

Would-Be Czar Boris' Bloody Monday**Yeltsin Coup Serves Washington**

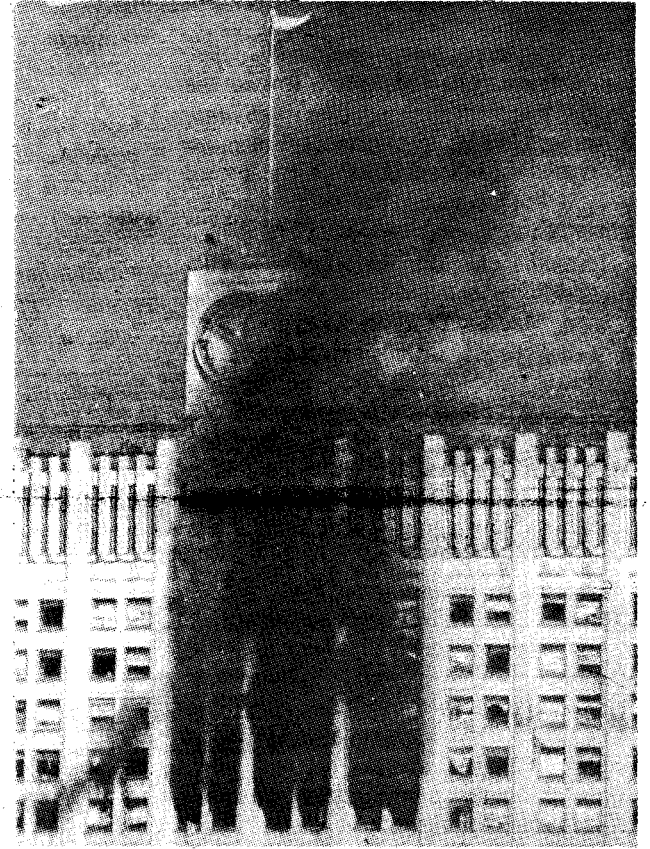
As flames leapt from the Russian parliament on Monday, October 4, the capitalist rulers from Washington to Bonn cheered on their man in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin. Hundreds have been killed and some 1,600 arrested as a state of siege was imposed on the Russian capital. Ten oppositional newspapers ranging from the so-called left to the nationalist right were banned, all other media are under strict censorship. All political organizations involved in demonstrations defending the parliament have been banned. Some Yeltsinite "democrats" are demanding a ban on all communist symbols such as the hammer and sickle. The smoke-charred "White House" and the blood in its corridors are the face of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union, the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917.

Just over two years ago, Yeltsin had stood outside the same building as he seized power from the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy which for decades ruled the Soviet degenerated workers state. This ushered in a period of counterrevolutionary chaos as the capitalist-restorationist regime, in the absence of working-class resistance,

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Boris Yeltsin, goaded by Clinton and IMF paymasters, ordered storming of Russian parliament.



Reuters

Wharfies' Struggle Could Ignite Class-Wide Fight**Smash Bosses'/ALP Government Union-Busting Offensive!**

Last autumn Keating's Labor government got itself re-elected by running a classic "lesser evil" campaign against John Hewson's Tories. The "barbarians were at the gate" warned Keating in the last days of the campaign and the working class did indeed—despite a decade of wage cutting, union busting and massive unemployment—reluctantly vote ALP. In his first major post-election speech Keating told the bosses' Miners Council of Australia that "industrial relations reform" was to be the centrepiece of his domestic agenda. He appointed fellow New South Wales ALP right-winger Laurie Brereton to the job; in August Treasurer John Dawkins delivered an austerity budget that was laser-like in targeting the living conditions of the working class while handing out massive tax breaks to the corporate heavies.

Within months, working-class discontent with the Labor government (as well as the State regimes—Liberal and Labor alike, now implementing Canberra's cuts) began to surface. Significantly, two of the big battalions of the Australian working class moved into action. In mid-September coal miners went out for four days to protect their jobs in New South Wales and Queensland. A week later, wharfies in the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) shut down ports nationally for four days in a fight against over three hundred compulsory redundancies demanded by Australian Stevedores (AS).

The miners were sent back with nothing by the chauvinist, protectionist misleaders around John Maitland of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) whose idea of waging "class struggle" boils down to

begging Keating to set up a National Coal Marketing Authority to prevent local coal bosses undercutting each other in their annual negotiations with the Japanese coal importers. Meanwhile, the wharfies with their historically militant workforce have long been seen by the bosses as the key test of Labor's capacity to deliver "labor market reforms." Under Hawke's 1989 Waterfront Industry Review Authority the union tops have given away over 4,000 jobs; since 1972 some 18,000 watersiders' jobs have been "negotiated" away by the union officials. As a result, wharfies have often been forced to work 16-hour shifts and the use of casual labour has become widespread.

When the MUA went out in September and cargo piled up on the docks, the Labor government came to the bosses' rescue. The MUA bureaucrats were

unable to stitch up a sell-out deal in the chambers of the Industrial Relations Commission (IRC), so ACTU head Kelly and Federal Transport Minister Collins offered to "mediate." This gave the Coombs' bureaucracy the breathing space it needed to quash the strike and gave the wharfies one big fat zero.

Wharfies: Draw the Line—Strike to Win!

During this breathing space the maritime bosses stepped up their offensive, provocatively sacking a delegate at Con-aust in Melbourne. In response, the wharfies there went out again. Coombs squelched sentiment for a port-wide shutdown at the mass meeting of AS wharfies on 5 November and sent the

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Baton-Wielding Cops Attack Arabic Day Carnival

Drop the Charges Against Victims of Racist Police Violence!

We print below the letter from the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) to the Minister for Police and Emergency Services and to Commissioner for Police Lauer protesting the 17 October racist police rampage against the Arabic Day Carnival in Sydney. It is an outrage that some ten youth face charges as a result of this cop riot and we demand the immediate dropping of all charges!

On 17 October, cops man-handling two young women on the scene were angrily confronted by other participants at the Carnival. The police rushed in reinforcements of some 100 police who charged into the crowd followed by mounted police and the dog squad, while cop choppers buzzed overhead. Men, women and children were terrorised as they tried to flee the wall of cops: one carnival organiser described how "old people and others pushing prams [were] just trying to get out to their cars so they could leave, but the police forced the crowd back on top of them" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October). For more than two hours sections of the crowd fought back against the vicious police onslaught.

Immediately the bourgeois media fuelled ugly anti-Arab, anti-immigrant racism. Murdoch's *Daily Telegraph Mirror* (19 October) railed against the "gang of louts who instigated the brawl," warning Arabic community leaders not to try to "offload the blame" onto the cops. Furthermore, it threatened that in the "social experiment of cultural pluralism," immigrant communities are "always in the spotlight."

The Arab community was "spotlighted" (i.e., targeted) for racist attack at the time of the Gulf War and the Hawke Labor government's hysterical "anti-terrorism" scare. Islamic mosques, cultural centres and schools were firebombed while attacks on Arab and other minority communities became grotesquely commonplace.

Immigrants and minorities know well the vicious racism of the armed thugs in blue who regularly terrorise Aboriginal people and who were recently exposed for their brutal beating of a Vietnamese man in Cabramatta in 1990. This time, however, the cops didn't have it all their own way: 16 police were injured and a dozen cop cars damaged. The Police Association seized the opportunity to push for beefing up its forces with the reintroduction of "riot control" squads equipped with water cannons on "stand-by." These squads are like the Tactical Response Group which in 1990 led NSW cops in a 2 a.m. rampage through the Redfern Aboriginal community, smashing down doors, holding guns to children's heads and terrorising the entire population. These are the squads re-

sponsible for David Gundy's grisly murder—his shooting death as he slept in his bed.

These acts of police terror must be stopped! It is the responsibility of the whole organised workers movement to defend against racist attack the immigrant and Aboriginal populations. Stop the victimisation of the Arab community! Drop the charges now!

28 October 1993

Commissioner of Police
NSW Police Commissioner's Office
PO Box 45
GPO Sydney 2001

Dear Mr. Lauer:

The Partisan Defence Committee strongly protests the racist police rampage against participants at the Arabic Day Carnival on 17 October in Tempe's Gough Whitlam Park, Sydney. Over 100 baton-wielding police from 60 vehicles, helicopters, the dog squad and mounted police were unleashed against the Arab men, women and children attending this event. Grotesquely, ten youth now face charges including that of assault on police and resisting arrest. *We demand that all the charges be dropped*

against these victims of racist police violence!

The police attack was carried out against an immigrant community which has been a special target of racist reaction particularly since the time of the imperialist slaughter of the Persian Gulf War. We note that the same Labor-run capitalist state which these police serve was itself responsible along with its U.S. allies for the slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqi people in 1991. Here, it is this same police force which has laid siege to the Aboriginal community of Redfern twice in the last five years. It is the same police force used against the picket lines of striking workers.

Behind the unleashing of such police violence against the Arabic Day Carnival is a chilling signal to all the exploited and oppressed: this is what's in store if you're deemed "out of line" in Keating's "One Australia." Already the cop rampage in Tempe has inflamed ugly anti-Arab racism. The Partisan Defence Committee stands in solidarity with those who sought to defend themselves from the brutal police assault on 17 October. We stand for mass, militant mobilisations of the multiracial working class in defence of all the oppressed against state terror and racist/fascist attack. The Partisan



Uwe Knessner

Sydney, 17 October: Carnival participant is wrestled to the ground during cop rampage at Arabic Day Carnival.

Defence Committee demands stop the victimisation of the Arab community. Drop the charges now!

Very truly yours,

Neil Flormirell

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

Hands Off Rosemarie Gillespie!

Smash the Blockade Against Bougainville People!

Rosemarie Gillespie's heroic efforts in defence of the Bougainville people against the bloody three-year, full-scale blockade of this tiny Pacific island has gained her the enmity of both the Australian government and its Papua New Guinea (PNG) neo-colony. On three occasions Gillespie has courageously and successfully defied the blockade, risking her life in order to deliver essential medical supplies, the lack of which has already resulted in the death of more than 5,000 Bougainvilleans including at least 2,000 children.

In an interview with *Australasian Spartacist* in mid-August, Gillespie spoke about the brutal effects of the blockade enforced by the Australian armed and backed PNG security forces and the accompanying military campaign in which hundreds of Bougainvilleans have been

Australian-supplied Iroquois helicopter; PNG terror campaign against Bougainville is armed and backed by Australia.



Pacific Islands Monthly

massacred, murdered and in some cases burnt alive in their homes by PNG soldiers. She related: "The PNG soldiers torture the villagers, they make tens of thousands of people homeless, they raid the villages at dawn. Anyone seen running into the bushes, men, women or children, are routinely shot at. If they get injured there's no antibiotics to treat them. They get infected and pustulant. And then they die from things like osteomyelitis.... This is happening now. It's horrific. The people are suffering terribly."

