



Chris Hani Gunned Down in Right-Wing Plot

South Africa: Black Outrage Over Apartheid Assassination

"Power Sharing" Fraud Exposed

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 574, 23 April, fortnightly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On April 10, Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and former head of the African National Congress' armed wing, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe—MK), was gunned down by an émigré Polish fascist with links to South African state intelligence. Hani was shot four times about 10:15 a.m. as he stepped out of the car he had just parked in the driveway of his home in a newly integrated neighborhood in Boksburg, a staunch right-wing suburb of Johannesburg. As news of the assassination spread through the impoverished townships, black anger exploded in the streets from Cape Town to Soweto. Millions participated in mass protests, funeral processions and perhaps the biggest general strike in South African history.

Six million blacks stayed away from jobs on April 14. Apartheid rulers answered with tear gas and pistol shots. Police who were lined up in front of the police station in Soweto shot directly into the crowd of thousands, killing three. At a march in Johannesburg, police stood by while Nazis jumped out of a car and shot three protesters. With Hani's murder, black youth in their outrage took to the streets in dozens of

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Township youth take to the streets April 14 in anger over murder of Communist Party leader Hani.

U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!

MAY 4—After leaking over the weekend that they had decided "in principle" to conduct air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, today Clinton administration officials let it be known that they were preparing to dispatch 20,000 to 25,000 U.S. troops into the former Yugoslavia within a matter of weeks. Emboldened by its success in incinerating a religious commune outside Waco, Texas, Washington is now preparing to enforce its writ with guns and bombs in the Balkans. The commander in chief of U.S. imperialism wants to show the rest of the world who's boss. "We are, after all, the world's only superpower. We do have to lead the world," Clinton remarked at a recent press conference.

While Washington is talking of only 20,000 American soldiers initially, this is scheduled to expand to 34,000 out of a 50,000-man NATO "peacekeeping force." A few days ago, Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leaders bowed to imperialist sanctions and formally agreed to the "UN"-brokered deal dividing Bosnia into

Washington, Canberra Beat War Drums Over Bosnia

a patchwork of "cantons" dominated by the several ethnic groups. But whether this agreement will hold on the ground, or go the way of the countless "cease-fires" that preceded it, is utterly unclear. Should the NATO troops go in to enforce the crazy-quilt "peace" agreement, they would either have to roll back heavily armed Serbian forces entrenched in mountainous and heavily forested terrain, or, if they maintain the status quo, American and West European troops risk attack from Croat and Bosnian Muslim militias.

The self-proclaimed "cops of the world," like the racist cops in America's inner-city ghettos, are used to terrorizing defenseless people. But the Serbs are in a rather better position to defend them-

selves than the Branch Davidians. Explaining last week his hesitations over using U.S. ground forces in Bosnia, Clinton told reporters, "in the Second World War, Hitler sent tens of thousands of soldiers to that area and never was successful in subduing it" (*New York*

Times, 26 April). Today's murderous Serbian nationalists are a far cry from the Yugoslav Communist Partisans who courageously fought off the Wehrmacht in World War II, but you know what they're talking about in the White House situation room when an American president, with unintentional honesty, compares the U.S. role to that of fellow imperialist Adolf Hitler.

Ever since Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has tried to conduct its foreign military adventures on the cheap, minimizing American casualties through overwhelmingly superior firepower—the rape of

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Russia's New Exploiters Capitalism Without Capital

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Sydney's Fairfield Hospital: Anti-Abortion Outrage

In April, a 40-year-old woman was admitted to Sydney's Fairfield Hospital to have an abortion. Her stay turned into a five-day ordeal in which she was the victim of criminal neglect and emotional trauma at the hands of reactionary anti-abortion medical staff, including one doctor who refused to complete the termination. While remaining anonymous for fear of retribution from anti-abortion fanatics, the woman decided to speak out. As her husband said, "We want this story to come out because we don't want anyone to go through what my wife went through."

According to the *Sun Herald* (11 April), the woman's advanced pregnancy required inducement of labour. After administering three of five labour-inducing pessaries the resident doctor went off duty and was replaced by a doctor who refused to continue the treatment because he didn't believe in abortion! That same night the woman was harassed by a moralising anti-abortion nurse. After the termination was finally carried out three days later,

the woman was left unattended for hours despite repeated requests to be washed and cleaned.

The woman's ordeal, far from being an isolated case, highlights the tenuous status of abortion rights in this capitalist society, made all the more so by the rundown public health system. With the exception of South Australia and the Northern Territory, all states maintain criminal codes which regard abortion as illegal. Successive Labor and Tory governments, including most recently the Queensland Goss Labor government have consistently refused to wipe out these anti-abortion provisions in order to placate anti-abortion groups and the Church. However landmark court judgments like those of Menhennit, Victoria 1969, Levine, NSW 1972 and McGuire in Queensland 1986, have provided women with a legal basis to obtain abortions. These rulings, however limited and reversible, were the product of significant social struggle and the efforts of courageous fighters for women's rights like Bertram Wainer.

To obtain an abortion women are

technically required to prove "reasonable grounds" of "serious danger" to their physical or mental health. This means they can be forced to face degrading interrogation by medical personnel who can deny them access. While some "pro-life" GPs simply refuse to refer women to another doctor for the abortion, others railroad them into "pregnancy support services"—fronts for anti-abortion bigots.

Bourgeois feminists like the Womens Electoral Lobby, along with the fake-left Democratic Socialist Party and International Socialist Organisation, push liberal-reformist calls for "the right to choose." But "the right to choose" rings hollow for poor, minority and working-class women who are often forced to rely on the inadequate public health system. Fairfield hospital, scene of the recent criminal anti-abortion atrocity, services the working-class and immigrant metropolitan west. But the wholesale gutting of public hospital services under federal Labor and state Liberal governments means ever-growing waiting lists. And with abortion considered "elective surgery" it can mean months or even a year before a hospital bed is available!

In 1991 NSW MP and reactionary anti-woman, anti-gay bigot, Fred Nile of the Festival of Light, unsuccessfully moved to outlaw private abortion clinics (where most NSW abortions are carried out) and limit abortion to public hospitals. Given the dilapidated hospital system, this would have severely restricted access to abortion. The Victorian Labor government led by feminist hero Joan Kirner, while closing down public hospital wards handed administration of the newly-built Werribee hospital over to the Catholic church which means no abortions in that hospital.

The Spartacist League protests the criminal outrage at Fairfield hospital. We fight for unrestricted, safe and free abortion on demand including for women under 16 years old, who currently are required to obtain parental consent or government permission! For free quality health care for all! Adequate information on contraception must be provided in all public and private schools and free, safe

and effective contraception provided, including access to RU-486, the safe, non-surgical "abortion pill" which the Australian government continues to ban.

"Right to Life" anti-abortion bigots like Margaret Tighe rushed to praise the "moral fortitude" of Fairfield's anti-abortion doctor. At abortion clinics, staff and patients alike face harassment from picketing "pro-life" bigots. Additionally clinic staff are frequently subjected to threatening phone calls, vandalism, demonstrations outside their private homes and threats of arson. The reactionary "Right to Life" scum is in the same mold as the U.S. "Pro-Life" whose campaign of harassment and terrorism included the recent murder of Florida doctor, David Gunn, a well-known and courageous fighter for women's rights. Gunn's assassin had been working with KKK-connected Rescue America. We fight for the organised labour movement and all decent people to defend the clinics from anti-woman terror!

As we pointed out in "Womens Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 148, Autumn 1993) anti-woman bigotry is a norm in this misogynist and racist capitalist society. Witness the examples of capitalist "justice" in two recent rape cases. In 1992, a South Australian judge stated there was nothing wrong with a husband using "rougher than usual handling" to "persuade" his wife to engage in sexual intercourse. Then a Victorian county court judge declared that women who said "no" to sexual advances often meant "yes." Aboriginal women face vicious racist and anti-woman oppression. In 1988 we reported on cases where Aboriginal women were criminally sterilised after childbirth and injected with the dangerous Depo-Provera contraceptive without their consent (see *ASp* No. 128, October-November).

From Eastern Europe, where capitalist counterrevolution has meant wholesale attacks on womens' rights and gains, to the Western "free world," abortion rights are on the cutting edge of "New World Order" assaults against working people, women and the oppressed. Womens' liberation is possible only with the revolutionary transformation of society and the emancipation of women from slavery in the institution of the family. We fight to build a vanguard party of the proletariat to lead the revolution that will finally put an end to the capitalist system of private property and exploitation. Such a party will be the "tribune of the oppressed," fighting all forms of social oppression. For womens' liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Frank Micallef Remembered

Dear Comrades,

On 20 February Frank Micallef died at the age of 39 of an AIDS-related illness. He was a close sympathiser and friend of the Spartacist League for 20 years.

Frank's family migrated to Australia from Malta when he was two years old, and settled in the Melbourne western suburbs in Altona. Part of a large family, his father died when he was ten. In his teenage years Frank made a number of friends who remained close all his life.

Frank completed his apprenticeship as an electrician at the Williamstown Naval Dockyards, in those days a centre of militant unionism (he once spent a month in Sydney rewiring our entire Central Office). He was representative of a layer of radicalised working-class youth in the early seventies who were attracted to the revolutionary politics of Trotskyism. Repelled by the ultra-legalistic reformism of the then-Socialist Workers Party and the political banditry of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) he was drawn towards the Spartacist League. We remember him once causing quite a stir in a public meeting of the SLL featuring their then-guru Gerry Healy as Frank denounced the exclusion of the Spartacist League and took them to task for their politics.

Spartacist League comrades first met Frank when they intervened into classes

on Marxism at the Victorian Labour College held in the Trades Hall. In fact Frank was a natural leader, introducing the ideas of revolutionary Marxism to other young people who gravitated towards this cultured man. He was well-read and able to knowledgeably discuss anything from the American Civil War to the European Reformation. Many's the night we remember at Frank's place of hard drinking and smoking, and political and historical debate, often ending in a toast "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!"

Frank had a deep-going hatred for this capitalist class society and for the widespread chauvinism of this country in particular. But he was never one to complain about his own lot. The guy was tough, and he lived life to the fullest. His hospitality was unending, welcoming visits from comrades and friends. He always indulged his guests in good liquor, fine music and stimulating conversation.

We sadly miss him and will cherish his memory. It was an honour to have had him as a friend and a comrade. We know there will be many others, some now working in other sections of the International Communist League, who will be saddened by the news of his death.

Peter, Carol and Emily
Melbourne

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: Neil Flannagan, Andrew Giannakis (editor), Peter McLeod, Philippa Newman, Margaret Rodda
CIRCULATION: Kathie Tresca
PRODUCTION: Philippa 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.

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For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Recently we completed our annual subscription drive to *Australasian Spartacist* (ASp) and other publications of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) (ICL). From factory gates to university campuses, from Sydney's Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras to the massive 5 March 80,000-strong union rally in Melbourne protesting the Victorian Tory government's job-slashing attacks, the

Subscription Drive Success

hallmarks of the old world order which led to the slaughterhouse of World War I, but this time posing the threat of nuclear conflagration. There has been a sharp rise in racist terror and fascist mobilisations across Europe alongside unchecked neo-colonialist aggression across the globe.

The Australian ruling class with its economy in shambles is deeply contradicted by big power trade rivalry between Japan, its biggest trading partner and the U.S., its big brother "protector." In the recent March elections ASp (Autumn 1993) told the truth: "Both Labor and the Tories are bidding to administer capitalist depression in the context of 'New World Disorder.' This demands a massive increase in the rate of exploitation of the working class." While the fake-left ISO and DSP campaigned for Keating (see "ISO/DSP: Social-Imperialist 'True Believers' for Yeltsin and Keating" this issue) we uniquely proclaimed "No vote to Labor! Build a revolutionary workers party!"

ACTU/THC Tops—Labour Lieutenants of Capital

Growing trade war and exploitation have fuelled a wave of major class battles across Europe from Poland to Germany to Italy. In Australia last year there was a 150,000-strong strike rally in Melbourne on 10 November. What followed was a surge of strikes that spread nationally to coal, maritime and metal industries and threatened to spike both Kennett's and Keating's union-busting plans. But as with the powerful 1991 general strike of the multi-racial NSW working class, the Laborite bureaucrats worked to knife effective independent working-class action by channelling outrage into a campaign to re-elect Keating and bolster the bosses' Arbitration courts.

Today the Laborite "True Believers" are backslapping each other over Labor's electoral victory. But for working people, youth, minorities and women three more years of Labor means more unemployment, union-busting and at-

tacks on social welfare. In his first keynote speech since the election Keating signalled to the bosses that anti-union "enterprise bargaining" and job-slashing award "restructuring" would be accelerated. Recently an "enterprise deal" between the Food Preservers Union and the massive Heinz conglomerate provided the bosses a massive \$15 million savings via job cuts, speed ups and givebacks. In Victoria the Kennett Tory government plans a further 18,000 job cuts to the public sector. But the only answer from Victorian Trades Hall Council tops like John Halfpenny is yet

through an agreement that formalised job losses and givebacks. A Melbourne comrade noted, "there is an insidious division of labour within the union bureaucracy...Halfpenny keeps a careful public distance from the sellouts as they go down. His public role is calling and leading the big strike rallies, blustering about defeating Kennett, by re-electing Labor."

