workers leaders be released and all charges be dropped!

Sincerely,

C. McCarthy
for the PDC.

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Australasian
SPARTACIST

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

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

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CIRCULATION: Mike Wallace

PRODUCTION: C. Cunningham

Printed by trade union labour.

Subscription \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7 airmail/\$5 surface.
Address all correspondence to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co, GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville.

—Hearing Airs New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up—

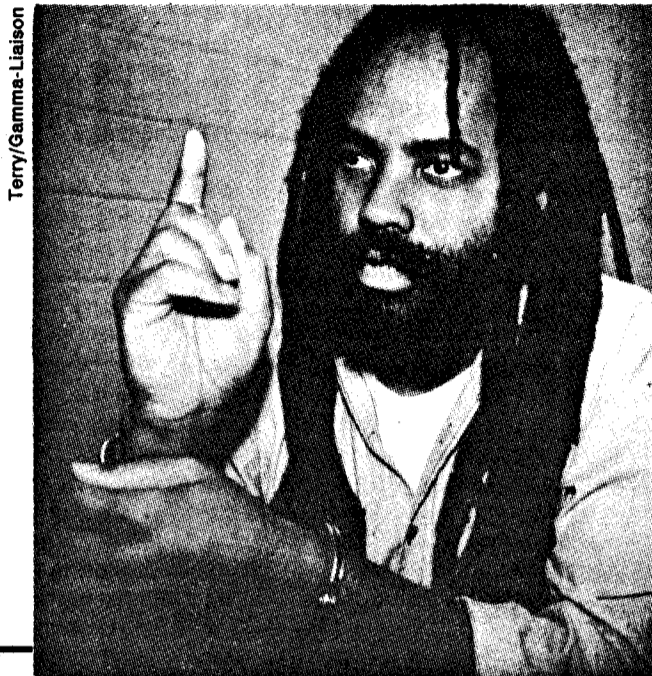
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The latest spectacle in hanging judge Albert Sabo's Philadelphia courtroom underscores our warning that freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be won through reliance on the capitalist courts. Mumia must be saved from the forces of death who have clamored for his execution since this outspoken journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter was framed up in 1981. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fight for broad, labor-centered mobilizations internationally to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ordered a further evidentiary hearing as part of Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, which is now before it. Jamal's attorneys requested the hearing to introduce new evidence of police coercion of witnesses in the frame-up which falsely convicted Mumia of the December 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Pamela Jenkins, who was a pivotal government informant in a 1995 federal investigation into police corruption in the 39th District, came forward early this year to reveal that police had tried to coerce her into falsely asserting that she saw Jamal shoot Faulkner, when she wasn't even at the scene of the shooting (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," *Workers Vanguard* No. 664, 21 March). Jenkins also revealed that key prosecution witness Cynthia White had been a police informant and had been threatened with her life by the cops into perjuring herself at Jamal's 1982 trial. White, who like Jenkins was a prostitute at the time, was the only "witness" who claimed to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand.

The notoriously corrupt Philadelphia Police Department has been at the center of a decades-long FBI/cop vendetta against Mumia, from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Panthers. Another victim of the FBI's notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), former West Coast Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), was recently released after having spent 27 years behind bars. COINTELPRO led to the assassination of 38 Panthers and the jailing of many

Mumia Abu-Jamal, railroaded to death row in 1982 as part of FBI/cop vendetta.



Terry/Gamma-Liaison

others. Geronimo's frame-up murder conviction was overturned on the basis of evidence that the key prosecution witness in his case also had been an informant—not only for the FBI and the Los Angeles cops but also for the L.A. district attorney's office. Commenting on Court TV on the day Geronimo walked out of prison, Robert Fogelnest, a criminal defense lawyer, called the overturn of Geronimo's false conviction "the best argument I have ever heard in opposition to the death penalty."

Upon being freed, Geronimo declared:

"After being released from almost a lifetime of imprisonment, I am still not completely liberated and cannot be while my comrade, Mumia Abu-Jamal, is still a victim of this ongoing collusion...."

"I urge you, I appeal to you all to use that same strength that enabled you to support me for almost three decades, and direct it towards Mumia's struggle."

Sabo's Kangaroo Court

As at earlier Jamal hearings, dozens of people turned out to show support for Mumia, many of whom were forced to stay outside in the hallway while the cops were given half of the public courtroom area. As he entered the court, Mumia smiled and waved at his family and supporters through the glass wall separating him from the public benches.

Sabo again lived up to his reputation as a "prosecutor in robes," admitting every witness the prosecution wanted while rejecting crucial witnesses for the defense. When Veronica Jones appeared at a hearing before Sabo last fall to reveal that she had been pressured by the cops into lying against Jamal at the 1982 trial, she was dragged off the stand to jail. This pattern of vindictive state harassment against witnesses for Jamal continued against Jenkins, who was brought to court from prison. *Only after* announcing that she intended to testify on Jamal's behalf was she arrested on felony charges stemming from a months-old incident in which she had cooperated with the police. Despite this intimidation, Pamela Jenkins stood fast in her testimony at the hearing. Asked why she had now come forward in Jamal's case, an act which could only put her in greater danger of police retribution, particularly while imprisoned, Jenkins responded: "I'm not going to sit back and let an innocent man go to jail."

Jenkins spoke of her affair with Thomas Ryan, one of the cops convicted in the 39th District scandal, which started when she was a young teenager. Describing her lengthy period of cooperation with him as an informer, Jenkins testified that Ryan and other cops had pressured her to say she'd seen Jamal shoot Faulkner. In a written statement submitted earlier this spring, Jenkins recounted that Cynthia White said "that the police were trying to get her to say something about the shooting." On the stand, Jenkins said that after the shooting, White had told her that "she was in fear for her life from the police." Jenkins added that she had seen White earlier this year at a North Philadelphia crack house. When White saw Jenkins she "acted like she saw a ghost" and fled.

Manipulation and coercion of prostitutes to abet cop payoff schemes and to act as "witnesses" in frame-up operations is standard operating procedure for the Philly cops, and for cops everywhere. The 1995 corruption investigation was one of a series of scandals that have rocked the Philadelphia Police Department since 1979. A legal brief submitted by Jamal's attorneys before the hearing stated: "Jamal will present evidence illuminating the sordid interconnection of police

corruption and prostitution in Philadelphia's center city area in the early 1980's, a connection which led to federal convictions of over 30 officers." But Sabo and the D.A. kept any of this evidence from coming to light in the courtroom.

Seeking to discredit Jenkins' testimony, the prosecution submitted purportedly "conclusive" proof that Cynthia White had died in September 1992, claiming that the body of a black woman found in an abandoned building in Camden, New Jersey had been identified as her. Jamal's investigators were ready to produce not only official documents contradicting the D.A.'s "evidence" but also numerous interviews with people who had seen White as recently as early 1997 and positively identified her from photos. But Sabo refused to allow any of these witnesses to take the stand.

The hearing adjourned on June 30. The D.A. then got Sabo to reopen the hearing to present yet more witnesses from the offices of the New Jersey prosecutor and the state troopers to "prove" what had supposedly already been conclusively shown—that Cynthia White was dead. But the new prosecution "evidence" was shown to be far from conclusive. Fingerprints are decisive for identifying a dead body. Yet, under cross-examination by Jamal lead attorney Leonard Weinglass, one of the D.A.'s witnesses admitted that the New Jersey fingerprint classification codes which they claimed matched the dead body in Camden *did not match* Philadelphia police and FBI fingerprint records for White. And even the D.A.'s investigators admitted that they continued looking for White during the last two years, despite the New Jersey death report.

Former cop and convicted felon Thomas Ryan, fresh from jail for his role in the 39th District case, tried to rebut Jenkins' testimony about their relationship. Jenkins said that she had first met Ryan well before the Faulkner shooting, by which time she had already become his girlfriend. In a different 1986 court case, Ryan had acknowledged having known Jenkins for five years, i.e., since 1981. At the Jamal hearing, Ryan asserted having "had no recollection" of when he had come to know Jenkins until the prosecution "refreshed" his memory that he had first met her only in 1982!

While on the stand, Jenkins also testified that Ryan had named other cops who were on the scene the night of Faulkner's killing. Jamal's attorneys have for years sought and been denied records of other police personnel who were there the night Faulkner was shot and who might have evidence regarding what happened. Lawrence Boston, a former cop who walked a beat near the area in December 1981, verified that plainclothes police were routinely to be found in that vicinity into the early morning hours. Boston, who said he had been a close friend of Faulkner, was one of the officers who Jenkins had heard was on site that night. But when questioned as to his exact whereabouts at the time of the shooting, Boston would only say, "I should have been in bed."

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Workers Vanguard

Jamal witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at March 10 press conference in Philadelphia.

Hanson...

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the student newspaper *Rabelais* for printing a tongue-in-cheek article advising how to shoplift. The aim of these repressive moves is to intimidate **all** who seek to fight for the rights of workers and the oppressed.

Hanson and her mob are especially feeding off the Howard regime's efforts to vastly curtail immigration and cut the state's meagre benefits for the brutalised and utterly dispossessed Aboriginal peoples. In August this year, the High Court denied financial awards to Aboriginal families subjected to decades of state-enforced kidnapping of their children under the rubric of "assimilation." The ruling came just over two months after the government's own Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission described the monstrous kidnapping of up to 100,000 Aboriginal children between 1910 and 1970 as "genocide" and called for monetary redress for Aborigines. Howard responded by announcing he would refuse to abide by the finding, intoning against "extremist views" portraying Australia's history as "little more than a disgraceful record of imperialism, exploitation and racism" (*Australian*, 27 May). And in the face of a racist backlash by farming and mining interests, Howard has moved to cut off even the minimal social programs and land rights decisions for Aborigines from previous governments.

Along with the exclusion of Asian labour codified in the "White Australia" policy adopted at the turn of this century, the murderous dispossession of Aboriginal peoples was part of the bedrock of Australian capitalism. Today, the very survival of these marginalised people, who are condemned to lives of unemployment and abject poverty and subject to unmitigated racist cop terror, demands nothing less than sweeping away capitalist rule through workers revolution.

Especially now, with the Howard government employing its arsenal of anti-strike laws to break the unions, it is in the immediate interests of the organised working class to mobilise in defence of the rights of Aborigines and all the oppressed. The Common Youth Allowance, which cuts off tens of thousands of youth from unemployment benefits, was prepared by the Keating Labor government's denial of social security benefits to newly arrived immigrants. The "work for the dole" scheme, which conscripts thousands of unemployed youth for forced labour, undercutting union wages and conditions, was first piloted on Aboriginal people. The virulent racist underpinnings of such measures are meant to poison the consciousness of the multi-ethnic proletariat, so that the capitalists can continue to divide and rule.