This suffering is made in Australia. The Federal Labor government spends millions of dollars annually funding the PNG government including some \$40 million a year in direct military aid—the supply of rifles, submachine guns, bullets, mortar bombs and the Iroquois helicopters flown by "Australian mercenaries." At stake for Australian

imperialism are its massively lucrative investments in the region and the stability of its PNG neo-colony. Central are the billion-dollar profits from the CRA-operated Panguna copper mine which was shut down in 1989 as a result of the guerrilla war waged by the nationalist Bougainville Revolutionary Army. Gillespie noted that: "At the moment the Papua New Guinea army is going hell for leather trying to take over the mine area because they're trying to force the mine open." She also explained: "Early last year when the landowners on the mainland at Mount Kare closed the CRA-owned gold mine...the Australian government sent a high powered delegation to Port Moresby including Senator Ray, the minister for defence, and Senator Evans, the minister for foreign affairs, to talk to the Papua New Guinea leaders. And

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Australasian SPARTACIST

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

Marxist journal of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).
EDITORIAL BOARD: Bonnie Bentley (editor), Neil Flannagan, Andrew Giannakis, Peter McLeod, P. Newman, Margaret Rodda
CIRCULATION: Jean McKay
PRODUCTION: P. Newman

Printed by trade union labour. Registered at GPO, Sydney for posting as a publication—Category B. Subscription \$3 for 4 issues; overseas airmail \$5 for 4 issues. Address all correspondence to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW, 2001. Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville.

Spartacist Banners Torn Down by THC Marshals, 6 October

Protest Violence Within the Workers Movement!

Australasian Spartacist reprints below our statement published in Melbourne on 25 October 1993 protesting the tearing down of our banners at the 6 October Trades Hall Council (THC)-organised protest against the Kennett state government by THC marshals. This statement has been distributed to individuals and organisations in the Victorian left and labour movement including job sites and union meetings of the maritime, building and public transport workers. We also print copies of two letters protesting this attack; one from the Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women and the other from Peter Allen, a delegate of the Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union. While predictably the bulk of the Laborite left refused to protest or even report the attack on us, the anarchist *Rebel Worker* (October 1993) was an exception. *Rebel Worker's* Jeremy Dixon noted: "The Spartacists are a small Trotskyist group whose several faults do not include shyness about telling the truth the way they see it."

On Wednesday, 6 October, Trades Hall Council (THC) Industrial Officer Brian Boyd directed a squad of marshals to physically attack the banners of the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). This attack took place at the Melbourne Treasury Gardens assembly site for the THC-called protest against the Kennett state government. The Spartacist banners torn down read: "From Kennett to Keating Bury the Union Busters! Break from Labor—Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!" and "Dump Halfpenny/THC/Labor Traitors! Workers, students and all the oppressed need a Bolshevik Party!" A sizeable contingent of police appeared and stood by during the attack which took place as well in full view of many protesters and was aired briefly on the SBS evening news that night.

We strongly protest and condemn this attempt by certain leading elements of the Trades Hall Council to silence Marxist political opponents of the Labor Party through physical force. Such tactics only serve to disarm and weaken the working class movement in the necessary struggle against the bosses and their state. The 6 October attack was a frontal assault on the principle of workers democracy which holds that disputes within the left and labour movement must not be settled by means of violence nor through appeals to the bourgeois state.



Asp photo

Spartacist League banner at 6 October protest in Melbourne after thug attack by THC marshals. We will not be silenced!

We call upon individuals and organisations within the workers movement to protest the anti-communist thuggery on 6 October and to defend the rights of all within the labour movement to raise their differing programs and strategies.

At the heart of the attack on our banners was the counterposition between the policies of the ALP leadership and the Laborite trade union officialdom and our own communist program. In the face of massive unemployment, union-busting, savage social service cuts and renewed racist reaction under the Labor government, the existing trade union leadership has acted as loyal lieutenants of capitalism—selling out strike after strike and seeking to channel workers' anger into parliamentary pressure tactics. The ALP tops and trade union bureaucracy chain the power of the organised working class to the bosses and their state through the Accord, Arbitration and the whole edifice of class-collaborationist traps.

In contrast, we in the Spartacist League fight for a hard class-struggle mobilisation against the capitalist offensive. We stand for the complete independence of the working class from the bourgeois state and say: Bury Arbitration! Smash the Accord! We oppose the ALP and ACTU leaders' "White Australia" protectionist poison as well as the Labor government's eager participation as junior jackal partners of the imperialist "New World Disorder" from

Bougainville to Somalia to Indochina. We seek to build a revolutionary workers party which can lead the working class in the fight for workers rule and the emancipation of all the exploited and oppressed from the barbarity and chaos of the capitalist system. We will continue to fight for the program of socialist revolution and for our right to raise it within the workers movement.

Statements of Support

4 November 1993

The Executive
Victorian Trades Hall Council
Lygon Street
Carlton South, Vic 3052

Dear Comrades

The Freedom Socialist and Radical Women deplore the actions of Trades Hall Council Marshals who tore down and destroyed Spartacist League banners at the 6 October "Spring Offensive" rally. This violent political censorship is damaging to the workers' movement and sets a dangerous precedent which cannot be tolerated.

You can hardly be surprised that the Trades Hall Council leadership is receiving criticism. The attacks have been brutal. Poorly organised 'do your own thing' protest actions where the majority of workers are not called out by their

unions, promotion of a naive faith in Federal Awards and speeches which tell us that the real 'fight' is getting ready to exercise a vote for the uninspiring pro-capitalist Brumby team in three years time is not surprisingly making many working people furious and hungry for alternatives.

You won't stamp out working people's desire for answers through thuggery and censorship of dissenters and critics. Debate your critics openly and honestly. Stop hiding behind tactics such as the all too commonly used undemocratic meeting procedure and the blatant outrage committed in the name of Trades Hall on October 6.

The Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women have very real political differences with the Spartacist League but unreservedly defend their right to carry the banners they choose. We raise our differences through debate. We also know that if Trades Hall Marshals can get away with tearing down SL banners this time it may be our own Marxist Feminist slogans which are censored next time.

The incident which took place on 6 October must never be repeated!

Yours sincerely

Alison Thorne
Freedom Socialist Party Organiser

Debbie Brennan
Radical Women Organiser
cc: Spartacist League

Mr J Halfpenny
Secretary - Trades Hall Council

Dear sir

Reports are circulating that your Mr Brian Boyd was involved in the destruction of placards belonging to the Spartacist League at the anti-Kennett rally on 6 October 1993.

Surely it's none of Mr Boyd's business what the Spartacist League or anyone else chooses to inscribe on their placards.

I would have thought that in these days of diminished leftwing opinion, there is ample scope for differing opinions to be expressed. It doesn't do the labour movement any good to complain about Kennett's undemocratic behaviour while paid officials of Trades Hall take upon themselves to act as political censors.

Yours faithfully

Peter Ellett
LHMU member
9-11-93

cc: Spartacist League

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No. 19

Spring/Summer 1993
(Northern)

Publication of the U.S.
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Melbourne Spartacist League Class Series

The Struggle to Build a World Party of Socialist Revolution

- **Fight Racist Terror Through Union/Minority Action!** Thursday 25 Nov. 5p.m.
(This class includes video showing of the successful mobilisation that defeated a Ku Klux Klan provocation in Philadelphia, USA)
- **The 1917 Russian Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power** Saturday 4 Dec. 2p.m.
- **Why Trotskyists Defended the USSR. Stalinism is Dead — For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!** Saturday 11 Dec. 2p.m.
- **For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!** Saturday 18 Dec. 2p.m.

Venue: Undergraduate Lounge A, 2nd floor, Union Bldg, Melbourne Uni.

For more information contact the Spartacist League: (03) 654 4315.

Tens of Thousands March to Stop BNP Fascists

London Cops Protect Fascists Against Anti-Racist Protesters

OCTOBER 18—More than 50,000 people marched through southeast London two days ago in the largest anti-fascist demonstration in Britain in two decades. As protesters attempted to follow the march route to the fascist British National Party (BNP) headquarters, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way, wading into the crowds with batons flailing and following up with charges by police on horseback. Dozens of marchers were taken to hospitals with blood streaming from their heads. But for two hours, outraged anti-fascist militants stood their ground against the racist thugs in blue, forcing the cops to pull back several times under a hail of sticks, rocks, bricks and paving stones. Police dragged off 31 of the anti-fascist protesters.

Just four weeks earlier, on September 19, hundreds of anti-racist protesters succeeded in breaking through a police cordon in the East End's Brick Lane to land some solid blows against a handful of the BNP scum. The BNP's race-hate "newspapers" and a huge Union Jack were ripped out of their hands and burned. The fascists were pelted with rotten fruit, eggs and bottles, leaving several of the would-be Hitlers sprawled on the pavement. This militant rout of the fascists, largely organized by the Anti Nazi League (ANL) and Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE), marked the first time in 15 years that the BNP thugs had not been able to stage weekly race-hate provocations there.

Following this victory, the vindictive cops arrested 23 of the anti-racist youth. Earlier, on September 10, nine Bengali youth were arrested as cops attacked a vigil outside the Tower Hamlets hospital where 17-year-old Quaddus Ali lies in a coma after a murderous assault by racist thugs. And in the aftermath of October 16, the police are threatening even more arrests on the basis of videotape IDs of demonstrators. The Spartacist League/Britain and Partisan Defence Committee demand that all charges against all the anti-fascist fighters be dropped immediately!

The day before the October 16 march, the area had been placed under a virtual state of siege. Police invoked the Public Order Act to overrule the march route past BNP headquarters announced weeks earlier by the ANL and YRE protest organizers. On Saturday, thousands of cops lined the march route and side streets, blocking off all streets within a half mile of the BNP headquarters, where a handful of fascists sat cowering behind steel doors. As ANL organizers "negotiated" over allowing a token delegation through the police blockade, angry protesters tore down a brick wall to arm themselves against the cop onslaught. Demonstrators chanted, "Police protect the fascists!"

In the weeks leading up to the march, the Spartacists fought against suicidal illusions in the bourgeois state being pushed by the reformist ANL/YRE organizers. A September 26 SL/B leaflet raised the call: "The Trade Unions, Minorities and the Left Must Mobilise by the Thousands: Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" Raising the slogan "Remember Cable Street!" the leaflet evoked the memory of a 1936 mobilization by hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them Jewish, which stopped an

attempted fascist march through the East End.

SL/B supporters fought for this perspective, including at a September 28 meeting called by the YRE and the local Tower Hamlets Trades Council. On October 16, the Spartacist League and supporters marched behind the banner, "Not Wretched Appeals to the Capitalist State! For Trade Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascists!"

Mass Outrage Over Fascist Terror

The huge outpouring on October 16 reflected widespread outrage throughout the country over the deadly rise in fascist terror, including the murder of black student Stephen Lawrence in April. When the BNP scored an electoral victory in winning a seat to the local Tower Hamlets council only days after the near-murder by racist thugs of Bangladeshi youth Ali on September 8, Asian youth took to the streets under the slogan, "Self-defence is no offence!"

The sentiment for powerful labor-centered mobilizations to stop the racist terrorists was revealed in a number of symbolic actions by sections of the working class. Tower Hamlets public employees staged a half-day political strike against the BNP, British Telecom phoneworkers voted to pull the plug on the BNP headquarters in nearby Bexley and a number of other unions endorsed anti-fascist demonstrations, including a September 26 protest that brought out some 2,000 people in Brick Lane. The Spartacist leaflet for that demonstration, later reprinted in a special *Workers Hammer* supplement of which 9,000 copies



Workers Hammer

London, October 16—Riot police attack anti-racist militants.

were distributed to the October 16 march, spelled out what's needed:

"Now is the time to drive the fascists off the streets, out of the minority areas! Avenge Quaddus Ali and every victim of racist terror! We want to see serious, lasting victories in the fight against fascism. Weld the militancy of the youth to the power of the organised working class, black, white and Asian, and deal a decisive blow against the BNP!...