Spartacist supporters used our press to intervene into strike picket lines and working-class rallies asserting the urgent need for independent working-class action. Nothing important was ever won by the working class through the ballot box or the bosses' courts. Bury Arbitration! The working class needs a revolutionary party forged in struggle against the pro-capitalist ALP and union tops, a leadership prepared to tear up the bosses' rule

Final Totals

| Local | Quota (points) | Total Sold | % |
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| Sydney | 520 | 684 | 132 |
| Melbourne | 350 | 478 | 137 |
| At Large | - | 18 | - |
| National Total | 870 | 1180 | 136 |

Spartacist League (SL) won new subscribers to our revolutionary press. Our subscription sales exceeded the quota we had set by 36 per cent. Congratulations to all comrades and particularly comrade Bret from Melbourne who sold the most subscriptions with 108 points.

A central feature of our subscription drive this year was the recent issue of *Spartacist* (English edition) No. 47-48, theoretical journal of the ICL, which reprinted the main document of last year's Second International Conference of the ICL, entitled "For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky." This document detailed our tendency's determined struggle in defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the East European deformed workers states. The counterrevolutionary overturn there was the culmination of an imperialist campaign of destabilisation capping decades of economic and military pressure against the Soviet bloc. At the same time the collapse of Stalinism in the face of capitalist counterrevolution was the end result of decades of appeasing imperialism and betrayal of revolutionary struggles internationally.

As the document makes clear:

"In no country can we develop into the vanguard party of the proletariat if a majority of politically advanced workers and leftist intellectual activists believe that the successes of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union demonstrate the fundamental invalidity of the communist program as developed by Marx and Engels and extended by Lenin and Trotsky.... As a Trotskyist international propaganda tendency, a central and immediate task is to explain the responsibility of the Stalinist bureaucracy for the historic defeat suffered by the international proletariat in the Soviet sphere and to discredit the pseudo-Trotskyist cheerleaders and abettors of the 'bourgeois-democratic' counterrevolution in East Europe."

We stand sharply counterposed to the fake-left like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) who sided with imperialism and cheered counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As for the political bandits of the Socialist Labour League, they supported every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary movement against the Soviet workers state during Cold War II. With the 1991 Yeltsin/Bush counter-coup they rushed with indecent haste to proclaim the Soviet Union dead.

The world is a far more dangerous place today as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. The previous imperialist unity, maintained for decades against the "communist menace" has broken down as contending imperialist powers vie to carve up the former Soviet bloc into colonies. The "New World Disorder" proclaimed during the U.S.-led (and Australia-backed) imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf has all the



MEWU photo

Massive strike rally in Melbourne, 10 November. Union bureaucrats channelled workers anger into campaign to re-elect Keating government.

another pro-Labor "political campaign" in marginal Victorian seats in preparation for the next election in three years time. Halfpenny also promised to call off all industrial action if talks with the Kennett government proceeded.

During March, Melbourne Linfox transport workers fought a bitter strike, mounted picket lines and confronted cop attacks in defence of union conditions and jobs. But their struggle was knifed by Transport Workers Union tops who buckled under a Supreme Court injunction to stop picketing and forced

book and fight the class struggle to win. For workers revolution to establish a workers state!

A Bolshevik Party—Tribune of All the Oppressed

The role of our revolutionary press is not merely to comment and inform, but to provide a guide to action, a program for victory for the working class and all the oppressed. Our press has a proud history of fighting against racist state oppression of Aborigines and campaigning for union/black/minority mobilisations against racist terror. We are uncompromising fighters against racist protectionism pushed by union tops to line up workers behind their own bosses against the working people of Asia. And against the anti-immigrant racism peddled by ACTU bureaucrats we say: Smash racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

Spiralling recession has intensified the oppression of women in this white racist country with its brutally male chauvinist "national character"—best described as the culture of white pigs. During International Women's Day demonstrations and in SL forums held in Melbourne and Sydney, comrades highlighted the ASp article, "For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" and *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S.

A majority of our new subscriptions were sold to youth, especially students on campuses in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra. Regimented in the family and schools and subject to reactionary bourgeois-moralist campaigns against sexual and individual freedoms, young people today confront a bleak future

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"... Avenge the murders of Hani, Biko and Aggett! For workers revolution in South Africa!"



ASp photo

Sydney University, 21 April: Spartacist-initiated protest against South African neo-Apartheid racist terror and capitalist "power sharing" swindle.

Capitalists Attack Postwar "Welfare State"

Workers' Protests Across West Europe

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. 575, 7 May 1993.

Over the past month, West Europe has experienced a dramatic upsurge of workers' strikes and protests, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. In eastern Germany, warning strikes by metal and steel workers brought out tens of thousands, blocking roads, bridges and factory gates. British rail workers have shut down service twice in the space of two weeks. In Italy during the Europe-wide day of union action on April 2, schools, airports, railways and public buildings were shut down.

These labor struggles are part of mounting social unrest in post-Cold War Europe. The dramatic defeat of French social democracy in the March parliamentary elections and the victory of the right wing was quickly followed by police killings of minority youths. Spain's "socialist" government is about to lose its majority. The Italian political regime, which has remained constant through more than 50 governments since World War II, is collapsing. Fascist attacks and anti-immigrant pogroms in Germany were followed by large anti-fascist demonstrations.

This many-sided turmoil is the result, directly or indirectly, of counter-revolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and generalized capitalist economic crisis in the West. Lacking the common Cold War enemy, inter-imperialist rivalries have intensified, not only Europe vs. America vs. Japan, but also among the European bourgeoisies. Mass unemployment is being combined with attacks on the social programs of the postwar era by a ruling class emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet Union. Pro-NATO social democrats thought they would prosper as a result of the collapse of Soviet Stalinism. But the opposite has occurred, as the bourgeoisie sees less need for its labor lieutenants and finds the vaunted "welfare state" an expensive and now dispensable overhead cost.

All of the euphemisms for a supposedly fundamentally reformed capitalism ("social market economy" in Germany, Sweden's "third way," etc.) are out the



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Regis Bossu - Sygma for Time

Immigrant workers (left) have strategic position in German heavy industry. Striking metal workers in Dresden (right). Spartakists call for full metal/steel/coal strike now, East and West.

window. Even the most elementary social struggles today cry out for revolutionary leadership.

The New Capitalist Offensive

The Eurocrats of the Brussels-based European Community (EC) are proposing to lay off 50,000 steel workers—over half of these in Germany—in the next two years. If even the strongest section of the working class in the wealthiest capitalist country in Europe is threatened by the economic crisis, its effects are already devastating weaker sections in the poorer regions. In southern Italy, for example, unemployment among women workers has reached a staggering 35 percent!

The Italian government has launched a savage austerity program that eliminated the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages), a vitally necessary means of maintaining workers' living standards in a country prone to high inflation. The new right-wing French regime poses a Gallic version of Thatcherism—denationalizations and cuts in medical benefits—along with stepped-up state terror against the North African and black African communities in France.

In Britain, the Tory government of John Major wants to close down the

remaining 60 percent of the nationalized coal mines, thereby finishing off the destruction of the historic core and most militant section of the labor movement. British Rail is also targeted for privatization and further job-slashing. The German ruling class, with the Social Democrats in tow, is demanding "sacrifices" from the working masses to pay for its takeover of the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany).

Reformist union bureaucrats and politicians accept the destructive logic of the capitalist system, only pleading for a measure of damage control. Oskar Lafontaine, the one-time stormy petrel of German Social Democracy and premier of the Saarland, told protesting steel workers: "Further layoffs are unavoidable, but they must be made socially bearable for those affected." However, rising unemployment has been accompanied by the ripping up of the social safety net supposedly designed to protect the victims of the anarchy of the market.

Even the most left-talking social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats have shown themselves utterly impotent to defend the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. Arthur Scargill, the "radical" head of the British National Union of Mineworkers, diverted the explosion of working-class anger when Major announced the pit closures last fall into protest demonstrations that in no way threatened the Tory government. Furthermore, this former *bête noire* of the British establishment embraced Tory local councillors, liberal politicians, Anglican church leaders and the like, who for their own reasons object to the wholesale deindustrialization of Britain.

For months, Franz Steinkühler, the left social democrat who heads IG Metall—self-proclaimed as the most powerful trade union in the world—has made ringing declarations of "solidarity" with his union members in eastern Germany, a region reduced to an industrial wasteland by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich. But now Steinkühler states that "there can no longer be an all-encompassing contract" for metal workers in Germany. The gutting of the workers movement in Prussia and Saxony will necessarily undermine the unions west of the Elbe too. A plant council official in East Berlin's KWO cable manufacturer noted: "It's quite clear that the employers are taking on the union here in order to prepare the ground for a wider attack in the west" (London *Guardian*, 2 April).

There is a widespread sense throughout West Europe, especially among the youth, that something has gone very wrong with the social and economic order. Even the *New York Times* (4 April) observed from its ideological vantage point that "three years after the epochal changes that followed the collapse of Communism in Europe, signs of crisis in the political systems that ensured the success of its free societies during the cold war remain evident everywhere." Among the losers in the post-Cold War order, a mood of despair and hopelessness is spreading, leading for example to the anti-immigrant pogrom cheered on by hundreds in the eastern German port city of Rostock last August.

Fascist parties are channeling economic fears and resentments into attacks on dark-skinned "foreigners" and minorities. The ultimate aim of the fascists, who are now appealing to backward workers as well as unemployed youth, is the destruction of the organized labor movement. In short, capitalist counterrevolution against the bureaucratically ruled workers states in East Europe is being followed up by a capitalist offensive against the bureaucratically led workers movements of West Europe. And the bureaucrats don't have a clue as to what to do about it.

The Cold War and the Welfare State

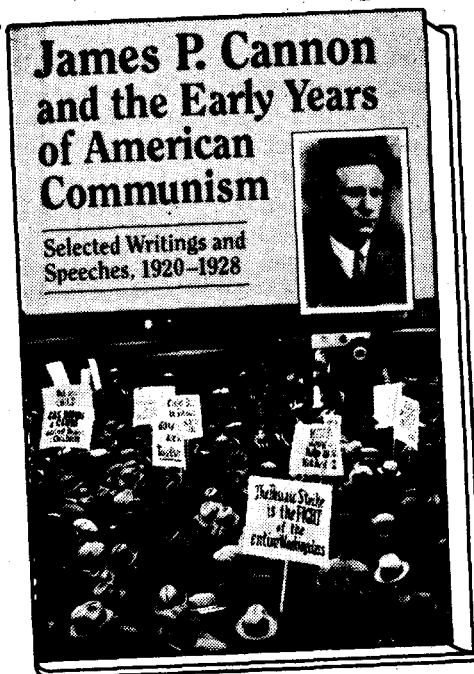
The complex of social programs known as the "welfare state"—free or inexpensive medical care, government-funded pensions, unemployment insurance—were *not* won through trade-union struggles or social-democratic pressure politics. They were a response of the West European bourgeoisies in fear of social revolution in the immediate aftermath of World War II. That fear was accentuated by the very existence of the Soviet Union, which had just acquired new prestige from the Red Army's victory over Hitler's Germany, while large sections of the European bourgeoisies were tainted by their collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces. Especially in Latin Europe, the national Communist parties had also gained greatly increased authority in the working class.

In order to pacify the working masses, with the precious help of the social democrats and the Stalinists (who joined postwar "popular front" governments with capitalist parties in France and Italy), the bourgeoisie had to offer a far better deal than the prewar conditions

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of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism. At the same time, American imperialism was promoting and funding social-democratic bureaucrats in the unions and anti-Communist reformist parties in order to cohere the NATO alliance against the Soviet bloc.

In the 1960s-early '70s, West Europe experienced another period of instability arising from a series of long, losing colonial wars—Algeria, Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique. A new generation of militant workers and leftist intellectuals came to the fore, hostile to the traditional social-democratic and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties. In Latin Europe, this period of radicalization culminated in the prerevolutionary crises of the May-June 1968 events in France and Italy's "hot autumn" the following year, and later the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75.

To restabilize the bourgeois order in the southern tier of NATO, greater concessions were made to the working class while social democracy was deliberately strengthened in this region. The *scala mobile* was the main gain Italian workers extracted from the 1969 "hot autumn," which saw the beginnings of dual power in the factories of Lombardy and Tuscany. The real scare which the French bourgeoisie received in May '68 led to the reconstruction of French social democracy around François Mitterrand. In the Iberian peninsula, the right-wing despotisms of Franco and Salazar were replaced by social-democratic governments.

The shoring up of NATO's southern flank laid the basis for Cold War II in the early 1980s, with the social democracy marching arm in arm with Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl. This was exemplified by the unholy alliance of support for Polish Solidarność; stretching from its patrons in the Vatican and the White House to Cold War "socialists" and most of the "far left." NATO social democrats like Mitterrand glorified the "welfare state" as part of the imperialist propaganda campaign to subvert the Soviet bloc. Workers in East Europe were told—and many believed—that capitalist restoration would enable them to live like the workers of West Germany and Scandinavia, the wealthiest regions of the imperialist world. In reality, counterrevolution has degraded East Europe and the former Soviet Union to the condition of Third World neocolonies.