As communists, we aim to forge a Leninist vanguard party that would be



Michael Jones

Canberra, 19 August 1996: parliament stormed by a militant, multi-racial demonstration of Aborigines, unionists and youth.

a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of national, racial and sexual oppression. The storming of parliament during a trade-union demonstration in August last year, which was sparked when workers came to the defence of an Aboriginal contingent attacked by the cops, gave a small taste of the sort of integrated class struggle that is desperately needed. But such a struggle requires politically combating the hold over the working class of the Labor Party and pro-capitalist ACTU union tops, who responded to the August demonstration by collaborating with a vicious state witchhunt, fingering militants and purging trade unionists who acted in defence of their Aboriginal brothers and sisters.

"Leftists" in Labor Party's Shadow

At the moment, Hanson's virulent racism has galvanised previously quiescent layers of the society into political motion. Significantly, protest demonstrations have included large numbers from the increasing immigrant component of the Australian working class. Opposition to Hanson is also growing in ruling circles, who understand she is very bad for business. The previously booming tourist trade from Japan has been dropping precipitously, while university officials bemoan the fact that Hanson's anti-Asian xenophobic tirades have caused a severe drop in the enrolment of fee-paying students from South Korea to Malaysia.

With even the most despotic right-wing Asian regimes chastising their Australian counterparts over Hanson, Canberra's foreign trade office last week established a special division dedicated to promoting Australia's "image" in Asia! The federal government has gerrymandered Hanson's electoral district to push her out in the next elections.

Now that it is out of office, the Labor Party occasionally likes to posture as

opponents of Hanson's xenophobia and blunt racism. This is even as Labor parliamentarians give their assent to virtually all of the Howard government's vicious racist initiatives, while New South Wales Labor premier Bob Carr is in the forefront of whipping up racist hysteria against "Asian drug gangs" and pushing for tighter immigration restrictions. But closer to the ground, Labor spokesmen have been prominent in many anti-Hanson protests.

The reaction in the bourgeoisie and Labor officialdom against Hanson has opened the door for the reformist left to push the line of class collaboration. Thus, while the ISO is portrayed in the bourgeois press as some sort of wild-eyed radicals for their demand to "shut down" Hanson, in reality the ISO is making this call on *the bourgeoisie and its state*. The ISO is circulating a petition calling on parliament to oust Hanson, appealing to the same racist capitalist government that produced this fascist menace to clean up its act: *Socialist Worker* (4 July) also hails the measure taken by the Ashfield City Council in Sydney, put forward by a Labor councillor, to ban meetings of Hanson's followers.

Even the ISO's tepid reformist approach can seem positively militant, however, when compared to the civil-libertarian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). Feeling heat from the media's witchhunting, the DSP wrote in *Green Left Weekly* (6 August) that "only a small minority of the left (the International Socialist Organisation and the Spartacist League) advocate closing down One Nation meetings." The DSP not only wilfully confuses the SL's perspective for a class-struggle fight against racist oppression with the ISO's liberal reliance on the state, but spits on the thousands of Asians, Aborigines, students and other activists who have mobilised to stop Hanson and her racist rabble.

While the DSP's attempts to pose as "reasonable" leftists as opposed to the ISO would repel anyone seeking to fight racist oppression and the profit system that breeds it, the ISO's appeals to the bourgeois state and its Labor councillors to ban bad people and bad

ideas are no less a danger. The ISO sows the illusion that the bourgeois state—at its core composed of the police, army, prisons and courts, providing the armed fist of capitalist rule—can be pressured to act in the interests of the oppressed. The cops' attacks on anti-Hanson protesters and other assaults on democratic rights are a warning that whatever measures the state may take against Hanson and her followers will only be triply enforced against anti-racists, the left and the unions.

For their part, the centrists of Workers Power (WP) have emblazoned their articles on Hanson with the call "no free speech for racists." This demand is inherently absurd. Racism is endemic to capitalist society, so who exactly would WP deny a platform to? Certainly not the chauvinist swine who run the Labor Party, which WP assiduously tails. In practice, this slogan boils down to another liberal appeal to clean up the system of racist oppression. WP also claims that this demand is not a "call upon the capitalist state to censor racists" (*Workers Power*, July/September 1997). But this is precisely what is happening, as Labor-run city councils from the Sydney and Melbourne suburbs to Ipswich and Brisbane ban Hanson's meetings from premises they control.

As to the fascists increasingly active around Hanson, the question is not one of speech but of *deeds*. The fascists are not based on a program of ideas, but of racist violence and murder, ultimately aimed at destroying the organised workers movement. They must be stopped through mass united-front mobilisations centred on the trade unions and uniting behind them all of the fascists' intended victims. In regard to the fight against the opening of National Action's "bookshop" in Fawcner, Melbourne, the ISO, WP and other fake-socialists in the Coalition Against the Nazis *opposed* this proletarian perspective (see "Workers Power: Left Lawyers for Toothless CAN Coalition," opposite).

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

What unites reformists like the ISO with the centrist WP is their common fealty to the Labor Party and the trade-union bureaucracy—the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class." This is captured in the call trumpeted on ISO leaflets to "fight the right" and mimicked in *Workers Power's* lead headline on Hanson, "Fight the Racist Right." Historically, "fight the right" has been the watchword for class-collaborationist coalitions tying the working class to a supposed "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. In Australia, this is accomplished through the instrumentality of the Labor Party and trade-union tops. The Laborite left forms a syphilitic chain between these pro-capitalist misleaders and militant workers, minorities and youth, religiously calling for support to Labor in *every* election.

It is remarkable but predictable that in its two articles on Hanson, *Workers Power* studiously avoids taking up the

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 53 ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 1997

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

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or Capitalist Enslavement?
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Spartacist

(English Edition)

No. 53
Summer 1997

(56 pages)

\$2

Spartacist is sent to all
Australasian *Spartacist*
and *Workers Vanguard*
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SPARTACIST

斯巴达克同盟
原则宣言

Declaration of Principles
of the Spartacist League

国际共产主义同盟(第四国际主义者)
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

For Mass, Militant Union/Minority Mobilisations to Stop the Fascists!

Workers Power: Left Lawyers for Toothless CAN Coalition

The opening of a fascist National Action (NA) "bookshop" in the integrated working-class Melbourne suburb of Fawkner earlier this year was a racist provocation and a direct challenge to the multiracial working class in this city. The fascist terrorists are feeding off the climate of racist reaction being stoked by the capitalist government's assault on immigrants and Aboriginal people. The NA thugs, who have been a conspicuous presence at meetings of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, have been further emboldened by the witchhunting of anti-Hanson demonstrators by the capitalist media. On 10 July, two nights before an anti-NA march in Fawkner, skinheads smashed up the offices of the leftist-led Student Union at La Trobe University, which had helped organise a recent protest against Hanson.

What is urgently needed to stop the racist terrorists is united-front mobilisations centred on the trade unions and drawing in all of the fascists' intended victims—minorities, gays, youth, leftists. However, protests in Fawkner led by the Campaign Against the Nazis (CAN)—a coalition made up of reformist and centrist left groups—have only served to demoralise and demobilise anti-racist militants. On 15 March, an 800-strong crowd turned out to march on the NA shop, but all they got from CAN and their featured speakers was empty appeals to "make a statement" against NA, or to petition the local government. While NA scum taunted demonstrators from their bunker's rooftop, CAN marshals worked with the racist cops to push enraged protesters away from police barricades! Following a charge by mounted cops, several anti-NA demonstrators were arrested. **Drop the charges against all the arrested protesters!**

The Spartacist League contingent on 15 March sharply denounced the call from the platform by the International Socialist Organisation to petition the local council to ban the NA shop. Such liberal appeals to the capitalist state disarm the fight against the NA terrorists, sowing the illusion that the govern-

ment can be pressured to act on behalf of workers and minorities. The Laborite "left" that make up CAN oppose the struggle for union/minority mobilisations against NA because that would require a sharp political fight against the Labor Party tops and union bureaucrats who act to police the trade unions on behalf of the capitalist ruling class.

Since 15 March, CAN demonstrations have been marked by decreasing numbers and growing demoralisation. This has led some activists to look to the more militant-sounding anarchists, whose alternative to CAN's bankrupt "moral witness" protests is to launch isolated forays against the cop-protected fascist lair. But such individual heroics are no more capable of stopping NA than the liberal dead-end offered by CAN. Despairing of any possibility of mobilising the organised working class against the fascists, the "left" grouped in CAN and the anarchists alike oppose the struggle to forge a communist vanguard party—a revolutionary leadership—which can bring to the proletariat the consciousness that it must act in defence of all the oppressed. Such a party can only be forged through political combat against the pro-capitalist Labor/union tops and their reformist and centrist tails.

Below we reprint a 30 May leaflet by the Spartacist League, written in response to an article denouncing our revolutionary perspective, which appeared in the May-July 1997 newspaper of Workers Power, one of the centrist denizens of CAN.

In the lead-up to the 15 March demonstration called by the coalition Campaign Against the Nazis (CAN) against the fascist National Action (NA) bunker in Fawkner, the Spartacist League distributed thousands of copies of a leaflet calling for a united-front action based on the social power of the workers and which draws in all the oppressed and exploited to drive the fascists out of Fawkner. In this leaflet we explained:

altogether on the grounds that "the very conception of ownership of land was completely alien" to Aboriginal society. Unfortunately for the colour-blind SEP, the colonial conquerors *did* have a precise concept of property, which they proceeded to steal outright.

"A united front means that different organisations of the workers movement and others oppose the fascists in action. All organisations have a right to their own banner and propaganda. *March under your own banner and strike together as a solid fist against National Action.*"

—"For a Mass, Militant Union/Minority Mobilisation to Drive the Fascists Out of Fawkner!", 6 March 1997.

Instead, the CAN alliance has now led two impotent gabfests which have only served to embolden the fascists, with yet another called for 31 May. Now National Action's fuhrer Brander has threatened to mobilise and attack the 31 May anti-fascist march in Fawkner. The National Action shop is a recruiting and organising centre for the fascists to carry out their program of racist violence and murder. But from the beginning CAN

ist Organisation (ISO) who push petitions on the capitalist state to ban the fascists. Bringing up the rear is the right-centrist Workers Power group who attempt to provide a "Marxist" cover for this lash-up, praising it as a "genuine united front."

Now even Workers Power admits:

"However, the failure of many groups within CAN to take up a 'no platform' position in practice—most notably the DSP, ISO, SA [Socialist Alternative] and Militant—has meant that the campaign is limited to demonstrations which will allegedly demoralise NA."

Instead Workers Power whines: "To ensure that we can take militant action when the balance of forces is in our favour, we must decide in advance that this is what we want to do"! Indeed, not only is it admitted that CAN is not about stopping the fascists, Workers



Spartacist League at protest against fascist National Action bunker in Fawkner, Melbourne, 15 March.

has *not* been based upon a program of action to drive out the fascists and their shop. CAN consists of various reformist groups from the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) who *openly* polemicise against mobilisations to drive out the fascist shop, to the International Social-

Power even claims that its "suggestion" that CAN organise "self defence against fascism" has been met with "derision" from its bloc partners!