"The BNP can be stopped in its tracks. We are not talking about weak-kneed protests, and we are not talking about courageous street fights pitting a few tens or hundreds of leftists and youth against the fascist

thugs. We are talking about determined mass actions. The labour movement in this country is still strong and well-organised, despite the defeats of the last years. It must get off its knees and start to struggle, as a class! Defend and steward anti-fascist meetings and marches with disciplined trade union defence guards: it is time the fascists went in fear!"

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Yet while there was a sprinkling of public employee banners at the October 6 march, the trade unions did not mobilize for a display of social power which would have taught the BNP fascists a lesson and made the cops think twice before attacking the demonstrators. The Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) tops instead threw their efforts into a deliberately diversionary "Anti-Racist Alliance" rally—which attracted barely 3,000 people—miles from the BNP's terror nest. And the reformist YRE and ANL organizers had neither a perspective nor a strategy for mobilizing the heavy battalions of the working class, because they refuse to take up a sharp fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who hold back and strangle the labor movement.

For months, the ANL has been pouring all its energies into vapid pleas to the Bexley council Conservatives—who appeal to the same racist constituency as the fascists—to shut down the BNP headquarters. Under immense pressure from thousands of young people who want to clean out the fascists, the ANL and YRE leaders talked out of both sides of their mouths, calling for militant action against the BNP while pleading with or petitioning the capitalist state. On the one hand, the chief political force behind the YRE, the *Militant* (8 October) of Peter Taaffe, declared: "Militant Labour does not depend on or want the state to ban the BNP." Yet a week later, the *Militant* wrote, "we do campaign for local authorities to refuse to allow their premises for meetings and to use local planning regulations to close down the BNP bunkers." In similar fashion, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which dominates the ANL, stated: "We cannot

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Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain contingent at October 16 anti-fascist mobilization. SL/B leaflet called for fighting strategy to stop BNP racist terrorists.

WORKERS HAMMER

Remember Cable Street!

The trade unions, minorities and the left must mobilise by the thousands: drive the fascists off the streets!

We reprint below a Spartacist League leaflet dated 26 September 1993. The anti-racist youth of this country have had enough! They have pointed a way forward. We salute the militant action of last Sunday in Brick Lane, largely organised by Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) and the Anti Nazi League (ANL). Some British National Party (BNP) scum, including their leaders, ended up on the pavement in a humiliated heap. After their murderous rampages in the East End, and their fate of Dogs election victory, the BNP got the least they deserve, and every decent person cheered at the sight of it. The police who

have pushed down everyone's throats for so long. Reject their appeals to the capitalist courts and cops and councils! Reject their lobbies to "reform" the racist Liberal Democrats who run Tower Hamlets! Don't lobby the Home Office! Don't appeal for justice to the sell-out Labour Party! The Labour reformist leaders are the enemies of serious action against the fascists. We need a class-struggle leadership, which will mobilise the strength of the working class and the oppressed, in action, on the road to workers power! The Public Order Act, enacted after Cable Street, was removed to be a law against the fascists—the

Yeltsin Coup...

(continued from page 1)

managed to cohere a bourgeois state apparatus, although weak and fragile. At the same time, the capitalist-restorationist forces split into bitterly hostile factions, headed by the Yeltsin presidency and the Russian parliament presided over by Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov. By destroying the parliament, Yeltsin has also taken aim at the layers of ex-Soviet bureaucrats in regional councils around the country. A bloody curtain has now been drawn on the initial, "democratic" phase of the counterrevolution.

The tank shells slamming into the "White House" on the morning of October 4 were the opening shots of a bonapartist regime aimed at brutally suppressing any kind of resistance to "free market" immiseration. For months, Western capitals and the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have been pushing Yeltsin to clear out the obstacles to deepening the economic "shock treatment," whose next stage is mass layoffs of millions of workers and devastation of industry. Two days before Yeltsin decreed the dissolution of the parliament on September 21, the IMF put a scheduled \$1.5 billion loan to Russia on hold until the government carried out promised economic "reforms." The U.S. threw its full backing behind Yeltsin's coup. Hours before the military assault on the parliament, the view from Washington, according to an ABC-TV correspondent, was that they would "be quite happy" to see Yeltsin "break a few eggs to make this omelet."

Only hours after arresting Rutskoi and Khasbulatov, the Kremlin issued decrees vastly expanding the state of emergency. Security forces were authorized to conduct searches without court warrants and to set up checkpoints on main roads and at transportation facilities. Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov said the capital would be "cleansed" of "undesirables." Hundreds of supporters of parliament were detained in a sports stadium in Krasnaya Presnya district. The banned groups range from various "Communist" parties to the "left-right" National Salvation Front and the fascistic Russian National Sobor. The outlawed papers range from the chauvinist *Sovietskaya Rossia* and the virulently anti-Semitic *Den to Pravda*, formerly the premier organ in the Soviet Union and now connected to the Communist Party-Russian Federation, which was established in February of this year as a claimant to the legacy of the old CPSU.

A racist hysteria has been whipped up against darker-skinned people from Central Asia and the Caucasus, who are reviled by Russian racists as "blacks" and turned into scapegoats for the astronomical rise in street crime which has accompanied the restoration of capitalism. Moscow authorities seized on the state of siege to launch a pogromist dragnet, officially expelling over 7,500 non-Slavic people and terrorizing many thousands more into leaving in the space of two weeks. Police have indiscriminately broken into hotels and apartments and ransacked street markets which are predominantly run by Central Asians and Caucasians, beating people, stealing their possessions and dragging the victims off to be loaded onto trains and planes out of the city.

Rutskoi/Khasbulatov and the fascist-infested "red-brown" coalition that supported them are no less hostile to the working class than is Yeltsin. But, as we wrote last March, when the squabbling capitalist-restorationist factions were heading for a showdown: "The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship" ("Dogfight in Moscow," *Workers Vanguard* No. 572, 26 March). Today the already widespread fear and distrust of would-be czar Boris has been enormously intensified. Even Western

correspondents report overwhelming popular hostility to Yeltsin's "bloody Monday" massacre. The urgent and immediate task of the working class and its allies is to prevent Yeltsin, in the wake of this coup, from consolidating an effective police state. Class-conscious workers must demand an immediate end to the state of siege, to the censorship, to the ban on political parties, and call for the immediate release of all anti-Yeltsin prisoners.

A massive anti-communist witchhunt is now under way. In the longer term, the real purpose of Yeltsin's coup is to ward off the spectre of working-class resistance to the ravages of capitalist restoration. Watching the results of the September 19 Polish elections—where a population fed up with three years of capitalist "shock therapy" threw out the IMF-backed Solidarność parties and handed a resounding victory to the former Stalinists—the imperialists were worried at the prospect of the "Polish scenario" spreading to Russia.

Today, Yeltsin is firmly in the saddle in Moscow. Whether or not elections for a new rubber-stamp "legislature" take place as scheduled in December, and even if they are combined with a presidential vote, today's masters of the Kremlin and their imperialist backers are intent on riding roughshod over any political opposition and imposing dictatorial rule. In our article, "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (*WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992), we warned: "For Yeltsin and other restorationists to nail down a solid capitalist regime, sooner rather than later a bloody reckoning is likely, signaling to the masses that there is a new order."

But as they carry out their draconian economic program, and Russia's far-flung regions flagrantly disregard Moscow's writ, there will be continued turmoil. The Russian bourgeois state remains weak and fragmented, a stable capitalist class has yet to be congealed and the ever-deepening immiseration of the working people can well lead to explosions of class struggle in the coming period. The overriding necessity for the multinational Soviet proletariat lies in forging the nucleus of an internationalist vanguard party, which fights for socialist revolution to sweep away Yeltsin and all the would-be exploiters.

Split in the Counterrevolutionary Camp

The Western media describes the anti-Yeltsin forces centered on the Russian parliament as a "hard-line," "conservative" opposition to "free market reforms" who somehow want to restore the old Soviet system. In his speech announcing the storming of parliament Yeltsin railed that the forces opposing his *diktat* were "Communists seeking revenge," and that "Those waving red flags have once again

Aleksandr Rutskoi (left), former Yeltsin ally turned rival, was key player in capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR. In Yeltsin's August 1991 counter-coup, Rutskoi organized defense of Moscow's "White House."



covered Russia with blood." In reality, Rutskoi and Khasbulatov were once key Yeltsin supporters, standing shoulder to shoulder with him on the White House barricades in August 1991 as he seized power following the botched Kremlin coup.

Since then, however, the forces of capitalist counterrevolution have divided into two rival camps, though their differences are by no means irreconcilable. While personally a total opportunist, Yeltsin has taken on the role as the main agent of Western imperialism in transforming Russia into a subservient neocolony of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Rutskoi and Khasbulatov put themselves forward as spokesmen for more nationalistic forces, occasionally demagogically denouncing the IMF and Western capitals for seeking to degrade and impoverish Russia. They wanted to appeal to elements in the military, who chafed at seeing the one-time global superpower turning into a neocolonial vassal of the West; and to the corporatist faction of industrial managers, who didn't want to see their plants shut down on the altar of IMF monetarism.

So why didn't the parliamentary opposition succeed in rallying support from either the officer corps or the industrialists? And given the increasingly desperate economic straits of the masses, why was there no popular outpouring of opposition to Yeltsin's presidential coup? To answer these questions we must look at the various contending forces in post-Soviet Russia.

The nationalist-corporatist faction of the nascent Russian capitalist class, whose chief political representative is Civic Union leader Arkady Volsky, seeks to maintain the core of the existing industrial structure. Given the non-profitability in the world capitalist market of the giant enterprises built to function in a centrally planned Soviet-wide economy, the only way to presently keep them afloat is by massive subsidies from the central bank, leading to a hyperinflationary budget deficit. For the

last couple of years, Volsky & Co. have been engaged in a tug of war with the "shock treatment" economists represented by Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's former prime minister. Using the parliament as a battering ram against the president, they put in one of their own, Viktor Gerashchenko, as head of the central bank, and achieved a momentary victory by forcing Yeltsin to dump Gaidar last December.

The present political showdown began when Yeltsin, under pressure from international financiers, named Gaidar first deputy prime minister a few days before decreeing the dissolution of parliament. A former chief economist of the World Bank, Stanley Fischer, observed: "The IMF's tough stance in recent weeks has had a positive effect because it has helped persuade Yeltsin that it was time to act, both in getting back Gaidar and confronting his opposition in parliament" (*Financial Times*, 23 September). Moreover, immediately upon dissolving the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's first military move was to surround the central bank with troops and take it over. One would think that Volsky & Co. would have strongly supported the parliamentary opposition. Instead, the corporatists pushed for a compromise solution, to combine parliamentary and presidential elections, and ended up in Yeltsin's camp. Why?

As capitalist forces, in the first place the "industrialists party" requires social and political stability. Volsky and his fellow managers know that even a "slowed-down" introduction of the market will produce massive unemployment and potentially explosive social unrest. Thus they have always sought a solid "united front" of the nascent bourgeoisie, and have been pushing for a bonapartist regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or Yeltsin or someone else. But when parliament's defiance of Yeltsin was taken to the streets the weekend of October 2-3, threatening to ignite a civil war, this pushed Volsky & Co. from neutrality into Yeltsin's arms. Moreover, these well-versed businessmen are fully aware that they need massive infusions of Western cash even to maintain, much less modernize, Russian factories. The imperialists hold the dollars and D-marks, and Yeltsin is their man. But the imperialists are not irrevocably wedded to IMF-style monetarism, and might acquiesce to a more corporatist policy, particularly in light of the Polish elections:

Even more than looking to the industrialists, former air force general Rutskoi counted on support from the military. If anything, a significant section of the officer corps is undoubtedly more sympathetic to Rutskoi's brand of hard Russian nationalism than Yeltsin's subservient accommodation to the U.S. However, after Yeltsin's September 21 pronouncement to the military high command declared "strict political neutrality," which under the circumstances clearly favored Yeltsin.