And in West Europe, the social-democratic welfare state is now under attack by a bourgeoisie for which it has outlived its historic usefulness. That attack has been intensified and accelerated by the economic repercussions of German reunification. Especially after the defeat of the Portuguese Revolution, in which the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (named after the German SPD leader famous for saying he hated revolution like the plague) played a key role, West Germany acted as a godfather to social democracy in Latin Europe. Spain's Felipe González and Portugal's Mário Soares were creations of the SPD. Through the European Community, Bonn helped fund social programs and industrial subsidies in the poorer Mediterranean countries.

But German imperialism's takeover of the DDR changed all that. With the vindictive dismantling of the DDR's industrial plant, millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last year Bonn transferred [US]\$130 billion to Germany's eastern states, mainly for unemployment benefits, pensions for forced retirees and special projects like paying people to demolish closed-down factories. The "reconstruction" of the ex-DDR has been financed through massive deficit spending, drawing in money capital from the rest of West Europe via high interest rates maintained by the Bundesbank.

The wealthy godfather of the European Community has become its Scrooge. The 1991 Maastricht Treaty,

proclaiming a new era of "European unity," is now a dead letter. The pipe dream of Mitterrand and EC Commission head Jacques Delors, that the Bundesbank would share its financial wealth with France, collapsed last fall along with the European Monetary System. Likewise, Spanish social-democratic premier Felipe González' project of a "cohesion fund" for the poorer EC countries has been shot down by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich.

German capital has become a force for austerity and industrial retrenchment throughout West Europe. For example, Krupp and other German steel giants are demanding an end to government subsidies for the state-owned steel industries in Italy and Spain. This protectionist campaign has the wholehearted

economy, as the bourgeois right gained its biggest electoral victory in a quarter-century. The Socialists were reduced to 19 percent of the vote on the first round, not much higher than the 12.5 percent garnered by the fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The new right-wing government—a none-100-stable bloc between the Gaullists and Giscardians—has co-opted the National Front program of anti-immigrant racism against the North African and black African communities (see "French Cops on Racist Rampage," *Workers Vanguard* No. 574, 23 April). The new Gaullist premier Edouard Balladur has announced plans to privatize a number of nationalized companies, which especially under conditions of severe recession will mean layoffs and

L'Espresso



Italy: Militant workers protest against government and union leaders' complicity in destroying union gains.

support of the social-democratic union leaders, with IG Metall's Steinkühler calling for a "German steel concept."

Collapse of Stalinism, Crisis of Social Democracy

Nowhere is the link between the collapse of Stalinism, leading to counterrevolution in East Europe, and the bankruptcy of social democracy in West Europe clearer than in France. For the past decade François Mitterrand was the personification of an anti-Soviet social democrat. In fact, he was more bellicose hostile to Moscow than his bourgeois (Gaullist and Giscardian) predecessors in the Elysée Palace. Yet in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, Mitterrand's Socialist Party has suffered a political defeat so shattering its future existence is in doubt.

Initially, the Mitterrand regime attempted a policy of economic expansion—"Keynesianism in one country"—during the 1982-83 world slump. Its nationalization of banks and several large companies was largely in order to prevent them from going bankrupt. After the predictable capital flight and two currency devaluations, the Paris social democrats made a U-turn in economic policy in favor of monetarist *rigueur* (austerity) in the name of a strong franc. As a result, unemployment in "socialist" France hovered around 10 percent for half a decade before the current recession made things even worse. The American *Business Week* (5 April) noted that "German companies such as Volkswagen and Thyssen are only starting the big layoffs and plant closings that took place in the 1980s at Renault and Usinor Sacilor [steel]."

Unemployment dominated the French March 22 parliamentary elections, with one poll showing that 70 percent of voters considered this issue number one. The Mitterrand social monetarists were punished for the wretched state of the

cuts in wages and benefits, and to cut the reimbursement rate for medical treatment and drugs.

The magnitude of the Socialist Party defeat on March 22 threatens to shatter this faction-ridden electoralist machine. Mitterrand's heir apparent Michel Rocard is calling for a "big bang"—the dissolution of the social democrats into a broader political formation somewhat analogous to the American Democratic Party, open to ecologists, liberals and anyone regarding themselves as left of center.

The Communist Party (PCF), once hegemonic over the French working class, has been reduced to its hard core of support in the "red" suburbs, its electoral following less than that of the National Front. With the social democrats demoralized and in disarray, the PCF has recouped a bit in the most recent period. However, the PCF will never regain its former position as the reformist party of the proletariat.

With a dramatic weakening of both the social democrats and erstwhile Stalinists, working-class resistance to attacks by the new rightist regime could well take the form of spontaneous, combative struggles led by raw militants without clear political direction. And given the common identification of Marxism-Leninism with Stalinism, one might see in France a resurgence of anti-parliamentary syndicalist currents such as dominated the French workers movement in the decades before World War I.

In Italy, conditions are even more fertile for the re-emergence of syndicalist tendencies and attitudes within the working class. As in France, anarchist and syndicalist groupings were strong in the Italian workers movement in the pre-1914 era. And such currents resurfaced during the radicalization of the 1960s-early '70s. Today, once again, the Italian working class has demonstrated great combativity in defying the reformist parties and union leaders. Last fall, when right-wing Socialist prime minister

Giuliano Amato announced a new austerity program of "blood and tears," hundreds of thousands of workers, joined by pensioners and students, poured into the streets, clashing with police and pelting the sellout union leaders with coins.

These tumultuous class battles are taking place at a time when the entire postwar political order in Italy has all but collapsed. Since the U.S. Army entered Rome in 1944, the heavy hand of American imperialism has directed the political stage in the peninsula. Washington was determined to keep the powerful Communist Party out of the government, even after the abjectly reformist PCI only asked to become junior partners of the Christian Democrats during the mid-'70s (the so-called "Historic Compromise"). The Cold War in Italy meant a perpetual coalition made up of the venal and fractious cliques of the Christian Democrats and social democrats.

With the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the accompanying split in the PCI, the anti-Communist glue holding together Italy's ruling cliques dissolved.

Rome has witnessed an orgy of politician corruption scandals, with one-third of the parliamentary deputies being investigated for taking bribes and kickbacks. The Italian bourgeoisie wants to rid itself of the parasitic, faction-ridden Christian Democratic party machine and the bloated bureaucracy of the nationalized industries, replacing them with a streamlined governing apparatus and a "strong state," preferably some form of presidential bonapartism. But for the moment chaos reigns.

The Italian workers movement, too, is in a state of turmoil. In the wake of the capitalist reunification of Germany, the Communist Party, for decades the largest in West Europe, split. The smaller, more left-posturing Rifondazione Comunista (RC) capitulated grossly to Amato's austerity last fall, violence-baiting the workers who took to the streets. The main CGIL trade-union federation, led by erstwhile Eurocommunist hacks, has been widely discredited, and various groupings of shopfloor militants have come to the fore, such as the Comitato di Base (Rank-and-File Committees).

In late February, 200,000 workers answered the call by the United Factory Councils to march on Rome in defense of their jobs. At their head were 300 coal miners from the Sulcis mine in Sardinia, the site of a dramatic occupation. When ENI, the giant state-owned conglomerate which runs the mine, announced plans to cut the workforce in half, nine miners chained themselves in the pit for 46 days

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

cities. Windows were smashed, vehicles and government offices burnt, grenades thrown at soldiers. On the day of his funeral thousands filled a Soweto stadium while bands of angry youth threw stones at the police "hippos" (armored cars) patrolling the area.

A few days earlier in the Cape Town area, protesters blocked a highway with burning barricades and massed outside President F. W. De Klerk's official residence. "No Peace. War, War," youth chanted in the streets. Black "moderates" pulled out all the stops to quell the justified rage. Bishop Desmond Tutu praised the conduct of the police and denounced the violence of the "lunatic fringe," referring to the ANC's "young lions."

Soweto was the site of a dramatic political confrontation. At the April 14 protest, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela addressed the 20,000 who rallied in a sports stadium, the crowd erupted in boos when Mandela said "I don't like the National Party, but I'm prepared to work with F. W. De Klerk to build a new South Africa." Yells came from the crowd, "We hate them, we hate them!" Others said of Mandela, "He's too old and he doesn't want to fight."

Hani and the "Power Sharing" Deal

Leaders of the ANC and the apartheid rulers worried about the impact on the current "power sharing" negotiations. In fact, the assassination of Hani exposed the reality of the "new" South Africa—not post-apartheid but *neo-apartheid*. Now Mandela is using the spectre of massive violent upheaval in the townships to push through the deal with the white-supremacist regime.

For young black militants, Hani was the personification of "armed struggle" against the hated apartheid regime. Yet following the assassination, Nelson Mandela cited Hani's "central role in the effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement" and said Hani was killed to head off negotiations. This was self-evidently true. As we have noted, Hani and his close ally Winnie Mandela traded on their militant reputations to position themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela/De Klerk government. Hani in fact insisted he had no fundamental disagreement with "power sharing," only bickering over timing and the small print of the deal. As we wrote last month:

"Hani/[Winnie] Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the 'power sharing' deal.... The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the 'militant opposition' waiting in the wings."

—"South Africa 'Power Sharing' Swindle," *Workers Vanguard* No. 571, 12 March

By channeling the mounting disaffection of the township youth, we noted, these critics "are key players in making sure the deal goes down."

We were the *only ones* to state this obvious truth, at a time when nobody, either in the bourgeois media or the left press, would say it. They instead united in building Hani's reputation as an uncompromising Communist leading militant opposition to Mandela's sellout. But today Hani's role in the "negotiations" waltz is being discussed by all. Thus in the *New York Times* (11 April), Bill Keller wrote that "With his credentials as the anti-apartheid guerrilla leader and his charismatic appeal to angry young blacks, Mr. Hani gave the congress credibility among its most disaffected constituents." Tutu said of Hani that "He

had the credibility among the young to rein in the radicals." And South African journalist Anthony Hazlitt Heard noted that Hani was "a crucial cog in the peace machinery":

"Hani was the person most suited to taming the excesses of the masses, particularly the impoverished and embittered youth. And he did this with a gusto and sincerity that surprised many of his opponents. He had made the quantum leap from fostering class revolution to all-around stability."

—*Los Angeles Times* (13 April)

After all, it was Hani who argued for the "integration" of the MK forces into the apartheid army. While as a military guerrilla force, the MK was no threat at all to the South African army, to liquidate it into the repressive apparatus of the present regime is a betrayal of would-be liberation fighters and a sinister threat to black workers and township youth. At the same time, Hani sought to counter De Klerk's Zulu *Gauleiter*, Gatscha Buthelezi, by playing the Xhosa tribalist card. Thus he sought an alliance with ANC-allied bantustan chiefs in Venda and the Transkei. Lately, he had been trying to organize "community defense" patrols as part of the phony "peace" negotiations.

Hani not only fostered illusions in the "democracy" of a "new" South Africa, but apparently shared some of them himself. This is tragically evident in his reported decision to dismiss his bodyguards on Easter weekend, and travel



Financial Times

Sinister killers of the Nazi AWB target militant blacks and leftists.

murder of an ANC supporter in Durban that year. The two jumped bail and fled to Britain, where they announced that they were South African military intelligence operatives.

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

The mood of the ANC's "young lions" was expressed by Thabo Morudu, 21. "When Mandela was released, we thought things would get better over-

A 16 April Associated Press article by Barry Renfrew summed up the imperialists' calculations of the effect of Hani's murder on the "peace negotiations." Renfrew writes that under threat of a descent into chaos, the white rulers and the ANC tops are being pushed into a tighter embrace. Noting that further unrest is likely, he writes that the "violence that erupted in the wake of Hani's death was comparatively modest in a country where dozens of people are killed every week in political violence," and "much of the anger is likely to abate in coming weeks.... Without organization, strong leadership and resources, such unrest could not be sustained."

Renfrew observed that while many "question Mandela's ability to control angry young blacks, the ANC has always had radical black rivals to which it has lost militant black youths for decades." This is quite true, and the real key to the future of South Africa does not lie in the militant township youth, although they can play a valuable role, but in the millions-strong proletariat in the factories, mines, railways and docks who make the wheels of apartheid capitalism turn...or stop.

There is an urgent need for the black, "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian masses to organize self-defense units, *with a proletarian axis*. They can incorporate the young fighters of the impoverished townships, but must be built on a multi-ethnic working-class basis including coloureds, Indians and anti-racist whites. This must be part of a strategy of proletarian revolution.

The key is building a genuine communist, Trotskyist party, where the red star and the hammer and sickle are not hollow symbols of some long-forgotten days but the heart of a fighting program for workers revolution. The modern-day wage slaves who produce the fabulous profits of the Anglo American mining magnates must not be chained to a party of bourgeois nationalism, manipulated by the black front men for refurbished apartheid capitalism, but rather must struggle for a black-centered workers republic. ■



South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo (left) with SACP general secretary Chris Hani, cut down by assassin on April 10.

alone in the right-wing white enclave of Boksburg, where the fascists operate with impunity.