Faced with the evident bankruptcy of CAN, Workers Power is now attempting *continued on page 10*

issue of protectionism—one of Hanson's chief calling cards—because it is the Labor/trade-union tops who are today among the most rabid proponents of high tariffs to "protect" Australian industry. National-chauvinist protectionism is poison to the class struggle, sowing the lie that workers and their exploiters have joint class interests.

The submersion of the "left" in Laborite social-democracy has given the misnamed "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) a chance to posture as somewhat orthodox Marxists, condemning the ISO for acting "to keep any movement of workers and youth chained to the Labor and union bureaucracies" (*Workers News*, 13 June). But potential buyers of the SEP's Marxist pretences should beware. In their articles on Hanson, the SEP offers no concrete demands in defence of the oppressed while denouncing in *Workers News* (30 May) the "anti-Hanson" campaigns being waged by the various radical groups" as "hysterical"—a charge which rather neatly dovetails with the current media/police witchhunt against the left.

Furthermore, *Workers News* (13 June) dismisses Aboriginal land rights

On top of this, the SEP has written off the trade unions as no longer workers organisations of any kind. In equating the mass economic organisations of the working class with their traitorous, pro-capitalist misleaders, the SEP renounces the necessary political struggle against

the union bureaucrats every bit as much as the Laborite left.

The all-sided ruling-class assault on immigrants, Aborigines, youth and the unions highlights that the struggles of workers and minorities must advance together or they will surely all fall back. To address the near-record levels of unemployment, we call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all. Against the racist, chauvinist protectionism pushed by the Labor/trade-union misleaders, which helped prepare the ground for Hanson, we fight for internationalist proletarian struggle against all the capitalist rulers of the region. Asian immigrant workers will play a key role in the class struggle in Australia, and form a bridge to workers in the rest of Asia. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

The fight for socialist revolution requires above all the forging of a revolutionary leadership for the working class and the oppressed—a communist vanguard party. Such a party can only be built through irreconcilable political struggle against the Laborite misleaders and their reformist and centrist tails. ■

Spartacist League Forum

Fascistic MP Hanson Rides Wave of Chauvinist Reaction

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Capitalism!

For a Revolutionary Workers Party that Champions All the Oppressed!

Tuesday, 16 September, 6 p.m.

Meeting Room 1, Lesley Clucas Lounge, Building 12, Level 4, RMIT (city)

MELBOURNE For more information: (03) 9654 4315

Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union

IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies

Six weeks ago, *Workers Vanguard* revealed that the Internationalist Group (IG) of Norden and Negrete and its Brazilian affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) were up to their necks in class treason. While these charlatans postured internationally as opponents of bourgeois state intervention in the Brazilian workers movement, we proved that *they had sued the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda in the capitalist courts* (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits—IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," *WV* No. 669, 30 May). Finally, on June 29, the IG and LQB responded by posting some 27 single-spaced pages on the IG's "Web page" on the Internet.

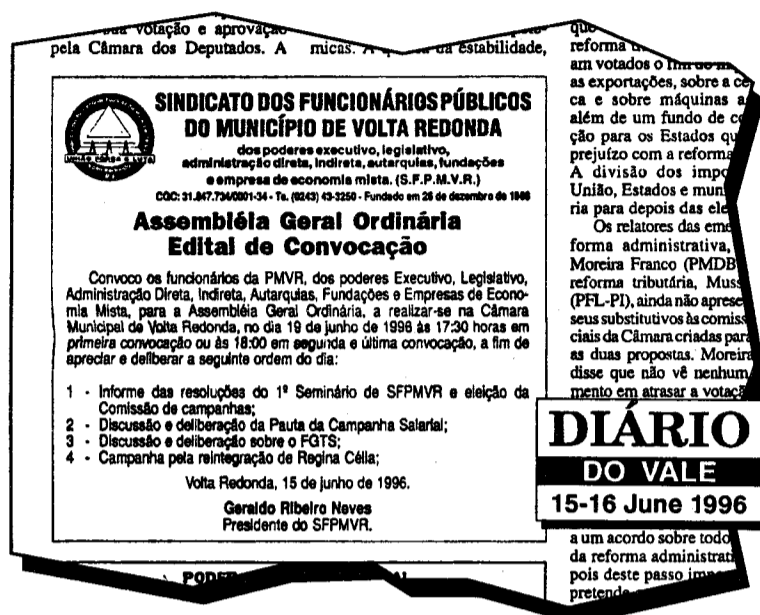
We can appreciate why those with IG on their face might want to now hide behind a computer screen; cyberspace is a convenient medium for hustlers in virtual reality. Among the 27 pages of cover-up was a letter dated June 24—in English and gussied up with fancy color graphics—allegedly sent by the LQB to the ICL (but never received by us via post, fax or e-mail). Postings in English on the Internet will surely not reach the workers of Volta Redonda, most of whom do not even have a telephone, much less a computer with a graphics card. But that's precisely the point: the IG/LQB can't peddle their lies to the workers there—because it is common knowledge in that small industrial city that the LQB sued the municipal workers union.

In an attempt to bury the truth of their shameful lawsuits, the IG and LQB repeatedly throw out filthy slanders that the International Communist League is "a willing accomplice of a very dirty operation" in the service of Artur Fernandes, the political boss who runs the cop-infested SFPMVR municipal workers union, and his centrist advisers, the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI). Norden & Co. offer no proof—because there is none. With exquisite chutzpah, they label as "anti-communist" our exposure of the LQB's class betrayal in hauling the union into the bosses' courts. They go on to complain that the amount of attention we have devoted to exposing them as centrist defectors from Trotskyism must mean we are allied with the squalid opponents with whom the LQB has been wrestling for control of the Volta Redonda union. While the ICL, in our previous *WV* article, denounced the pro-cop LBI's hypocrisy in attacking the LQB's anti-union court suits, the IG/LQB never answered the LBI—because to do so would have meant acknowledging those lawsuits!

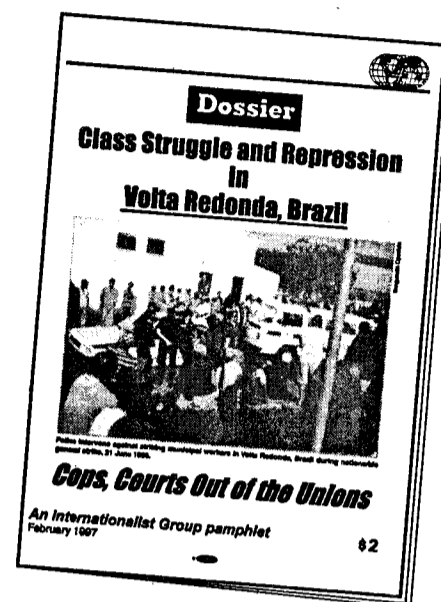
Trotsky exposed the method of desperate liars whose only response to public exposure is to slander the truth-teller as an ally of the class enemy. In his testimony before the Dewey Commission, against the Stalinist slanders that he was secretly an agent of Hitler and the Japanese Mikado while the public record showed that he had devoted his whole life to the cause of the international proletariat, Trotsky remarked: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat. No, it is not convincing!"

Two, Three, Many Anti-Union Lawsuits

More investigation on our part has yielded further irrefutable evidence that the LQB dragged the SFPMVR union through the bourgeois courts. The lawsuits filed by Geraldo Ribeiro of the



DIÁRIO DO VALE
15-16 June 1996



IG/LQB claim 19 June 1996 Volta Redonda union meeting was called to oust cops from union. But public call for meeting, signed by LQB's Geraldo Ribeiro, lists only four agenda points: "resolutions of the 1st seminary" and "election of the campaign commission," "wage campaign," "guarantee fund for time worked" and "campaign for the reintegration of Regina Célia." Nothing about cops! IG "Dossier" lies about "victory" against cops, conceals class betrayal by LQB in suing the union in capitalist courts.

LQB against the union, as well as the lawsuits filed by the Artur Fernandes gang against Geraldo Ribeiro, are available for public review in the municipal courthouse in Volta Redonda. A *Workers Vanguard* reporter read through the foot-thick file of cases.

There were a total of six lawsuits documented in these files. The first one and the last two were initiated by Fernandes & Co. The other three were filed by Ribeiro against the SFPMVR—case number 30.831, filed on 15 July 1996; case number 30.832, filed on 8 August 1996; and case number 30.833, filed on 26 July 1996.

Yet the IG incredibly asserts: "The LQB and union president Ribeiro have not sued the union." The Nordenites also trot out a 30 January 1997 declaration by Ribeiro that "We reject any interference by the bosses' 'justice' system in the labor movement. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses! They are the ones who decide!" For all its bluster, the IG in fact acknowledges the existence of the two lawsuits by Ribeiro we exposed in our earlier article—while *concealing the third* we just uncovered. Straining credibility beyond the breaking point, the IG ludicrously "explains" that the two lawsuits they acknowledge had been a "mistake," claiming: "Without his knowledge, they had been filed with the union listed as the defendant, something Ribeiro never would have permitted. When he learned of this, Ribeiro immediately gave instructions that these cases be withdrawn, which they were, despite the vociferous objections of the lawyers, who do not share the LQB's views."

The files in the courthouse prove the IG and LQB are lying. Ribeiro gave his lawyers written permission to act on his behalf. The files include "power of attorney" documents signed by him on July 7 for the July 15 suit, on August 6 for the August 8 suit, and on July 29 for the July 26 suit. (The sequence of case numbers and dates is peculiar, but reality is often less orderly than seamless lies.) Additionally, Ribeiro's signature appears on three other documents, one for each of the three suits, requesting that the state pay his court fees. But what is further revealed in the court files is most damning of all, and most damaging to the union. In order to back up

Ribeiro's claim that the capitalist state should recognize him as the legitimate leader of the municipal workers union, *he submitted union bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois court as "evidence"!* So much for the IG's lame claim that Ribeiro didn't know what his lawyers were doing—how could his lawyers get their hands on the union's financial records and other sensitive internal materials and append them to Ribeiro's lawsuits unless he himself turned them over to the lawyers?

In February 1996, when the ICL had fraternal relations with the LQB (then Luta Metalúrgica—LM), we sent them books and archival material on the American Trotskyists' struggle against state intervention and the frame-up of militants in the Minneapolis Teamsters union in the 1930s. Seeking to convey a political understanding of the Marxist principle of proletarian class independence, an ICL representative in Volta Redonda translated much of this material into Portuguese, including an article from the Minneapolis Teamsters' *Northwest Organizer* (4 August 1938). This article denounced stool pigeons who give union account books and minutes to the courts: "A union has the same intransigent objection to permitting the enemy to scrutinize its documents, plans, books, etc., as does the United States Government have to a potential enemy scrutinizing its industrial and military resources and plans."