But it was by no means given that the military would move to disperse the parliament. Senior generals had declared their reluctance to use the military, and many troops from Moscow had been sent out of the city to harvest potatoes and

SPARTACIST
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Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution

How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled

Homeless tent city in Moscow's Red Square.

For Socialist Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Counterrevolution!

August 1993
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Spartacist Pamphlet

\$2 (64 pages)

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keep them away from the political show-down. The military high command feared the prospect of a civil war which would lead to a split in the army and a total disintegration of the Russian state. This fear sharpened over the weekend, after the Kremlin issued an ultimatum that the parliament be cleared out by Monday. On Sunday, October 3, a protest of some 15,000 people organized by the "red-brown coalition" broke through police lines and armed Rutskoi supporters launched attacks on the Moscow mayor's office and the Ostankino television complex.

At a meeting of the collegium (council) of generals late Sunday evening, the top military leaders saw the spectre of division of the army. "Even so, the top council had lengthy deliberations before finally throwing its support wholeheartedly to Yeltsin," said military sources, according to the *Washington Post* (5 October). In the final analysis, the key was who controlled the payroll. A Reuters dispatch (4 October) by Carol Giacomo observed: "Senior U.S. officials have said the military backed Yeltsin because their leaders understand Khasbulatov and Rutskoi do not have any better answers than Yeltsin about the economy and realise Yeltsin has the support of the international community and thus access to financial aid."

"Red-Brown Coalition" Repels Working Class

The decisive factor conditioning the character and the outcome of the showdown between the Russian parliament and Yeltsin was the absence of the working class as an active force. Commenting on the prevailing mood on the streets of Moscow, the *Los Angeles Times* (23 September) remarked, "Suppose they had a



October 3: Anti-Yeltsin forces rolled over riot police, but pro-capitalist parliament leaders feared civil war and Western disapproval.

smashed through the thin lines of riot police, who offered little resistance, and some of whom went over to the demonstrators. The *New York Times* (4 October) was venomous in bemoaning the "relative ease with which Mr. Yeltsin's enemies were able to move through the police lines Sunday afternoon."

For almost two weeks there had been a stand-off between the rival capitalist-restorationist factions. The parliament was an impediment to the consolidation of power in Yeltsin's hands; his move against it was taken in the service of imperialism. What was called for was a mobilisation of the working class against Yeltsin's bonapartist moves, beginning with his September 21 dissolution of parliament. With the fight taken to the

point, for both wings feared the spectre of civil war.

For all their red flags the Stalinist "patriots" are tightly bound to the monarchist/fascist scum and act as lackeys for the corporatist wing of the fledgling bourgeoisie. They are hostile to the independent mobilization of the working class, opposing every strike, from the air controllers last year to the recent Ukrainian miners strike. Their crude mix of Russian chauvinism, virulent anti-Semitism and racism against minorities from the Caucasus and elsewhere has made them despised by all but the most backward, lumpenized elements of the working class.

The ex-Stalinist official "union" federation, the FNPR, is part and parcel of the corporatist faction and a constituent element of Volsky's Civic Union. The newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna*, one of those banned by Yeltsin, was jointly published by the FNPR "unions" and the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. At the beginning of the two-week standoff, the FNPR made some noises about considering strikes to defend democratic institutions, but following Volsky's tack, on the morning of October 4, they issued a call for pro-Yeltsin "law and order." A spokesman for the paper protested its banning by pointing out: "This newspaper has done its best to keep workers off the streets" (*Financial Times*, 6 October).

Given the passivity of the working class, acquiescence to the West has fundamentally conditioned the outcome of power struggles among the Moscow ruling elite since the post-Brezhnev years, consistently tilting the balance in favor of those forces who are more pro-Western, and more acceptable to the West. Thus in 1987 Gorbachev came out on top of his "hardline" opponent Yegor Ligachev, who was initially a principal architect of perestroika. The same was true in August 1991 when Yeltsin faced off against the "gang of eight," elements of the Gorbachev regime who sought a gradual transition to capitalism, carried out through the bureaucratic apparatus, while maintaining a unitary USSR. The same pattern prevailed in the last two weeks. At bottom, this is a by-product of Stalin's "socialism in one country," which denied the possibility of proletarian revolutions in the imperialist West and preached the pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence."

Post-Soviet Russia: Immiseration, Looting and Chaos

When Yeltsin took over the Kremlin and then announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late 1991, Western governments and the media proclaimed a new era of "democracy" and "free market" capitalism. The reality has been economic collapse and social chaos. The breakdown of social order has reached a point that deadly diseases like cholera and diphtheria have reappeared, especially in regions of the former USSR ravaged by ethnic blood feuds and civil war such

as the Caucasus and Central Asia. The *Washington Post* (20 August) summed up the condition of Russia after two years of capitalist counterrevolution:

"Unemployment looms as antiquated Soviet factories teeter on the edge of bankruptcy. Already, 4 out of 5 Russians are said to be living below the poverty level. Secessionist pressures are mounting inside Russia, while civil strife threatens its borders. A power struggle in Moscow has nearly paralyzed the government...."

Yeltsin now clearly has the whip hand in Moscow. But Moscow is not Russia. The economic chaos engendered by capitalist counterrevolution has unleashed disintegrative forces throughout society—political, social, economic and regional. Vast quantities of raw materials are being smuggled out of the country by black market "entrepreneurs"; the effective currency is the dollar, not the ruble; regional bureaucracies jealously husband their industrial and extractive resources for their own benefit with little regard to the central non-government.

This situation cannot continue indefinitely. Western imperialism demands counterrevolutionary order in Russia, not counterrevolutionary chaos. Putting the Russian capitalist house in order will mean first and foremost teaching the workers that capitalist exploitation functions on the twin threats of starvation and repression. As Yeltsin—or his successor—moves to crack the whip against the working class and national minorities, what is posed in the coming period is a series of defensive struggles against mass layoffs and against attacks on women's rights and further bonapartist measures. Out of these struggles will come a new layer of revolutionary fighters, proletarian internationalists, to provide the kernel for a Bolshevik party worthy of the name.

The task facing genuine communists in Russia is to wage an arduous propaganda struggle to overcome decades of Stalinist poison which atomized and paralyzed the Soviet working class, as it rooted out its revolutionary traditions and sapped even the most elementary class consciousness. The Russian revolutionary workers movement—out of which the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky was crystallized—was steeled through years of patient Marxist education, illegal organization and combative mass struggles, not only around the immediate economic interests of the working class but against all manifestations of tsarist autocracy and pogromism. Not for nothing did Lenin insist that the proletarian party must serve as a "tribune of the people." Only on the basis of the most deep-going proletarian internationalism could the workers of tsarist Russia and their Leninist vanguard strive to effect a socialist revolution in one of the most backward countries of Europe and bring together more than a hundred disparate nationalities in common class struggle.

The current generation of Soviet workers must now retrace the steps of their predecessors. As we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled":

"What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat."

The International Communist League fights to build a Soviet section of a reborn Fourth International. We demand: End the ban on all newspapers and organisations! Free all anti-Yeltsin political prisoners! Stop the racist dragnet against non-Russian minorities! Down with would-be Czar Boris, tool of the Western banks! For socialist revolution to sweep away all the new exploiters and the bloody starvation regime!

As revised by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League from *Workers Vanguard* No. 585, 8 October 1993.



Der Spiegel

Bodies piled up in front of Russian parliament as hundreds were killed in Yeltsin's "Bloody Monday" massacre.

coup and nobody cared?" The long-running feud between the Kremlin and the White House is generally (and rightly) regarded as a squabble between corrupt and cynical factions. Insofar as Rutskoi et al. are identified with any political line, it is extreme Russian nationalism, which is linked to reactionary social policies. For example, last summer the parliament proposed to outlaw the right of abortion, which was legal and free under the old Soviet system.

Among the militant defenders of the Russian parliament were a host of ostensibly communist groupings, including the RKR of Viktor Anpilov and ex-general Albert Makashov, who were key leaders in the streets, and the RPK of Anatoly Kryuchkov, who appeared at Rutskoi's side on the White House balcony. From the outset, these remnants of the petty-bourgeois Stalinist bureaucracy have supported the restoration of capitalism. When the crowd gathered at the Lenin statue in October Square and headed off toward the parliament on October 3, there were many red flags flying—along with the monarchist black, yellow and white banner. This time they forcefully

streets, the fragility of the weak capitalist state was underlined, but the working class saw neither side as fighting for its interests. Absent was a revolutionary vanguard, rooted in the proletariat, which could credibly have fought to independently mobilise the working class and its allies. What was called for in the fighting on October 3-4 was a *military bloc* with the Rutskoi/Khasbulatov forces in opposition to Yeltsin's moves to complete his August 1991 power grab and seal his victory in blood. If a significant split had developed in the military and state apparatus, it would have provided an opportunity for rallying the thus-far passive masses in opposition to the economic and social devastation being wrought by capitalist restoration. Such a military bloc would not entail an iota of political support nor would it preclude the possibility of quickly sweeping away these momentary allies against Yeltsin on the road to establishing organs of proletarian political power (i.e., soviets).

In the present confrontation, a massive outpouring of the working class would have shattered the existing political alignments. But the unrest did not reach that

Union-Busting...

(continued from page 1)

Conaust strikers back minus their delegate after four days. The union tops meanwhile announced to the IRC that they had wiped out over 230 more jobs. Union counsel Greg Combet "gave a detailed breakdown, port by port, of the target number of redundancies compared to the number who accepted voluntary redundancy.... He claimed the task of reducing the company's costs has been 80 per cent completed" (*Daily Commercial News*, 2 November).

Emboldened by this kowtowing, the AS bosses have gone for the jugular. It's not just more redundancies they're after: they want to gut the MUA. On 4 November AS told the union tops it would close down its Melbourne depot altogether. But at the mass meeting of AS watersiders in Melbourne the next day, *Coombs breathed not a word of this!*

In the face of a clear union-busting offensive by the AS and Conaust bosses, MUA bureaucrats responded *again* by promising to push for more "voluntary" redundancies. Crawling to the Labor government, they are kicking the wharfies in the teeth. Under the terms of an ACTU-AS agreement union officials will try to force a pay cut ("aggregate wage") on members and have promised to enforce a no-strike ban for one month. This betrayal can and must be militantly resisted by the MUA ranks! Wharf workers continue to occupy a strategic position in the Australian economy, which relies heavily on the shipping trade. Put the bosses up against the wall and shut the ports down! The combined weight of the entire union—seamen included—must be brought to bear in all-out strike action against the blood-sucking waterfront and shipping bosses now. Such a fight could spark broader workers struggles against Keating's union-busting austerity.

That the wharfies are now in the crosshairs of the bosses' and Labor government's union-busting drive is no accident. The history of the waterfront workers has been one of both militant

class action and concrete acts of internationalism. In the 1940s they took action in support of the independence struggle of the Indonesian masses; in the early 1970s wharfies banned military shipments in solidarity with the Vietnamese workers and peasants in their heroic struggle against U.S./Australian imperialism. When in 1983 Labor PM Hawke and the ACTU pushed for anti-Soviet bans by waterfront workers against the USSR in the wake of Reagan's KAL 007 provocation, they met opposition on the Sydney waterfront where the Waterside Workers Federation passed a resolution condemning the hysterical war-mongering of the U.S. and expressing "solidarity with the trade union forces of the USSR." And as recently as 1991 wharfies struck in protest against the imperialist attack on Iraq.

