



For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Federation of Southeast Asia!

Depression Elections

There is nothing for the working class in the 13 March federal election. Tory leader Hewson, the open representative of the bourgeoisie, threatens the working class with draconian anti-union laws and job-slashing attacks similar to those currently being enforced by fellow-Tory Kennett in Victoria. Another term of Labor means a continuation of the last decade of Accord-style union busting, job cuts and austerity, policed by a pliable union bureaucracy.

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

Imperialist "New World Disorder"

The Soviet workers state—which once served as a beacon for the exploited and oppressed of this globe, which destroyed Hitler's Holocaust machine, which for decades kept U.S. imperialism from turning its nuclear arsenal on the world's semicolonial peoples—is dead. Besieged by imperialism and betrayed by Stalin and his heirs the period of open counter-revolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible.

As was noted in *Workers Vanguard* (No 564, 27 November 1992):

"The collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries have made the world a far more dangerous place. The "New World Disorder"—proclaimed during the U.S.-led imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf, to which Gorbachev gave his approval—has the hallmarks of the old world order which led to the slaughterhouse of World War I, but this time posing the threat of nuclear conflagration. Imperialist unity, maintained

No Vote to Labor! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!



Age



Alan Porritt



Age

Victorian meatworkers fight union-busting attacks 1991 (above). Keating (top left), Hewson vie to run bosses' war on workers.

for decades by the "Communist menace," has broken down as the contending powers fall upon each other, and vie to carve up the former Soviet bloc into colonies."

The Australian ruling class is caught in the middle of heightened trade rivalries between Japan, their biggest trading partner, but also target of their deepest xenophobic fears, and the U.S. their big brother "protector." With its economy in shambles the bourgeoisie is desperately thrashing around Asia seeking new fields of imperialist exploitation under the codewords "enmesh with Asia." The situation sharply confirms Russian Rev-

olutionary leader Leon Trotsky's prognosis in the 1938 *Transitional Program*:

"The economic prerequisite for the proletarian revolution has already in general achieved the highest point of fruition that can be reached under capitalism. Mankind's productive forces stagnate.... Conjunctural crises under the conditions of the social crisis of the whole capitalist system afflict ever heavier deprivations and sufferings upon the masses. Growing unemployment, in its turn, deepens the financial crisis of the state and undermines the unstable monetary systems. Democratic regimes, as well as fascist, stagger on from one bankruptcy to another.

"The bourgeoisie itself sees no way out."

In the imperialist West, growing trade war and exploitation have already led to major class battles in Germany, Italy and Greece. In East Europe, Poland has been swept by one major strike after another over the past year. These major class battles have found an echo in Australia and put the lie to imperialist claims of the "death of communism." The 10 November 150,000-strong strike rally in Melbourne sparked a surge of strikes in Victoria against Kennett's war on working people spreading nationally to coal, maritime and metal and threatening to

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"Humanitarian" Cover for Imperialist Occupation

U.S./Australian Troops Out of Somalia!

Last December, then U.S. president George Bush mounted a massive UN-backed invasion of famine-wracked, shattered Somalia in the Horn of Africa. Calling it "Operation Restore Hope" he proclaimed that the 21,000 U.S. troops plus 10,000 troops from 17 other countries would ensure that the desperate population was fed. But behind the feigned concern by the racist American rulers for starving black Africans is the sinister reality of U.S. imperialism using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa. The U.S. military presence has opened

the floodgates to intervention by other imperialist powers and their Third World lackeys. Over 30 countries are expected to contribute thousands of troops, from the French who want to extend their control out from their Djibouti port-colony to Italy who dream of reconquest of their former Somali colony. And Australia has jumped in for its piece of the action committing nearly 1000 elite combat troops, the bulk of which are now stationed around Baidoa in central Somalia. This is being carried out under the aegis of the UN, whose predecessor the League of Nations was aptly charac-

terised by Lenin as a "den of thieves."

The idea of the U.S. military, which dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, raped Vietnam, trained generations of torturers in Latin America and elsewhere and slaughtered more than 100,000 Iraqis in the one-sided Gulf "War" as a force for humanitarian relief is grotesque! Equally grotesque is the idea that the Australian military, which has functioned as an all-purpose mercenary force in innumerable colonial wars is today engaged in "famine relief." Who could possibly believe for a moment that the rulers of White Australia

give a damn about starving black Africans. Ask the Aboriginal people whose average life expectancy today is about 20 years less than other Australians. Or the people of Bougainville who have died in the thousands after being subjected to a total blockade by the Papua New Guinea (PNG) government financed and armed directly out of Canberra.

Keating and the military brass want to earn kudos with their U.S. "big brother" and demonstrate Australia's military capacity to its neo-colonies and potential competitors in this region. It also gives

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Elections...

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spike both Kennett's and Keating's union-busting attacks.

Keating invested his trust in the ability of the union tops to divert class struggle into the "safe" channels of bourgeois parliament. While NSW Labour Council secretary Michael Eason counselled workers to "pray," Victorian Trades Hall Council (THC) secretary John Halfpenny preached the virtues of the bosses' Arbitration system and the need to "cool it" and vote Labor.

The THC-enforced no strike period in December and January only emboldened the Kennett government to proceed with its job slashing including 35 percent cuts to the power industry and 18,000 public service job cuts along with the implementation of union-busting individual contracts. Kennett's king hit was the announcement of thousands of job cuts in Melbourne transport agreed to by the tramways union tops. In 1990 the militant and largely immigrant tramway workforce fought the then Labor government to a standstill over the same issue. The betrayal today was set up by Halfpenny who squashed transport strike action on 10 November. Now the 1 March "day of action" in Victoria, endorsed by a meeting of 1500 union delegates is causing unease amongst the Labor tops fearful that any strike action may blow their election chances.

The Partnership of Labour and Capital is a Lie!

The union tops are the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class. In the last decade they have presided over the systematic dismantling of union gains and in many cases the destruction of unions themselves. The 1991 NSW general strike united close to a million of the multiracial working class in a struggle to smash the Liberal government's Industrial Relations Bill. But for the union tops this powerful show was endgame—a "protest" before the passing of the bill through parliament. They were more concerned to enlist workers in the bosses' anti-Soviet crusade in support of Yeltsin's pro-capitalist counter-coup in the Soviet Union.

The March election is being termed a "watershed" election. *Financial Review* journalist Geoff Kitney even called it "An industrial relations poll" (3 December 1992)—with Labor defending the historically-evolved corporatist system of "labour relations" embodied in the Arbitration system. But key to a desperately needed working class fightback is *working class independence*. We say: *Bury Arbitration—nothing important was ever won by the working class through the ballot box or the bosses' courts!* What's required is a class-struggle leadership determined to mobilise the power of the multiracial working class. Such a leadership can only be built through a concerted political struggle against the Laborite union tops.

ACTU secretary Martin Ferguson is busily stitching together Accord Mark VII offering workers a paltry \$16 to \$20 wage increase over two years. In return

the bosses receive more givebacks and productivity deals. But every giveback has increased the bosses' bloodlust and paved the way for the current Kennett government attacks. The ALP/ACTU Accord was supposed to generate jobs. But today official unemployment is well over one million and workers have lost an estimated \$13 billion in wages. Health care, social services and education have been viciously cutback under Liberal and Labor governments. Youth face unemployment of up to 45 percent! Working women are amongst the hardest hit by Accord givebacks and social service cutbacks (see article opposite) and the racist and murderous oppression of the Aboriginal minority has intensified.

The Laborite bureaucrats push racist protectionism lining workers up behind their "own" bosses, undermining the class unity of the multiracial Australian working class and setting them up against their class brothers and sisters in Asia. Alongside this comes racist scapegoating of immigrants at home. A trademark of the Labor decade has been vicious anti-immigrant racism (spurred on by the ACTU tops) including round-ups of "illegals" and their incarceration in detention centres. *Down with racist protectionist poison! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!*

Capitalist crisis is transforming an increasing number of workers into chronically unemployed paupers. The struggle against unemployment requires a fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Make the bosses pay! For massive wage increases to make up for the years of Accord wage slashing! Such a struggle is key to uniting and organising the unemployed behind a working-class fightback. The only alternative to increasing capitalist immiseration lies in the expropriation of capitalist private property through workers revolution to establish a workers state. *For a racially-integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist federation of Southeast Asia!*

From Cold War Labor to Keating's New World Labor Disorder

Labor came to power under Hawke as U.S. imperialism's loyal ally in anti-Soviet Cold War II pledging to use its "special relationship" with the unions to bolster the bosses' profits by holding down wages. On both counts Hawke surpassed all expectations. Under the class-collaborationist Accord, industrial disputes dropped to the lowest level in decades. When anyone got out of line the ALP government, assisted by the ACTU, carried out open union busting—the BLF in 1986, the pilots in 1989.

Anti-working-class attacks at home were the flip side of support to every U.S.-led imperialist provocation against the Soviet degenerated workers state, from backing the vicious U.S. imperialist-led blockade of the Vietnamese deformed workers state to support for CIA-funded mujahedin cut-throat rebels in Afghanistan against the Red Army. Hawke endorsed the strategic U.S. spy and military installations on Australian soil and pompously strutted the region as Reagan's deputy sheriff lording over and enforcing the

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Cops Out of Kowanyama! Drop All the Charges!

Thirty six Aborigines from Kowanyama in northern Queensland face 83 charges following a police state of siege imposed on this small community by the Queensland Labor government. On New Years' Eve the cops had closed the local canteen, the only place for miles where the 1500 Aboriginal people can buy a drink—at over twice the normal price. In the face of this racist and puritanical prohibition, local Aborigines forcibly reopened the canteen and hijacked a truckload of beer. The cop response was overwhelming, with reinforcements flown in from Cairns, as a racist dragnet ensued. The airport—often the only access to the town during the monsoon season—was closed and aircraft banned from flying within 8 kilometres. Meanwhile the capitalist media peddled the cops' race-hate stories of an "Aboriginal uprising" (*Australian*, 9-10 January).

This is the latest in a series of cop riots and intensified state terror against Aboriginal people over the last few years. In August 1987 the NSW town of Brewarrina was placed under a state of siege by riot police (and white vigilantes) after local Aborigines defended themselves from police attack

at a funeral wake for Lloyd Boney, a young black man killed in cop custody. In August 1988, and again in February 1990, the Aboriginal community in the Sydney suburb of Redfern was invaded by a marauding army of cops.

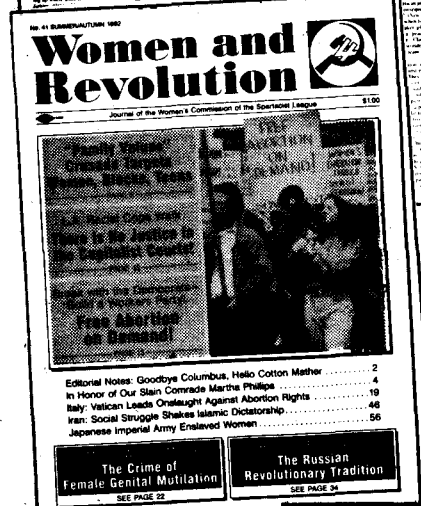
A Partisan Defence Committee protest statement sent to the Queensland Labor government on 6 January stated:

"This is yet another example of racist state terror against the deeply oppressed Aboriginal people that highlights the real racist face of Australian capitalism and expresses the hypocrisy of the so-called United Nations' Year of Indigenous People. The Goss Labor government continues the Apartheid style policies of Keating's federal Labor government and the former Queensland government of Bjelke-Petersen."