The Assassination Plot

The assassin was one Janusz Walus, a fanatical anti-communist Polish fascist who emigrated to South Africa in 1981 on the eve of the suppression of the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność, the Polish nationalist movement backed by the U.S. and the Vatican. In South Africa, Walus joined the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a Nazi paramilitary organization, and was involved with other white-extremist action groups.

The "single deranged fascist" line spun by the government collapsed almost immediately when it was revealed the pistol which killed Hani came from a 1990 fascist raid on a South African air force arsenal in Pretoria. The heist, in which more than 70 weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition were taken, was an inside job. Guards at the installation were among more than 50 rightists charged in the plot.

On April 17, police arrested "for questioning" a senior member of the Conservative Party, Derby Lewis, who has connections to a number of right-wing extremist groups. And an article by John Carlin in the London *Independent* (16 April) reports on fresh evidence definitively linking Walus to South African intelligence. Walus also belongs to the "Afrikaner National Socialist Movement" (ANS), whose leader, Koos Vermeulen, said it would pay Walus' legal costs. Vermeulen was closely associated with two men charged with carrying out a bombing at a black taxi stand in Pretoria in 1990, and with the

night. Since then it's been delay, delay, delay—three years of delay. And now they're murdering our leaders. The only answer is insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 18 April). This is the bitter anger of people who thought they were getting "Amandla" (power) and now have been robbed of even the illusion of it.

Today there is no one of the stature of Chris Hani who can galvanize yet control the township youth, the ANC's plebeian base—which is why he was killed. ANC Youth League leaders adopt militant posturing, and the Pan Africanist Congress will doubtless pick up followers for its indiscriminate terror bombings of restaurants and golf courses frequented by whites. Outrage may degenerate into random attacks by roving bands of lumpenproletarian youth who could direct their rage at anything from Zulu hostels to individual whites or black workers.

JUST OUT!

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Black History and the Class Struggle

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ISO/DSP Social-Imperialists

"True Believers" for Yeltsin and Keating

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Reprinted below is a leaflet published 26 April and distributed on campuses and at left events in Melbourne and Sydney.

* * *

Last 7 November marked the 75th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. But the workers state erected by the Bolsheviks, far and away the greatest conquest of the international proletariat and a momentous leap forward for humanity, did not survive its 75th year. Besieged by imperialism and betrayed by Stalin and his heirs, the period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resistance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible. The collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the ensuing sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries have made the world a far more dangerous place. "New World Disorder" has meant rising racist terror from France to South Africa, fascist mobilisations across Europe, increased imperialist belligerence and renewed colonialist interventions as in Somalia.

The Australian ruling class, with an economy slipping deeper into depression, is caught in a vice of growing inter-imperialist rivalries between the U.S. and Japan. Australian capitalism's only solution—whether administered by Labor or Liberal—is to massively increase the rate of exploitation of the working class, while seeking new fields of imperialist exploitation in Asia. Recently Keating proclaimed the ALP's electoral victory as a triumph for the "True Believers." But it was no victory for the working class, youth, minorities and women who know that they face three more years of massive unemployment, union-busting and attacks on social welfare and education.

However Keating does have his social-imperialist "True Believers" on the left. While we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)(ICL) fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and all the deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and the Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance (DSP) took their side with imperialism cheering the counterrevolutionary defeats in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In the recent elections the ISO went into overdrive propagandising, petitioning and demonstrating for a vote to the anti-working-class Labor government. The DSP supported open bourgeois candidates like the Greens and ex-Democrat Janet Powell, a position that put them to the right of the ALP, whilst directing preferences to the ALP so as to not jeopardise "whatever faint chance there remains of electing a Labor government" (*Green Left*, 3 March).

We Spartacists uniquely said: No vote to Labor! What is urgently needed is the forging of a revolutionary workers party! The only road forward for the working class today is hard class struggle to turn back the tide of capitalist attacks. To call for a vote to the ALP today, let alone campaign furiously for it, is class treachery!

ISO/DSP: Imperialism's Anti-Soviet Left Toadies

The ISO are the Australian supporters of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain. In 1950 Cliff's

organisation was expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea against U.S., British and Australian imperialism. Three million Koreans were slaughtered in that war, conducted under United Nations auspices. When the Cold War turned hot in Korea directly threatening the Chinese deformed workers state, Cliff's "theory" that the USSR was "state capitalist" provided the rationale for straight-forward capitulation to the British Empire and Western imperialism.

We have always said that the ISO's "third camp" ("neither Washington nor Moscow") is in the imperialist camp. With Bush/Yeltsin's counter-coup in August 1991, the ISO declared "communism is dead"... It's a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist*, September 1991). For millions of working people in Eastern Europe and the ex-USSR capitalist counterrevolution has meant immiseration, mass unemployment, nationalist fratricide and the rise of fascist terror. Capitalist counterrevolution has been a major historic defeat for the world's proletariat. In cheering for Yeltsin, the anti-communist social-democratic ISO took their cue from imperialist ruling-class chief prime minister Hawke and Australia's big brother, U.S. imperialism.

During the 1980s Cold War against the Soviet Union the ISO's treachery plumbed new depths. They supported the CIA-funded Afghan *mujahedin* cut-throats, who fought to reimpose the veil on Afghan women and murdered school teachers who taught young girls to read and write. The Spartacist League, in contrast, said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples! We denounced Gorbachev's 1989 betrayal of the Afghan people when he announced the pullout of troops in order to appease Washington. We warned it is far better to fight imperialism in Afghanistan than within the borders of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev's 1989 retreat from Afghanistan helped pave the way for the counter-revolutionary disaster that destroyed the Soviet Union.

The ISO joined Hawke's Labor party, the reactionary National Civic Council and ASIO in a reactionary crusade cheering the CIA-backed clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarnosc. Today Solidarnosc is doling out capitalist misery to the Polish working class, and carrying out anti-woman attacks such as ripping away abortion rights.

The DSP (formerly the Socialist Workers Party which published *Direct Action*) have consistently lined up in the same pro-imperialist camp as the ISO. Even today they unashamedly hail Yeltsin for his role in "leading resistance to a Stalinist coup" in 1991 (*Green Left*, 31 March). Not long ago they were enthusiastic Gorbachev supporters and their paper was full of lavish praise for *perestroika* "free market" reforms that paved the way for counterrevolution. Along with cheering for Polish Solidarnosc the DSP got together with the Croatian nationalist HDP and despicably whitewashed the notoriously fascist Croatian Ustasha throughout the eighties.

Uniquely we of the Spartacist League of Australia, as part of the ICL opposed capitalist restoration across the board.



Der Spiegel



Matthew Strassberg

ISO/DSP: Cheered Yeltsin/Bush (left) counterrevolution in USSR. Embraced union-busting Keating (right) Labor government.

Against Walesa's bid for power in 1981, we demanded: "Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution!" In Germany in 1989-90, we alone unambiguously proclaimed: "No to Capitalist Reunification!" At the time of Yeltsin's August 1991 counter-coup, we declared "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We stood in class opposition to the 1990 imperialist invasion of Cambodia which aims to strangle the Vietnamese Revolution. We fought for the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution from East Berlin to Warsaw to Hanoi and Moscow, to defeat the counterrevolutionary onslaught and oust the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracies. In 1990, our German comrades initiated the 3 January united-front workers mobilisation in protest at the fascist desecration of East Berlin's Treptow Park memorial to Red Army soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. A quarter of a million people came out to demonstrate solidarity with the Red Army against German fascism. And in the former USSR today under the difficult conditions of counterrevolutionary chaos, we Spartacists have sought to cohere the nucleus of a revolutionary Bolshevik party around the banner of Trotsky's Fourth International.

ALP—Party of Racism, Depression and War

The ISO and DSP's social-imperialist hatred for the gains of the 1917 October Revolution goes hand in hand with the most slavish and putrid identification with pro-capitalist Laborism and hence racist Australian imperialism. As we pointed out in 1983 "little Australian" social-democratic nationalism is not only white racist, but proud of its brutally male chauvinist and self-indulgent, parochial philistine "national character"—best described as the culture of white pigs (*Australasian Spartacist*, No. 101).

The Labor government, which the ISO and DSP have loyally supported for a decade has administered massive job destruction, the savaging of education, health and other social services, anti-woman attacks, racist deportations of immigrants and systematic state terror and murder of Aborigines. It participated in the slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis in the one-sided Gulf "War," financed and armed the murderous blockade of Bougainville which has left over 3000 dead, and joined in the imperialist "humanitarian" invasion of Somalia.

Earlier this year the ISO with supreme cynicism, urged "united struggle by ordinary Somalis against foreign intervention" (*Socialist*, January) while at home

they pushed the liberal-imperialist line "Send aid not guns" and for four months refused to even call for Australian imperialist troops out! In response to the racist murder of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani, the ISO are petitioning the racist Keating government which presides over murderous oppression of Aborigines in this country to "condemn Chris Hani's murder and De Klerk's refusal to provide adequate safety." As for the DSP, they carry reactionary pro-company calls to "freeze all tariff reductions" which is the racist trademark of the sellout Laborite bureaucracy and is used to set up Australian workers against their class brothers and sisters in Asia. We say: Down with racist protectionist poison! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

Forge an Internationalist Revolutionary Workers Party!

The Laborite union tops are the labour lieutenants of capital—the chief roadblock to a desperately needed working-class fightback. The 1991 NSW general strike and the more recent Victorian-centred strikes over the last six months echoed the huge wave of class struggle around the world from Germany, Italy to Greece. But the ACTU and Trades Hall union tops have worked overtime to sabotage effective working-class action, diverting it into the campaign to reelect Labor and bolster the bosses' Arbitration system. We of the Spartacist League fight for *independent* working-class action. We say: Bury Arbitration! Nothing important was ever won by the working class through the ballot box or the bosses' courts. What is urgently needed is a revolutionary workers party forged through a concerted political struggle against the Laborite union tops and against social-democratic opportunism of all stripes. Only such a party, steeled in hard class battle and drawing in behind it all the oppressed, will be able to lead the multi-racial working class forward to revolution and the establishment of a workers state.

The ISO and DSP's social-democratic programs offer no alternative to this decrepit capitalist system. Leftist youth who sincerely want to fight for a world without racism, exploitation and the threat of nuclear annihilation should look to the revolutionary internationalists of the Spartacist League. What is needed here and internationally is a socialist revolution to rip the wealth out of the hands of the ruling class and build a planned, socialist society that guarantees jobs, education and quality health care for all. *For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!* ■

Russia's New Exploiters

The American press has painted the standoff between Russian president Yeltsin and the Russian Congress as a battle between capitalist "free marketeers" and recalcitrant "Communists." In fact, both the Yeltsinites and their opponents denounce each other for "Bolshevism." Yeltsin press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov railed that the Congress' decisions in early March signaled a "slide back to Soviet communist power," while parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov attacks Yeltsin's "pathological" desire to eliminate the parliament as a "genetic link with Bolshevism." More importantly, both sides are for a capitalist market economy, which means utter impoverishment for the working people of the former Soviet Union.

The restoration of capitalist rule has put the very existence of the Soviet proletariat at stake. If the Yeltsinites have their way, it will lead to a shutdown of vast sections of industry. Following dictates of the IMF, government plans call for privatizing over 5,000 medium and large-scale enterprises, employing seven million workers, in 1993 alone. Part of the purpose is to cut these plants off from state credits, which would mean that most would go under (unless they can get foreign financing). The industrial managers grouped around Arkady Volsky (allied with Russian vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi) denounce the Yeltsinites' plans for "Kuwaitization" of the economy, in which Russia would only produce raw materials like oil for export to the West.

The Volskyites demagogically appeal to workers' legitimate concern for their livelihoods. Marxists fight to defend the industrial base of the country, and thus oppose the wholesale "privatization"—meaning shutdown—of productive capacity. We are outraged at the tearing down of a modern industrial economy and military powerhouse built up through decades of sacrifice by the multinational Soviet working people. Despite the warping influence of Stalinist bureaucratic arbitrariness, in many areas Soviet technology and science—especially in basic research and military-related fields—is as good as or better than anything in the West. The MIG-29, for instance, is superior to the *planned* next-generation European fighter jet. Today major scientific institutions are being dismantled and sold off for a song to Western firms.

But the national-"patriotic" forces around Volsky/Rutskoi are no less committed to capitalist restoration than are the Yeltsinite "democrats." They too are

Capitalism Without Capital

Moscow stock exchange, where yuppie entrepreneurs dream of becoming junior partners of Wall Street, Frankfurt bankers and Japan Inc.



subordinate to the laws of the capitalist world market, and they (along with the yuppie "entrepreneurs") are massively looting state property in cahoots with Western imperialists. *All* the contending factions derived from the disintegrated Stalinist bureaucracy are the *enemies* of the working people. The key to saving industry and the proletariat is a struggle for state power—socialist revolution to establish effective centralized planning in a reformed Soviet federation based on proletarian democracy and socialist internationalism.