These struggles owe much to the historic influence of "reds" (albeit of the reformist, Stalinist variety) on the docks—and this legacy has also made the wharfies a target for repression. The Stalinist Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) retains significant influence today, particularly on the Sydney waterfront. But, despite "fight-back" noises in the SPA-published *Maritime Bulletin* ("Enough is really ENOUGH!" [22 September] and "It is time to 'up the ante'" [29 September]) the SPA has used its influence to alibi the sell-out bureaucrats. The *Maritime Bulletin* (22 September) says: "talk of co-operation and avoiding confrontation with employers is so much rubbish. And those in the trade union movement who pedal (sic) that line are, whether they intend to be or not, agents of the employers." They should know. The SPA's *Guardian* (6 October) shamelessly headlined: "Wharfies' strike win." The article quotes SPA supporter and Secretary/Treasurer of the central NSW branch of the MUA Jim Donovan explaining this "victory" by declaring that "At the end of the day there'll be no compulsory redundancies"—only "voluntary" ones. With "communists" like these who needs Laborites?

The waterfront workers occupy a position similar to the militant National Union of Miners (NUM) in Britain,

whose bitter 1984-85 strike against Thatcher was knifed by the Labourites and trade-union tops, "left" and right. As every class-conscious worker in Britain understood, the bourgeoisie was hell-bent on destroying the miners, even if it meant closing down every pit in Britain. NUM head Arthur Scargill ran a hard, militant strike within the confines of simple trade unionism. This was not enough. Despite overwhelming desire to strike alongside the miners, the rest of the working class were held back time and again by their misleaders. Had these sections joined the miners in strike action it would have posed the question: which class rules? This the Labour Party and its minions would not countenance and so they consciously knifed the miners.

Wharfies, who—like the British miners—have played a vanguard role, can appeal to the many sections of the working class facing union-busting attack and bureaucratic sabotage of their struggles. To hell with looking after the bosses' profits! Elect strike committees to organise an all-out fight to close down every port! Bury Arbitration and tell the bosses' IRC to shove it! Bring out the seamen and appeal to the ranks of the whole trade-union movement for militant solidarity action! No to the policy of so-called "voluntary" redundancies; immediately rescind all sackings! Make the bosses pay: for a 30-hour work week with no loss in pay—spread the available work! Against the nationalist class-collaborationist policies of Coombs et al.: appeal to the brothers and sisters on the waterfront internationally!

Break with the Labor Traitors!

There is no lack of desire to struggle on the part of the working people. But these struggles are being derailed, demobilised, defeated by the misleaders at the top who are beholden to the Labor government and the capitalist bosses it serves so diligently. What's needed is a hard class-struggle mobilisation against the bosses' offensive on the road to smashing root and branch the whole rotting capitalist system. This requires a *political struggle* against the Laborites, their "White Australia" protectionist poison and perfidious Arbitration system. For the complete independence of the working class and its organisations from the capitalist state! It is necessary to forge a genuine communist alternative to the ALP not simply within the unions but among all sections of the exploited and oppressed: the immigrant workers, the unemployed, the unorganised, the youth, the women, the Aboriginal people. We need an internationalist revolutionary party committed to nothing less than victorious workers revolution, a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Struggles against the imperialist New World Disorder of unemployment, rampaging racist and fascist bands, anti-worker, anti-woman attacks and all-sided reaction have emerged throughout Europe. Striking workers of Air France recently scored a major victory when they faced down the Balladur government's assault on their jobs and working conditions. Strikes by metal workers in the Ruhr and factory occupations in southern Italy further attest to the international resistance to the bosses' attacks. In London, thousands of anti-fascists, mainly youth, fought pitched battles with police (see "London Cops Protect Fascists from Anti-Racist Protesters," page five).

In Asia, the combative South Korean proletariat threw itself into battle again in July when 60,000 workers at the Hyundai monopoly staged a one-day general strike. The struggle of the South Korean workers is particularly important in the context of heightened imperialist sabre-rattling against the North Korean deformed workers state. Imperialism wants to destroy North Korea as part of its drive to extend to Asia the counter-revolution which wreaked havoc throughout East Europe and the USSR.

For the unconditional military defence of North Korea against imperialist attack! The Korean proletariat must join hands across the 38th parallel in socialist revolution in the South coupled with proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in the North.

Labor-ruled Australia—the nasty, isolated white enclave in Asia—is also the scene of some working-class resistance. Within the region Keating & Co. play the role of junior jackal imperialists—up to their necks in intrigues aimed at the "destabilising" of the Vietnamese workers state and eagerly participating in every U.S./UN imperialist campaign of butchery, from the Gulf War to Somalia. At "home," in order to make Australia "competitive" within Asia, the bosses and their Labor servants have pushed to extract more and more from the working class, while presiding over an immense unemployed reserve army of labour.

But they haven't had it all their own way. Since the miners and wharfies' actions, there has been a national one-day Public Sector Union (PSU) strike—bitterly attacked by the Federal Labor government which demanded "stand-downs of public servants who refuse to work as directed" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 October). Some 800 power station maintenance workers voted to stay out on indefinite strike in the Singleton area against the NSW state government moves to end site-rate agreements. Academics struck throughout the tertiary education sector and the Electrical Trades Union walked off at the Spotswood workshops in the Victorian public transport system against the sacking of a shop steward.

The trade-union officialdom has been key to keeping these struggles under control. Victoria provides a striking example: since the election of the arrogant, rightist Kennett government there has been a dramatic increase in struggle as the working class attempts to resist the loss of thousands of jobs under the axe in transport, health, education and savage cuts in public services. Last year, some 800,000 struck on 10 November and over 100,000 workers marched through the streets of Melbourne. As Kennett put it: "When I looked out of my window in November last year and saw 100,000 on the streets in front of Parliament calling for my head and other parts of my anatomy, I thought 'I'm in trouble'" (*Age*, 6 October).

And so he should have been. However, Trades Hall Council Secretary John Halfpenny successfully turned the 10 November action into a public relations "day of protest" while private industry, business and the city continued to function. Since then Halfpenny & Co. have pursued a conscious strategy to wear down, isolate and demobilise working-class resistance. The 70,000-strong demonstration on 5 March was thus transformed into a straight election rally for Keating. This reached its apotheosis with the 6 October march—the over 20,000 who attended were given no other perspective than to elect a state Labor government in three years time. After the march Halfpenny dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" by announcing to the bourgeois media that this was the last mass protest and in future the THC will concentrate on "electoral work in the marginal seats." The *Age* (18 October) summed up neatly Halfpenny's role:

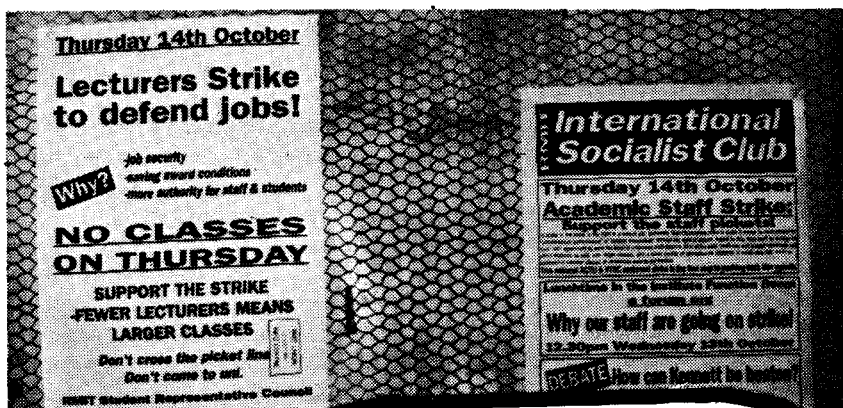
"After Labor's devastation at the state election there was, in reality, no relevant Opposition at a time of sweeping legislative change. The job essentially fell to the Trades Hall Council and its secretary Mr. John Halfpenny.... But in the absence of a viable Opposition the Trades Hall Council played a vital role in helping maintain Victoria's political health."

Put simply: the THC bureaucracy has worked overtime to defuse the seething working-class unrest which marked the Kennett regime's first few months.

Forge a Revolutionary Party!

Whatever their crimes against the working class, the Laborites and trade-

ISO: "International Scab Outfit"



DEBATE How can Kennett be beaten?

Neil Cole M.L.A. (Labor shadow-attorney-general)

David Glanz (from *The Socialist* newspaper)

7:30pm Thursday 14th October

Institute Function Room
Level 2, Building 8 (Swanston St. Entrance)

Pictured here are two posters: one calls on students to support the 14 October nation-wide 24-hour strike of university lecturers: "Don't cross the picket line/Don't come to uni" it reads. Next to it is the poster of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) which announces a debate on "How can Kennett be beaten?" between the ISO and a spokesman for the Labor Party on the very day of the strike—14 October at 7:30 p.m.—on the struck campus of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT). How low can the ISO go? Pretty low: this scabby contempt for the academics' strike is of a piece with their recent crossing of cleaners' pickets at La Trobe University in October. And it

was the ISO's British co-thinkers in the Socialist Workers Party who sent their steelworkers across miners' picket lines during the heroic British miners strike of 1984-85. We communists understand the ABC that picket lines mean don't cross and seek to win student youth to the side of the working class. For the ISO, however, a simple act in solidarity with the national lecturers' strike—i.e., changing the venue for one of their endless campus debates with the ALP, was too much "sacrifice." Perhaps such a small gesture of recognition of the strike would have kept the ALP spokesman from attending at all.

union tops can count on the loyal support of the bulk of those who masquerade as socialists, even revolutionaries. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO), six months after the federal election, discovered: "Labor: Too many broken promises" and whined that "Keating has turned his back on the people Labor is meant to represent.... Keating and Goss are guilty. Guilty of acting like Liberals" (*The Socialist*, August 1993). No—Keating and Goss are guilty of acting like the Labor party in power.

Having put its people on frantic campaign footing for a Labor victory in the elections, the ISO has had to say something about the criminal results of same. The ISO's "criticisms" are nonetheless strictly within the confines of Laborism. Thus, the ISO's opposition to "enterprise bargaining" comes down to the demand "Defend Our Awards!"—an open endorsement of the institutionalised class collaboration embodied in the Arbitration system. This system, so beloved by the reformists is a corporatist straitjacket which has evolved over decades allowing the courts to regulate the unions in every sphere—from wages and conditions to the conduct of strikes to the election of union officials and the disbursement of union funds. Both miners and wharfies were threatened with legal action over their strikes—but the only "illegal" strike is one that loses! Mass strikes in 1969 over the jailing of Victorian tramways union leader Clarric O'Shea led to the shelving of the penal powers for over a decade.