Capitalist depression in Australia means mounting attacks against the working people and oppressed from union busting and job slashing to racist anti-immigrant attacks. State repression against Aborigines who stand up for their basic democratic rights is a threat to all working people. The multi-racial Australian working class must come to the aid of their Aboriginal brothers and sisters. Cops out of Kowanyama! Down with White Australia Apartheid! Drop all the charges! ■

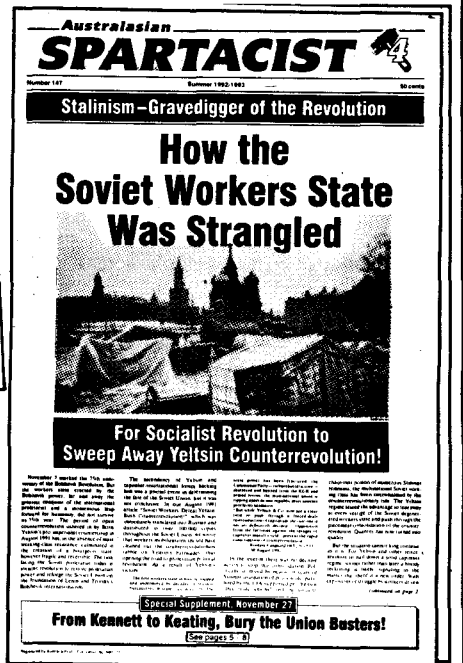
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Capitalist Attacks Target Immigrant Women Workers

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Nineteenth century French socialist Charles Fourier observed that the degree of women's emancipation in any given society is a measure of its general progress or retrogression. This is starkly confirmed in this remote white imperialist enclave with its "little Australian" social-democratic nationalism which we have described as not only "white racist, but proud of its brutally male chauvinist and self-indulgent, parochial philistine 'national character'—best described as the culture of white pigs" (*Australasian Spartacist*, No 101, 1983).

Spiralling recession has intensified the oppression deeply felt by women in this country. Today the Victorian Tory Kennett government's job slashing is centred on industries where women workers predominate—publicservants, teachers and health care workers. At the massive Melbourne demonstration of 150,000 in November last year, and in the demonstrations and strikes that followed, thousands of women workers, from immigrant women textile workers, to nurses, to clerical and public service workers, have shown their will and capacity for struggle.

The groundwork for Kennett was laid by a decade of federal and state ALP government attacks and Accord give-backs and capitulations by the union tops. Accord "restructuring" has meant massive loss of jobs and erosion of wages and conditions that has hit women hardest, striking particularly at the mainly immigrant women who work in manufacturing industries. They are often the lowest paid, least skilled and have the least union protection. In the last decade woman have been forced into the burgeoning part-time, casual and contract workforce which has grown alongside the increase of outwork and largely unregulated work. Alongside attacks on jobs, women have felt most intensely the wholesale downgrading of social services and health care.

The Myth of Equal Pay

Despite the formal existence of "equal pay," expressed in 1972 Arbitration guidelines, women's wages are 87 percent of men's wages. More than half of working women earn less than \$21,000, while two-thirds of men earn above this figure (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1992). Immigrant women workers from the Middle East, southern Europe and Southeast Asia, concentrated in retail, textiles, clothing and footwear industries, earn the least of all! In 1991, women process workers earned on average 30 percent less than the average women's wage—without any basic award entitlements such as sick pay and maternity leave. Yet today Laborite bureaucrats peddle the lie that Arbitration—the "independent umpire"—is the cornerstone of defence and equality of wages and jobs.

The establishment of compulsory arbitration early this century was based on an historic racist pact between the Laborite bureaucracy and the ruling class which institutionalised a tariff protected industries and a "whites only" labour force. Arbitration also enshrined anti-woman chauvinism, providing the legal basis for paying women lower wages, declaring in 1912 that "a man was paid to support a family and a woman only to support herself." When large numbers of women entered the workforce as a result of World War II, equal pay became a fighting issue as women stepped into traditional "male" jobs,

often engaging in industrial action for the same pay as males. Labor prime minister Curtin declared women were to be employed in "male" areas "only for the duration of the war and shall be replaced by men as they become available."

The union bureaucracy rests upon the most craftist, Laborite and white male sector of the class and maintains at best



No credit

Immigrant women workers form a key component of manufacturing industry. Unions must fight to organise the unorganised.

a racist indifference to the plight of immigrant workers. The White Australia Policy is a cornerstone of Laborism. Even the wretched social-democratic Second International refused the ALP entry for decades because of this racist policy. In 1990 immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds constituted 16 percent of unionists in Australia and a full quarter of unionists in Victoria. They are counted among the strongest and most militant members. However the complaint of one female textile worker in Melbourne expressed the all too common reality: "I think that our union is weak. We pay our money and then nothing.... When union officials come, they come to tell us about who will be retrenched next" (quoted in *Hard Labour*).

During the 1980s union membership plummeted by over ten per cent, and the bureaucracy has completely abandoned the great bulk of non-unionised immigrant workers. Solid union-wide action could be the spearhead of a desperately needed battle to *organise the unorganised*—predominantly the tens of thousands of mainly women immigrants in non-unionised sweatshops across the country. For this it is necessary to throw off the shackles of Arbitration, which binds the working class to the bosses' state.

The Laborite union tops "answer" to capitalist depression is to push racist company-loyal protectionism and anti-immigrant racism. They peddle the lie that it will save jobs and blame Asian workers for company closures and mass unemployment. Yet the most highly protected industries in this country are the sweatshop manufacturing concerns which have carried out mass sackings of the mainly immigrant women workforce. Workers in this country have more in common with their class brothers and sisters in Asia than they do with their exploitative bosses at home. When Kennett announced attacks on health care, the Japanese National Confederation of Trade Unions protested to the Victorian government.

Women form the backbone of the workforce in Asia's new superexploitative manufacturing industries and increasingly are entering heavy industry.

Revolutionaries fight for international class solidarity with the struggles of workers in Asia, such as the fight of Korean women workers for union recognition against Australian-owed Westpac in 1990 and the recent Cathay Pacific women flight attendants 16-day strike against attacks on their work conditions. Forging international class solidarity is the foundation stone for the fight for a

Keating's reactionary moralist "family values" pushes the basic message that women belong at home to raise the next generation of wage slaves. The institution of the family is a fundamental pillar of bourgeois rule. The fraudulent 11 percent official unemployment figure excludes the tens of thousands denied Social Security because they have lost hope in ever finding a job or who don't fancy being hounded by the Department of Social Security. Seventy-five percent of this hidden unemployment is made up of women, many of whom are officially discounted as "housewives." While the majority of Australian women are only entitled to 12 months unpaid maternity leave, many employers refuse to grant any! And don't expect the sellout Labor bureaucrats to bat an eyelid. NSW Labor Council secretary, Michael Easson, opposes a proposal to give women 16 weeks paid maternity leave because he is "concerned" about the "cost to employers"!

In order to woo the female vote, Keating (under advice from feminist Anne Summers) promises to increase childcare to a paltry 250,000 places. But as a recent Australian Bureau of Statistics survey showed, unmet demand for childcare has doubled since 1987 to about 17 percent. The huge majority of childcare, some 1.3 million children, is provided by family, friends or neighbours because childcare is simply unavailable or too expensive. Working women are forced to return home for a "second shift" of childcare and hours of household drudgery. Echoing the sentiment of many women a Melbourne textile worker remarked "The women have it hard. We should get sick leave to look after our sick children. The factory should give us maternity leave. It would be good to have a creche at work too" (*Hard Labour*).

Savage healthcare cutbacks by Labor and Liberal governments alike, are aimed squarely at working class areas. Sydney's western suburbs are hit with a lethal mix of air pollution, unemployment, poor health and a lack of community services. One senior local doctor likened the casualty department at Liverpool Hospital to an "under-resourced outpatients' department in a poor Third World country" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1992). Even Keating's Office of the Status of Women acknowledges that migrant women suffer higher rates of work-related illnesses and injuries and experience the least accessible and most

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workers republic of Australia part of a socialist federation of Southeast Asia!

The union bureaucracy's role as capitalism's racist cop was highlighted in 1990 with the media exposé of the Darwin Trade Development Zone. With the agreement of the federal and Northern Territory governments and the ACTU, a Hong Kong jeans manufacturing company, Hengyang Pty Ltd, brought some 74 mainly female workers to Australia, indentured to the Guangdong External Manpower Services Corporation in the People's Republic of China. They worked under horrendous slave conditions, denied the right to unions or union organisers and paid a tenth of the wages of Australian workers. Their plight was exposed after one worker escaped and revealed the truth to the media. The union movement should have fought for the Trade Zone workers to be unionised with award wages and conditions, plus back pay, with the right to remain with full citizenship rights. But, predictably, the despicable union tops demanded that they return to China lest they "take Australian jobs!"

Keating's Reactionary "Family Values"

Along with immigrants, women are scapegoated for capitalist depression as

Martha Phillips

10 March 1948—9 February 1992

It has been a year since our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow. As stated in the document of our recent international conference "The International Communist League dips the red banner of the Fourth International in honour of comrade Martha Phillips, who died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant Lenin and Trotsky's communism in the homeland of the October Revolution." We honour her spirit, tenacity, courage and intelligence in our resolve to continue the struggle.



Workers Vanguard photo

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

the troops some practice in brutalising desperate non-European people in distant lands in preparation for dirty work closer to home—such as protecting Australian mining companies in PNG and the South Pacific from the wrath of the local super-exploited peoples. Army Chief of Staff, General Gray supports Australian participation “in UN peacekeeping efforts” because “it is the next best situation to war for soldiers to apply skills learnt in training” (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January). Needless to say the combat units in Somalia have not been trained to dig wells or build irrigation systems.

Already the U.S. and other occupation forces have carried out a series of high technology firestorm massacres against lightly armed gunmen and the civilian population. But opposition is growing among Somalis who see the occupying forces as a new colonial power. Relief workers and journalists as well as the newly arrived Australian troops have been pelted with rocks and met with cries of “Go home! Go home!”

The true interests of imperialism in Somalia were captured in an article in the U.S. *Navy Times* (14 December 1992). It reports the opinion of Defence Department officials that “although the Bush administration describes it as purely humanitarian, intervention in Somalia serves U.S. strategic and political interests in Africa and the Middle East.... Whoever controls Somalia could control the southern entrance to the Red Sea and thus the Suez Canal... a prime location from which to influence the political stability of the Middle East.” As Bush and now Clinton promote a “civilising mission” for U.S. imperialism under the flag of the UN, they also want to show imperialist rivals that the U.S. can “project power” globally and sling lead—so long as they are not going up against someone who might give them a serious fight.

A case in point was the Bush regime raining death down on the Iraqi people in his last week in office. Clinton picked up where Bush left off bombing Iraqi facilities three times in as many days after he took office. The White House had manufactured a bogus Iraq “crisis” for what everybody knew was Bush lashing out at the Iraqi strongman for outlasting him. The first Pentagon “pinpoint” strike succeeded in bombing a residential area in Basra and killing 19 people. The second attack did achieve a “pinpoint” strike as a Tomahawk cruise missile exploded at the entrance of Baghdad’s Al Rashid Hotel killing two women. Canberra supported the U.S. bombing campaign and, doubtless, as during the Gulf “War” the U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and North West Cape were used for the job.

Africa: Imperialism Causes Hunger

Along with Somalia at least a dozen other Sub-Saharan African countries, facing the worst drought this century, are being wracked by starvation. The imperialists are not proposing to assist these countries. The capitalist media treat the famine as an inevitable consequence of drought and war. But the mass starvation is not due to an “act of God.” These countries are deprived of the most elementary provisions for times of shortage and crop failure: food and currency reserves, reservoirs and irrigation. Ordered by the IMF (International Monetary Fund) to grow export crops instead of food in order to pay off the usurious debt, cut off by the banks and multi-nationals from new investment, their populations have been driven down into desperate misery. The underlying cause of African famines is the brutal exploitation of the continent by imperialism, which in its ruthless drive for profit is thrusting the African

peoples into poverty which is below the minimum level for human existence. (For a detailed analysis see “Imperialism Starves Africa,” *Workers Vanguard* No 561, 16 October 1992.)