Yeltsin's "Shock Therapy": Third World Immiseration

What is behind the political crisis in Russia is not a struggle between socialism and capitalism, nor between democracy and totalitarianism, but the utter failure of Yeltsin's economic policies and, more broadly, the dilemma of a counterrevolutionary regime seeking to impose capitalism without capital. Acquiescing to Washington's diktat in the futile hope of securing a massive infusion of Western aid and investment, the Yeltsinites imposed an economic "shock treatment" crafted by Harvard boy Jeffrey Sachs. Since Yeltsin's January 1992 decree "freeing" prices on basic commodities, the working masses have been plunged into unprecedented impoverishment.

Three months later, the government statistical agency reported that 90 percent of workers in Russia were earning below the then subsistence wage of 1,500 rubles a month. Per capita income in real terms at the start of 1993 was 43 percent of what it was two years ago, and even this figure disguises the Third World poverty facing millions of the most downtrodden. A handful of speculators have become overnight dollar millionaires (or ruble billionaires!), and certain sectors of the proletariat, like miners and transport workers, have been granted wage increases to keep up with the galloping inflation. But the average worker in Russia today receives two-thirds of the 6,000 rubles a month considered the bare survival minimum. Even *Time* magazine (22 March) concedes:

"Yeltsin and his team of shock therapists have been at the task since the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, producing few successes and much turmoil, hardship and anxiety."

Today Russian workers can survive only by also engaging in petty trade and deal-making or, if they have a *dacha* (house in the country), by growing food crops in their backyard. An engineer recently quit his job at a Moscow nuclear power station in order to protect the potato crop on his *dacha* from thieves! An 84-year-old pensioner stands on the freezing streets to sell a carton of milk or a pack of cigarettes at a markup to people who don't want to wait two hours on line. The official unemployment rate is 1.5 percent, but many workers are sent home on "forced vacation" on as little as one-fifth of their normal wage.

And the hardest hit have been women, who formerly made up 51 percent of the workforce. Yeltsin's labor minister Melikyan declaims, "I seriously don't think women should work while men are doing nothing." Many women are being driven into prostitution to support themselves and their children. ABC News' *Prime Time Live* (18 March) reported on a doctor in Moscow who became a prostitute because it was the only way to provide for her seven-year-old son.

Yeltsin's opponents point to the widespread devastation his policies have wrought on the entire Russian economy, warning that this level of immiseration could set off a social explosion that would sweep away the fledgling "market economy." Inflation has climbed to nearly 50 percent a month, with the price of a standard basket of goods having increased almost a *hundredfold* in the past two years. Production dropped by 24

percent last year alone. Yeltsin's scheme to privatize the entire economy in one quick fix by distributing 10,000-ruble shareholding vouchers to the population has been a scam from start to finish. In February, angry protesters blocked the streets of Leningrad to demand their money back from fly-by-night con artists who ripped off at least 350,000 vouchers by promising an instant return on their "investment."

While the Yeltsinites' social base is in the new "robber baron" entrepreneurial elite, the opposition—centered on the Civic Union bloc of "industrialist" Volsky and militarist vice president Rutskoi—draws its support from the country's factory managers. Appealing to the old "military-industrial complex," Volsky & Co. vow to maintain a strong Russian state and demand the continued flow of government subsidies to the country's key heavy industries.

Last summer Volsky, who heads the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and was a former adviser to Gorbachev, declaimed that Yeltsin's "democrats have already shown they are unable to ensure a decent existence for the people 80 percent of whom today live below the poverty line" (*Moscow New Times*, July 1992). Vladimir Ovchinnikov, general director of the Aleksandrov Radio Factory, Russia's largest producer of TV sets, declared that "real power is in the hands of directors because the livelihoods of tens of millions of people depend on them, and their workers believe in them."

This was not mere demagogy. Many fearful workers now look to the managers—most of them derived from the former *nomenklatura* (Stalinist bureaucratic elite)—to restore a semblance of the "good old days" under Brezhnev, when Soviet enterprises provided their workforce with low-rent housing, inexpensive meals in the factory cafeteria as well as meat to take home, summer vacations on the Black Sea, etc. As one woman who now makes 3,000 rubles a month as a cook in a children's hospital said, "We worked hard, and now we have nothing. With pleasure, I would go back to the old days" (*Washington Post*, 27 January).

But the factory managers are no less intent than Yeltsin's yuppies on being the new exploiters of Russia's proletariat in collaboration with international capital. Where the Volskyites differ with Yeltsin is in *how* to develop Russian capitalism. They look to Deng's China as a model, where the bureaucracy main-



Old-age pensioner begging in Red Square.

tains firm political control and continues to cultivate a strong heavy industry and military sector while gradually shifting vast chunks of the economy over to capitalism. But where China remains a deformed workers state, Russia has a (weak) capitalist state.

Volsky & Co. argue that, particularly in the absence of significant Western investment, it is necessary for the new state to directly oversee the development of a capitalist economy through a *corporatist* policy not dissimilar to that carried out by Mussolini in Italy in the 1920s and '30s. This policy was already advanced in the waning days of the Gorbachev era by "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis, who called for the introduction of capitalism through a Pinochet-style regime.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky noted: "Stalinism and fascism, in spite of a deep difference in social foundations, are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity." In effect, the corporatist wing of the counter-revolution seeks to resurrect Stalin's heavy-handed bonapartist regime on capitalist social foundations, maintaining a streamlined state sector as a motor force for a new capitalist economy.

No less than the Yeltsinites, the corporatists see the need to use the whip of repression to discipline the proletariat in order to facilitate the primitive accumulation of capital. To make Russian industrial goods cheap enough to compete on world markets, such a regime would lay off millions of "redundant" workers, while those who remained on the assembly lines would be subjected to harsh speedup. The slashing of real wages brought about under the Yeltsin/Gaidar "shock treatment" would be maintained and likely intensified by



Der Spiegel

Would-be Tsar Boris with Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of Russian parliament, a former Yeltsinite.

police-state regimentation of the labor force. Trade unions would be permitted only as pliant tools of the corporatist state, and strikes would be suppressed as "unpatriotic." Notably, it was Rutskoi, Volsky's main political ally, who played hard cop in smashing the Russian air controllers strike last summer.

Gorbachev's Perestroika: First Stage of Descent into Chaos

The Soviet economy was integrated on an all-Union basis and enterprises were designed to take maximum advantage of economies of scale. In some cases, to be sure, the Stalinist technocrats indulged in industrial gigantism for its own sake, going beyond the limits of economic rationality. But whether economically optimal or not, in many industries just a few factories supplied vital inputs for scores of enterprises from eastern Siberia to the Baltic republics. For example, 70 percent of all the different types of machine tools made in the USSR were produced in one enterprise and in no other.

Clearly, such a system could work only under centralized direction where a given



AP photos

Women in Moscow (left) and La Paz, Bolivia protest desperate conditions on International Women's Day. Western imperialism seeks to reduce Russia to status of neocolonial Latin America.

enterprise was ordered to supply other enterprises at a set price. Otherwise managers could ruthlessly exploit their monopoly position, selling to the highest bidder while enterprises which could not afford to pay would have to cut back their output. That is exactly what happened when Gorbachev scrapped centralized planning in January 1988 and decreed that all Soviet enterprises were to become self-financing on the basis of *khozraschet* (cost accounting). Consumer goods managers cut back shipments to state shops, where prices were still fixed, diverting output to private "cooperatives" where mafia-like entrepreneurs practiced price extortion. Producers of industrial and intermediate goods likewise jacked up their prices.

By 1990-91, as inflation was eroding the value of the ruble, the industrial supply system degenerated into crude barter deals negotiated on the basis of economic blackmail. For example, the managers of the Sverdlovsk transformer factory refused to deliver transformers to the huge Uralmash engineering complex unless the latter provided them with a list of items including piping, scrap metal, kitchen fittings, rest home passes and a telephone for the apartment of the doctor looking after the director's wife! Managers were no longer concerned about their enterprises' long-term development because they doubted whether they had a future themselves.

Growing nationalist disintegration added another element to the economic chaos, as factories dependent for parts and supplies upon warring republics like Armenia and Azerbaijan ground to a halt. National republics also imposed export restrictions on goods in short supply, especially if they could be sold on the world market for hard currency. Simultaneously, the new nationalist regimes, spearheaded by Yeltsin as president of the Russian republic, started refusing to turn over the central government's share of tax collections, causing the burgeoning inflation of the final Gorbachev period. *Less than 30 percent* of all taxes collected in the first nine months of 1991 went to the central government. To make up the shortfall of rubles, the Gorbachev regime ran the printing presses overtime.

In other words, Yeltsin *deliberately sabotaged* the Soviet economy and then exploited popular discontent over rising prices and shortages to push through the counterrevolution. By the summer of 1991, most working people were indifferent to the fate of the Gorbachev regime. Many believed *falsely* that things could not get worse. And some bought the line that only a rapid move to a full-fledged market system could restore the health of the economy.

IMF Orders Surgery Without Anesthesia...

The collapse of the industrial supply system, which began under Gorbachev,

was greatly accelerated with the breakup of the USSR formalized in December 1991. A month later, Yeltsin lifted controls on consumer prices, implementing the IMF "shock therapy" under his economic "expert," the obscure academic Yegor Gaidar. A year after Yeltsin seized power in the August 1991 counter-coup:

- Industrial production in Russia had fallen 27 percent.
- Investment in plant and equipment had fallen 55 percent.
- Prices had increased 1,560 percent.
- Real wages had fallen 32 percent.

While working people are struggling to survive in an increasingly ugly and violent society, the new entrepreneurs flaunt their wealth: "Representatives of the New Class can be seen waving their gold cards in Western-style grocery stores, dining at hard currency restaurants, and driving around town in Mercedes and BMWs" (*Washington Post*, 1 February).

The *New York Times* (2 August 1992) painted a glowing portrait of a typical new entrepreneur, Natalya Maloletneva, a manager of a Moscow clothing store who bought a controlling interest when the shop was privatized last spring. She claims she purchased her share for 60,000 rubles from personal "savings." The *Times*' glorification of Mrs. Maloletneva provoked a biting letter to the editor from an émigré Soviet academic, who pointed out that as a highly paid university professor he would have had to save every last kopek of his salary for ten years to amass 60,000 rubles. Clearly Maloletneva was skimming off the profits of the enterprise she was entrusted to manage on behalf of the Soviet working people. No wonder Russia's new capitalists are known as the mafia.

But the new "biznez" barons and "brokeri" fear that the hatred of the

masses will lead to a new regime that will confiscate their ill-gotten wealth. As a self-described "middleman" in Leningrad put it: "Everything we do is aimed at a quick profit. We buy, we sell, and we get out. Only a fool would invest his money in a long-term business in Russia" (*Washington Post*, 30 September 1992). Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers, German and Japanese industrialists, and Texas oilmen are not fools. And they aren't investing their money in Russia either.

On the contrary, there has been massive looting of the Russian economy in the past couple of years. One out of every three barrels of oil and one out of every two tons of nickel leaving Russia is smuggled out, while fully 80 percent of the raw materials ticketed for the Baltic port of Kaliningrad never arrives there. Marc Rich, the strikebreaking owner of Ravenswood Aluminum in the U.S. (currently living in Switzerland to evade tax and fraud charges), boasts trading revenues of \$2.5 billion per year in natural resources from the former Soviet Union.

Everything in Russia is for sale for hard currency these days, from religious icons peddled by Orthodox priests to high-tech weaponry supplied by financially strapped arms factories. Iran is rumored to have acquired two Soviet-made nuclear warheads. Last year as much as \$15 billion in hard currency was siphoned out of Russia into private bank accounts in the U.S. and West Europe. This is more than twice the \$7 billion in net aid and credits which the Yeltsin regime got from Bush's America, Kohl's Germany and its other imperialist godfathers. Meanwhile, the scramble for dollars which can be safely stashed in foreign bank accounts continues to drive down the value of the ruble at Moscow's

continued on page 10



Swersey/NY Times

Workers at huge Vaz auto plant in Togliatti, where old Stalinist managers want to become new capitalist owners.

Russia's Exploiters...

(continued from page 9)

limited currency exchange. In the past six months, the exchange rate has gone from just over 200 rubles to the dollar to nearly 800, figures wildly out of kilter with the actual state of the Russian economy.

...But Refuses to Pay the Bill

Yeltsin, Gaidar & Co. expected to be rewarded with \$24 billion in IMF aid as a first installment for torturing the working masses through economic shock treatment. But the IMF demanded as a condition for disbursing funds that Russia raise its internal price of oil to world-market levels while exporting more to repay its foreign debt. This would mean instant bankruptcy for most of Russia's industrial enterprises, which were geared to consuming energy for a small fraction of the cost extorted by the Seven Sisters cartel and the Arab oil sheiks.