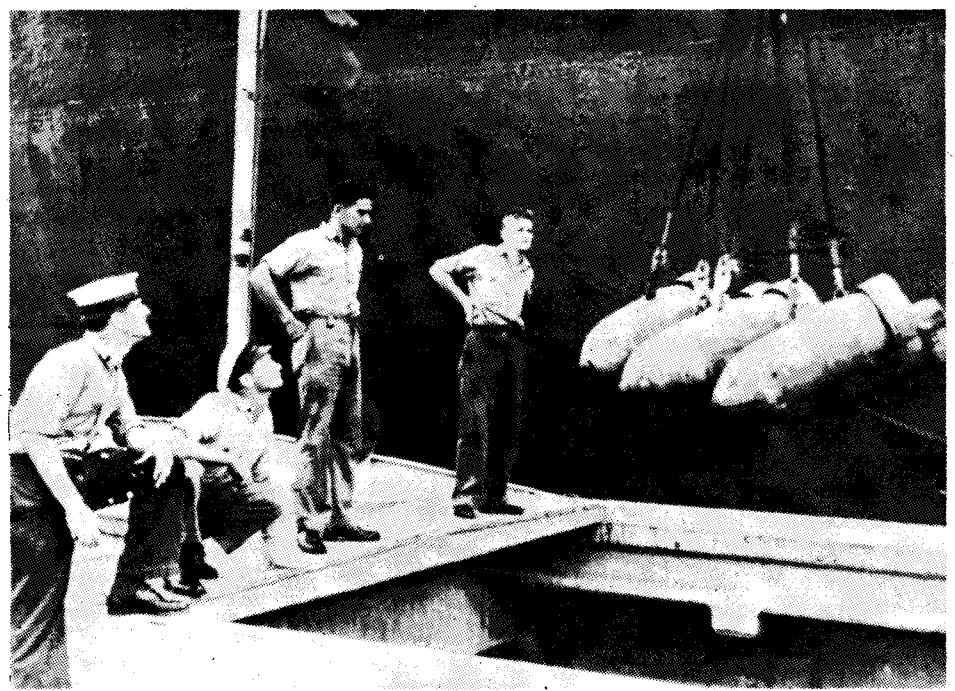
On the industrial front, ISO supporters in public-sector unions like the Victorian teachers unions have confined themselves to offering tactical advice to the bureaucrats: i.e., their proposal at the 6 October rally that teachers go out for three days the next week rather than the two days proposed by the officials if "progress" was not made. More to the point, from their British co-thinkers' grotesque crossing of miners picket lines

during the most important class battle for decades—the heroic British miners strike—to the ISO's failure to respect the strike of academics at RMIT in Melbourne (see photo story, page eight): when it comes to the class line, the ISO has a scabby habit of being found on the *wrong side*.

For their part, Democratic Socialist Party (DSP—publishers of *Green Left Weekly*) produced a leaflet (green, of course) for the 6 October Melbourne rally entitled "To stop Kennett, break with Labor!" and talked of building an "alternative political party." In practice this means that *Green Left*, as it did in the last election, advises its readers to give their first preference to openly bourgeois formations like the Australian Democrats and the Greens and then their second preference to Labor.

The DSP's model "alternative" is the New Zealand Alliance of Jim Anderton which is a political bloc of the "left" split from the New Zealand Labour Party called the New Labour Party and two minor bourgeois parties—the Democrats and the Greens—as well as a Maori party. In the current New Zealand election Anderton was trying to sell a very partial revival of the New Zealand capitalist "welfare state" of the post-war period behind a protectionist wall, a reactionary and necessarily racist trap for New Zealand workers. (When the New Zealand elections resulted in a hung parliament, Anderton offered to support *whichever* party won the most seats, National or Labour.) Likewise the DSP lauds "independent" Labor member for Wills in Melbourne, Phil Cleary, whose previous election campaigns have been partially funded by the local textile bosses and whose talk of a "return to traditional Labor values" comes down almost entirely to a plea to recreate the tariff walls of the 1950s and 1960s.

Last, there is the Socialist Labour League (SLL), which for years lobbied for the "left wing" of the ALP to expel the "right" and form a "socialist" govern-



Herald and Weekly Times Ltd

1953: Wharfies refused to load ships bound for Vietnam during French colonial war in Indochina. Australian government had to use Navy scabs.

ment. Now they have declared the ALP bourgeois through and through, and the unions "dead"; "nothing will revive" them (*Workers News*, 22 October). For this mob of political bandits, with their track record of taking blood money from oil-rich Near-Eastern despots and funding to print the organ of fascist Vietnamese thugs, *The Bell of Saigon*, writing off the unions' potential to act in pursuit of the class struggle and kowtowing to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy are flip sides of the same (dirty) coin. In 1986 this outfit crossed Builders' Labourers Federation picket lines as the union was being smashed. And in 1992 they denounced the massive 10 November strike as a "total fraud"—an open invitation to scab. The SLL's current cynical "third period" posturing on the ALP is a convenient excuse to abstain from the necessary struggle to split the working-class base of the ALP from the program of its pro-capitalist leadership.

Constituting "left" flanks of the social democracy which binds the potential social power of the workers to the class enemy, the programs of the fake left are a hostile block to revolutionary class struggle. Since the betrayal of the parties of the Second International at the outbreak of WWI, the social democracy has been, as Rosa Luxemburg said, a "stinking corpse." The truth of this statement carries even more force today in the "New World Order" of imperialism following the collapse of the deformed and degenerated workers states of the USSR and Eastern Europe. And from "Fortress Europe" to the Australia of anti-immigrant racism and "detention" camp atrocities, the struggle for the emancipation of the working class is ever more bound up with the need to combat nationalism and chauvinism. Such a struggle can only be led by an authentic communist party of the sort we seek to build: join us! ■

Protest Fascist Attack on Pathfinder Bookshop!

We print below the letter sent from the Spartacist League to The Communist League/Pathfinder Books following the 30 August defacement of its bookstore.

Communist League/Pathfinder Books
PO Box K879, Haymarket
NSW 2000

Dear comrades,

The sinister vandalism committed against your bookshop on 30 August is clearly an attack against the entire left, workers movement and minorities. The swastikas accompanying the crude anti-communist graffiti leaves little doubt: it was the work of fascist elements.

Your statement of 1 September welcomes messages of protest. Please accept this statement in that spirit; furthermore, we in the Spartacist League stand ready to participate in and help build any genuine united-front efforts to defend the meetings of organisations of the workers movement against further forays by these race-hate scum. With the arson attack against the anarchist Black Rose Bookshop only a few weeks earlier, it is clear that the fascists and their ilk have been emboldened by the racist backlash unleashed since the *Mabo* ruling. This political climate was prepared by the Keating government's war against the working class and oppressed, not least its vile anti-immigrant racism. Internationally, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, fascist forces have drawn strength from the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed East European workers

states. Their growth is part and parcel of the imperialist New World Disorder.

Our program to stop the fascist terrorists is centred on the independent mobilisation of the working class and its allies. It is with this program that the Spartacist League has been able to mobilise mass union/black actions to stop the fascist Ku Klux Klan and Nazis in urban centres across the U.S. Similarly, it was armed with such a perspective that we in Sydney were able to mobilise trade unionists, students and members of the Aboriginal community in Redfern to smash a racist ban at the Student Prince Hotel in May.

We note that such actions are diametrically opposed to the program and practice of your organisation and that of your U.S. co-thinkers in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. The *Militant's* rush to the barricades of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union ("Soviet workers win giant victory by defeating coup," 6 September 1991) stands as a crime against the international working class and authentic anti-fascist fighters. Your own origins were within the SWP here—a group which gained international notoriety in April 1983 for its nauseating apologetics for the fascist Ustasha. The SWP's "relations" with the Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) led it, under the pressure of our exposure and that of other outraged elements, to whitewash the most sadistic and bloodthirsty of the East European fascist regimes which operated under the protection of Hitler's Third Reich. Appalling even some of their Nazi overlords, the Ustasha

turned the satellite state of Croatia into a vast slaughteryard for Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats. As we noted at the same time, the SWP/HDP affair was the logical conclusion of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat's embrace of any and all Soviet-bloc "dissidents."

Some six months later, in October 1983, the Barnesites were expelled from the wretched Australian SWP (now the Democratic Socialist Party). That there was no public denunciation of the SWP/HDP scandal is hardly surprising. Barnes' SWP in the U.S. was particularly notorious for providing a platform for the lynchers and cross-burners of the Ku Klux Klan—meeting them in TV studios for "debates" as they did with KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger. The American SWP *opposed* the extradition of Nazi butchers Klaus Barbie and Karl Linas, whining that they were "scapegoats." In April 1992 the SWP and its Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) *boasted* about members selling papers and chatting up the fascist fringe at a rally for Klansman David Duke in Texas, printing without rebuttal Duke's white-supremacist filth while at it (*Militant*, 3 April 1992)!

Your attempts to champion fascists' so-called "rights to free speech" and to paint these dogs-of-war for capitalism in crisis as just poor "workers" serve only to disarm their intended victims and embolden these forces to further acts of race terror. Our comrades in the U.S. noted that the SWP's "strange fixation with American farmers, who the SWP ludicrously equate with oppressed Latin American *campesinos*,

has kept SWPers in a fairly right-wing milieu for many years. Their new plunge into the fascist Duke's fringe indicates that something more sinister than a loose screw may be animating Barnestown" (*Workers Vanguard*, 17 April 1992).

Here, your typically profound and touching faith in the bourgeois state is revealed by the fact that your calls are directed not to the organised working class and its allies but rather to the police "to conduct a serious investigation of the incident" and to South Sydney mayor, ALPer Vic Smith, and the city council. The Communist League is very far from Marxism, but we will remind you of a Marxist ABC: the racist, capitalist state is the armed force of the class enemy and it is suicidal to rely upon it and its agencies to "act" against the fascist filth.

The Barnesite Communist League is no friend of the struggle to smash the fascists, let alone a contender for the leadership of that struggle. That task falls to us, authentic communists seeking to mobilise the power of the organised working class and oppressed on the road to the destruction of the whole rotting capitalist system. Along that road, we will militantly defend any victims of the fascist bands, including yourselves, despite your own bizarre, reformist and despicable efforts to give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Fraternally,

Margaret Rodda
for the Spartacist League of Australia

cc: Black Rose Bookshop

Dan Yock...

(continued from page 12)

threatened to arrest people involved in Monday's protest and are whipping up racist hysteria, including closing West End police station for "fear of police safety." The Aboriginal youth arrested with Yock is reported to be in fear of his life. Goss rushed to call an inquiry, to be headed by Lew Wyvill, one of the commissioners of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody which whitewashed every case of open racist murder brought before it! Since it concluded 52 more Aborigines have died in custody!

Enough of whitewashes! There can be no justice from the capitalist courts or governments! Trade unionists, who have been on the receiving end of Goss and Keating's capitalist austerity and job slashing must take action with the Aboriginal people against their common enemy—the capitalist state and all its stooges, Labor and Liberal. The Spartacist League stands for a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights. Only workers revolution will avenge Dan Yock and all the victims of racist state terror! ■

Fake-Left...

(continued from page 4)

action"! The Militant's tune has changed somewhat: it distributed a statement in Moscow during the October 1993 events entitled "No to the presidents: No to Yeltsin, no to Rutskoi!" which hypocritically exclaimed: "No to the capitalist restoration, which inevitably leads to the introduction of bourgeois dictatorship!"

Let anyone be naively tempted to think "better late than never," Militant, addressing the burning need of the working masses to struggle against the new exploiters and their bonapartist moves, have the following plan to offer: "We demand that the elections will be carried out not under the Yeltsin dictatorship and not under the guidance of the Supreme Soviet but under the control of worker's organisations. The new constitution has to be worked out by representatives of all [!] the social layers of society. If 60 per cent of the population are workers, they have to have 60 per cent of the deputies." This gives parliamentary cretinism a bad name. In their Little England homeland, the reformists of Militant preach that "socialism" will come to pass through an enabling act in Parliament nationalising the top 200 corporations. Importing this laborite claptrap to the former Soviet Union, Militant "neglects" to note that imperialism and its agents have in store for the exploited and oppressed not a version of a Labor government in newly capitalist Russia, but rather something more akin to Pinochet's Chile.