With supreme hypocrisy the imperialists are using the desperate conditions throughout the African continent which have been imposed on the people by the imperialist system itself as the excuse for a new “carve up” of Africa starting with the recolonisation of Somalia. Both the UN and U.S. are talking of running Somalia as a protectorate or under UN trusteeship. Whatever you call the resulting form of direct imperialist rule, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali declared last June that “the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty... has passed.” Following the 1991 Gulf “War”, in 1992 the imperialists engaged in four major interventions under cover of the UN.

The ideological cloak for the military occupation of Somalia reeks of racist imperialist arrogance. It recalls Rudyard Kipling’s poem “The White Man’s Burden,” written in 1899 after the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War. Bemoaning the plight of the colonialist having to make reluctant sacrifices for the benefit of their subjects, the poem counsels the U.S. to take up the “burden” which the British had supposedly borne in India to bring civilisation to the “sullen peoples, half devil and half child.” “Fill full the mouth of famine, and bid the sickness cease,” wrote this poet laureate of the British Empire, and “wage the savage wars of peace.”

In truth, for the imperialists the “White Man’s Burden” is now as it has always been the white man’s pleasure! While cynically claiming to be engaged in “famine relief” in Somalia Bush/Clinton have moved to dramatically tighten their vicious blockade of Cuba in order to starve the Cuban people into submission. And Washington still maintains the devastating blockade of Vietnam, imposed after the heroic victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants over imperialism.

Down With Jackal Australian Imperialism!

The Somali expedition follows closely on the commitment of 500 Australian troops to Cambodia as part of a 20,000 strong UN force supposedly awaiting an eventual coalition government (to include Pol Pot’s forces!). In reality the imperialists seek to use Cambodia as a forward base to promote capitalist counterrevolution in Vietnam and revenge themselves on the Viet-



Phan Thuan

Heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants defeated U.S. and Australian imperialism on the battlefield.



Dan Eldon/Reuters

Under cover of “humanitarian aid” imperialist troops impose racist state of siege on Mogadishu.

namese workers and peasants. The fake-left has studiously ignored the return of Australian troops to Indochina giving their de facto blessing to this UN-sponsored counterrevolution. Uniquely we denounced this recolonisation of Cambodia. In a 1991 leaflet widely distributed to wharfies and other unionists we called on: “Australian workers: Break with the policies of the ALP imperialist ‘statesmen,’ would-be policemen of Southeast Asia, lackey junior partners of U.S. imperialism! For political strikes and bans to stop Australian troops to Cambodia!” (see *Australasian Spartacist* No 143, Summer 1991/1992).

Some military boffins wonder if the Australian military is not over-extending itself and ignoring potential “security threats” in the immediate Asia-Pacific region. Alan Wrigley, former Defence Department bureaucrat wrote:

“Despite the Prime Minister’s new nationalism Australia’s response to the peace-keeping phenomena is very largely a replay of the old familiar line. We skip alongside our great and powerful friends, like a small child imitating the bigger kids.”

—*Sydney Morning Herald*,
16 January

Australia is a willing and ambitious jackal regional power, from sending troops to aid the U.S. war on Vietnam to despatching UN “peace-keeping” troops to Cambodia. Today it angles for greater U.S. presence in this region and on its own shores (U.S. bases) while lordling over its Pacific neocolonies.

We are reminded that when British general Gordon was terminated in the Sudan in the 1880s by the forces of the Mahdi the then British colonies of Australia mobilised an expeditionary force amidst great chauvinist fanfare to get revenge against the “heathen Africans.” Two decades previously the European settler population raised troops to help the British in the Maori wars in New Zealand setting a pattern that continues to this day.

Last year we commented on Keating’s “aggressively Australian” posture in an article entitled: “The English Queen... and the Lizard of Oz.”

“Integral to the nationalism of Australian imperialism is a white colonial settler pig mentality and evocations of military prowess. Founded on the genocidal wars and total dispossession of the Aboriginal population, the slavish loyalty of the Australian capitalist class to the British empire meant sending workers to be slaughtered in huge numbers on faraway imperial battlefields. This was blood money for British defence of Australia against invasion from the dreaded ‘Asian hordes.’ The Australian bourgeoisie has never fought a war on its own. To this day the Libyan masses remember the Australian troops as the most racist, rapacious thugs of all the imperialist armies that counter-marched across their land during WWII....”

—*Australasian Spartacist*
No 144, Autumn 1992

After Japan took Singapore in 1942 the Australian bourgeoisie and then Labor prime minister John Curtin realised U.S. imperialism would be the new lifeline for defence of fortress White Australia. Australia became the U.S.’s key regional cop in the Cold War against the Soviet

workers state and sent troops to fight against social revolutions in Korea and Vietnam.

Fake-Lefts Join UN Fig Leaf Brigade

Significantly the Somalia invasion with its “humanitarian” fig leaf has been met by near universal approval across the bourgeois political spectrum. The usual if now marginal “peaceniks” remaining in the ALP and the Australian Democrats have given full approval to the invasion. For its part the reformist left pretends that the imperialists can be pressured to provide “real humanitarian aid.” The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) pleads “Give them food—not troops” (*The Socialist*, January). While criticising Washington for its hypocrisy the ISO buries the Australian intervention and deliberately does not even demand all imperialist troops get the hell out! For proletarian internationalists the struggle against imperialism begins at home. It is imperialist exploitation which causes famine in Africa and elsewhere. The solution is revolutionary struggle against capitalism not pathetic and impotent appeals for a “kinder and gentler” imperialism a la the ISO.

Meanwhile the Australian Northites of the dubious Socialist Labour League (SLL) reprinted an article from their U.S. sister paper the *Bulletin* which testified to difficulties provoked among their members:

“In the past week the Bulletin has been asked by sympathetic readers and even Workers League supporters whether its opposition to the US intervention in Somalia is justified in the face of the starvation prevailing in that country.

“Given the situation which exists there right now, they ask, is it not permissible to be somewhat less intransigent in opposing US troops?”

—*Workers News*,
15 January

Since the SLL campaigned for years for a blockade of Fiji after the Rabuka coups in 1987, it’s no wonder some SLLers aren’t inclined to oppose U.S./Australian intervention in Africa when it gives itself a “humanitarian” cover. In contrast, as rad-libs lined up in what we termed “The UN Fig Leaf Brigade” behind Bush and Hawke over Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, we noted it was under the UN flag that imperialism carried out its brutal war against the Korean people 40 years ago and set up the destruction of the radical Congo nationalists in the ‘60s. In the Gulf “War” the UN olive branch was even less of a fig leaf.

Class struggle, not philanthropy, is the solution to the starvation generated by imperialist exploitation. The real enemy is not clan chieftains in Somalia but the capitalist system which drives its colonial slaves into unbearable poverty. The International Communist League fights to mobilise the working class for international socialist revolution to destroy imperialism and institute economic planning on a world scale. ■

War Talk Escalates Over Macedonia

Greece Rocked by Strike Wave

A massive strike wave swept Greece this summer and fall, shaking the government of brutal austerity led by Constantine Mitsotakis and his right-wing New Democracy (ND) party. The Athens buses stopped running, and power was repeatedly cut for up to eight hours. A series of public sector strikes crippled banks and postal and phone services for weeks. The labor upsurge was punctuated by street battles with riot police, militant mass picketing and three general strikes in September which repeatedly brought over 100,000 workers into the streets.

Since coming to office in April 1990 the ND government has pursued a devastating Thatcherite program of wage, welfare and pension cuts, mass layoffs and privatizations, along with anti-trade-union laws. The details of this program have been dictated by the European Community (EC), and the latest round of anti-working-class measures was explicitly tied to Greece's endorsement of the collapsing Maastricht Treaty. As in Italy, millions of workers struck against the regime's cutback/privatization plans, but were shackled by their reformist leaders (see "Red Hot Autumn in Italy," *Workers Vanguard* No 560, 2 October).

Meanwhile, the government's attacks on the working class have been accompanied by ferocious chauvinist saber rattling over former Yugoslav Macedonia. Military expenditure has escalated in an arms race with Turkey, and the draft period has been lengthened. Last month Greek president Karamanlis called for closing the borders with "Skopje," the Greek-chauvinist term for Yugoslav Macedonia. This may come to a head over the EC heads of state meeting in Edinburgh this month, where recognition of Macedonia may be broached.

The strikes this year are the latest and largest battles of resistance by an intensely combative working class. In September 1990 a first batch of austerity measures provoked a wave of walkouts, including power, banking, municipal workers and the state-owned Olympic Airways. School occupations by students, supported by teachers, shut down state education for two months. The killing of a left-wing teacher in the southern city of Pátrai sparked a quarter-million-strong demonstration in Athens, and three days of street fighting. The government was forced to back down.



Marxist Review

Striking Athens bus drivers in August spearheaded massive Greek working class struggle.

Now the ruling class has renewed its offensive and the class struggle has broken out again.

In July, the 8,000 bus workers of Athens came out on strike to resist the loss of 1,400 jobs through privatization. The bus workers mounted pickets and staged daily demonstrations through downtown, forcing the government to mobilize the army to run scab services. This struggle inspired the working class: in August the GSEE (General Confederation of Greek Workers) called a demonstration in support of the strikers, which brought tens of thousands into the streets of the capital. Even after the public workers strikes were called off, on October 6 some 40,000 workers rallied in an Athens stadium and another 20,000 crowded outside, in an impressive show of solidarity with the bus drivers.

When the government announced its Maastricht package increasing the retirement age to 65 and cutting pensions and social security payments, the public sector exploded. In August tear gas filled the streets as riot police sought to break up mass demonstrations; union leaders and strikers were jailed. The GSEE, led by the Stalinist KKE (Communist Party) and the bourgeois populist

PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), was forced to call a 24-hour general strike on September 3, followed by two 48-hour general strikes on September 9-10 and 16-17, in order to contain the strike movement.

GSEE president Lambros Kanelopoulos declared, "We will fight to the end." But in reality the Stalinist and PASOK leaders were working to head off what was needed: a full-scale workers mobilization which could have defeated the government's all-sided attacks and opened the road to a fight for working-class power. In the end the government, although shaken and internally divided, was able to pass its legislation, and to survive for the time being. The bus workers have been defeated, left to dangle in isolation by the union bureaucrats.

An all-out general strike to defeat the austerity measures and prevent the institution of anti-union legislation would by its very nature have raised the question "Which class will rule?" The union leaders, whether KKE or PASOK, have unambiguously answered that question: the bourgeoisie. PASOK has called for early elections, hoping to ride the wave of hostility to New Democracy and take parliamentary power. It promises a "social contract"—ie, a deal to impose austerity by a four-year period of "collaboration of social forces."

The KKE is currently posturing to the left, while effectively supporting the government. Pointing out that PASOK "is not a real alternative," the KKE opposed new elections. During the strikes the KKE refused even to call for bringing down Mitsotakis! This even-handed "opposition" to ND and PASOK has nothing to do with revolutionary struggle against these two bourgeois parties; rather it leaves the KKE's options open in the event of a hung parliament. The KKE has already participated in two coalition governments which preceded Mitsotakis in 1989-90, first as the junior partner to ND, then as junior partner to both ND and PASOK! And they will certainly do so again if the opportunity presents itself.

The fight for workers state power in Greece means total opposition to coalitionism, which prevents the working class from fighting independently for its own interests. Those, like the Greek USec grouping OKDE (Spartakos), who

call for a "united front" of the "left," i.e., a "popular front" of the KKE and the bourgeois-nationalist PASOK against New Democracy, are asking the working class to put its head on the capitalists' chopping block.

KKE in the Camp of the Bourgeoisie

The KKE is the historic mass party of the Greek working class. Its partisan struggle against the Nazi wartime occupation and in the civil war that broke out in 1944 gave it great authority. That authority was duly abused to block the seizure of power by the working class at the end of the war, when the Communist Party, as in France and Italy, made peace with the bourgeoisie, disarmed the working class and entered into a popular-front capitalist government to rebuild the Greek capitalist state machine. This 1945 betrayal did not prevent the bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by British and U.S. imperialism, from turning on the Communists, renewing the civil war and slaughtering thousands in a campaign designed to break the potential for working-class revolution.