Ribeiro not only invited the class enemy to scrutinize the SFPMVR's internal documents, he also appealed to the capitalist state to determine who should be the legitimate representative of the municipal workers. Among the internal union issues Ribeiro called on the court to adjudicate in case 30.832 are:

"c. The carrying out of the request for declaring the validity of the Extraordinary General Assembly called by the membership and held on the 25 of July of 1996, where the Author's [Gerald's] return to the presidency of the SFPMVR was decided, and the consequent unblocking of the Union's bank account, as well as the penalty of suspension applied to the dissident directorship, decided in the same Assembly.

"d. The carrying out of the request for declaring null the Assembly held by the dissident directorship on 29 July of 1996,

for the fact that the directors that held that travesty of an Assembly were suspended from their posts in the 25 July of 1996 Assembly, thus not having legitimacy to call, hold or deliberate in an Assembly, even because the matters dealt with were taken up at the previous [Assembly]."

This lawsuit was filed on 8 August 1996—some *two weeks after* Ribeiro allegedly wrote a 26 July 1996 unpublished letter, filled with fine words against government intervention in the union movement, to the Volta Redonda paper *Diário do Vale*. This "letter" is the "evidence" with which the IG/LQB "refutes" our exposé! When our comrades spoke to LQB leader Cerezo in person in Volta Redonda on May 3 this year, he told us that Ribeiro had written such a letter but Cerezo "couldn't find it." Neither the IG nor the LQB has ever published this letter to *Diário do Vale*. More importantly, neither has the LQB issued *any* propaganda directed to the working class in Volta Redonda in response to the many articles in the bourgeois press in July and August 1996 reporting on Ribeiro's lawsuits against the union.

The silence of the LQB in Volta Redonda speaks loudly to their guilt, opportunism and utter contempt for workers who believed they were a leftist alternative. Their actions confirm that the ICL's break in fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 was both principled and necessary. The LQB was concerned only with maintaining control of a union in which it had no members at the time (Ribeiro was made a member of the LQB after the break with the ICL). The Ribeiro faction in the union was every bit as squalid as the pro-cop faction led by Artur Fernandes (himself a former LM protégé), and every bit as willing to appeal directly to the class enemy, the bourgeois state.

The Silence of the IGs

The IG and LQB claim that Geraldo Ribeiro withdrew these suits as soon as he learned of them. Not possible. The court records show that Ribeiro did indeed file a withdrawal of all three of his lawsuits—on 17 February 1997—*seven months after he filed the first lawsuit!* As the municipal workers union was being dragged through the bourgeois courts by the LQB on the one hand and

the pro-cop Artur Fernandes grouping on the other, the IG ran an international diversion—an appeal for “solidarity” to demand the cops and courts keep their hands off the SFPMVR and its president, Ribeiro. This charade culminated with the February 1997 publication of an IG “Dossier” on the LQB’s struggle in the municipal workers union.

The IG’s “Dossier” was nothing but international camouflage to cover up for their collaborators’ crossing the class line in Brazil. It contained not even a mention of the LQB’s anti-union lawsuits. The IG did not even deem Ribeiro’s 26 July 1996 letter to *Diário do Vale* “fit to print.” Indeed, not one word of the lawsuits passed the IG’s lips until after *Workers Vanguard* reported the facts that our comrades had uncovered in Brazil. Nor has the IG’s “Dossier” ever been translated or circulated in Brazil.

In its latest literary sally, the IG repeats its timeworn refrain that the ICL “fled from the class battle” in Brazil. While constantly contradicting themselves over the date that the cops were allegedly thrown out of the SFPMVR union, Norden & Co. continue to insist that we broke fraternal relations with the LQB the day before a 19 June 1996 union meeting where the cops were to be thrown out and that we “had to know” about that meeting. Well, now we do know. Reprinted here is the public advertisement for that union meeting: there is no mention of removing the cops from the union. Workers were not publicly mobilized for that purpose, and in fact it didn’t happen.

We challenge the IG to open the books, to publish all the pertinent materials! We’ve publicized every piece of hard evidence we could get our hands on. But the IG and their LQB bloc partners have access to further documentation. The lawsuits reviewed by our reporter in the Volta Redonda courthouse are available for public viewing but may not be photocopied except by the parties involved—the Fernandes faction, the LQB faction or attorneys for either side. Why doesn’t the IG publish the lawsuits filed and withdrawn (seven months later) by their fraternal group in Brazil? And while they’re at it, why not publish the full transcripts of the 16 June 1996 meeting between the ICL and LQB which they have on tape? Those transcripts would show that no member of the LQB ever mentioned that day that a union meeting to expel the cops was imminent—because it wasn’t.

The ICL has done a service to the international workers movement by exposing the IG/LQB as the unscrupulous and dangerous hustlers they are. Our investigation began when we responded to the LQB’s appeal for international solidarity by requesting that they provide us with documentation regarding the situation in the municipal workers union so that we could defend them and bring their case to others to defend. We were prepared to defend them despite our evident political differences. This essential definition of non-sectarian class-struggle defense is vitiated by the IG/LQB. Norden and his cohorts do not believe you can criticize those whom you defend nor can you defend those you criticize. We stand on the traditions of James P. Cannon’s International Labor Defense, which are carried forward today by the Partisan Defense Committee. We endeavor to bring any case or cause in the interest of the whole of the working people to the attention of workers around the world. But the LQB refused to provide us with any information. Now we know why.

Opportunism, the Party Question and the State

We strive at all times for theoretical and programmatic clarity, bringing key political debates out in the open so the most conscious workers can reach a higher understanding of their own interests. But because of their amorphousness and their attraction to group-

ings to their right, centrists despise our insistence on clarity of position and purity of principles. They don’t like being called by their right name, so they seek to conceal their opportunist maneuvering from the workers. The fake leftists cover up their actions with false and vicious attacks on the communist ICL, while denouncing us for our alleged “sectarianism” and “passive propagandism.”

The ICL has made available to the public the documentary record of our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica. Our trilingual (English, Spanish and Portuguese) *International Bulletin* No. 41, “The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil,” is the documentary record of correspondence between the ICL and LM from the time of an authoritative ICL gathering in January 1996—in which an LM leader participated—through the break in fraternal relations on 17 June 1996. Also publicly available in several languages is *International Bulletin* No. 38, “Norden’s ‘Group’: Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism.”

These materials make clear that it was the Norden group who “fled the struggle”—the struggle to forge a Trotskyist international. Declining the opportunity to form a faction and fight to change the party’s program and perspectives, a right uniquely and explicitly laid out in our organizational rules, Norden & Co. ran a wrecking operation inside the party, engineered their own expulsions and now run a wrecking operation against us from outside the party. Meanwhile, their impressionism and attraction to alien political formations—adaptations to the pressures of bourgeois society which were held in check through internal democratic-centralist party struggle—are now running free. The Norden group has demonstrated that it is willing to sacrifice the most fundamental principles of Marxism at the first whiff of an “opportunity.”

The party question was the common denominator to all our fights with the Norden group and the Brazilian LQB. The Nordenites resisted our struggle to transform the LQB into the nucleus of a Trotskyist party and they capitulated to the LQB’s fake “mass” work, trade-union opportunism and centrist amorphousness. In contrast, after a sufficiently lengthy period of testing our apparent programmatic agreement, including with ICL representatives on site in Brazil, the ICL broke fraternal relations with LM because their ingrained trade-union opportunism was counterposed to forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Why did the LQB seek to control a cop-infested union? Why did they pick an ex-cop, Ribeiro, and a pro-cop thug, Fernandes, to head the amorphous and unprincipled bloc—the Municipários em Luta (MEL) which won control of the union? Why did their left-sounding campaign propaganda (which was barely distributed anyway) not call for the separation of the cops from the union the LQB sought to lead?

The ICL did not know of the presence of cops in the municipal workers union until the issue came up in informal discussion at our January 1996 international gathering. If we had known that this was how LM operated, there would have been no fraternal relations. As Norden and his protégé Negrete, then leading members of the ICL, were quite exclusively in control of our contact with the LQB prior to January 1996, the question must be asked, did they know about the cops and keep that secret from the party? When we did learn of it, we pressed for the LQB to bring its actions into accordance with the program with which it professed agreement and to fight for separation of the cops from the union. Then their amorphous MEL bloc blew apart, with Artur Fernandes emerging from their “own” camp as their chief witchhunter. The LQB and the Norden group virulently opposed the ICL’s insistence that a leading LQB member step down from his unelected post as

“adviser” to this union in which the LQB had no members and begin a communist policy of work directed at the base of the unions, including with a party press.

The IG repeatedly denounces the pro-cop Fernandes while quoting the MEL’s election program that the police are “the armed fist of the bourgeoisie,” saying that LM agreed to the ICL’s urgings to fight to oust the cops from the union. The IG now points to that quote to bolster the LQB’s supposed anti-cop credentials. Yet they carefully conceal the crucial fact that Fernandes was part of the MEL slate that the LM/LQB engineered, just as they now attempt to conceal Ribeiro’s taking the union to court. At the time, the MEL counted on the cop vote in the union to get elected—that’s why they refused to raise opposition to the police within their union in the first place. Having taken up this fight, they then tried to use it as a factional club against their rivals for the union presidency. This crass opportunism to gain control of unions from the top is the same game the rest of the centrists play in Brazil.

The entire subsequent trajectory of the LQB was predictable, and we did predict it. We warned where their unprincipled combinationism at the top of the union and their recourse to bureaucratic methods against their opponents in the union could lead. In a 23 February 1996 letter to them, we wrote:

“Our enemies cannot be fought with the bosses’ methods of back-room deals and intrigues. We know of no other way than to lay your case clearly before the workers and fight openly for your views. To proceed otherwise could damage your organization and the union itself, and confuse the workers for a long time to come.

“We are for clear political struggle between the different parties and their counterposed programs, without threats of expulsion or exclusion, which could potentially set the stage for more direct state intervention in the union under the fig leaf of restoring ‘democracy’. The very powerful Teamsters union in the United States, and before it the Mine Workers union have been reduced to a shadow of their former strength through precisely this kind of government intervention, abetted by the fake left.”

Today the LQB and the IG stand exposed for abetting such state intervention in the Brazilian union movement. Until we exposed the lies retailed in the IG’s “Dossier,” they insisted that the cops had been thrown out of the SFPMVR and that Ribeiro was the union president. Now they’ve changed their tune and describe the SFPMVR under Artur Fernandes as a “court-rigged outfit.” Indeed it is, and they helped make it that way. Ever legends in their own minds, Norden and Negrete continue to maintain that what happened in the

Volta Redonda union is a “victory.” They dismiss the facts that Fernandes is in charge of the SFPMVR, that Ribeiro has been booted out as president, that the cops remain in the union, that the capitalist courts have been allowed to meddle in the union’s affairs—by insisting that the sentiment of the ranks goes in the opposite direction, that “the will of the workers” (as somehow determined by the IG/LQB) is decisive.