The London *Economist* (24 October 1992), the house organ of international financiers, argued half seriously that "Russia would be economically better off if every Russian worker, except those in the country's mining, oil and transport industries (who would be needed to ship raw materials to the West) simply stopped working"! Western bankers are demanding that Yeltsin reduce the post-Soviet Russian economy to conditions *structurally more primitive* than that of tsarist Russia, where foreign capital promoted heavy industry.

The Kohl regime initially rewarded Gorbachev for selling out East Germany to the Deutsche Bank in early 1990 with \$47 billion in "aid," promising more to come. The rulers of the Fourth Reich envisioned their own neocolonial empire in the former Soviet bloc, extending from Siberia to the Balkans. But with its vindictive destruction of the East German economy following capitalist reunification, the Bonn government went heavily into debt as millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last spring Kohl announced, "we Germans have reached the limit of our capacity to help" Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Since then Germany has entered a deepening recession, widening its budget deficit and making large-scale aid to Russia even less likely.

As for Washington, Reagan/Bush transformed the U.S. into the world's largest debtor to pay for the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union. Now Clinton is pushing to subsidize high-tech industry while raising taxes and cutting social programs for the poor and elderly. Aside from a \$1.5 billion *credit* to buy U.S. grain and other goods in 1992, what Washington has allocated to promoting capitalism in Russia is truly peanuts. Even a relatively modest shift of 10 percent of U.S. imperialism's Cold War military budget would mean some \$35 billion a year in aid to Russia. But with the American rulers intent on maintaining their military hegemony at any expense, no less a White House crook than Richard Nixon today appears as about the only far-sighted representative of this ruling class in arguing for aggressive aid to Russia.

Japan—the only major imperialist power with a large financial surplus—has not and will not give the Moscow regime any yen at all unless it gets back the Kuril Islands, which the Red Army took at the end of World War II. But for Yeltsin to sell Russian territory to an imperialist power and historic enemy would enormously intensify nationalist and popular opposition to him. In any case, while Tokyo might cough up \$5 or \$10 billion to grab the strategic Kurils, Japan Inc. is not presently interested in making Russia as such a subsidiary. Japan's empire-building ambitions remain focused on the Far East, above all the reconquest of China.



Der Spiegel photos

Arkady Volsky (above), head of the "party of managers," and Aleksandr Rutskoi, Russian vice president (right), leaders of nationalist-corporatist forces.



Alexander Zemlianichenko

Former acting prime minister Yegor Galdar, architect of IMF-dictated "shock treatment," was sacked in December, signalling crisis of Yeltsin regime.

The bottom line is that Yeltsin did not get the deutschmarks, dollars and yen he was counting on.

Factory Managers Ignite Hyperinflation

Yevgeny Yasin, a prominent economist in the "industrialist" camp, described Russian society under Yeltsin as well as in Gorbachev's last years as a pyramid with the top broken off. Power descended to the next highest level, mainly made up of managers in big enterprises. The vice general director of the huge Vaz Auto Works in Togliatti—which produced 60 percent of all cars in the USSR—states: "Management, in a sense, has become the owner of Vaz... we run the company as if we owned it, although we don't really." But as Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* of the capitalist aspirations of sectors of the Stalinist managerial bureaucracy: "It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder."

While many factory managers denounced Gaidar as the archenemy, bent on bankrupting their enterprises on orders from the IMF, the main beneficiaries of the "shock treatment" were in fact the managers in consumer goods and food processing. Since their prices were increasing 50 percent faster than the wages they paid, they were swimming in profits. Managers in heavy industry and munitions got around Gaidar's attempt at tight money by granting open-ended credit to one another. In the first five months of 1992, inter-enterprise debt increased from forty billion to *two trillion* rubles. The managers also wielded the threat of massive social unrest should a cutoff in industrial subsidies lead to widespread layoffs, arguing that only they could contain workers' anger. As Volsky put it, "they keep the people from taking to the streets."

So that the managers would keep on keeping the people from taking to the streets, Yeltsin abandoned any attempt to control the money supply. In April he offered an additional 200 billion rubles in enterprise credits. The following month three stalwarts of the "industrialist" party were appointed to key economic ministries. In June the managers placed their man, Viktor Gerashchenko, in charge of the central bank. Gerashchenko in turn extended 1.5 trillion rubles in credit to the managers, *an amount greater than the entire money supply generated by all Soviet governments over the previous 40 years.* The resulting hyperinflation has all but destroyed the ruble as a medium of exchange. Increasingly, Russians speak of two classes in their country: those who have access to dollars or other hard currencies, and those who earn rubles.

In the present conditions of counter-revolutionary chaos, curbing inflation means first of all slashing enterprise payrolls through mass layoffs. This is already beginning to happen. In Ivanovo, a textile center northeast of Moscow

known as the "city of single women" for its predominantly female labor force, output has been cut in half by the shortage of cotton due to the breakdown in the transport system and the civil war in the Central Asian republic of Tadjikistan. On paper 6,500 are still employed by the Frolov textile factory, but only 2,000 of them come to work. The other 4,500 are told to stay home, where they receive 1,035 rubles a month, about \$1.50 at the rapidly depreciating exchange rate.

Only Socialist Revolution Can Save the Soviet Working Class

Such desperate conditions can easily and suddenly produce an angry explosion among the toiling masses. To prevent this, the capitalist-restorationist forces of *all contending factions* seek to erect a strong state capable of crushing popular unrest before it gets out of hand. What exists today, in Russia as in the other former Soviet republics, is not a counterrevolutionary order but rather counterrevolutionary chaos. The restorationist forces—both the pro-Western "democrats" around Yeltsin and the nationalist-corporatist camp of Volsky/Rutskoi—are weak and internally strained. There is no coherent capitalist class. The armed forces are rife with discontent, and it is uncertain that they could be used effectively to suppress mass struggle.

The consolidation of the counter-revolution therefore depends on the continuing passivity, paralysis and misleadership of the working class. The Stalinist "patriots" join hands with outright fascists in a "red"-brown coalition, while giving a left cover to the Volsky/Rutskoi corporatists. This is expressed, for example, in their call for "workers' privatization." Thus Vladimir Isakov of the Russian Communist Workers Party demanded that parliament pass legislation "so that work collectives can become the owners of their workplace." Boris Kagarlitsky's Labor Party, a social-democratic outfit deliberately modeled on its British namesake, likewise calls for the "transfer of property to the work collectives"—which in the mouths of these "leftists" includes managers having a majority of the shares (see "Stalinist Has-Beens: Left Wing of Nationalist Counterrevolution," *WV* No. 561, 16 October 1992).

The main trade-union federation, the FNPR led by Brezhnev-era Stalinist hacks now reinforced by social democrats like Kagarlitsky, also supports the corporatist faction. Meanwhile, the CIA-sponsored "free" trade unions, embracing a section of the coal miners as well as air controllers and railway engineers, have supported Yeltsin under the illusion that capitalist restoration will lead to living standards comparable to those in the imperialist West of which they have an idealized picture. Strikes and threats of work stoppages by coal and oil workers have in recent years focused on securing better selling conditions for "their" products. But while these work-

ers are for the moment better off, the counterrevolution has already reduced Russia to conditions of neocolonial degradation comparable to, say, Mexico or Brazil.

With the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet bloc, most of the left internationally has bought the bourgeois line that centralized planning is inherently inefficient and bureaucratic, and that a market system is the only viable way to organize an economy. In Latin America, petty-bourgeois nationalists out of power, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are now calling for worker participation in privatized factories and farms, i.e., the utopia of a "people's capitalism."

While historically associated with anarcho-syndicalism, calls for giving property rights to work collectives in Russia today are not merely utopian but are above all intended to give pseudo-populist legitimacy to a nationalist-corporatist regime. Volsky himself proposes "to encourage collective ownership by workers" (*Izvestia*, 30 September 1992), and the government even refers to this as a "fourth variant of privatization." In many large enterprises, such as the Vaz Auto Works, 25 percent or more of the stock has already been given to the work collectives under the Yeltsin/Gaidar regime in order to make privatization more palatable. This translates into zero influence on enterprise policy, which remains firmly in the hands of the old management. In any case, what would "workers' privatization" mean under conditions of hyperinflation, economic disarray, mass unemployment and nationalist fratricide?

We want a modern economy in place for the Soviet working people to take over when they regain power. But that economy will not be preserved through corporatist capitalism in the epoch of imperialism's decay. A few hard-fought strikes where the workers win something would do much to reverse the demoralization and atomization of the Soviet proletariat and provide an opening for revolutionary intervention. The situation cries out for a genuinely Bolshevik party, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the multinational working class of Russia and the other former Soviet republics against the mafioso entrepreneurs, the managers who would be stockholders, and their imperialist godfathers.

Down with Yeltsin and the Russian parliament—For a workers government based on soviet democracy as in October 1917! For a planned, collectivized economy based on a reformed Soviet Union!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 572, 26 March 1993

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"New World Order" Targets North Korea

We reprint below an article from *Workers Vanguard* No. 574, 23 April, that details the deadly U.S.-led imperialist campaign against North Korea. In 1950 racist Australian jackal imperialism was the first to commit troops behind the U.S.' savage onslaught against the Korean workers and peasants. The Australian proletariat has a stake alongside the powerful Japanese and U.S. proletariats in thwarting renewed imperialist aggression and defending the North Korean deformed workers state.

* * *

On April 1, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) went to the UN Security Council seeking unspecified "sanctions" against North Korea for supposedly refusing to allow inspectors to visit "suspected atom bomb sites." Sound familiar? It sure will to the beleaguered population of Iraq: that was the pretext for the vicious bombing attack on them last January, with outgoing and incoming imperialist chiefs Bush and Clinton standing "shoulder to shoulder" to once more bloody this small, non-white country. In motive and intent, the scenario now being played out against North Korea is no different. Behind these moves is a deadly threat against the North Korean deformed

country facing American aggression is deemed an "outlaw state."

Now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed by counterrevolution, Washington is intent on enforcing a "one-superpower world," while imperialist pundits wring their hands over nukes from the former Soviet republics popping up in the international arms market. In early 1992 a "leaked" Pentagon document elaborated the American rulers' ambitions to "prevent the emergence of a new rival" following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, the U.S. is out to strangle two remaining recalcitrant deformed workers states, Cuba and North Korea. "I'm running out of demons," complained General Colin Powell after the Gulf slaughter. "I'm down to Castro and Kim Il Sung." Washington was set to make a *casus belli* of an uncompleted Cuban nuclear reactor at Cienfuegos until the Castro regime was forced to shut it down when Yeltsin's Russia cut off aid.

The North Korean Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1985 under heavy pressure—actually economic blackmail—from Moscow and Washington. However, Kim refused to allow "inspections" of the North unless the same treatment was meted out to the

statement that is rather sober for a Stalinist regime notorious for taking to bizarre extremes the "personality cult" of the "Great Leader" Kim and his son and heir, "Dear Leader" Kim Il Jong, the North Koreans pointed out:

"If we submissively accept an unjust inspection by the IAEA, it would legitimize the espionage acts by the United States, a belligerent party vis-a-vis the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea], and set the beginning of the full exposure of all our military installations. Under our specific conditions in which the country still remains divided and exposed to the constant nuclear threats from the United States, it will be totally inconceivable to lay our military sites open to the enemies."

U.S. Imperialism— World's Nuclear Terrorist

Who's kidding who, anyway? Forget how many grams of plutonium North Korea may or may not possess. The U.S. is the *only* military power on the peninsula with nuclear weapons—and no one had better demand to inspect *them*—not to mention the huge stockpile of strategic warheads on Guam a few hours' flying time by B-52 from Pyongyang. Every Korean is vividly aware that it was the racist U.S. rulers who obliterated two entire Japanese cities populated by children, women and old men—and thousands of Korean forced laborers—during World War II. This was the first and only use of nuclear weapons by anyone anywhere. Now deprived of the Soviet nuclear umbrella, North Korea could really use a few nuclear warheads.

During the Korean War, the U.S. repeatedly threatened to nuke the North. Two weeks after the outbreak of fighting in June 1950, General Douglas MacArthur sent a "hot message" to the Pentagon demanding 10 to 20 A-bombs to "sweeten up my B-29 force" (Jon Halliday and Bruce Cumings, *Korea: The Unknown War* [Pantheon, 1988]). And it wasn't just the "loose cannon" MacArthur, either. Three days after Chinese and North Korean forces launched a punishing counteroffensive, Truman publicly declared that the use of nuclear weapons was under "active consideration," explicitly refusing to rule out civilian targets.

Joining North Korea on U.S. imperialism's hit list of "outlaw states" are Cuba, Iraq, Iran and Libya. The U.S. bombing of Libya in 1986—targeting Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi's home in a failed assassination attempt—was carried out on the pretext of eliminating a supposed "chemical weapons plant." In 1991 Washington used the same lie to justify the bombing of an infant formula factory in Baghdad. Having curried favor with the ayatollahs to go after Saddam Hussein two years ago, now the U.S. is gearing up for terror against Iran. Last week American public TV presented a

propaganda "documentary" on "Iran and the Bomb."

Who's Supposed to Get the Bomb?