The defeat of the KKE-led forces in 1949, conforming to Stalin's postwar settlement with Churchill that gave Greece to imperialism, paved the way for a series of rightist regimes culminating in the infamous colonels' dictatorship of 1967-74. Despite this history, the goal of the KKE has remained to find its way back into the corridors of capitalist power. This ambition was finally realized in 1989, when the KKE formed an alliance (the Synaspismos) with a small Eurocommunist breakaway, the KKE (Interior). The message of the alliance was that the KKE, a renowned "hard-line" Stalinist party whose leadership had resided in Moscow under the colonels' regime, was ready to do business.

New Democracy invited the Synaspismos into a coalition government under the banner of "national reconciliation": the civil war was to be "forgotten," and "catharsis" would cleanse the corruption which had discredited the former PASOK administration under Andreas Papandreou. The reward for this betrayal of the working class? The ministries of justice and the interior were given to the KKE, so that it could play its full role in internal repression. This in a country where the army officer corps and the police are riddled with fascists and the enforcers of the dictatorship!

This "anti-PASOK" coalition was followed in short order by a new, "broad" coalition including PASOK. Both governments presided over rampant inflation (the highest in the EC) and a constant grinding down of workers' living standards, paving the way for the current Mitsotakis austerity government.

The experience of popular-front betrayal has radically eroded the KKE's traditional strength in the working class. Its newspaper sales and membership have sharply fallen. Having entered into the government in a flush of Gorbachevite enthusiasm for reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, the KKE was torn apart by factional struggle between "renovators," who yearn to be at one with PASOK, and "hardliners."

Today the KKE leadership poses as a Marxist-Leninist defender of socialism and of the gains of the former Soviet Union. It denounces Yeltsin, defends Erich Honecker and supports embattled Cuba. But the popular-frontist policies of coalition and "national reconciliation"

continued on page 9



Workers Vanguard Map

Former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia is target of chauvinist campaign by Greek bourgeoisie abetted by Greek Stalinist KKE.



Labor Defender

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928

The Prometheus Research Library, the library and archive of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee, has just published its first book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*. The 624-page volume, available in both paperback and hardcover, contains 60 documents, articles and speeches by Cannon from the time he was a leader of the Communist Party (called at that time the Workers Party), as well as an extensive historical introduction by the PRL. Supplementing Theodore Draper's excellent two-volume history of the American Communist movement (*The Roots of American Communism* and *American Communism and Soviet Russia*), as well as Cannon's letters to Draper published as *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, the PRL book provides original documentary material from American Communism's first decade. The book, which covers Cannon's years as one of the principal leaders of the American section of the Com-

sections were formed from disparate elements and individuals, most of them expelled from the Communist movement only after having been discredited and stripped of all supporters. Cannon stands out as a Communist leader who came over to Trotsky with his authority pretty much intact. And unlike the European groupings of the Left Opposition, for the most part a collection of petty-bourgeois circles, the CLA began with a base among worker militants. Together these factors gave the American Trotskyists a more solid grounding in Communist tradition and practices.

The selection of material in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* is designed to shed light on the origins of American Trotskyism. To provide as complete a documentary record as possible of the evolution of Cannon and the group he pulled

the bibliography of Cannon's writings and speeches for the period, which appears at the end of the volume.

Also included is an appendix containing material written in the summer of 1928 by some of Cannon's key factional collaborators, as well as a letter by Antoinette Konikow—also expelled for Trotskyism in 1928 but not a supporter of the Cannon faction—who led a small Boston grouping into the CLA. Another appendix contains Jack Stachel's December 1928 report to the Workers Party's Political Committee on "The Right Danger and Trotskyism." The report, based on correspondence stolen from Cannon's apartment by party leader Jay Lovestone's henchmen, details the support and interest the expelled Trotskyists had generated within the Workers Party.

In collecting material for inclusion, the PRL searched the bulk of the American archives likely to contain material by Cannon, as well as the available publications of the Communist movement in the 1920s. Not surprisingly, this search uncovered few items by Cannon from the early "underground" period of American Communism (1919-21); nor did the PRL find many documents from the seven months Cannon spent in Moscow in 1922 as the American representative to the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), though the archives of the CI in Moscow may contain such material. However, all other major portions of Cannon's career as a Communist leader are covered.

Taken together, the material assembled in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* provides a powerful documentary record which confirms, as it supplements, Cannon's *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. As the introduction notes, "Such a documentary record—even a highly selective one—cannot be said to exist for the accounts of many leading ex-Communists, to say nothing of the official histories penned by Stalinist hacks" like William Z Foster and Earl Browder.

This book is a must for anyone who considers himself a communist and for any serious student of American communism and the Communist International, and of interest to many students of social history. The introduction provides a comprehensive overview of Workers Party history in the 1920s, and the PRL has also provided a 29-page glossary of names and terms, as well as footnotes giving extensive background information on the party's trade-union work, disputes within the Comintern, and other subjects raised in the documents. The volume is fully indexed and includes 16 pages of rare photographs, including one from the CI's Fifth World Congress (1924) showing Trotsky with a Vietnamese delegate, Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh). Both cloth and paperback editions are Smyth sewn, and printed and bound by union labor (Allied Printing Trades). The result is an attractive, sturdy volume which is easy to open, read and consult.

Cannon's Papers and Cannon's Party

One of the book's dedications is to George Breitman. It was comrade Breitman, the general editor for the Socialist Workers Party's Pathfinder Press series of Trotsky and Cannon writings, who in 1984 prodded the Prometheus Research Library staff to begin compiling material for this book, though he bears no direct responsibility for the end result. Breitman had been expelled from the SWP in 1983, along with a number of others, for opposing party leader Jack Barnes' open attacks on Trotsky and the theory of permanent revolution. He was a founder and leader of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) until his death in 1986.

Barnes' party had long since ceased to be Trotskyist, having in 1963 formalized a "reunification" with Ernest Mandel's European Pabloists explicitly around a program of political support to Cuba's Fidel Castro. De-



Workers Monthly

Jim Cannon (left) at founding conference of International Labor Defense in June 1925 with George Maurer, secretary of the Labor Defense Council which merged with ILD.

together in the factional wars which wracked the American party during the 1920s, the book is heavily weighted toward major factional documents and statements, including some material that was probably not written by Cannon but was coauthored or signed by him. The book does not include many of the popular agitational pieces Cannon wrote in the 1920s since the best of these were selected by him for his *Notebook of an Agitator*, published in 1958 and still available from Pathfinder Press. A sense of how selective the PRL had to be in choosing material for the book is provided by

munist International, also serves as a prelude to Pathfinder Press' series of Cannon writings, which was centrally edited by the late George Breitman. Pathfinder's series covers the period when Cannon was the authoritative leader of the American Trotskyist movement.

Coming out of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and won to Communism in the great wave of labor radicalism which swept the world in response to the 1917 Russian Revolution, Cannon was a founding American Communist, chairman and chief public spokesman of the Workers Party when it was founded in 1921, and a member of the party's top leadership bodies for most of the next seven years. In October 1928 he and about a hundred factional supporters were expelled from the party for attempting to organize a faction in support of Leon Trotsky's International Left Opposition (ILO). They went on to form the nucleus of the first Trotskyist organization in the United States, the Communist League of America (CLA). The central leader of American Trotskyism for the next 25 years, until his retirement as secretary of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1953, Cannon was the finest communist leader this country has yet produced.

The introduction to this volume notes that the American Trotskyist movement was unique in having been generated from an established factional grouping in the official Comintern section—other early ILO



Labor Defender

Group of delegates to second conference of International Labor Defense, September 1926.

claring that experience since World War II showed a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard to be no longer necessary for the overthrow of capitalism, the SWP (under the regime of the stodgy Farrell Dobbs and the up-and-coming Jack Barnes) joined with Mandel & Co in seeking to reduce "Trotskyism" to a force for cheer-leading insurgent Stalinists, Third World nationalists and other "revolutionaries of action." In the U.S. this political liquidationism was accompanied by accommodation to the illusory program of black nationalism: positing a separatist "road" to black liberation, the SWP—which had earlier been impermissibly passive and legalistic in its response to the civil rights struggles—relieved itself of any responsibility to fight to win black cadres to the Trotskyist program and party. The Spartacist League originated as the SWP's Revolutionary Tendency, expelled in 1963 for opposition to the party's centrist course.

The SWP's centrist phase was soon shown to be a brief way station in the plunge into outright reformism, as the party emerged as the "best builder" of the right wing of the Vietnam antiwar movement, competing successfully with the reformist, Stalinist CP. Reveling in social-patriotism, the SWP worked hard to keep newly radicalized youth under the sway of Democratic Party politicians and pro-Democrat labor bureaucrats, in opposition to the New Leftists like SDS and the Black Panthers who hated imperialism and whom the SWP baited as "violent" and "ultraleftist."

Jim Cannon, though no longer the party's central administrator, remained as its national chairman through its degeneration into full-blown reformism; he died in 1974. Many longtime cadres remained members of the SWP Central Committee, and it was only when Barnes explicitly repudiated Trotsky as an irrelevant sectarian that a layer of party veterans was impelled into opposition. But it is to the credit of George Breitman and others that they refused to spit on the tradition of Trotskyism as they understood it, and thus they were expelled from the party they had served for so long. Comrade Breitman in particular—whom we had known in the SWP mainly as an antagonist, a spokesman for the orientation to black nationalism—had spent many years overseeing the work of selecting, editing and annotating Trotsky's writings for publication by Pathfinder. Expelled from the SWP, hampered by ill health and the limited resources of the FIT, Breitman learned of the PRL's interest in the documentation on Cannon's career as a Communist leader and was willing to encourage and collaborate with us on archival matters.

Barnes' SWP completed the process of (literally) "junking the old Trotskyism" just as the PRL was finishing the editorial work on *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism*. Barnes removed from his party headquarters most of the papers and documents from the SWP's revolutionary years under Cannon's leadership. The files on the work of Trotsky's Fourth International were given to the Hoover Institution at Stanford; papers and documents relating to the party's domestic work were given to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where the SWP had long maintained an archive.

Included in the latter deposit were the personal correspondence files and papers of Cannon and his longtime companion, Rose Karsner. The papers were opened to researchers in July, and PRL staff members were able to review them, finding a few items by Cannon unavailable from other sources. These items are included in the bibliography, and some are quoted in the introduction, which also makes use of quotations from previously unpublished correspondence between Cannon and Theodore Draper.

Factional Gang Warfare in the Workers Party

In addition to material from the Cannon papers, the PRL's introduction makes extensive use of documents and interviews from Theodore Draper's research files, as well as of newly available autobiographical manuscripts by American Communists prominent in the 1920s. This previously unpublished material adds color to the introduction. For example, Alexander Bittelman, a Russian-born Jewish Communist who was William Z Foster's chief factional collaborator, throws some revealing light on the factional lineup in the Workers Party in 1923-25, when Cannon and Foster led a grouping centered on the party's trade unionists. The Cannon-Foster group split in two in August 1925, after a cable from the Comintern upset their elected majority at the Workers Party's Fourth Convention. But from late 1923 until August 1925 this group had a majority on the party's Central Committee, leading the party in opposition to the CE Ruthenberg-Jay Lovestone-John Pepper factional bloc, which was based primarily on the party's Eastern European language federations. Bittelman recalls:

"Most of the Cannon-Foster circle were a rather rough-and-ready group of individuals. There was among them much camaraderie, plain spoken talk and few niceties in mutual relations. In group discussions they would use what they chose to call 'trade union language,' in which variations on 'damn it' were of the more innocent expressions. And candor com-



Labor Herald

July 1923 Farmer-Labor Conference in Chicago, Initiated by Chicago Federation of Labor.

pels me also to say this: in our own circle four-letter exclamations were a dime a dozen and sometimes cheaper. Whereas Ruthenberg, in circumstances which tempt one to resort to some such exclamation, would merely say: 'Goodness gracious.' I can never forget the expression on the faces of some of my comrades in the Foster-Cannon circle on such occasions."