Norden & Co. have trampled on the elementary Marxist principle that the capitalist state has no business intervening in the labor movement. At bottom, they deny that the workers (even the most “willing”!) need a Leninist party—to bring revolutionary class consciousness from without in order to transform the proletariat from a class in itself to a class for itself, fighting for its own class rule, a workers state.

A little opportunism is a dangerous thing. As Trotsky wrote in his incisive 1931 essay, “The Mistakes of Rightist Elements of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question”:

“If the theoretical structure of the political economy of Marxism rests entirely upon the conception of value as materialized labor, the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the party as the vanguard of the proletariat.

“Whatever may be the social sources and political causes of opportunist mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole....

“One of the psychological sources of opportunism is a superficial impatience, a lack of confidence in the gradual growth of the party’s influence, the desire to win the masses by organizational maneuvers or personal diplomacy. Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes, the policy of silence, of hushing up, of self-renunciation, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others; and finally, the complete passage to the positions of opportunism. The subordination of the CP to the Kuomintang in China, the creation of workers’ and peasants’ parties in India, the subordination of the British party to the Minority Movement, etc., etc.—in all these phenomena we see the same method of bureaucratic combinationism which commences with a superficial revolutionary impatience and finishes with opportunist treason.”

In our previous article, “IG’s Brazil Fraud Exposed,” we stated: “The IG cannot simultaneously stand by the verbal affirmation of class principle in their ‘Dossier’ and by the class betrayal carried out by their comrades in Volta Redonda.” The IG has consciously chosen the latter, proving that their flight from the ICL was not a casual journey. It was based on deep revisionism and hostility to the revolutionary Marxist program and party.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 671, 11 July 1997

Special ICL Bulletins

No. 38 (Third edition):
Norden’s “Group”: Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism
 \$7.50 (152 pages)

No. 41:
 In English, Portuguese and Spanish
The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil—
 Correspondence between the International Communist League and Luta Metalúrgica/Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil
 \$8.75 (184 pages)

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 GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

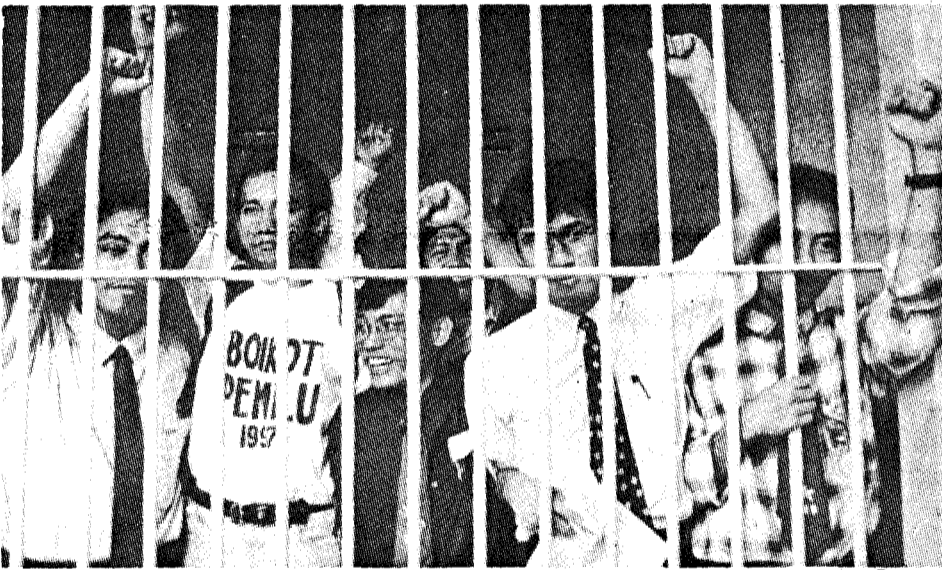
Indonesia...

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extreme venality of the ruling class.

The Suharto regime has responded to the recent unrest with typically fierce repression, targeting especially the independent trade unions and the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD). On April 22, Dita Sari, head of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), was sentenced to six years in prison for her role in a strike and rally last July of 20,000 women workers in the east Java city of Surabaya. Her co-defendants, Coen Hussein Pontoh and Mohammed Soleh, were sentenced to four years each. On May Day, eleven PRD members began a hunger strike to protest the sentencing of PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko and eight others to up to 13 years in prison. Meanwhile, Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), is facing a death sentence on "subversion" charges. The international labor movement must demand: Free all victims of Suharto's reactionary terror!

The latest prison sentences stem from massive protests which erupted last July over the regime's ouster of Megawati Sukarnoputri, a bourgeois "opposition" figure and daughter of former Indonesian ruler Sukarno, from the PDI leadership. The PRD, which has taken up the call for a boycott of the rigged elections, actively organizes support for Megawati. This is despite Megawati's repeated denials that she has any intention of challenging Suharto's rule.



Reuters

Leftists imprisoned in government crackdown include PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko (second from right). Free all victims of Suharto's right-wing repression!

In fact, she has already served twice in Suharto's sham parliament. On purely democratic grounds, we defend Megawati's right to run in the elections. But the boycott campaign is not designed to challenge the dictatorship and its electoral farce; it seeks only to reverse Megawati's exclusion.

With the grave of the aged Suharto beckoning, there are many signs of a social explosion brewing. This has Indonesia's imperialist overlords—centrally Japan and the U.S.—increasingly worried. Thus a *New York Times* (4 May) editorial pointed to "the absence of political outlets for protest" as a cause for the social turmoil last summer, concluding: "The events of the last year are the first signs of a movement that may one day bring democracy to Indonesia." What this imperialist mouthpiece means by "democracy" is placing a more adept figurehead at the top of the system of savage exploitation. But for Indonesia's tens of millions of toilers, social emancipation requires nothing short of a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous apparatus of neocolonial rule.

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

Megawati personifies the inability of any wing of the Indonesian bourgeoisie



Economist

Suharto unleashed draconian repression against mass protests which rocked Indonesia last year.

to carry out the tasks associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution—from political democracy to national liberation to agrarian revolution. After centuries of brutal Dutch colonial rule, fractured by the brief occupation of Indonesia by Japan during World War II, the country won its independence in 1949 under Sukarno's nationalists. But the Java-centered bourgeoisie remains tied to imperialism by a thousand threads and lords it over a dispossessed peasantry and diverse, deeply oppressed minorities.

national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses....

"The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent revolution*."

In October 1917, the numerically small Russian proletariat, led by the Bolsheviks, was able to mobilize behind it the mass of the peasantry, oppressed nationalities, women and youth in a proletarian revolution which broke the power of the capitalists and landlords.

The Bolsheviks understood that it was necessary for socialist revolution to spread beyond the borders of backward Russia to the advanced capitalist powers, notably Germany. However, the young Soviet workers state remained economically impoverished and besieged by hostile imperialist powers. In this context, a conservative bureaucratic stratum led by Stalin was able to consolidate its rule through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Decades of Stalinist betrayal under the reactionary nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" led to the final undoing of the October Revolution, as capitalist counterrevolution swept the USSR and East Europe in 1989-92.

Despite this ultimate betrayal by the Stalinists, the lessons of the Russian October remain their full validity. It is the historic mission of the burgeoning Indonesian proletariat—leading the land-hungry toiling masses of the countryside, women, restive youth, ethnic minorities—to sweep away the legacy of colonial rule, economic backwardness and military despotism through socialist revolution. What is missing in the social

powder keg of Indonesia is a proletarian, revolutionary Marxist party based on the experience of the class struggles of the past, particularly that of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

No More Popular Front Betrayals!

It is a measure of the combativeness of the Indonesian proletariat that the bloody military repression has failed to check labor struggles. Last month, even as the regime was clamping down on any threat of protests over the elections, 10,000 workers in Nike's slave-labor shoe factory in Tangerang staged a militant strike which won a pay raise. The PRD militants who have led many of the recent strikes and protests have shown enormous courage in the face of Suharto's repression. However, the PRD's political support to bourgeois forces such as Megawati can only lead these struggles down the road of defeat by subordinating the proletariat to a supposedly "liberal" wing of the capitalist exploiters.

During Sukarno's reign, it was the PKI's strategy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance between working-class organizations and the bourgeoisie—which paved the way for the 1965 disaster. The mass party of the working class and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world, the PKI followed the treacherous Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution. As we wrote in "Indonesia Powder Keg" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 654, 25 October 1996):

"With the full backing of their Stalinist mentors in Moscow and especially in Beijing, the PKI implemented the policy of *gotong royong*—'national unity'—with the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and its military. The PKI gained a number of cabinet posts in Sukarno's government, embracing his strategy of 'Nasakom'—an alliance of bourgeois nationalists, Islamic groups and 'Communists'....

"Again and again, the PKI banned strikes, suppressed militant peasant movements and courted imperialist investment, preaching confidence in Sukarno and his generals. The PKI even denounced an uprising it had led at Madiun in 1948 and elevated the general who suppressed it to its pantheon of 'Heroes of the Working Class.' Raising the slogan 'For the Maintenance of Public Order, Help the Police,' and pledging to enforce 'the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force,' the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which was later to come down on it."

In the face of the right-wing military coup in October 1965, the PKI was disarmed politically by its support of Sukarno. The result was a horrific slaughter perpetrated by the military and Islamic mobs. An entire generation of leftists was wiped out and the organizations of the proletariat crushed. Anyone considered educated or presumed to be a leftist—atheists, schoolteachers, writers—was rounded up and shot on the spot or imprisoned in the regime's concentration camps, where few survived.

In Indonesia today, any program of parliamentarism, labor reformism or



Jewett/Portland Oregonian

Workers at Nike production plant slave for pennies an hour. Struggle for women's emancipation is key to Indonesian revolution.

The DSP and Indonesian PRD on East Timor

In our articles on Indonesia and at protest demonstrations and public forums, the Spartacist League has stressed that the struggle to liberate all of those oppressed in Suharto's prison house of peoples requires proletarian revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. And as the Australian section of the International Communist League, we have insisted that the struggle for socialist revolution in Indonesia must be linked to the fight to overthrow the capitalist rulers here at "home." Apparently, these calls have caused a bit of a stir in the reformist Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), which acts as local promoters of the Indonesian leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD).

The DSP's *Green Left Weekly* (18 June) featured a letter by Paul Howes and Wendy Robertson, two leading members of the DSP youth group Resistance, which stated: "The latest edition of AS [*Australasian Spartacist* No. 160, Summer 1996/97] claims that the PRD does not support a free East Timor. In fact, the PRD is the only Indonesian party to call for a free East Timor." The letter then asserts that "The Spartacists claim that pro-Megawati members of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) destroyed the PDI headquarters during the July 1996 riots, repeating the lies of the Suharto government."