The escalating provocations against North Korea "reflect a new global preoccupation with the monitoring and enforcement of a handful of treaties meant to constrain the proliferation of nuclear, germ and chemical weapons and ballistic missiles," says the *Washington Post* (7 April). Translation: the U.S. imperialists have decided these treaties make a really great cover for going after their perceived enemies. Using the United Nations as its agent, the U.S. claims the



Pantheon Books

Pyongyang, capital of North Korea, laid waste by Imperialists during the Korean War. Australian jackal Imperialists were first to commit troops to U.S.-led Imperialist war.

workers state by the hegemonic nuclear power on the planet, the U.S. of A.

Bush cast Saddam Hussein as a nut about to get a finger on the nuclear trigger in order to build war fever in the U.S. for Operation Desert Slaughter in 1991, when the Pentagon imperialist war machine butchered 100,000 Iraqis. "Iraq is merely a proxy for a generalized class of threats," declared Bush's war department in a March 1991 policy statement specifically naming North Korea (*Covert-Action*, Summer 1991). The *New York Times* (10 April 1991) chimed in with an op-ed piece by Cold Warrior Leslie Gelb labeling North Korea "The Next Renegade State," with the claim that it is "likely to possess nuclear weapons in a few years" and is "perhaps the most dangerous country in the world today." This was the opening salvo in the current imperialist campaign.

Imperialist Britain and France have had sizable nuclear arsenals for decades. So do American client states like apartheid South Africa, fundamentalist Pakistan and Zionist Israel—which alone has enough A-bombs to irradiate every city in the Near East. Indeed, the U.S. itself is the most dangerous nuclear terrorist on the planet. And now Clinton Secretary of State Warren Christopher denounces Iran as an "international outlaw." In imperialist doublespeak, any

South, where the U.S. has had *hundreds* of nuclear warheads. The South Korean capitalist regime claimed in 1991 that these weapons were removed, but "United States policy is never to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons at any site" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1991).

Nevertheless, in 1992 Kim surprised the imperialists by having the treaty ratified, disclosing a number of nuclear power installations and agreeing to let the IAEA in. "The facilities listed were more than they needed to give us," said an IAEA spokesman. Some five months and three inspection trips later, the *New York Times* (21 September 1992) was forced to admit North Korea had "a nuclear arms program more rudimentary than expected," after inspectors were shown "even some facilities the U.S. was unaware of."

However, newly "suspicious" sites can be "discovered" endlessly, which is what the Pentagon and its IAEA agents proceeded to do. When in February the agency demanded access to two sites outside their purview, the North Koreans balked. The U.S. responded by reviving its "Team Spirit" military exercises with South Korea, an annual rehearsal for invasion of the North. Finally, on March 12 the North was driven to pull out of the treaty. In a

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Another statue of North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung.

right to poke its nose into the military secrets of any state on the globe—and to bomb or invade it if it chooses—in the name of "controlling the spread of weapons of mass destruction."

Luckily for the rest of the world, the Soviet Union got the bomb after World War II, and its military might kept the U.S. nuclear pirates in check for decades. If not for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, the American rulers would have vaporized dozens of Russian cities, as their early '50s operational plans called for, and neither North Korea nor Cuba would have been allowed to survive as deformed workers states. But especially since the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, nobody in the world has stockpiles of these weapons remotely approaching the vast nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal of the Pentagon. "Non-proliferation" means keeping U.S. military dominance intact.

But guess what—there are countries which have collected *many* deliverable

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Australasian

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada; the invasion of Panama; Operation Desert Slaughter in the Persian Gulf; and the colonial occupation of the famine-ravaged East African country of Somalia. Gun-shy over a Vietnam-scale intervention, the U.S. military much prefers terror-bombing raids from the air.

Once again we read about "surgical strikes," but over 100,000 Iraqis were slaughtered in the Persian Gulf "war," including hundreds of women and children in the Baghdad air raid shelter pinpointed by U.S. "smart bombs." Meanwhile, the German Fourth Reich wants to throw its weight around militarily, beginning with airmen in AWACS planes directing bombing runs on Serbian forces in Bosnia.

The U.S. Air Force chief of staff told Congress that bombing Serbian gun positions could be accomplished with "virtually no risk" to attacking American warplanes. And then? While the former Vietnam "dove" in the White House is gung ho to go into the Yugoslav quagmire, the Pentagon brass, still smarting at their humiliating defeat in the jungles of Indochina, is well aware that getting out will be a lot harder than getting in. And the American population is anything but sold on an Operation Balkan Storm.

America's rulers, too, are divided over intervention in the Balkans. The Pentagon, the *New York Times* and other leading imperialist spokesmen are worried about getting bogged down in "another quagmire." Ironically, it is the liberals, from State Department career officers to pundits like *Times* man Anthony Lewis, who are on the cutting edge of the drive to get Yankee imperialism into the Balkans. Reacting to the barrage of war propaganda focusing on the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims, bleeding-heart liberals are making common cause with mad dog conservatives like William Safire and Margaret Thatcher.

Revolutionary Marxists take no sides in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia as an outcome and motor force of capitalist counterrevolution. But we warn that the imperialists are the incomparably greater threat to mankind. In the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders on the road to reforging a genuinely internationalist socialist federation of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

"Ethnic Cleansing": Product of Capitalist Counterrevolution

Western journalists have depicted the ethnic massacres, now called "ethnic cleansing," unleashed by the breakup of Yugoslavia as a revival of ancient Balkan blood feuds. Yet for the



New York Times map

four and a half decades of the Cold War the Western powers incited the national fervor in East Europe and the former Soviet Union as the key element in their anti-Communist crusade. The CIA's Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty spewed out the most vile nationalist demagoguery, including anti-Semitism. Western intelligence agencies financed and ran Croatian and Ukrainian fascists, Russian monarchists, Polish clerical-nationalists and the like. Now, with the collapse of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, mutually hostile nationalist fanatics have come to power in East Europe. The results are not always to the liking of their imperialist godfathers.

Ever since the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia began in 1991, the Western media have portrayed the Serbs—and they alone—as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorizing peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. We've been deluged with heart-wrenching photos, gruesome accounts and harrowing stories of mass rape, torture, concentration camps, the killing and maiming of children at the hands of Serbian nationalist forces. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among peoples engulfed by fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

Thus recently the Croats have turned on their former Bosnian Muslim allies and are engaging in their own "ethnic cleansing" to improve their position for an imperialist-imposed "peace" agreement. The London *Guardian* (22 April) had an eyewitness account: "Street by street and house by house, the Croat commandos hounded the Muslims out, murdering many as they fled in terror from land they have inhabited and tended for hundreds of years." And Serbs have also been victims. A year ago,

there were 10,000 Serbs in the Bosnian district of Goradze. Today, there are only 1,000 left; the other 90 percent have either been killed or have fled fearing for their lives.

In reality, the war in Bosnia is being driven by the murderous logic of trying to cohere the nation-states in regions of geographically interpenetrated peoples. By 1990, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy had all but completely fractured along national lines. The final blow was given by German imperialism, which in mid-1991 pushed through the international recognition of an independent Slovenia and Croatia. The Bosnian Muslims were thus faced with the hapless prospect of being reduced to a minority in a rump Yugoslav state that was in fact Greater Serbia, moreover under the rule of fanatical Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic.

The Muslim leaders like Alija Izetbegovic responded by declaring Bosnia an independent state in which they, as representatives of the largest ethnic group, would predominate. The Serbs in Bosnia—a third of its population—aimed to detach and incorporate the regions they inhabited into a Greater Serbia. As the militarily stronger force, the Serbs have driven the Muslims out of the regions of mixed populations and have occupied large tracts of land formerly predominantly inhabited by Muslims. The Muslims are thus being compressed into a rump Bosnian state.

The Western media and politicians have demonized the Serbs and routinely compare Milosevic to Hitler. Yet Croat president Franjo Tudjman first gained notoriety as an apologist for the clerical-fascist Ustashi regime, which, under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. Tudjman also dismisses the Nazi murder of six million Jews, but this did not stop Clinton from entertaining Tudjman in Washington and even inviting the Croatian Nazi apologist to the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum!

Western Imperialism: Hands Off Bosnia!

There is a difference between Washington and West European capitals on how to deal with the Bosnia crisis. The Europeans want to end the war quickly, even if this means underwriting Serbian territorial gains, in order to stop the flood of Bosnian refugees into their own countries. The Germans, who precipitated the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia, are now appalled at finding the victims on their doorstep. Furthermore, the European bourgeoisies are concerned—

and rightly so—that Western military intervention in Bosnia would provoke a wider Balkan war drawing in Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, etc.

U.S. imperialism has used the breakup of Yugoslavia as an opportunity to demonstrate its superpower prowess. Bush maneuvered to make Serbia a U.S. client through a deal with Milosevic to appoint an American businessman of Serbian descent, Milan Panic, as prime minister of the rump Yugoslav state. From the outset Clinton has taken a more belligerent anti-Serb stance than Bush. But Clinton put new UN sanctions against Serbia on hold for a few weeks in order to help Boris Yeltsin win the April 25 Russian referendum without having to face a hostile reaction from Russian nationalists who regard the Serbs as their fellow Slav "little brothers."

To whip up support for a war against Serbia, Clinton is posturing as a champion of the battered and besieged Bosnian Muslims. Yet he doesn't give a damn about the Bosnian Muslims, any more than Bush did about the Iraqi Kurds. After Saddam Hussein seized the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait, the Washington propaganda mill suddenly discovered that Iraqi Kurds and Shi'ites were brutally oppressed by the Baghdad Ba'athist regime, and Bush called on them to rise in revolt. But then Washington stood by as not only Saddam Hussein but America's Turkish client state ruthlessly bombed the Kurdish population.

U.S. Senator John McCain, an ultra-hawkish, right-wing Republican, stated: "I have yet to talk to a military expert who believes that air strikes alone will beneficially affect that tragic situation." That's because Clinton's proposed air strikes are not intended to end the war. They are intended to force Milosevic and the Serbs to accept an imperialist-imposed deal, and to demonstrate to the world—including to the U.S.' imperialist "allies"—that American power holds sway.

As revolutionary Marxists and internationalists, we have opposed all sides in the communalist warfare unleashed by the breakup of the Yugoslav bureaucraticly deformed workers state. Under Tito, an attempt was made to establish an equitable national solution, albeit within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country." Pre-WWII capitalist Yugoslavia was dominated by the Serbs, and to assure the non-Serbian nationalities that they had an equal place in society, the territory of the Serbian republic in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was sharply reduced. The Stalinists even created a Bosnian republic with a Muslim plurality, even though there was no Bosnian nationality.

As long as the collectivized economy remained in place, such territorial revisions were of little concern. But with the destruction of the proletarian state, the dog-eat-dog logic of capitalism and the bourgeois-nationalist forces on all sides into a revanchist fury aimed at grabbing as much territory as they could and seeking to drive out their former neighbors.

The only way out of this murderous cockpit is through socialist revolution throughout the region. Trotskyists fight to build proletarian-internationalist communist parties that will wage uncompromising struggle against all forms of nationalism, and put an end to "ethnic cleansing" once and for all in a Socialist Federation of the Balkans. Today, as the Serbian people face military attack by U.S. imperialism, the greatest mass murderer in world history, class-conscious workers everywhere are duty-bound to defend the Serbian forces against the Pentagon war machine. Down with Washington's bloody "New World Order," built on the destruction of the Soviet Union!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 575, 7 May 1993.

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West Europe...

(continued from page 5)

as the entire surrounding community rallied to their support. At the February demonstration, thousands of workers called for a general strike. Given the deep political as well as economic crisis, a general strike in Italy would pose the question of which class shall rule. Even a one-day protest intended by the union tops to let off steam could get out of hand.

It is precisely the decisiveness of political power which is denied by the syndicalist program and prejudices. At one level, syndicalism serves as an ideological legitimation for trade-union militancy or, in Leninist terminology, militant economism. Militant economism can be effective only when the capitalist class is willing to bargain over the terms of exploitation. When a multinational corporation is determined to shut down a factory, or a bourgeois government to close a state-owned mine, strikes, protests, even occupations lack economic power. At a more fundamental level of class struggle, militant economism offers no defense against a bonapartist regime prepared to kill, imprison and torture workers' leaders.

Furthermore, trade-union militancy is necessarily nationally centered, and as such has an organic tendency toward economic nationalism. The syndicalist program, which denies in principle the need for centralized economic planning on an international basis, offers no answer to the reformist advocates of protectionism and trade war, the illusion that the interests of workers in one country can be defended at the expense of workers in other countries.

Especially in a period of sharp economic downturn and a determined capitalist offensive against the labor movement, the defense of working-class interests must be directed toward the struggle for state power. A revolutionary workers government will expropriate the means of production and distribution, establishing within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe an internationally planned economy.

For a Socialist United States of Europe

Germany—the industrial powerhouse of the continent—is the key to Europe's future. During the Cold War, we Trotskyists called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, through anti-bureaucratic proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, within a Socialist United States of Europe. The imperialist reunification has had devastating consequences for the working masses of Europe, from Siberia to Sardinia. It has also fundamentally destabilized the bourgeois order in the Fourth Reich itself, long based on institutionalized class collaboration between capital and the social-democratic bureaucracy.