—Alexander Bittelman, *Things I Have Learned* (unpublished, written in 1963)

Both Cannon and Foster had been syndicalists before joining the Communist movement. They had real connections and experience in the labor movement, Cannon as an organizer of revolutionary unions in the IWW, and Foster as an American Federation of Labor-backed organizer, leading major class battles in the steel and meatpacking industries in Chicago in 1919. (In the Workers Party they differed in their approach to labor, Foster being the leading advocate of exclusively "boring from within" the existing AFL unions, while Cannon favored a more flexible policy.) In contrast, Ruthenberg had been a straight SP party man, though one with an honorable record as a leader of the left wing and militant opponent of World War I. Lovestone and his cronies were neophytes, recruited from New York's City College.

In contrast to this diversity, in Britain the sectarian inability of the CP to regroup substantially from revolutionary syndicalist, Celtic and left-feminist currents attracted to Communism by the Russian Revolution rendered the British Communists, narrowly drawn from former Socialist parliamentarians, pretty much sterile (see "British Communism Aborted," *Spartacist* No 36-37, Winter 1985-86).

Differences in political culture made for a political vitality in the early American party, and they underlie the factional dogfights which plagued it in the 1920s, but do not explain them. The machinations of political adventurers like Jay Lovestone (who went on to become a CIA operative) lent the situation a particularly venal character. In an unpublished letter to Draper cited in the introduction, Cannon described Lovestone's "will, ruthless driving ambition, to say nothing of his diabolical passion for intrigue and his indefatigable energy in setting men against each other and fouling

things up generally." But if Lovestone and his mentor, the Hungarian John Pepper, who arrived in the United States in 1922 as a self-proclaimed "representative" of the Communist International, did much to keep the factional pot boiling, it was the increasingly Stalinized Comintern which provided the heat.

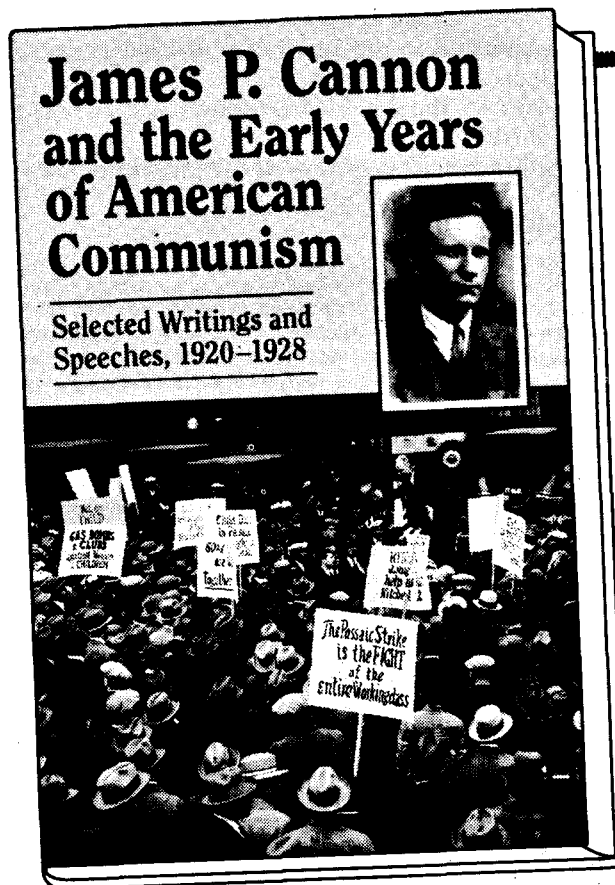
The Degeneration of the Communist International

As Leninists and Trotskyists, we also consider ourselves Cannonists. This is not because of the American origins of our tendency, but rather because of our "Russian" origins, the Bolshevism which James P Cannon taught us. In his fine speech on the "Russian question" from October 1939, in the heat of a faction fight against those who flinched from defending the Soviet Union on the eve of World War II, Cannon said: "We are, in fact, the party of the Russian revolution. We have been the people, and the only people, who have had the Russian revolution in their program and in their blood."

Trotskyists have always claimed for themselves the record of the revolutionary Communist International from 1919-23, and stand on the record of the opposition which fought from within in 1924-33 to reverse the degeneration of the Soviet regime and the International, and which went on to found the Fourth International. Trotsky's powerful analysis identified the cause of the degeneration in the failure of the Russian Revolution to extend itself internationally, resulting in the rise of a bureaucratic caste within the young, economically backward Soviet republic. This privileged, conservative caste headed by Stalin, accepting isolation, came to espouse a program of "building socialism in one country" and attempting to deflect the hostility of imperialism by eschewing the struggle for world revolution.

Trotsky's insistence that the fate of the Soviet regime depended, in the final analysis, on the extension of the revolution to the industrialized imperialist countries is fully borne out in the negative today by the final

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James P Cannon...

(continued from page 7)

cowardly collapse of the regime of Stalin's heirs, both within and outside the ex-USSR. Today, it is more important than ever for those who continue to fight for Lenin's communism to examine the history and experience of the early Communist International. *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* provides some key documentary material for such a study.

During the period covered by the book Cannon was in Moscow five times for various Comintern congresses and ECCI plenums, and some of his speeches to Comintern bodies are included in the volume. Cannon spent seven months there in 1922, when the CI leadership still retained a revolutionary perspective, and the experience served to make of Cannon a confirmed "Cominternist," who was slow to realize later in the decade that things had fundamentally changed with the ascendancy of Zinoviev, Stalin and Bukharin in the Russian party.

The material contained in the new volume graphically illustrates the correctness of Trotsky's perspective of fighting from inside the Comintern during the 1920s.



Labor Defender

From left to right:
Bill Dunne, Tom O'Flaherty,
Big Bill Haywood and
James Cannon, probably in
Moscow, spring 1925.

Cannon tried to chart a perspective for the Workers Party based on revolutionary communism, even as the International lost its revolutionary perspective and the weight of an expanding and self-confident American imperialism bore down on the American party. After Lenin's final stroke, followed by his death in January 1924, most other American Communist leaders bowed to the Stalinizing Comintern, waging unprincipled power struggles in the Workers Party. Cannon, though on the basis of an incomplete understanding, built a "faction against factionalism" which sought to push the party in a revolutionary direction.

Cannon was sorely disillusioned when the sudden death of C E Ruthenberg in March 1927 precipitated an orgy of unprincipled factional warfare resulting in the patently opportunist and corrupt Jay Lovestone assuming the mantle of party leadership with Comintern support. Having reached a dead end in the internal factional wars, Cannon was predisposed, when he received a copy of Leon Trotsky's critique of the draft Comintern program at the CI's Sixth Congress in 1928, to make the leap to Trotsky's internationalist understanding of the communist program and the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International. Amid much else, that seminal document contained Trotsky's opposition to the anti-Marxist construct of a "two-class workers' and peasants' party," which gave Cannon and the American Communists so much trouble in the incarnation of the "Farmer-Labor" movement.

The Labor Party Question

The PRL's introduction notes that it would be a mistake to look at the material in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* as "simply the prelude to Cannon's later emergence as an authoritative Trotskyist leader. For Cannon was also one of the most able Communist leaders in the 1920s, a period when the party was not yet homogenized into a rigid Stalinist orthodoxy. This was a time of real, necessary and inevitable debate about the tasks facing Communists in the United States."

The 1920s was a period of bourgeois reaction in the United States, as the post-World War I revolutionary wave receded and the bourgeoisie succeeded in stabilizing the capitalist world order. Inaugurated by the landslide victory of Republican Warren Harding in 1920, these years were marked by a rise in Klan terror and an all-time high in anti-immigrant sentiment. The state embarked on a major assault on the trade-union movement: AFL membership fell from almost 20 percent of the non-agricultural workforce in 1920 to just over 10 percent in 1930. The American ruling class was

smugly confident that the working class was cowed and an era of U.S.-dominated imperialist prosperity was at hand. A short while later, the U.S. stock market crash and the ensuing world depression ushered in a new period, marked in this country by widespread radicalization and the turbulent struggles for industrial unions. Many parallels can be drawn between America in the 1920s and today, and today's communists will find much of relevance in Cannon's writings.

The book brings together material from Cannon on the Workers Party's brief bloc with the John Fitzpatrick leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labor in the effort to build a national "Farmer-Labor Party"; the Workers Party's subsequent adaptation to the petty-bourgeois Farmer-Labor movement; the party's work in building an opposition to John L Lewis in the miners union; the role of party supporters in the leadership of the New York garment workers unions; and the party's activities in defense of class-war prisoners, in particular the great campaign against the execution of the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, which Cannon led in his capacity as head of the party's defense organization, the International Labor Defense.

It was the question of the Farmer-Labor movement and the Communists' call for the creation of a labor party which dominated the disputes in the Workers Party during 1922-25. The PRL's introduction details

the formation, trajectory and social composition of the Farmer-Labor movement, necessary background material for any reader trying to make sense of the disputes. The Zinoviev leadership of the Comintern took up the fight against the Workers Party's opportunist bulge (revealed most clearly in the party's near-support to the third-party candidacy of "Progressive" Republican Robert M La Follette in 1924) only reluctantly and at the insistence of Trotsky in Moscow. In the aftermath, the party's discussions on the question were deformed and distorted by Zinoviev's campaign against Trotsky for "underestimating" the peasantry. Moscow's insistence that the American party continue to orient toward the La Follette movement and fight for a two-class "workers and farmers" party totally muddled the waters, creating a confusion on the labor party slogan from which the ostensibly communist movement in this country still suffers.

In previously unpublished notes written for Theodore Draper and quoted by the PRL in its introduction, Cannon pointed to the key role of the indefatigable John Pepper in formulating the party's opportunist adaptation to the La Follette movement, a policy which persisted even after the Cannon-Foster factional alliance had overthrown the Pepper-Lovestone-Ruthenberg leadership at the party's Third Convention:

"The cold fact is that the party which had proclaimed itself at its inception as a revolutionary party of the working class, and had adopted a revolutionary program, became, for a period in 1924, the advocate of a 'third party' of capitalism, and offered to support, under certain conditions, the presidential candidacy of the petty-bourgeois demagogue La Follette....

"The bewildered party disgraced itself in this affair, and all the prominent leaders without exception, myself included, were in it up to our necks, with no excuse save that of ignorance and no reason except perhaps the foolhardy ambition to outwit ourselves. If I can force myself to return to this leap into political irrationality, even now—30 years later—it is only because a bad experience, honestly evaluated and accounted for, may serve a useful purpose in immunizing the movement against similar abnormalities in the future.

"Foster's role in this sorry business was the same as mine and that of all the other American leaders at the time. Pepper—interpreting what he took to be the Comintern line—formulated the policy; the rest of us went along. Considering the fact that Pepper had been defeated and put in the minority at the party convention, at the end of 1923, this says a lot for his resilience and continuing influence, but it doesn't say much for the rest of us."

—James P Cannon, unpublished notes
(written about 1959)

In the aftermath of the 1924 elections, Cannon and his factional supporters attempted to assimilate the import of their opportunist error and steer the party

away from the Farmer-Labor milieu; Lovestone and Pepper won the Comintern's support for a continued orientation to petty-bourgeois Farmer-Laborism. In 1924 Cannon did not know that Trotsky had been responsible for the CI's opposition to the Workers Party's La Follette policy. But the fact that, unwittingly and belatedly, Cannon supported the thrust of Trotsky's intervention goes a long way to explaining his later evolution toward Trotskyism. Also notable is Cannon's failure to speak or write major articles in support of Zinoviev-Stalin-Bukharin's "anti-Trotskyism" campaign. While voting for all the ritual anti-Trotsky resolutions in the American party, where the anti-Trotsky campaign merged with the struggle against the social-democratic tendency led by Ludvig Lore, he was by all accounts unenthusiastic on the question. Bittelman quotes Cannon as often remarking, "Stalin makes leaders out of shit and shit out of leaders."