As anyone who reads our press can attest, the latter statement is a bald-faced lie worthy of the anti-Trotskyist slander mills of J.V. Stalin. The writers themselves had to admit in a subsequent "correction" that "this specific statement misrepresents the position printed in

the current issue of the *Australasian Spartacist*" (*Green Left Weekly*, 2 July). Good. Now we can focus on the heart of the matter: that the programs of the PRD and its DSP cheerleaders are indeed counterposed to the fight for independence for East Timor, whose people have groaned under the heel of genocidal repression since the 1975 annexation by Suharto's Indonesia following the departure of the former brutal Portuguese colonial administration.

Here is what the ICL's U.S. section wrote in its newspaper, *Workers Vanguard* No. 654 (25 October 1996), later reprinted in *ASp*: "While the PRD has been active in protesting the genocidal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, it refuses to call for independence, instead demanding 'a peaceful resolution and no military intervention in East Timor'.... Meanwhile, the PRD's 'democratic' heroine Megawati endorses the expansionist aims of the military regime, calling for incorporation of East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia." We also noted that "the PRD's publicity agents in the Democratic Socialist Party call for 'liberating' East Timor through the intervention of the Australian jackal imperialists, who are themselves deeply complicit in Suharto's slaughter of the East Timorese."

In fact, we got the PRD's line on a "peaceful resolution and no military intervention in East Timor" from *Green Left Weekly's* web page on the PRD in August last year. Since then, we've read in the PRD's "Manifesto," issued shortly after its founding conference in April 1996, that "The Indonesian people's

democratic struggle will not be complete and genuine unless it joins with the Maubere [East Timorese] people's demand for independence." This document appears in "The Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia—Introducing the Peoples Democratic Party," published by the DSP's "Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor" organization.

But hold on a minute. In its "Resolution on East Timor" adopted at the same time as the resolution quoted above and printed in the same pamphlet, the PRD, far from calling for revolutionary struggle to sweep away Suharto's bloody grip on East Timor, proclaims that "it would be a moral obligation and a worthy thing for President Suharto to uphold UN General Assembly resolution passed on 19 Nov-

ember 1976 which stated overwhelmingly that East Timor has to undergo a process of self-determination." This resolution does not even call for all Indonesian troops out of East Timor, instead mildly counselling Jakarta to "reduce military operations and administration in East Timor and to hand it over to multinational peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN, as we have seen in Bosnia, Ethiopia and Cambodia." And why should that be done? The PRD answers: "We do not want the experience of the US in the Vietnam War to be ours...."

Let's get it straight: the United Nations is an *imperialist den of thieves and their victims*. From Iraq to Bosnia to Somalia, the UN flag has provided the cover for imperialist slaughter, racist

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Spartacist League calls for independence for East Timor, opposes Australian imperialism at solidarity rally in Sydney, 24 May.

popular-frontism is simply suicidal. A revolutionary-internationalist party, acting as a tribune of the people, would fight to link struggles for democratic rights to the class struggle of the proletariat.

The deep-seated divisions among the various peoples of Indonesia are the heritage of Dutch colonialism and have in turn been stoked by the Suharto regime to poison any attempt at multi-ethnic class struggle. Time and again, the predominantly Christian Sino-Indonesian minority has been set up as scapegoats for the miseries suffered by the masses of toilers. Although constituting only some 3 percent of the population, ethnic Chinese are prominent in the commercial middle class and in the big bourgeoisie, controlling an estimated three-quarters of private capital. Following the 1965 coup, Chinese writing was banned. Most recently, the military regime has conspicuously allowed communalist riots targeting Sino-Indonesian merchants to run their course, while Suharto simultaneously sought to use them as a pretext for a further crackdown on political dissent.

As communists, we oppose all discrimination against national, linguistic and other minorities. As part of our championing of the right of self-determination for all nations, we call for the independence of East Timor. Formerly a Portuguese colony, East Timor was brutally annexed by Indonesia in 1975, triggering a bitter war for national independence. The death toll after two decades of colonial repression and forced resettlement schemes—exacerbated by famine and disease—has exceeded 200,000, fully *one-third* of the East Timorese population. One measure of the PRD's acceptance of the bourgeois order is its failure to raise the

demand for East Timorese independence.

•The struggle for women's emancipation is a burning question in Indonesia, as throughout the semicolonial world. Women form a majority of the workforce in many of the prison-like manufacturing plants, and women militants have played a key role as labor organizers. Integrally connected to the struggle for women's equality is the demand for separation of church and state. This is particularly important in Indonesia given the role of Islamic reactionaries backed by Suharto and the CIA in the 1965 bloodbath, and in light of the corporatist Islamicist movement designed and used by Suharto for his own purposes today. PRD idol Megawati also has close ties to the head of the country's largest Muslim organization.

Closely intertwined with the struggles of minorities is the fight for land. The Dutch left in their wake massive plantations, which are now worked by millions of landless laborers and small tenant farmers. With the accelerated flow of imperialist investment, countless peasant families have been thrown off the land in favor of mining, manufacturing and other corporations. To even begin to address the plight of the rural masses requires the expropriation of the landed estates, which can only be accomplished through the expropriation of the bourgeois-landlord ruling class under a workers and peasants government.

We oppose the dictatorship's ban on political parties and raise the call for a constituent assembly to address the democratic aspirations of the Indonesian masses. In raising this slogan for China following the bloody suppression of the 1925-27 Revolution by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomintang (Kuomintang), Trotsky explained how the fight for a constituent assembly must be linked to

a perspective for proletarian power:

"The Communist Party can and should formulate the slogan of the constituent assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. In the process of agitation for this slogan, it will obviously be necessary to explain to the masses that it is doubtful if such an assembly will be convened, and even if it were, it would be powerless so long as the material power remains in the hands of the Kuomintang generals. From this flows the possibility of broaching in a new manner the slogan of the arming of the workers and the peasants...."

"The slogan of the national (or constituent) assembly is thus intimately linked up with those of the eight-hour day, the confiscation of the land, and the complete national independence of China."

—"The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" (October 1928)

Following the 1917 February Revolution which overthrew the Russian tsar, the Bolshevik Party called for the immediate convening of a constituent assembly while the Provisional Government of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois "democratic" parties refused. At the same time, the Bolsheviks called for a government based on the workers, peasants and soldiers soviets (councils). The Constituent Assembly was finally convened only after the proletariat took power in the October Revolution. But when the demand for "all power to the Constituent Assembly" became the rallying cry for "democratic" counterrevolution, the revolutionary regime simply swept it aside.

For a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!

The fate of Indonesia is, and has been, key to the whole of southern Asia. Following the devastation of the Indonesian proletariat in 1965, Washington felt emboldened to massively escalate its ground invasion of South Vietnam. At

the same time, the consolidation of Indonesia as a bastion of "free world" anti-Communism created the conditions for the later development of a defeatist wing of the American bourgeoisie, which felt that the U.S. could safely withdraw from what had become a *losing* war in Vietnam without jeopardizing its strategic interests in the region.

Today Indonesia is the central player in ASEAN, the anti-China bloc which now encompasses virtually every nation to China's south and east. Vast amounts of military equipment have been provided by the U.S. to prop up Suharto's generals. With an eye not only to the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state but also to instability within Indonesia and interimperialist rivalries with Japan, the U.S. and Australia have agreed to joint military exercises. At the same time, Japanese imperialism has appetites to include Indonesia in a new "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere."

A workers revolution in Indonesia would provide an immense impulse to revolutionary struggle throughout the region, including the fight for a proletarian political revolution in China to sweep away the Beijing bureaucracy and stop the threat of capitalist restoration. But a proletarian regime in Indonesia would immediately have to fight to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist centers—particularly Japan—whose rulers are reaping tremendous profits from superexploited Indonesian labor and would seek to drown an Indonesian workers state in blood. Above all, what is necessary is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia, as part of a world party of socialist revolution, a reformed Fourth International. For an Indonesian workers republic, part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■

East Timor...

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brutality and the starvation and dislocation of millions of people. So when the PRD calls for the UN to have "full authority to resolve the issue of East Timor," do they mean by U.S. and Australian jets bombing Jakarta, or perhaps through Dutch and Portuguese patrols once again carrying out terror against their former colonial subjects?

Look at the effects of the so-called "safe haven" for the oppressed Kurds in northern Iraq, which was established in the aftermath of the U.S. "desert slaughter" of Iraq in 1991 and is policed by imperialist forces under the UN banner. In the past six years, the territory has been repeatedly invaded by Turkish troops who round up and kill supporters of the Kurdish nationalist PKK. The Kurds are certainly no closer now to achieving national self-determination than they were before U.S./UN/NATO intervention. Meanwhile, Iraqis starve

under the imperialist embargo which was initiated as UN "sanctions" immediately preceding the start of the Gulf War.

The PRD line is *counterposed* to the struggle for the liberation of East Timor from Indonesian subjugation. In contrast, the ICL fights for independence for East Timor as part of the struggle for workers revolution to crush the hated capitalist dictatorship in Jakarta. We are for the forging of a Trotskyist party based on the program of permanent revolution which will lead the Indonesian proletariat to fight for the liberation of all those oppressed by the Suharto regime (see "For Workers Revolution Against Suharto Dictatorship!" back page). And as for Vietnam, we say this was a *victory* for the exploited and oppressed the world over—we fight for workers revolutions on the model of the 1917 Russian Revolution to defeat the U.S., Australian and other imperialists once and for all.

Since its formation, the PRD has sought alliances with both Megawati's PDI and, more recently, the Islamic fundamentalist United Development Party

(PPP)—the only two parties other than Suharto's Golkar legally allowed to operate in the Indonesian police state. Megawati is a capitalist politician who defends the "dual function" of the bloody Indonesian military, i.e., its subjugation of oppressed minority peoples and its lucrative role in the economy. And what about the right-wing PPP, whose supporters engaged in anti-Chinese pogroms in the run-up to Suharto's sham "elections" earlier this year? There is no doubting the bravery of PRD militants, who face one of the most murderous regimes in the world. But the PRD's support to bourgeois "opposition" parties can only politically disarm the proletariat by tying it to its class enemy.

That the DSP alibis the PRD's pro-imperialist, class-collaborationist politics comes as no surprise. The DSP social-patriots have cheered racist UN imperialist occupations from Somalia to Cambodia to Zaire, while routinely bleating that "democratic" Australian imperialism should get tough on the Suharto regime, with which the Canberra

government and ASIS spy-terrorists have *very* intimate links. Taken to its logical conclusion this begging of "democratic" Australian imperialism to act as the "saviours" of the peoples of the region against the Jakarta regime would put the DSP in the camp of their "own" imperialist rulers in any future (though presently unlikely) military conflict with imperialism's Indonesian neo-colony.