Another pretender to Trotskyism, the Socialist Labor League (SLL), in August 1991 "welcome[d] the humiliating collapse of the August 19 Stalinist coup in Moscow" as "another nail in the coffin of the Stalinist bureaucracy" (*Workers News*, 23 August 1991) and was surpassed by no one in its foam-flecked calls

Correction

In our last issue ("Mobilise a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!", *ASp* No. 150, Spring 1993) we incorrectly attributed to American Federation of Labor's Samuel Gompers the infamous words that the working class had "nothing special to offer" black people in the United States. It was in fact Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. As noted in the introduction to the Prometheus Research Library book *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (1992): "The Socialist Party had included open racists; its best element was represented by Eugene V. Debs' famous statement that the Socialist Party had 'nothing special to offer the Negro.'"

to "sweep away the entire Stalinist apparatus, including the KGB and military..."; to "draw up inventories of the assets of the Communist Party, prevent their seizure by the Stalinists and comprador bourgeois," *ad nauseam*. Like Militant, and the whole range of fake lefts, the SLL took a "neutral" stance in the recent stand-off between Yeltsin and the parliament forces. But the SLL provide another twist in their efforts to dodge responsibility for support to counterrevolution. In the aftermath of Bloody Sunday, they've concocted the imminent threat of...bonapartist rule in Australia! Thus the SLL's *Workers News* (15 October) writes that in "the extended parliamentary impasse over the [Australian government] Budget" "lies the parallel with the events in Russia. Just as the collapse of any national capitalist perspective precluded the development of any parliamentary democracy in Russia, so it is rendering the old parliamentary system in Australia totally unviable. Workers should draw the sharpest warning. Foreign policy is always the continuation of domestic policy. The enthusiastic support of the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen for Yeltsin's dictatorial measures arises from their understanding that similar measures will be required here in the coming period."

We have been warned—but what is the connection here? In fact the enthusiastic support of the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen for Yeltsin's dictatorial measures arises from their understanding that he is "their man" in the drive toward an IMF-run starvation regime. Just as he was "their man" in August 1991—and the SLL's man, and that of the ISO, DSP, et al. The political bandits of the SLL never defended the USSR when it counted; now they've used its collapse to announce the "death" of trade unionism, not to mention bonapartism around the corner here. This of course flies in the face of reality—but it serves a purpose for those who in every concrete instance sided with the forces hostile to the USSR on the borders of the USSR and not accidentally came down on the side of the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionary counter-coup in 1991. The SLL's venal Stalinophobia led it to the depths of hailing the murder of Iraqi communists by the Ba'athist regime and receiving blood money from the same source, among many others. To avoid any accounting of the results of this history of stark betrayal, the SLL would have its membership contemplating the latest (fictional) "crisis" of bonapartist threat at home.

In contrast to the groups dealt with above, the Stalinist SPA did not come down on the side of Yeltsinite counterrevolution in 1991. Today the SPA are political supporters of elements in the "Red-Brown" bloc in the former USSR. Along with its political support to one

wing of the capitalist restorationist forces, the SPA continues the hoary Stalinist tradition of appealing to "democratic" imperialism. Thus, it published a statement entitled "Respect Democracy!" (*Guardian*, 6 October) in which it pathetically called on "the Australian Government to reconsider its hasty and shortsighted blanket endorsement of Yeltsin's actions. This position discredits Australia's claim to stand for democracy and the rule of law"; "Don't we [!] regard Governor-General Kerr's actions in 1975 as a travesty of democracy?" Certainly a vast gulf separates the "legal coup" which removed Gough Whitlam as prime minister in 1975 when the Australian bourgeoisie sought to bring the labour movement to heel and bring in a government more to their taste and the bloody attack on parliament by forces loyal to Yeltsin's drive to bring the former USSR to heel for the imperialist market.

The SPA writes: "The present struggle should be resolved peacefully and on terms which uphold democracy." This is a pipedream worthy of those who long preached "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet Union and the imperialist forces hell-bent on its destruction, "socialism in one country" against the struggle for international proletarian revolution of Lenin and Trotsky and have for so long practiced class collaboration within the imperialist countries increasingly indistinguishable from

garden-variety social democrats. As we state in our front page article this issue: "Western imperialism demands counterrevolutionary order in Russia, not counterrevolutionary chaos. Putting the Russian capitalist house in order will mean first and foremost teaching the workers that capitalist exploitation functions on the twin threats of starvation and repression."

The powerful working class of the former USSR has not had its final say, however. As Leon Trotsky wrote in 1933:

"And from our standpoint, of course, the tragic possibility is not excluded that the first workers' state, weakened by its bureaucracy, will fall under the joint blows of its internal and external enemies. But in the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe?"

—"The Class Nature of the Soviet State"

The latter-day Mensheviks—whose slavish loyalty to the Labor Party "at home" goes hand-in-hand with their treacherous refusal to defend the workers states abroad—have thrown in their lot with the imperialists while the Stalinists have manifestly proven to be bankrupt. We know that out of the struggle against Yeltsinite counterrevolution a new layer of proletarian internationalist fighters will emerge. We in the ICL fight to win them to our banner. ■

Bougainville...

(continued from page 2)

what they said was that the Papua New Guinea government had to protect Australian investments and be seen to protect Australian investment." As a result a rapid deployment force was set up, funded and advised by Australia. Gillespie added: "The training, the intelligence advice, [they're] pushing the Papua New Guinea army to hurry up and open that bloody mine."

It is these interests that lie behind attempts by the Australian state to viciously witchhunt Rosemarie Gillespie. Last May while driving from Melbourne to Sydney with donated medical supplies intended for Bougainville, Gillespie was pulled over by police. After her car was searched, she was arrested and taken to Wagga Wagga police station and finally charged with 50 counts of possessing illicit prescription drugs. Gillespie was detained for over eight hours—fingerprinted and photographed; her diary, address books, letters and other documents taken and photocopied—and was only released from custody on condition that she relinquish her passport. One detective ominously told Gillespie that ASIO was involved in the affair. These trumped-up charges against her were subsequently dropped. We also welcome the recent news that her attempt to seek costs for her wrongful arrest has been successful. Hands off Rosemarie Gillespie!

We vigorously defend Rosemarie Gillespie against any attempted witchhunt by the state. At the same time we do not share the illusions of her supporters that this vicious racist state, which lords it over the peoples of the

Pacific while administering racist state terror against the Aboriginal population at home, can be reformed and persuaded by "humanitarian" arguments to stop the butchery in Bougainville. In particular we communists find revolting and treacherous their slogan: "Bougainville: Australia's Vietnam." Australia had its Vietnam and like its senior U.S. imperialist partner it lost. The victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants over U.S./Australian imperialism was a victory for the world's working class and oppressed! We say: "Two, three many defeats for U.S. and Australian imperialism!"

During the Vietnam War Australian maritime unions struck in solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. Today we seek not only to mobilise the Australian working class in defence of the beleaguered Vietnamese Revolution but in defence of all the oppressed throughout the region including Bougainville. Black ban all military shipments to PNG! Australian imperialism: Hands off Bougainville! Get out of Papua New Guinea and stay out!

As Marxists, we oppose any attempt to force Bougainville to stay within the artificial boundaries of PNG, carved out by British colonialism and now serving only the interests of Australian domination. However, as we noted in *Australasian Spartacist* No. 133 (August/September 1989), "A decent future for the peoples of PNG can be envisaged only through the expropriation of its wealth by the socially conscious working people, as part of smashing imperialism throughout the region." To end the colonial oppression of the peoples of PNG and Bougainville requires the smashing of Australian capitalism and its replacement with a workers republic, part of a socialist Asia. ■

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Aborigines...

(continued from page 12)

Aborigines ownership rights to their traditional lands, full stop. Keating's government in turn has announced it will override Western Australia's rebellion.

We explained in our last issue the driving force behind the stand off over *Mabo* between the ALP government on the one hand and its rabidly racist opposition on the other in "New World Order" Australia: "The division evident within the bourgeoisie expresses different solutions to the fundamental problem of Australian capitalism: as the imperialist world moves increasingly toward trade blocs that threaten to leave Australia out in the cold, Australian capital is caught between the rival Japanese-dominated Asian Pacific bloc and the U.S. Keating's 'modernisation' is geared to the same end as the Dark Age rantings of Morgan et al.: to gird Australia against its international competitors, particularly in South East Asia." In the absence of a mobilisation of the social power of the working class and its allies against the bosses, the losers in this stand off were the Aboriginal people.

Keating was able to pose as cleaning up Australia's racist "image" in order to do business in the region; the mining, pastoralist and other bosses got more or less what they needed (if not wanted) in the end. These same bosses have embarked on a union-busting austerity spree with the indispensable support of the Laborite trade-union bureaucrats which has meant misery for thousands of unemployed and low-wage workers, fear and violence for Asian and black people. It is only in struggle against the rule of

these bosses and their Labor lackeys that justice will be done.

ALP: Party of White Australia

The vile racist backlash to *Mabo* and even to the "deal" by the Keating government wherein Aboriginal people are shafted on the altar of private property obtained by theft, has not been confined to parliament and the letters pages of the bourgeois press. Racist attacks on the streets have been the inevitable by-product. And it is under ten years of federal Labor rule that the current racist climate was fostered and encouraged. Black deaths in custody, official white-washes such as the Royal Commission, police rampage against Aboriginal communities, joblessness, homelessness, Third World infant mortality rates: this is the legacy of Labor rule.

Announcing his deal Keating said "I think that this ... agreement will warm the soul of the Labor Party for two generations. It's the sort of thing that nourishes our party, it's the kind of thing that makes people join our party" (*Australian*, 20 October). While Keating undoubtedly got carried away with his own hype, he unintentionally touched on some truth in this statement. The "soul" of the ALP has historically been the "White Australia" policy. In 1905 the Federal Labor Party adopted as its objective "the cultivation of an Australian sentiment based on the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community." This racist outlook has defined the ALP ever since.

A stark example is provided by the recent furious "negotiations" over the *Mabo* package. When farmers threatened "blood on the streets" over the supposed proposal that "native title" would "co-exist" with pastoral leaseholds, National

Farmers Federation director Rick Farley chimed in to announce that he was "coldly, furiously angry" and declared "war" on the ALP at the next election. The government then extracted further concessions from the Aboriginal spokesmen present at the Cabinet meeting and called Farley at eleven o'clock at night to assure him that the validation of pastoral leases would extinguish native title. Minutes later, Farley gave the nod and the great "deal" had been sealed.

The only way Keating could make his stinking deal smell like "reconciliation" was to "enlist" the support of a few government-hired Aboriginal "leaders" (not least with a little terror over the RDA and the rabidly racist threats of "blood on the street"). An earlier draft of Keating's legislation was burnt by angry blacks outside Parliament House. There was also much talk about appealing to the "international community" for justice. But what "international community"? The English Queen? The UN under whose banners 100,000 Iraqis were slaughtered in the Gulf War and whose troops are carrying out racist butchery of black men, women and children in Somalia today? Appeals to the multinationals and the governments that serve them is another blind alley: the fight for elementary justice for Aboriginal people and all the oppressed and exploited demands a fight against capitalism.