Nonetheless, as the material collected in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* demonstrates, there were many elements of the Cannon faction's political profile that militated against their being able to make the leap to the Left Opposition: a parochial focus on American questions, insistence on the strategy of a bloc with "progressives" in the unions, a lack of attention to fighting Jim Crow segregation in the labor movement. While Martin Abern, Max Shachtman and Arne Swabeck made the leap to Trotskyism with Cannon, Cannon's chief political collaborator, William F Dunne, who was also Cannon's best friend, did not.

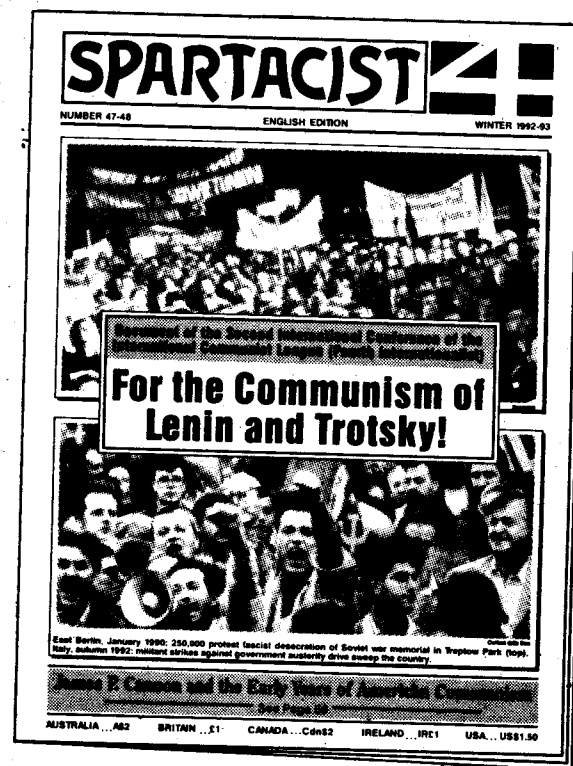
The fact that Cannon remained true to the revolutionism which inspired his youth, leading a significant number of founding American Communist cadre into Trotsky's Left Opposition in 1928, is a key historical precondition for the formation of the Spartacist tendency and our existence today. As Trotsky underlined, the decisive factor in the survival of the irrational and outmoded capitalist system is the crisis of revolutionary proletarian leadership. Our links to the revolutionary Communist International, carried forward in the early Trotskyist movement and Cannon's SWP through the 1940s and 1950s, are thin. But they are real, as *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* demonstrates. This allows us to proclaim, along with Cannon:

"The important thing to remember is that our modern Trotskyist movement originated in the Communist Party—and nowhere else. Despite all the negative aspects of the party in those early years...despite its weaknesses, its crudities, its infantile sicknesses, its mistakes; whatever may be said in retrospect about the faction struggles and their eventual degeneration; whatever may be said about the degeneration of the Communist Party in this country—it must be recognized that out of the Communist Party came the forces for the regeneration of the revolutionary movement.... Therefore, we should say that the early period of the Communist movement in this country belongs to us."

—James P Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Greece...

(continued from page 5)

with the bourgeoisie, and the policies of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" which led to the downfall of the USSR, are two sides of the same Stalinist coin. If the revolution is not to be spread to the West, then it must be blocked and strangled by tying the working class to its masters in every capitalist country.

The KKE has lost its Soviet patrons through counterrevolution in the USSR, but it has not lost its appetite for class treason in Greece. When the Greek bourgeoisie pays the KKE an official state subsidy of 180 million drachmas (about \$900,000), it does so because it gets value for money.

The betrayals of the KKE have given an opening to the left-talking social-democratic followers of Tony Cliff, the OSE (Organization for Socialist Revolution). While posturing as militant defenders of the working class, active in strikes and student struggles, and suffering state repression for their position on Macedonia, the Cliffites backed the seizure of power by Yeltsin's counter-revolutionary forces in Russia (declaiming "Communism is dead: good riddance to Stalinism"). The OSE recommends that the Greek bourgeoisie should spend less money on guns and more on schools and hospitals, a classical reformist demand. And it is now espousing a vote to the national-chauvinist bourgeois party PASOK, because of the weakening of the KKE.

Chauvinist Hysteria over Macedonia

The attacks on workers in Greece have been matched by a furious bourgeois campaign of national chauvinism

which unites ND and PASOK, and which the KKE tails. During the imperialist war on Iraq, KKE union leaders (headed by then-secretary of the GSEE, "hardliner" Kostopoulos), along with PASOK concluded a two-year deal with Mitsotakis guaranteeing wage cuts across the board. Today the bourgeoisie tries to bind the working class to it by whipping up anti-Macedonian and anti-Turkish sentiment in an atmosphere of war preparations.

Across the country posters declare "Macedonia Is Greek!" In June the government won EC backing for its demand that the former Yugoslav republic cannot include the word "Macedonia" in its name. In the coded language of Greek chauvinism only the name of the capital, Skopje, is permissible. Simultaneously the government declares that there are no Macedonians in Greece, only "Slav-speaking Greeks," claiming that Macedonia is a geographical and not a national entity.

The chauvinist denial of the very existence of this small national minority in northern Greece echoes the Turkish state's term "mountain-dwelling Turks" to refer to Kurds. Similarly, the Greek bourgeoisie denies the existence of Turks in Greece: as a government spokesman put it, "In Greece there exist no Turks, only Muslims." The Greek Macedonians (who number currently about 200,000) are denied language rights and suffer systematic discrimination. Bourgeois hostility toward them is fueled by the disproportionate role that Macedonians played in the Communist-led forces in the Greek civil war.

But behind the current government campaign lie territorial ambitions which could draw Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria into another Balkan war. If the Serbian regime of Milosevic moves to take over Yugoslav Macedonia, then the substan-

tial, NATO-equipped armies of both Greece and Turkey will likely enter into a battle for the region. The London *Guardian* (4 December) reports that both Turkey and Greece are receiving over 1,000 tanks and armored vehicles from NATO, artillery pieces, and billions of dollars worth of new military jets. The British government, with Prime Minister Major currently president of the EC, has stated that Serbian incursion into Macedonia will be met by armed intervention, reflecting the EC and U.S. imperialists' determination to back up their clients in the region.

The response of the KKE to the tidal wave of chauvinism is a sustained capitulation to Greek nationalism. While declaring, "we don't legitimize any ambitions of homegrown nationalists to propagandize the logic of a 'tooth for a tooth'," they state, "we don't let any foreign nationalist lay claim to even a centimeter of Greek soil," and proclaim, "the KKE has no need for lessons in patriotism" (KKE pamphlet "Positions on the Balkans," February 1992). Claiming to be indifferent to the name of the Macedonian republic, they consistently use the term "Skopje," which in Greek politics unambiguously places one in the chauvinist camp.

The honorary president of the KKE, Florakis, underscored their stance in a 1988 speech: "For us, for our party, a Macedonian minority does not exist. On this we are categorical.... As long as they are Greek citizens, they have the same rights and these rights we defend fanatically and consistently." Obviously the KKE could not care less about the rights either of the Macedonians or the estimated 350,000 immigrants who live and work in Greece illegally. Revolutionaries in Greece would see the fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers as an essential part of their program.

The KKE is nominally opposed to the U.S. or NATO intervening in the Balkans. Instead it calls for intervention by the UN...under whose aegis U.S. and NATO forces are already at work in the Adriatic and Yugoslavia.

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party in Greece!

In January, May and September, different groups of leftists were tried for distributing propaganda supporting recognition of Yugoslav Macedonia. In the first two cases prison sentences were handed down. The trial of the Greek Cliffites of the OSE for "treason" has been postponed until January 1993. The international workers movement must oppose this vicious repression and demand the freeing of all those jailed and dropping the charges against the five OSE members!

Against the revanchist claims of the competing Balkan ruling classes, and in opposition to imperialist war moves, the International Communist League declares: *No imperialist intervention in the Balkans! No U.S. bases in Greece! Not one penny, not one man for the capitalist army! For the right of self-determination for Macedonia, including Greek Macedonians! For full democratic rights for minorities in Greece! For a Balkan Socialist Federation, including Greece!*

The Greek working class has a long history of militant struggle. Yet again and again the struggles have been dissipated or crushed because of the politics of the popular front: class collaboration to save capitalist rule. The critical need is to build an internationalist, revolutionary workers party, based on the authentic communist program of Lenin and Trotsky, to fight for workers revolution throughout the region.

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Women's Liberation...

(continued from page 3)

inappropriate health service of all Australians, except Aborigines (*Australian*, 7 February 1992).

The previous Victorian Labor government of Joan Kirner, while closing hospital wards, gave the administration of a newly-built hospital over to the Catholic Church, which means that no abortion operations will be performed. The Spartacist League fights to mobilise the working class around the demands: full 24-hour childcare, free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all.

Life in a Remote White Imperialist Enclave

Last year a Victorian court ruled that it was "less heinous" to rape a prostitute than a "happily married woman." More recently a South Australian judge said in a rape-in-marriage court trial that he saw nothing wrong with a husband's attempt to "persuade" his wife, by

"rougher than usual handling," to engage in sexual intercourse! This is the view of the legal fraternity in misogynist, racist Australia where, in 1988, 20 percent of the population were found to condone wife beating!

Exemplifying the mean-minded bigotry, prejudice and rampant sexism of capitalist Australian society was the state-sponsored anti-woman witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain. As we wrote in *Women & Revolution* (No 34, 1988):

"The bourgeois media focused on the fact that Lindy is an intelligent, assertive woman who displayed enormous reserves of strength.... It is precisely these qualities which were used to portray Lindy as an aberration in Australian society, where it is held that women should be dumb, passive subjects. The witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain played a part in reinforcing the position of women as the core of the nuclear family—in this role women are to be subservient, not defiant and outspoken. The hypocrisy of bourgeois morality, which sanctifies the nuclear family was sharply exposed in the state witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain, which sought to destroy her family."

The struggle for women's emancipation is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working

class from capitalist exploitation and oppression. Only the social ownership of the means of production can lay the basis for replacing the institution of the family—"that archaic, stuffy and stagnant institution in which the woman of the toiling classes performs galley labor from childhood to death" (LD Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*). The 1917 October Revolution showed the way forward to the liberation of women. The Bolshevik government immediately gave women full political and legal equality with men and the right to abortion. And to the extent that they were able in a backward and war-torn country, they sought to replace the social functions of the family with free, 24-hour childcare centres and communal laundries and canteens, thus beginning to lay the basis for the full integration of women into social and political life.

In the former German Democratic Republic (DDR) despite the bureaucratic stranglehold of Stalinism over the economy and society, women were highly educated, highly skilled, with the best maternity and childcare benefits in the world, and over 90 percent employed—from truck drivers and crane operators to surgeons and judges. They were a key

component of the DDR working class. These gains were a testament to the power of the planned, socialised economy of the workers state. Today, they are being ripped away and women are driven out of the workforce as the socialised industrial economy of the former DDR is dismantled by a vengeful German bourgeoisie. The trojan horse for this counterrevolution was the German social democracy (SPD). From Australia to Germany, the role of social democracy is to prop up and sell this decaying capitalist order to its working-class base.

Only the sweeping away of capitalist society and its replacement by the planned economy and state power of the working class will open the road to building an international socialist society where production would be for the needs of all. A multiracial Trotskyist party, rooted in the proletariat and acting as the tribune of all the oppressed, will win to its banner the working masses and lead the way forward to a decent world. And from among the massively oppressed working women will come some of the greatest fighters for proletarian revolution. For woman's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



South Korean Westpac workers strike for union recognition 1990.

Spartacist Forums

Capitalist Attacks Target Immigrant Women Workers For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Sydney

7pm, Monday 8 March

MEWU Council Room
136-140 Chalmers Street, Surry Hills

Sydney Uni

1pm, Wednesday 10 March

Room to be announced

Melbourne

7pm, Friday 5 March

Room 9, YWCA
489 Elizabeth Street

Melbourne Uni

1pm, Thursday 4 March

Room to be announced

For further information phone Spartacist: Sydney (02) 281 2181, Melbourne (03) 654 4315

Spartakists on Trial...