So we can understand Howes and Robertson's consternation at our raising slogans linking the emancipation of the multitudes of oppressed peoples in the Indonesian archipelago to the fight for socialist revolution here at home. Yet only by sweeping away all the capitalist regimes of the region will there be an end to both the exploitation of the proletariat and the subjugation of oppressed peoples. In fighting to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the ICL seeks to build revolutionary workers parties in Indonesia and Australia, through to the industrial powerhouse of Japan, to lead this struggle. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Workers Power...

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to cover its tracks and for the first time in *four months* they have gone into print to publicly criticize their CAN bloc partners. At the same time they continue to march under the banner of CAN and shrilly denounce the Spartacist League's "abstention from CAN" as "abstract, sectarian and cowardly," and we even supposedly "actually assist the rise of fascism by dividing the forces willing to fight it" (*Workers Power*, May-July 1997).

Workers Power's charge that we are supposedly "dividing the anti-fascist forces" is the classic reformist ploy to prevent revolutionary criticism. Let anyone get the wrong impression that Workers Power are at all serious about their "struggle" within CAN they go on to *alibi* their bloc partners while attacking the Spartacist League:

"They claim that the ISO's [wrong] political line of calling on a branch of the capitalist state (the Moreland city council) to close down NA's book shop, is indicative of the line of CAN.

"This is nonsense. The majority of CAN explicitly voted against this position when it was raised in February. The common goal of CAN is to drive the fascists out of the Fawkner suburb, without the assistance of the capitalist state; nothing more, nothing less.

"The ISO is only one of many organisations with diverse views on how to reach this goal." (brackets in original)

So, the ISO's pleading with the capitalist state to ban the fascists is only a "diverse view" on how to reach the "goal" of driving the fascists out with-

out the assistance of the capitalist state! Not for nothing did Trotsky describe centrism as "crystallised confusion."

Let's be clear. The Spartacist League's strategy is to mobilise all the opponents of fascist terror behind the power of the organised workers movement in mass actions to stop the fascist scum, bringing together the broadest forces in action while maintaining complete organisational and political independence. In this way in Berlin on 15 February our comrades of the Spartakist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands successfully united politically diverse forces of Kurdish, Turkish, Jusos (SPD) and Autonom youth in a mobilisation to stop the Nazis, leaving the skinhead fascists cowering at the bottom of subway cars despite massive police protection. Last year in Chicago our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. initiated and led a united-front rally which successfully spiked a provocation by the Ku Klux Klan. In such united fronts we are prepared to engage in common action with Workers Power and all other opponents of fascist terror. A key purpose of the united front, in addition to broadly organising all the opponents of fascist terror, is also to provide a test in action of the various programs and strategies of the contending claimants to leadership of the proletariat. In short, it is a tactic for building the revolutionary party.

While Workers Power ever-so-politely characterises the positions of the ISO and DSP as "wrong," they vent their spleen against the Trotskyist Spartacist League. Trotsky's description of centrism fits Workers Power to a "t":

"A centrist occupies a position between an opportunist and a Marxist somewhat analogous to that which a petty bourgeois occupies between a capitalist and a proletarian: he kow-tows before the first and has contempt for the second....

"A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle."

—"Centrism and the Fourth International," 22 February 1934

It is no coincidence that Workers Power sneers at the Spartacist League's "own imaginary 'workers' UF." Apart from a bare reference to unionists who attended the 15 March action, Workers Power makes no mention of the organised working class. Particularly given the evident determination of the capitalist state to defend the fascist bunker, the social power to make the cops think twice about protecting the fascists lies with the organised working class. The fight to mobilise mass organised union contingents determined to sweep away the National Action scum requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist Laborite union bureaucrats. Policing the workers on behalf of the capitalist masters of industry, the Labor Party parliamentary and union "leaders" act as a transmission belt for White Australia racism and brutal male chauvinism into the workers movement.

However Workers Power bows before the present working-class consciousness and leadership. As an article of faith they call to vote Labor. Last year they urged a vote for the ALP in the federal elections, despite its *thirteen* year record of anti-working class austerity and anti-

immigrant racism. Similarly, in the recent British elections their parent group supported Tony Blair's New Labour, which has rejected all pretences to represent the interests of the working class and is striving to sever links with the trade unions. When they mention the unions in *Workers Power* it is only to call for "rank and file caucuses," on a program of more economic union militancy while ducking the fight for the working class to take up defence of racial minorities, women's rights, and all those specially oppressed under capitalism.

Fascism breeds in the conditions of capitalist decay—mass unemployment, nationalism and official racism. What is necessary is the forging of a revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat, a tribune of the people which fights *all* manifestations of injustice and exploitation. Such a party can only be forged in uncompromising political struggle against all forms of Laborite reformism. We have an "ongoing anti-fascist" organisation which is committed to sweeping away capitalism—the system that breeds fascism. It is called the Spartacist League. Doubtless this will be met with howls of "sectarianism" from Workers Power, who at bottom are consumed with their own sense of irrelevance and disbelief in the revolutionary capacities of the proletariat. Our struggle to mobilise mass union/minority action to stop the fascists, our insistence against reliance on the capitalist state is part of our struggle to forge the unity and consciousness necessary for the working class to take power in its own name through workers revolution. ■

Jamal...

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Another witness, Marcus Cannon, was also in the vicinity of Faulkner's shooting. Cannon saw two white men, acting as though they were part of the lumpen scene in that red-light district, leap into action the moment shots exploded, drawing weapons and running toward the sounds of the gunfire. But Cannon never got to present this striking new evidence at the hearing. Sabo refused to allow him on the witness stand.

The Capitalist Injustice System

The state's drive to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal comes amid an intensification of racist repression across the board. In the last few years the rate of executions around the country has skyrocketed, with this year headed toward a 60-year record. During Clinton's tenure in the White House, federal death penalty statutes have been vastly expanded, while the right

of *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts—particularly crucial in death penalty cases—has effectively been gutted. At the same time, tens of thousands more cops have been put on the streets to rampage through the nation's ghettos and barrios, where they often carry out summary executions by simply gunning down black and Hispanic youth.

Most recently, among a series of sinister and reactionary decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "preventive detention"—without even the pretense of due process—is the law of the land. Last month, the Court upheld a Kansas statute permitting states to keep "sex offenders" and anyone deemed "mentally abnormal" incarcerated in mental hospitals after their prison terms are up. This kind of preventive detention is usually associated with colonial-type repression by occupation forces in places like Northern Ireland or the Palestinian Occupied Territories. In fact, hundreds of prisoners completing their sentences in the U.S. have already been thrown in mental hospitals and more states are racing to enact new legislation in the

wake of the Court's ruling.

The recent conviction of Timothy McVeigh for the heinous 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building was seized on by the bourgeois media—amid widespread howls for "vengeance"—to catapult the question of the death penalty to center stage, as the three major weekly news magazines carried cover stories asking, "Should He Die?" McVeigh has now become one of only two whites among the 13 prisoners currently on federal death row. And blacks and Hispanics form a vastly disproportionate majority of the burgeoning population of more than 3,300 on state death rows around the country. Death sentences have been carried out at the rate of well over one a week this year, with double and even triple executions rating barely a mention in the bourgeois press.

As Marxists we stand unequivocally opposed on principle to the death penalty. Capital punishment is nothing but institutionalized murder by the racist capitalist state. Stephen Bright, director of the Southern Center for Human Rights, noted: "It is the cases that don't

make it on the radar screen that are really at issue. Those involve the defendants, overwhelmingly black and poor, who are represented by lawyers who fall asleep during the trial, who turn up drunk or who do not get a penny for expert witnesses."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is symbolic of what the racist death penalty is all about, the ultimate weapon in an entire apparatus of repression wielded by the capitalist class with the aim of intimidating and terrorizing working people and minorities. He is a black fighter who never capitulated, an eloquent and unquenchable voice for justice and humanity, a symbol of resistance to this racist system—and for those reasons he has been hounded by the capitalist state since he was a youth and today sits in prison facing the death chamber. Every resource must be strained to secure his freedom, as part of the fight for a workers revolution to sweep away this whole system of exploitation, oppression and "legal" murder. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 671, 11 July 1997

Miners...

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Relations Bill", ASP No. 160, Summer 1996/1997). This law is a dagger aimed straight at the heart of the unions, intending to cripple them as the capitalists try to drive down wages and working conditions in order to increase profit margins.

Last August the ACTU called a national rally in Canberra to channel outrage against Howard's Workplace Relations bill into a tame lobbying of parliament. Instead the lid blew off when CFMEU and other unionists came to the defence of the Aboriginal contingent under attack by the cops, resulting in the storming of Parliament House by unionists, Aborigines and youth. The ruling class responded with a vicious witchhunt codenamed Operation Veneer, joined by the ACTU tops who assisted the cops in tracking down those targeted. By demobilising class-struggle resistance and purging anti-racist unionists, the bureaucrats have set the stage for the bosses to go after the unions one by one.

Like their counterparts around the world, the rulers of this jackal imperialist country have launched all-sided attacks on the most vulnerable sectors of society, especially targeting immigrants and Aboriginal peoples, with the aim of dividing and weakening the entire working class. A defeat of the mining giant would have not only struck a blow against the capitalists' anti-union offensive, but would have resounded among Aborigines in Queensland and the people of Bougainville who have been driven from their land and homes by the arrogant Rio Tinto mining bosses. In a 1995 CFMEU strike against CRA at Weipa in Queensland, local Aborigines joined the pickets and formed a strike support group.

Widespread support for the Hunter Valley strike among trade unionists was evident. Miners from the Vickery site who had earlier been on strike for eleven months against Rio Tinto came to the Hunter Valley pickets to show their solidarity. For weeks, train drivers in the Public Transport Union (PTU) refused to cross the miners' picket line, while Newcastle waterfront workers were talking about refusing to handle the scab cargo if it ever got to the wharves. On 16 July, several thousand unionists, including Maori, Pacific Island, Chinese, Portuguese and Turkish workers, rallied in Sydney in support of the strike, with contingents from the CFMEU building workers and miners, and the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). However within days of an Industrial Relations Commission (IRC) ruling ordering train drivers to break the picket line and move scab coal, the CFMEU bureaucracy caved in and called off the strike, and the mine's huge stockpile is moving by train to Newcastle.

What was needed to win the Rio Tinto strike was to turn the broad solidarity with the strike into building solid mass picket lines that no one dared cross. Other workers from the heavily unionised Hunter Valley region, including miners, unemployed youth and thousands of BHP steelworkers facing retrenchment, could have been drawn onto such pickets. The rest of the CFMEU miners should have been called out, and efforts made to broaden the strike to PTU train drivers, who are



ASp photo

Thousands of CFMEU, MUA and other unionists rally in Sydney, 16 July, in solidarity with Hunter Valley strike.

themselves facing massive job-slashing attacks across the country, and MUA waterfront workers. But that would have meant defying the arbitration courts and anti-union laws.