The vicious racist treatment of Aboriginal people is likewise mirrored in the anti-immigrant domestic policies of the ALP and its lording it over the oppressed throughout the South Pacific and Asia. Thus, the ALP and its loyal lieutenants within the trade-union bureaucracy push racist protectionist poison, seeking to shift the blame for unemployment and the capitalist economic crisis onto workers abroad. Asian refugees languish in the hell-holes of detention centres such as Port Hedland. Australian capitalism and the state that defends it were *built* on the genocide of the Aboriginal people and White Australia exclusion of Asians: they are racist to the core.

Not "Reconciliation" with the Bosses but a Class Fight!

The working class has both the interest and the power to fight for Aboriginal rights. This has been shown in a number of powerful examples from the 1945 Pilbara black stockmen's strike backed by the seamen and other unions to the successful strike by Townsville meatworkers in February to defend Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley. It is due to the racist Laborite misleadership of the unions that such examples are far too few. The working class will only free itself from capitalist slavery when it fights for all those oppressed and exploited by capitalism and, as has occurred in several important instances (e.g., in solidarity with the Indonesian masses and the heroic battle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the dirty colonial war waged by the U.S.

and Australia), fight shoulder to shoulder with its Asian sisters and brothers against imperialism. It is our communist program that enabled the Spartacist League to mobilise unionists and students alongside Aborigines to take direct action and successfully break a racist ban against Aborigines at the Student Prince Hotel in Sydney in May. It was this program that led us to initiate a united-front protest with Aboriginal groups in Sydney against the acquittal of the cops who murdered John Pat in 1983—the acquittal which was a green light for racist murder, triggering an avalanche of black deaths in jail.

Keating's "socialist" hangers-on may decry the present "deal" but basically they got what they asked for: the main response to the racist backlash over *Mabo* by both the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) was to petition Keating to take action—and he has. To this day, reformists like the ISO still complain the state has not implemented the recommendations of the Royal Commission whitewash which in all 99 cases before it found for the police and coroners' verdicts. We told the truth from the start: there can be no justice from the capitalist state—its cops, courts, government or various agencies.

Addressing the John Pat memorial march in Sydney on 25 September Spartacist spokesman Janelle Tooluan explained:

"Our fighting program does not come from nowhere. We're part of an international. We want to get rid of the capitalist system internationally. And our defence of indigenous people is of a piece with our mobilisations to stop the KKK in the U.S. in the Reagan years, our protest in July against the Denny's racist restaurant chain and our work to defend an immigrant hostel in Germany against fascist attack.... "Reliance on the bosses' state is going to demoralise and sap your anger and your energy. And the Royal Commission is a good example of that.... We in the Spartacist League said from the start that is how it would be because we understand how the state works and we're the only leftist group who said that.... We said 'No Vote to Labor, Build a Revolutionary Workers Party.' We fight to mobilise the Australian working class in defence of Aboriginal rights."

The reformist misleaders who spread illusions in the "benevolence" of the government—whether Labor or Liberal—have only served to breed despair and frustration. Inevitably comes the white-wash, the sell-out, the crackdown. We struggle to forge a genuinely revolutionary workers party in which the best fighters from all sections of the oppressed will play a leading role in the destruction of this whole rotting system. Such a party—a "tribune of the people" in the words of the Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin—will be constructed by linking the social power of the proletariat to the struggles of not only the Aboriginal people but also the immigrant workers, the youth, women and homosexuals. On the road to the victorious overthrow of this system and the establishment of a truly egalitarian society based on centrally planned, collectivised property, we will avenge the many victims and martyrs of racist state terror. ■

London...

(continued from page 5)

rely on the state to stop the Nazis" (*Socialist Worker*, 9 October). But in the same issue they declared, "If our pressure succeeds in getting Bexley Tory Council to close down their headquarters it will be an enormous victory."

Denouncing the October 16 cop onslaught which left her bloodied, ANL chief steward Julie Waterson said: "Today has shown the police in their true colours protecting the BNP" (*London Sunday Times*, 17 October). But only three weeks earlier, when the cops took 57 BNPs into custody on September 26 to prevent a repeat of the bashing they received a week before, ANL spokesman Claire Dissington crowed: "We welcomed the police action, but it should really have come sooner. We wanted them to stop the BNP selling their newspaper in the area long ago" (*London Independent*, 27 September).

And now, as the bourgeois media seeks to whip up a witchhunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators, ANL honcho Paul Holborow joins in the violence-baiting smears: "Those involved in skirmishes were not representative of the 98 per cent of the demonstrators that went along with the publically stated aim of a peaceful demonstration" (*London Guardian*, 18 October). This is the real tradition of the ANL. Faced with a similar witchhunt following a militant anti-fascist demonstration in Lewisham in 1977, the Cliffites formed the ANL as a popular-frontist vehicle to curry favor with Anglican vicars and Labourite politicians.

When the fascist National Front marched through the East End in 1978, the ANL organized an "anti-racist" Carnival *ten miles away*, deliberately preventing thousands of anti-fascist militants from confronting and defeating the NF.

Despite their current venter of on-again, off-again militancy, both the SWP and Militant are *reformist* organizations. As the September 26 SL/B leaflet noted:

"At the end of the day they want popularity with left Labour MPs and celebrities: they don't want a consistent, hard fight for the interests of the working class. They don't believe that the workers can win state power. Their real maximum goal is to get Labour into government on a more left-wing sounding programme."

Until recently, Militant had been buried deep inside the Labour Party for *decades*. Militant argues that a "left-wing" government of the dyed-in-the-wool pro-capitalist Labour Party, if armed with "emergency powers," will bring socialism. For all their occasional anti-Labor rhetoric, Militant and the SWP *always* call for a vote to the Labour traitors—even when the Labour Party is up to its neck in strikebreaking. *And both groups argue that the cops should be part of the labor movement!* Two years ago, Militant offered to turn over names of protesters against Thatcher's hated poll tax who defended themselves against mounted police charges.

Tens of thousands of young people throughout West Europe are today becoming radicalized in response to the upsurge of fascist terror fueled by growing inter-imperialist rivalry and the triumph of counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. They are looking for a revolutionary answer to the ravages of capitalism. As our comrades of the SL/B declared:

"The labour movement needs a revolutionary leadership which fights as hard and as long for working-class victory as Thatcher fought for her despicable, parasitic capitalist class. The workers, the women, the black, Asian, Jewish and gay targets of BNP terror need a *workers government*, so that all people can have a decent and secure life, in a society free of exploitation and racism."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 586, 22 October

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For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!



ASp photo



Jim Fenwick—Courier Mail

Left: Sydney 25 September, Spartacist League contingent at John Pat memorial march calls for union action to stop racist terror. Right: Brisbane 8 November, Aborigines take to streets to vent anger over death of Dan Yock in police custody.

Mabo "Deal": Keating's ALP Knives Aborigines, Again

Pastoralists, bankers and most state governments approved. The capitalist media barons rapturously applauded. After months of haggling, Labor Prime Minister Keating managed to put together a legislative package which reassured big business the safety of its investments against potential Aboriginal land claims arising out of the 1992 *Mabo* High Court ruling. Keating's "historic" package puts an official stamp on what amounts to the racist status quo.

The stringent criteria for claims to "native title" set by *Mabo* automatically excluded the more than 90 percent of Aborigines long since driven from their traditional lands. Nevertheless, as we pointed out in our last issue ("Mobilise a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!" *ASp* No. 150, Spring 1993) we Marxists are not indifferent to the legal recognition of the existence of the Aboriginal people prior to the British colonisation and the quashing of *terra nullius* contained in the *Mabo* ruling and support any attempts by Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of their land and/or to wrest compensation. At the same time we warned: "elementary justice...demands not some limited, ultimately reversible, concessions in the bosses' courts but the *expropriation* of industry and agriculture by proletarian revolution."

Like everyone else, we can't know the details of the government's final legislation. To pull off this "historic legislation," this "foundation of reconciliation," the government has been at pains to keep the fine print under wraps. (Thus the recently conducted Herald Saulwick poll found that 55 percent of Australians "did not know enough about the Federal Government's proposed

response [to *Mabo*] to judge it.") But, the "broad thrust" as described in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 November) is clear:

"All other land titles will be given precedence over native title. Aborigines will get no veto rights over development projects on their land. Where they object to a particular project, they can take their case to either a State or Federal tribunal for a ruling. But either a State or Federal government can override a tribunal's ruling on the grounds of State or national interest."

"Historical" indeed! As is no surprise, Keating's primary concern has been to allay the fears of mining magnates, pastoralists, states-righters et al. by proscribing the very limited openings for Aboriginal land rights posed by *Mabo*. At the same time he was compelled to try to maintain the *semblance* of doing justice to Aborigines and Islanders largely for international consumption. As the British *Guardian Weekly* (31 October) succinctly put it: "The decision attempts to balance the desire for economic development from miners and farmers with demands for justice for indigenous Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. It may also help Australia shed its image as a racist nation."

This "image" was about to be greatly enhanced when Keating seriously flirted with the suspension of the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act (RDA)—not coincidentally, the one thing that gave some teeth to the vague "native title" recognition in *Mabo*. But that was a bridge too far. So, in return for gutting native title Keating promised Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders something called a "social justice package" in the great by-and-by. The snooty establishment *Economist* [London] (23

October) caught the gist: "The majority of Australia's estimated 300,000 aborigines ... are unlikely to have grounds for a land claim or compensation. But Mr Keating had something for them too: what was described as a generous, but unspecified, 'social justice package'." Obscenely, this package is to include a "land acquisition fund" (translation: first we steal it, then you buy it).

This has still been too much for mining magnates and Tory politicians,

now openly whipping up racist fear and loathing under the name of "equal land rights for all." Thatcher-clone Bronwyn Bishop has demanded a racist referendum on *Mabo*. Premier Court of Western Australia, the state most vulnerable to land claims under *Mabo*, also wants a referendum; moreover Court decided to give Keating the finger and pass his own legislation extinguishing existing native title and denying

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Avenge the Death of Daniel Yock!

In Brisbane on 7 November 18-year-old Aboriginal dancer Dan Yock was found dead, handcuffed in the back of a police van after having been arrested at least one hour earlier for "disorderly conduct." Yock is the latest fatality in a gruesome list of over 150 Aborigines to perish in police custody over the past 10 years. But this time 250 Aborigines took their rage to the streets of a capital city, in a highly visible march on Brisbane police headquarters which left several of the 500 assembled cops with bloody noses. Whether Yock was beaten to death or "merely" allowed to choke on his own vomit during an epileptic fit, it's clear the cops did the job. Aborigines have called for a mass protest in Brisbane on 17 November.

Fearful that outrage over Yock's death could blow a gaping hole in

Keating's oh-so-carefully constructed facade of "reconciliation" the bosses are alternately making threats and shedding crocodile tears. Murdoch's *Australian* (12 November) appealed for "calm" beseeching Aborigines to call off Wednesday's demo. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (10 November) sermonised: "The rhetoric now is all about reconciling Aborigines and non-Aborigines. But still it is possible for an 18-year-old Aborigine to be put into a police paddy wagon and then somehow wind up dead on his way to hospital." Brisbane's Lord Mayor compared Yock's death to the murder of Steve Biko and Queensland Labor Premier Goss mouthed platitudes about ensuring justice is done.

Behind the crocodile tears the cover-up has already begun. The cops

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