(continued from page 12)

six million Jews, of Roma and Sinti [Gypsies], homosexuals and other minorities, of communists and anti-fascists." This is the murderous flag of the cowardly Nazi bands from Mölln to Rostock and Berlin.

But as of 4:30 on the afternoon of June 23 there was no longer a swastika near the Brandenburg Gate. Courageous anti-fascists seized this bloody symbol of genocide and burned it. Immediately afterward a Spartakist banner with the words, "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime," was unfurled from the roof of the gallery.

A representative of the gallery called the police, and the four Spartakists were briefly arrested. But after the energetic protest of many supportive onlookers and passers-by from different countries, including supporters of the Kurdish PKK, they were released. Now, following the racist pogrom in Rostock and the Nazi murders in Mölln, the four anti-fascists are being brought up on charges for their act of hygiene: Werner Brand, Ronald Krüger (photographer for the newspaper *Spartakist*), Renate Dahlhaus and Toralf Endruweit (both Spartakist spokesmen at the mammoth anti-fascist rally in Treptow in January of 1990, and candidates in the last Bundestag elections).

According to the bourgeoisie's penal code, the swastika is banned. But who would expect the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich to take action against Nazi symbols? In reality its police protect the Nazis in their assaults on refugee hostels, while the victims of the Nazis are either deported or made out to be criminals. Behind the outcry against "violence" and "extremism of the right and the left" stands the racist persecution of refugees and immigrants as well as expanded police repression against anti-fascists. This is why the call



Yevgeni Khaidei

30 April 1945: Red flag raised over the Reichstag as Soviet troops vanquished Nazi Third Reich.

for "more police" and for banning the fascists by the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) reformists and their ilk, through which they link up with the racist all-party coalition in Bonn, is so dangerous. And our case demonstrates this yet again. Capitalist reunification, welcomed by the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and PDS and their "left" tails, prepared the soil for the fascists. Now the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats are acceding to the murderous "Foreigners Out" slogans, by closing the borders and carrying out mass deportations.

The true face of the ruling class was recently revealed by Karl Dersch (executive board member of the aviation and space firm Deutsche Aerospace, on the presidium of the Federal Association of German Industry, etc. etc), when he said that he flew his own "private" Reich war flag. In SPD-governed Nordrhein-Westfalen, with its large proportion of immigrant workers, the courts are so

heavily infiltrated with Nazi judges, among them the notorious NPD leader Peter Markert, that the public employees union ÖTV organized the occupation of a courtroom. From Augsburg to Halle, massive police assaults supplement the Nazi terror.

The workers movement must defend the right to asylum. The present situation cries out for massive workers united-front mobilization, to demonstrate the social power of workers and immigrants against the Nazis and to defend the refugees. This is the program Leon Trotsky fought for at the beginning of the '30s, while the Social Democrats and Stalinists allowed Hitler to march unhindered to power.

The Fourth Reich wants to rehabilitate the Third Reich: this was the aim of Kohl and Reagan's obscene obeisance in Bitburg to SS graves. The bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is again stretching out its hands to rule over Europe. Their henchmen from the SPD stand in the vanguard

can and must be stopped, and the organized working class has the power."

There were two *counterposed* political programs on how to respond to the fascist threat in Vancouver. The policy of the reformists and labor bureaucrats, which comes straight from the ministerial offices of the social-democratic NDP, was to preach reliance on the capitalist state and its police. In practice, this meant allowing the fascist provocation to go ahead. Against this the TL leaflet argued:

"Reformists believe that the capitalist state is 'neutral' and can be pressured to 'ban' the fascists. As Marxists we understand that this state enforces the rule of capital and that the fight against fascism is the road of class struggle leading to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and socialist revolution."

At a BCOFR marshals meeting on January 20, spokesman Alan Dutton made perfectly clear their intention that any Nazis outside the perimeter of the rally would be left alone to spew their racist filth. A representative of the Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO), a rad-lib sandbox which includes the Freedom Socialist Party and the International Socialists, argued that if the skinheads showed up and tried to march through the rally they should just be "ignored"! A speaker for the IS advised the marshals not to remove the fascist provocateurs from the demonstration but just "keep an eye" on them!

These reformists tried to put their wimpy program into action at the demo. As marchers headed off for the Century Plaza Hotel to get the skinhead thugs, CUFO marshals first tried to slow the protesters down and then they (including the IS) linked arms in front of the hotel to bolster the line of cops who were shoving the crowd back.

Last March, a gang of half a dozen

of the anti-communist witchhunt—whose high point is the present show trial of Erich Honecker, which is taking place in the Tiergarten state court, in the same complex of buildings—so as to take vengeance for the victory of the Red Army. And the PDS cooperates in the witchhunt in which it is itself being devoured. Freedom for Erich Honecker and all the representatives of the DDR deformed workers state, where the system of the swastika was destroyed!

Toralf Endruweit said: "We are proud to have ripped the Nazi flag. We will show in this trial what the swastika means, in the Third and in the Fourth Reich. We will show what this flag of murder means to anti-fascist survivors of the Third Reich, to Jews, Roma, communists, gays, to the heroic Germans who fought in the Red Army against the barbarism of their own bourgeoisie, as well as to the Vietnamese workers from Rostock who nearly fell victim to a new holocaust, to the friends, family members and colleagues of those slain in the past few years, from Amadeu Antonio to Silvio Meier and the Arslan family, all victims of the brownshirt rabble. Their deaths spur us on, and we will avenge them, as we will all the victims of the Nazis and, before them, of the Freikorps that murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg under the sign of the swastika. To eliminate the fascists once and for all we need a workers revolution that will avenge the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. That is what the Spartakist Workers Party is fighting for."

Let's turn the trial of the anti-fascists into a trial of the anti-fascists and the racist state that incites and protects its fascist bands! Support the campaign, mobilize among friends, in your trade unions, in your schools and organizations. Send your anti-swastika statements to the Tiergarten District Court, Turmstrasse 91, W-1000 Berlin 21, fax: (030) 39 79 20 10. Send copies to and ask for additional information from the PDC. Send donations to: Partisan Defence Committee, PO Box Q217, QVB, 117 York St, Sydney NSW 2000, earmarked "No Nazi Flag."

skinheads waving swastika flags marched right through a "Rally Against Racism" that was held at the Art Gallery. TL supporters sought to mobilize demonstrators to defend themselves against these fascist thugs. But the rally organizers—the IS and CUFO—*let the Nazis parade with impunity!* The social-democratic PAC is not guided by such Gandhian pacifism when it comes to anti-communist exclusions, launching a savage physical assault to keep Trotskyist League members out of a "public debate" in Toronto last August.

The Cold War "socialists" of the IS urged solidarity with every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary force aimed at destroying the former workers states in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The result has been a tidal wave of reactionary nationalism and fascist terror which is the cutting edge of capitalist restoration. Those who cheered these forces in East Europe and the ex-USSR are hypocrites when they claim to want to "fight fascism" at home. The class-collaborationist appetites that underpinned the reformists' virulent anti-Sovietism can be seen in their supine response to the fascist terrorists here.

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

After 16 years of union-busting rule under the ultraright racist yahoos of the Social Credit Party, the powerful BC labor movement thought it would get a break under an NDP government. But since their election in 1991, the NDP social democrats have imposed even further austerity, jacking up taxes and slashing social services, while alibiing racist cop terror against minorities. This is hardly new—the last NDP government in 1975 launched the most massive strikebreaking assault in the province's

Vancouver...

(continued from page 12)

East Indian shopkeepers posted the leaflet in their windows. Students at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and Langara Community College took stacks to distribute.

The Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers voted unanimously to endorse the TL/PDC call, issuing a leaflet calling for labor/minority mobilization, and sent a capable squad of union members to the demonstration. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 500 put out their own leaflet as well, which was posted all over the waterfront, calling on longshoremen to go "All Out to Stop the Fascists" and "Join the Trotskyist League/Partisan Defense Committee Contingent!" (while repeating the Labour Council tops' plea that the government stop Metzger). A solid crew of longshoremen turned out, as did truckers and tugboat workers from two locals of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Union. Saying they came "to make a point here," one union official expressed the widespread determination to make short shrift of the Nazis: "We'll stop them if they show."

Other labor contingents came from International Woodworkers of America-Canada Local 1-357, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Some of these workers joined the TL/PDC contingent, supplying the main body of our marshals squad.

Official trade-union banners were everywhere to be seen outside the Art

Gallery on Friday night. People from the city's Japanese, Chinese, black, Iranian and other communities were there, as well as women's groups and gays, and a Jewish peace group carried a sign in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The prospect of having to face a united front of organized labor, minorities and other anti-fascists sent the Nazis scurrying to find a new meeting site at a planetarium a couple of miles away. Tony McAleer, the would-be führer of Canadian Liberty Net, and a few skinheads strutted around for the bourgeois media and bragged about how they were going ahead with their "secret meeting."

At the Art Gallery, the BCOFR and others wanted to contain opposition to the fascists by trying to lull the crowd with music and insipid "love thy neighbor" speechifying—including in their roster a Tory MP who spoke as the representative of the racist, labor-hating federal Conservative government! The New Democratic Party loyalists of the BCOFR *never* intended to mobilize the battalions of labor to crush the fascists. They refused to call for union contingents, and at a January 19 Labour Council meeting BCOFR spokesman Paul Gill explicitly opposed going after the Nazis if they dared show their faces in the vicinity of the Art Gallery.

Although the BCOFR rally was designed to head off any genuine mobilization to stop the fascists, militant and serious unionists representative of the powerful BC labor movement meant business, and they kept the fascists out. Trotskyist League spokesman Oliver Stephens was widely applauded when he said from the rally podium:

"The fascists want to destroy us and ours! They want to split us apart, to open us up for attack, to poison any kind of integrated struggle, like winning strikes. They are the shock troops of the racist ruling class. They

Statements of Solidarity with Anti-Nazi Four

The Undigested Past of Fascism Is the Present of the Fourth Reich

As a German soldier in World War II, Ernst Duschinski went over to the side of the Red Army to fight against the Nazi scourge. In the late 1950s, he was imprisoned by the West German state for being a member of the banned Communist Party.

To the KfsV

Dear Friends:

This morning I gratefully received your letter with the flyer, "Defend the Anti-Fascists of the Brandenburg Gate: We Ripped Down the Nazi Flag!"

My agreement in our phone conversation yesterday evening has thus been overtaken by events. I couldn't have written anything different from what was in the flyer.

Only this much: my sympathy and concern for the four anti-fascists who put an end to the base provocation!

One is, after all, used to a fair bit of megalomania and perversion of justice by West Berlin (in)justice and it would be good to chase these people away as quickly as possible! But the arguments they dragged in to haul the four anti-fascists into court really fill the cup to overflowing!

And this much more: I was born in 1921 and I well recall what disasters fascism and German monopoly capital caused: from the raucous brownshirt hordes who passed through the Brandenburg Gate on 30 January 1933 (almost 60 years ago!) down to the end of the Second World War with 50 million dead. The Soviet Union bore the main burden of this war, and Soviet Sergeant Kontariya and his comrades were able to place the Red Flag of victory atop the Berlin Reichstag not far from the Brandenburg Gate. In doing so, they freed the German people from fascism and

history. The social democrats serve as the labor lieutenants of capitalist class rule—"left" guardians of the decaying system that breeds fascist terrorists. In the course of class struggle, the NDP must be split, its working-class base won to a revolutionary party.

While small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeoisie will finance the fascist killers and grease their rise to power in order to smash the workers organizations. Without revolutionary leadership the working class of Europe paid a terrible price, as the Nazi Holocaust devoured tens of millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, leftists and others. As the TL leaflet concluded:

"Unionists, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the fascists stand for are looking for a way to fight back against a system that has condemned them to poverty, degradation, homelessness, broken unions and broken lives. A genuine class-struggle mobilization to stop the fascists of 'Canadian Liberty Net' would give a taste of the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist bosses which finds its degenerate expression in Metzger's Nazi-lovers, and bring to power the working people who built all the wealth of this country."