The Howard government was elected on a promise to bust the powerful MUA, which has long been in the crosshairs of the capitalist state. Now the *Financial Review* (15 August) reports that the government is putting together a war strategy to place non-union labour on the waterfront. But instead of seeking to link up with striking miners, as reported in the *Australian* (14 July): "Maritime Union of Australia joint national secretary Papaconstantinos said the MUA would not take its own action if the dispute moved to the wharves but would follow ACTU executive advice." For her part, ACTU president Jennie George advised to "keep the dispute localised" (*Australian*, 15 July).

From the very beginning of the Hunter Valley strike the union tops bowed to the laws banning solidarity strikes and limiting pickets. The PTU misleaders declared their willingness to break the miners' picket if the "safety" of their members could be guaranteed, i.e., through the cops enforcing the IRC ruling, while the CFMEU bureaucrats even preached that staying within the bosses' laws was a strategy for victory. This "strategy" ensured small and leaky pickets allowing the bosses to keep coal production going with scab labour being done by staff, and a handful of scab miners.

One striker told an *Australasian Spartacist* reporting team that in the past the company wouldn't have dared to try to bring in scabs. But this time, day after day, miners' frustration grew as strikebreaking cops herded buses of scabs through the picket lines. Meanwhile CFMEU members at the central Queensland Curragh mine (jointly owned by ARCO and Rio Tinto) have been left isolated in their four-month-old strike against the sacking of 200 union miners. Now emboldened by the Hunter Valley sell-out, the Curragh mine bosses are threatening to bring in scabs. That Rio Tinto and other mining corporations feel emboldened in trying to bust the unions mine by mine across the country is the direct product of the union bureaucrats playing by the bosses' rules.

At the Hunter Valley picket lines, a number of strikers openly fraternized with the scabherding cops. However the entire history of the class struggle demonstrates that the police are the sworn enemies of the working class. To maintain their class rule, the capitalists have an entire state apparatus—at its core composed of cops, courts, prisons and army—whose job is to break strikes and picket lines and terrorise minorities. This was seen in the 1949 coal strike, which was smashed by the army sent in by the Chifley ALP government. What

is needed to lead workers struggles to victory is the forging of a class-struggle leadership, as part of the fight for a revolutionary workers party, which infuses the workers with the consciousness that the cops and courts are not their allies but their class enemies.

The Lie of the Partnership of Labour and Capital

The roots of the trade-union bureaucracy and Labor Party are firmly embedded in the racist "White Australia" policy that is the historic foundation of Australian capitalism. Under this policy, the Labor Party and trade-union officials pushed for excluding Asian workers from the country, promoted protectionism, and submitted strikes to the arbitration courts. Nationalist class-collaboration remains the essential program of the ALP. It was in the name of the "national interest" that the former ALP government, through the nationalist "Accord" tying the unions to the corporate bosses, slashed jobs and working conditions and busted the Builders Labourers Federation and pilots union. Thirteen years of ALP rule has gravely weakened the unions, paving the way for the current intensified anti-union assault.

The introduction of "Enterprise Bargaining" under Labor rule atomised the unions and opened the road to busting closed shops, including in the mines. During this time, CFMEU president John Maitland presided over the destruction of thousands of mining jobs, while pushing nationalist protectionism, calling for a Joint Coal Authority made up of mining bosses, unions and the government to force higher coal prices on Japanese importers. Protectionism subordinates the proletariat to its class enemy, preaching the lie of the commonality of interest between the working class and the capitalist exploiters, sowing racist divisions at home and dividing Australian workers from their class brothers and sisters in Asia. The Hunter Valley strikers received messages of support from unionists in

Japan, Chile and elsewhere. This was especially significant given that Rio Tinto's coal stockpiles were destined mainly for Japan. But the prospect of turning such sympathy into class-struggle solidarity action is poisoned by the ALP/ACTU tops' chauvinist protectionism.

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

The reformist "left," wedded to Australia's racist social democracy, serve as lawyers for the more militant-sounding bureaucrats like Maitland while *always* promoting the Labor Party as a "lesser evil" to the Liberal/National coalition. This was exemplified in the Hunter Valley strike by the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), which has longstanding influence in the MUA. Knowing that waterfront workers had been discussing what to do if trains delivered scab coal to the Newcastle wharves, the CPA's 23 July "Maritime Bulletin" praised the CFMEU's back-to-work deal as "a wise decision," since supposedly "there was never any possibility that a powerful company like Rio Tinto, backed by all the anti-working-class forces in the country, and in particular by the Howard Coalition Government, would go to water."

What stopped the union from defeating the arrogant Rio Tinto bosses was the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats who capitulated to the anti-union laws. During the 1995 Weipa strike, anti-strike injunctions were turned into worthless scraps of paper when the miners nationally and the MUA went out on strike in solidarity with the Weipa miners. However, with the Labor Party worried about the powerful strike's effect on upcoming federal elections, ACTU head Jennie George intervened to kill the strike by channelling it into the arbitration courts.

The ALP/ACTU tops act as the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class," policing the workers on behalf of the capitalist exploiters. To transform the unions into organs of class struggle is a question of leadership. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his 1940 article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay": "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

In concluding the article, Trotsky wrote that "the independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership." Workers must be politically broken from the pro-capitalist Laborite misleaders as part of the struggle to forge a revolutionary internationalist workers party. Such a party would champion all the oppressed in fighting for a workers government to expropriate the capitalist profiteers and create a planned economy for the benefit of all. ■

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Indonesia

Leftists Imprisoned on Eve of Sham Elections For Workers Revolution Against Suharto Dictatorship!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 668, 16 May 1997, fortnightly paper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On May 29, the Indonesian regime of General Suharto will stage sham elections for a sham parliament. Cynically billed as a "festival of democracy," the vote has been rigged to guarantee precisely 70.02 percent for the ruling Golkar party. The only other parties allowed to run, the Islamic United Development Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), are barred from issuing platforms. This "parliamentary" exercise is a front for a brutal dictatorship ushered in through the mass slaughter—aided by the American CIA—of over half a million Communist Party (PKI) members, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese in 1965.

This infamously corrupt capitalist regime is today increasingly brittle. Centered on the Suharto family and its cronies, the Indonesian bourgeoisie maintains its power through police-state terror against a population seething with discontent. Suharto & Co. have handsomely profited from imperialist investment, which has helped spur one

As 29 May "election" farce approached, military regime cracked down on dissidents and trade unionists, deploying troops on streets of Jakarta to suppress any social protest.



of the world's fastest growth rates: Indonesia now has the world's tenth-largest economy.

The massive growth of export-oriented manufacturing, particularly light industries like apparel, has created a young, vibrant but miserably exploited prolet-

ariat. Some 20 million workers now reside in urban centers such as the "Jabotabek" region (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih). The past few years have witnessed a wave of strikes and protests not seen since 1965. At the same time, massive grievances exist among

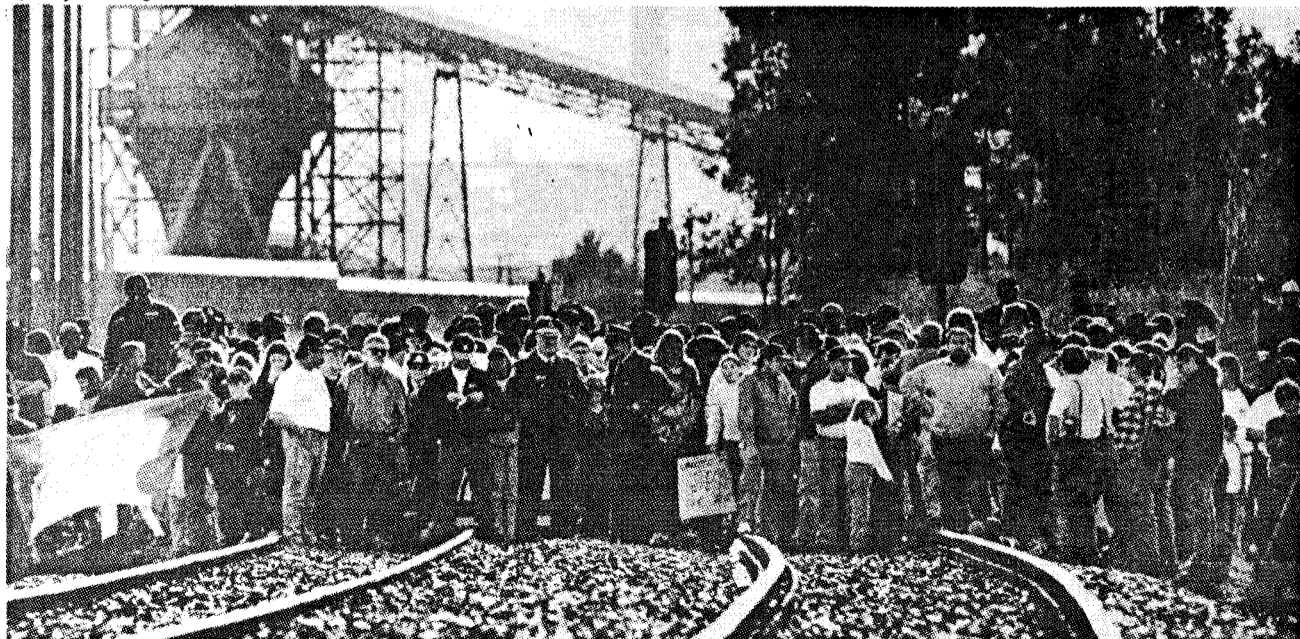
dispossessed peasants and the myriad ethnic and religious minorities of the vast Indonesian archipelago, which holds the fourth-largest population in the world. As well, there is enormous resentment among the urban petty bourgeoisie at the

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Rip Up the Anti-Union Laws! Down with Arbitration!

Hunter Valley Miners' Strike Knifed by Union Tops

Sydney Morning Herald



Hunter Valley miners' mass picket in July prevented scab coal from reaching the docks. Picket lines mean don't cross!

AUGUST 16—On 22 July after six weeks on strike against Rio Tinto (formerly RTZ/CRA) over 400 members of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) at Hunter Valley No. 1 coal mine were sent back to work. The strike had been provoked by the giant mining corporation's attempt to force workers to sign union-busting individual contracts, which would destroy the closed shop as well as hard-won seniority and safety rights. As we go to press the original 21-day "cooling off" period, burying the strike in the capitalists' arbitration courts, has been extended by the CFMEU tops. However the initial return to work proposal of the CFMEU tops ran into bitter opposition among the miners, with a third voting against it.

The strike against Rio Tinto, which has been in the forefront of a drive to smash the unions in the mining industry, was widely recognised as a key test of Howard's draconian Workplace Relations Act, which aims at forcing workers to sign anti-union "Australian Workplace Agreements" and outlaws secondary boycotts and other trade-union solidarity actions (see "Down with Howard/Kernot's Workplace

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