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extended their hands to us for a new beginning! What the top dogs in the later Federal Republic of Germany made of this is well known: the undigested past of fascism is the present of the Fourth Reich. This is also demonstrated by the provocation with the swastika flag in West Berlin!

Note as well: people of our generation bore the main burden of the fascist war. We survivors were used up in the factories by the West German "economic miracle." Hence the great number of people on early retirement! I know whereof I speak: so never again fascism, no matter what forms it assumes! Never again war! Let us ward it off jointly, there's not much more time!

I wish all of you a good 1993, that won't give us anything for nothing!

With socialist greetings!

Ernst Duschinski

Kiel, 30 December 1992

Are Victims Again to Be Seen as Criminals?

Eva Brück is a writer and representative of the East Berlin Jewish Women's Group who fled the Nazi Holocaust with her parents.

Four Germans from the East and West are to be condemned because they "illegally" destroyed... "art objects."

What were these "art objects"?

What they were was a large swastika flag exhibited in a flag installation at Pariser Platz in the summer of this year.

Not only the people who are now being brought up on charges but also many passers-by were outraged at this "shocking diversion into history" (see *Berliner Zeitung*, 29 May 1992).

One asks himself, who should really be standing trial: those who have bitter memories of the time 50 years ago, when they themselves and many others were unjustly hauled into court, when they were chased from house and home, and murdered—or those who placed the swastika as symbol of their inhuman tyranny on their insignia and flags?

This is just the way things started a half century ago: anyone who courageously expressed an opinion displeasing to the Nazis or acted against

their wishes was ostracized, fired from his job, robbed of his property and often murdered. Then the condemned were called "kikes, red swine, vandals," etc.; today undesirable elements are stamped "former Stasi agents"—whether they in fact were or not (see Prof. Fink, Stolpe...) and then discriminated against; exposed, without any rights, to "justice" that is neither "based on the rule of law" nor—much less—"democratic."

Then a Senator Ehrhard simply asserts that the witnesses exonerating Prof. Fink were "not believable"—and his dismissal as rector of Humboldt University, Berlin, already repeatedly proved to be unlawful, had to proceed, without argument. Just like that. And swastika flags may be publicly exhibited as "art objects" in the center of Berlin, but outraged democrats and opponents of the Nazis that remove them are to be placed on trial!

Fifty years ago the public kept silent. They kept silent as the Nazis worked human beings to death, insulted them, beat them up before everyone's eyes. They kept silent as six million Jews were driven into the ovens in Auschwitz. They kept silent when the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto rose up in their last, unequal battle.

And today, 50 years after the Holocaust, opponents of the Nazis are to be condemned by a German court, while a swastika flag is declared to be an "art object."

Is history going to repeat itself?

Eva Brück

Berlin, 30 December 1992

Never Again Fascism! Down with Swastikas!

Karl Kielhorn is a member of the PDS who, with Gerhard Bögelein, was put on trial last year on charges that in 1947 they executed a Nazi military judge who had sent hundreds to their deaths under the Third Reich. Kielhorn was released, but Bögelein was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The order for my arrest, dated 4 June 1940 (IVc2 Haft Nr. 2503/1273/40g.), signed by Heydrich, bears the seal of the Gestapo with the cursed swastika eagle.

My via dolorosa through concentration camp and penal battalion was

accompanied by swastika flags.

And then in the midst of Berlin, where 60 years ago the brown SA columns marched with torches and swastika flags through the Brandenburg Gate, a gigantic swastika flag is hung up.

I understand the righteous anger of the four young people who pulled down and burned this flag. Toralf Endruweit and his three comrades are now supposed to answer for this as defendants in February 1993 at the Tiergarten District Court.

With this statement I raise my protest!

The only swastika that I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with a child on his arm, which stands atop the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park.

Karl Kielhorn, PDS

Member of the Presidium of the Dachau Camp Association
Berlin, 7 January 1993

What Happened to Justice?

Atiye Eksi is the mother of a Turkish youth whose murder by fascists a year ago sparked mass protests.

Displaying a swastika flag is not permitted; in another sense, it cannot be allowed to wave as a work of art.

All Nazi flags are an expression of inhumanity. They are a violation of the dignity of humanity. They serve to incite racial hate.

My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet been placed on trial. They were set at liberty.

But those who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany not yet overcome that period? Every day foreigners, hostels for asylum-seekers, apartment houses for immigrants are set on fire. People of different skin color are injured and killed. But the murderers are either not punished or get very mild punishments.

I ask you, where is justice!!!

The mother of Mete Eksi,

Atiye Eksi

6 January 1993

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
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Elections...

(continued from page 2)

imperialist Cold War line amongst Australia's neo-colonies in the Pacific.

The Labor government participated in the Gulf War slaughter of 150,000 Iraqis in 1990 and joined in every imperialist venture from Namibia in 1989 to Somalia this year. In 1990 Canberra fronted for an imperialist plan that sent troops to Cambodia to oversee the return of colonial exploitation and target the Vietnamese Revolution whilst acting the regional strongman, militarily planning and aiding the brutal and murderous blockade of Bougainville.

Labor's Loyal Left Flunkeys

As Trotsky points out in the *Transitional Program*:

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

In 1983 we uniquely said: "No vote to Labor's program of Cold War, racism and social contract" pointing to the need for a political break with the Labor

traitors through the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party (see *Australasian Spartacist*, No 100 February/March). In contrast the entire gamut of fake-left groups have been loyal camp followers of Cold War Labor. The Socialist Workers Party (now Democratic Socialist Party—DSP) regularly called for "a Labor government with socialist policies." The Socialist Labour League (SLL) urged the Labor "left" to "expel the Hawke/Keating right wing" and fight for (you guessed it) a "Labor government with socialist policies." The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) simply support the ALP, full stop.

The fake-left's class treachery was sealed on the altar of the imperialist drive to smash the Soviet workers state. Along with Hawke and Keating they cheered "solidarity with Solidarność," denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and supported Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades. Their role was to provide imperialist-backed counterrevolution a "democratic," even "socialist" cover. From Berlin to Moscow, we Trotskyists of the ICL have fought tooth and nail against ascendant counterrevolution. We say: Stalinism is dead, but Communism lives—in the class struggle of the world proletariat and in the program of the revolutionary vanguard!

With Keating widely despised by the working class the fake-left have variously decided to adopt an anti-Keating posture. The DSP now calls for a "third

party," cheering on bourgeois ex-Democrat senator Janet Powell. Last year the sinister political bandits of the SLL were calling on the Labor "lefts" like Gerry Hand to lead a workers government! Now they dismiss the ALP as a "corporatist agency of capitalism" (*Workers News*, 5 February) and call unions "bankrupt organisations." The consequence of this line was shown last year when the SLL denounced the 10 November strike as a "total fraud"—an open invitation to scab! For all their posture the ISO, DSP and others are indissolubly tied to the Laborite bureaucracy. Today they are busy advising Halfpenny about how best to mount the "anti-Kennett campaign." But they oppose the fight to smash Arbitration and bury all the union-busters from Kennett to Keating!

What is urgently necessary is the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the working class as the tribune of all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle for workers power, a workers state. The 1917 October Revolution showed the way out of capitalist chaos. What "failed" in the Soviet Union was not communism, but the Stalinist bureaucratic antithesis of proletarian internationalism. Only workers rule across the globe can avert a catastrophe for humanity and lay the foundations for a decent future and material plenty in a socialist world. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■



Vancouver Union/Minority Mobilisation

3,000 Drive Off Fascist Skinheads



Spartacist Canada photos

VANCOUVER—The Nazis of “Canadian Liberty Net” and their gang of skinhead punks were put on the run here Friday night, January 22. The Hitler-lovers had boasted they were going to rally in front of the Vancouver Art Gallery at 7 pm, and organize a “secret meeting” to “welcome” infamous American Nazi Tom Metzger. What happened instead was no secret. The Nazis’ intended site was occupied by 3,000 anti-racist protesters—organized contingents of trade unionists, youth, minorities, gays and other opponents of fascist terror.

When word ran through the crowd, as the rally was winding down, that skinheads had been sighted at the Century Plaza Hotel, hundreds took to the streets, joining with the Trotskyist League of Canada and Partisan Defense Committee in chanting, “Stop the Nazis, this is the hour! Labor, minorities have the power!” As the 500 marchers neared the hotel, the handful of fascists cowered in a side alley. Pursued by the demonstrators, the Nazis jumped walls,



Unionists, minorities, students massed at Vancouver Art Gallery. Spartacists had called for massive labour-based mobilisation to stop the fascists.

scrambled over fences and fled into the darkness.

“This was a victory,” PDC spokesman Miriam Scribner declared. “What happened tonight was a vindication of our call for a mass union-centered mobilization to sweep the fascists from the streets.” After the two-bit Hitlers fled,

the TL led part of the crowd downtown to a victory party, chanting “Off with the hoods! Off with the sheets! We drove the fascists from the streets!”

The *Vancouver Sun* headlined “White Supremacist Skinheads Flee Hotel,” reporting: “As thousands of anti-racists demonstrated outside the Century Plaza

Hotel, a small group of white supremacist skinheads escaped like terrified prey out a side entrance.” The cops took their revenge by arresting two anti-fascist protesters, threatening them with charges including “weapons” possession and wearing a mask! *Drop all charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!*

“All Out to Stop the Fascists”

The attempted “Liberty Net” rally was a deadly threat aimed at all labor and minorities in Vancouver. The race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of East Indian and Chinese Canadian families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. A Jewish synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. Metzger’s “White Aryan Resistance” skinheads brutally murdered an Ethiopian man in Oregon in 1988. Now the fascists announced a provocation at the Art Gallery, the traditional site for leftist and labor demonstrations in this city.

In response, the PDC, the legal and social defense organization associated with the Trotskyist League, issued an urgent appeal on January 11 to labor and minority organizations, calling for a “massive, disciplined display of labor power mobilizing minorities and all the fascists’ intended victims—when and where the fascists say they intend to be.... Stopping this Nazi provocation is a matter of basic survival.” This struck a real chord in Vancouver—a solid union town, with tens of thousands of East Indian and other Asian workers.

Two days later, the British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism (BCOFR) put out a press release calling for an “Anti-Racism Rally” at the Art Gallery to “Say no to W.A.R.” The BCOFR rally, endorsed by the Vancouver and District Labour Council tops, was not called to stop the Nazi terrorists, but billed only as an “alternative to the advertised visit” by Metzger.

Intent on assuring that outrage against fascist terror was not diverted into an impotent talkfest, TL and PDC supporters distributed 30,000 copies of a mobilizing leaflet, addressing trade-union meetings and immigrant communities across the city. “All Out to Stop the Fascists!” said the TL leaflet, insisting:

“Official union contingents, under their union banners, together with East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, Native Indians, Jews, gays and socialists, can see to it that this Nazi ‘rally’ never happens, and that these scum are swept off the streets.”

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Spartakist

23 June 1992: Our comrades rip down swastika flag near Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate.

Witchhunt Scandal in Germany

Spartakists on Trial for Tearing Down Nazi Flag

The following article is translated from Spartakist No 100 (January 1993), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On February 17, four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfSV) are to be put on trial at the Berlin-Tiergarten district court for “trespassing.” Their “crime”? On 23 June 1992 they removed a gigantic swastika flag that had been hanging since May near the Brandenburg Gate at the Galerie Pariser Platz [see

Workers Vanguard No 555, 10 July 1992]. By this act they put an end to an outrageous provocation that horrified thousands, constituting a direct slap in the face to the survivors of Nazi terror and all decent human beings.

The swastika is no “art object,” as it is described in the indictment of the four anti-fascists. As KfSV spokesman Werner Brand stated, “We won’t tolerate this! The swastika stands for the gruesome murder of
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