Over half of the adult population in the former DDR is now unemployed, and a much higher percentage of women. The new eastern states have become a mass of bitter hostility to the new order. Across the bleak urban landscape of Prussia and Saxony is the hand-scrawled slogan "*Verraten und verkauft*"—betrayed and sold out.

The harsh conditions in the east are also undermining the social-democratic labor bureaucracy in the west. A few months ago the employers' associations in the region reneged on a 1991 agreement with IG Metall to raise the wages of steel and engineering workers by 26 percent on April 1. Ripping up a union contract was unheard of in the tightly orchestrated relations between labor and capital in the old federal republic of West Germany.

Nonetheless, the Social Democratic tops are bending over backward to prove themselves loyal and useful servants of

the Fourth Reich. In March, the SPD and Kohl agreed to a "solidarity pact" supposed to put the income transfers to eastern Germany on a sound financial footing. However, the German ruling class and their SPD lieutenants have only a narrow margin to maneuver. How long will the east German populace tolerate mass unemployment and degrading poverty, compared to their western fellow citizens, without a social explosion and political radicalization? How much can living standards in the west be cut—through government austerity and the effect of the worst economic slump since WWII—without encountering serious working-class resistance? The public workers strike that Kohl provoked in May 1992 was a foretaste of real class struggle.

At the same time, the German nationalism and economic strains of the Fourth Reich have also provided a fertile soil for the growth of fascism, with Nazi skinheads killing and terrorizing dark-skinned immigrants and asylum seekers. In March local elections in the western state of Hesse, the Republikaner party—led by a veteran of the Nazi SS—and other fascist parties got around 10 percent of the vote.

The growing fascist danger has produced a strong defensive response in German society. A new generation of radical youth have come of age in battles to defend immigrants and asylum seekers against Nazi terrorists and also government attacks. More fundamentally, the most powerful and best organized industrial proletariat in Europe—including millions of Turks, Kurds, South Slavs and other non-Germans—could crush the Nazi scum like stepping on an eggshell. The decisive missing factor is revolutionary leadership. In Germany, France, Britain, Italy and throughout Europe, the sections of the International Communist League are campaigning for labor/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

Fascism is an organic product of decaying capitalism, as large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and unemployed youth are driven to desperation and crazed hostility to the existing political order. The workers movement, under communist leadership, must demonstrate that it can reconstruct society, providing a decent life for all. And that cannot be achieved through "welfare state" reformism. As the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany wrote in an article on the recent metal worker strikes and protests in eastern Germany:

"The destruction of entire industrial regions and millions of jobs is not the result of a 'false government policy,' but rather reflects the iron logic of decaying capitalism with its system of production for profit. Capitalism cannot be reformed, nor can parliament be forced to provide decent living standards: this system must be destroyed root and branch through workers revolution." ■

Stuart Creek...

(continued from page 16)

union brother Alley. Arbitration is a bosses' court—it is not neutral! It chains the unions to the capitalist state by pretending to arbitrate. We say: *Bury Arbitration!*

Down With Racist Australian Capitalism!

Aboriginal activists around Townsville rightly saw the Stuart Creek strike as a crucial fight. As Grace Smallwood who organised picket support told *Australasian Spartacist*, the company "didn't think one sole Aboriginal male would get backing.... The majority of the workers were white. And here they were fighting for a black male." This was all the more striking coming in the midst of an alarming wave of anti-Aboriginal hysteria capping a decade of rising racist and murderous oppression of Aborigines under a federal Labor government.

This hysteria has been particularly acute in Queensland. Just 170 kilometres north-west of Brisbane in Cherbourg, an

impoverished Aboriginal township outside of the white town of Murgon, 1500 Aboriginal people have recently been subjected to a wave of Ku Klux Klan-style terror. An Aboriginal-owned homestead in Murgon was burnt down and an attempt made to torch the bridge connecting Cherbourg to Murgon. A KKK-style cross covered with a white-hooded sheet and splattered with red paint was erected outside Cherbourg. This murderous campaign followed the massive hype over the death of a white Murgon publican and local councillor in March. He died after being hit while intervening on the side of cops attacking Aboriginal youths. Five of the youths ended up in prison, one charged with murder.

The Cherbourg Aboriginal Council rushed to ingratiate themselves with the white racists, pushing "turn the other cheek" respectability, by banishing the five arrested youth from the town for life. From the former top public servant Charles Perkins to demagogues like Gary Foley and various Land Councils, there is a layer of Aboriginal "leaders" and "elders" who preach reliance upon the racist capitalist state. The Stuart Creek strike in contrast was a powerful vindication of the need for proletarian-centred struggle *against* the racist rulers in defence of Aboriginal people.

Deep-going oppression of Aboriginal people is endemic to this racist White Australia capitalist society. This basic truth was highlighted by the recent furore in Victoria over the treatment of Aboriginal Australian Rules footballers both on and off the field. The furore was triggered by a brave act of defiance by champion Aboriginal player Nicky Winmar at a 17 April game. Best on the ground Winmar and black teammate Gilbert McAdam had endured filthy racist abuse by vocal sections of the crowd at the game. This is the norm at most AFL games—what happened next certainly was not.

At the final siren, with the game won, Winmar approached his cowardly tormentors, lifted his shirt, pointed to his chest and shouted "Yes, I am black and I am proud to be black!" He then demonstratively embraced McAdam and left the ground derisively blowing kisses at the racist hoons—scenes shown across the nation on television. St Kilda Football Club responded by dropping him from the next game over a "contract dispute." Racist abuse and harassment of Aboriginal footballers is sanctioned and condoned by big business football administrators as "part of the game." At the Melbourne May Day march Spartacist supporters carried a placard reading: "Hail Nicky Winmar! Workers Revolution Will Clean Out the Culture of White Racist Pigs!"

For Union/Black/Minority Action to Smash Racist Terror!

It is the multi-racial working class that has the social power and the class interest to defeat racist terror. The union movement has in key instances, despite its racist Laborite leadership, fought in defence of the rights of blacks and the oppressed. In 1946 bans by the Seamens Union in support of striking Aboriginal stockmen in the Pilbara quickly won concessions from the bosses. In 1989 a large contingent of Sydney building workers in their hardhats joined a demonstration against the police shooting of Aboriginal David Gundy, forming an effective defence perimeter between the rally and the cops. These powerful examples, along with the Stuart Creek strike, are an affirmation of the Spartacist League's fight for union-centred action to fight racist terror.

This class-struggle perspective stands in opposition to reformist dead-end calls for a Royal Commission into "Black Deaths in Custody" pushed by liberals, Laborites and their fake-left tail like the Democratic Socialist Party. We warned from the beginning that the Royal Commission could only result in a judicial whitewash. Set up in 1987 by the Hawke

government, it endorsed police and coroner verdicts of "suicide" and "death by natural causes" in all 99 cases it investigated. Not a single cop was charged let alone put behind bars.

The cops along with the army are the special bodies of armed men which are the chief instruments of bourgeois state power. They serve *only* the interests of the oppressors and are paid precisely to keep the oppressed subjugated. While killer cops certainly belong behind bars, the demand to jail the killer cops—a call on the police to jail their own—is reformist and fosters dangerous illusions in the bosses' state. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) takes this reformist prettifying of the state to grotesque proportions. Last year the ISO joined the bourgeois campaign to clean up the image of the bosses' paid thugs of capitalist order with the demand, "Sack all racist cops" (*Socialist*, March 1992). How ludicrous! The same cops who terrorise Aborigines are used to bust up union picket lines. The cop's job is to defend the racist capitalist order.

The Stuart Creek strike followed hot on the heels of a surge of working-class struggle that broke out in Victoria last year and spread nationally. This strike wave echoed working-class struggles internationally. It held out the very real potential to turn the tide against Keating's war on workers, women and minorities. But it was sabotaged by the Laborite ACTU/Trades Hall leadership who are committed first and foremost to defence of Australian capitalism. What is urgently needed is a revolutionary workers party to mobilise the working class, drawing in all the oppressed in common struggle against this racist, decaying capitalist order. This means a political fight to break the multi-racial working class from the racist, pro-capitalist Labor party. The Spartacist League fights for a racially-integrated republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia. It is only then that Aboriginal people and all the oppressed will be guaranteed full social equality in this country. ■

Communism...

(continued from page 3)

under decomposing capitalism. Unemployment, racism, immiseration and new bloody imperialist wars is capitalism's only promise.

Racist Australian imperialism is an eager and willing participant in every major imperialist war from the Gulf War slaughter of 150,000 Iraqis to the UN imperialist "humanitarian" occupation of Somalia. Hosting strategic U.S. military and spy bases guarantees Canberra a place in almost every move by U.S. imperialism to assert itself as the cops of the world. In 1990 the ALP government fronted for an imperialist plan that sent troops to Cambodia to oversee the return of colonial exploitation and target the Vietnamese Revolution. Closer to home Australian imperialism acts as the regional strongman, militarily planning and aiding the brutal and murderous blockade of Bougainville. *Australian troops out of Somalia! Get out of Cambodia! Defend the Vietnamese Revolution! U.S. bases out! Smash Australian imperialism!*

We welcome our new subscribers and greet long-time subscribers to our revolutionary press. In our Melbourne office comrades displayed a quote from Lenin's 1901 article "Where to Begin?" "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction...." The revolutionary press is central to building the revolutionary party, the indispensable instrument for leading workers revolution. Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! Forward to a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Waco Massacre...

(continued from page 16)

denounces Branch Davidian leader David Koresh as "dangerous, irrational and probably insane." Drawing up "personality profiles" of Koresh as a psychopath and sociopath, the "experts" use this verdict to justify state murder. Having launched the murderous February 28 raid, based on warrants that were only unsealed two months later, the feds declared the compound a free-fire zone because the inhabitants exercised their right of self-defense against the BATF stormtroopers.

Reno and Clinton say that Koresh was a religious nut, the Davidians were a crazed cult, and so, following the motto of the CIA's truly crazed mercenaries, they decided to "Kill 'em all, and let God sort 'em out!" Child abuse, guns, cultism—these are all cynical pretexts which have nothing to do with what happened on the morning of 19 April 1993. An authoritarian religious commune is not how most of us would choose to live our lives, but it's none of the state's business. The government decided that this tiny racially integrated religious group, which had done no harm to anybody and probably had fewer guns than half the households in Texas, deserved to die because they espoused "doctrines hostile to law enforcement and particularly the A.T.F." A top FBI official justified



Reuters

Survivors of government massacre hauled off in chains.

the slaughter, saying they "were thumbing their noses at the criminal justice system." Watch out, America—the government has announced its right to incinerate you in your home if you have "a bad attitude"!

We intend to sear the government's Waco holocaust into the memory of the working class. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle defense organization linked to the Spartacist League, denounced the Waco holocaust in a protest statement to Reno the same day:

"The FBI and BATF agents had no right to be there in the first place. Now the government alibis this mass killing by claiming David Koresh and his followers set the fire themselves. We have no reason to believe this lying government. But the inescapable fact is they died as a result of a deliberate assault after weeks of government terror and torture. This was government mass murder."

Already at the time of the February 28 raid, we wrote that "the U.S. government will go to any lengths to disarm the population—even if they have to kill 'em. Now these people near Waco are being killed for 'resisting arrest' over a non-crime" ("Murderous Fed Assault on Christian Sect," *WV* No. 571, 12 March).

We Marxists came to the defense of this small religious group whose only "crime" was their attempt to practice their religion and bear arms—both rights



Tom/Sygma



Syndication International



Tom/Sygma

Members of integrated Waco Commune destroyed by government. Left to right: Rachael Howell and her children Syrus, 8, and Star, 6, all dead. Melissa Morrison, 6, dead. Floracita Sonobe, 34, dead, with her daughter Angelica, who left compound on February 28.

supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Less than four hours after Clinton's killers laid waste to the Branch Davidian commune, we staged an emergency protest outside the Federal Building in New York City with signs including "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." Two days later we picketed outside FBI headquarters in Washington, the J. Edgar Hoover Building, with placards declaring: "FBI Baby Killers." We demand that all the survivors of Clinton's holocaust be freed immediately!

Feds: "This Is Not an Assault"

The entire world saw Operation "Prairie Slaughter" live and in color on TV, through the shaking lens of cameras kept almost two miles away on the Texas plain. On the first day, Clinton kept his mouth shut and let Reno take the heat, feeding rumors that he might accept her resignation. The *New York Times* editorialists slapped the Democratic administration's wrists for an "ill-conceived and unwarranted operation." But by the next day, the White House had launched a massive campaign to, as the *Times* (22 April) put it, "fix the damage from what the American people saw that happened this week." Attorney General Reno went on a whirlwind media tour from Good Morning America to good night Ted Koppel. In whitewash hearings before a Senate committee, Democrats and Republicans held a lovefest, praising "Madam General" for her handling of the situation. The White House made it clear that this was a loyalty test, and the liberals and media quickly fell into line.

Reno claimed that April 19 "was not meant to be D-Day," and the murderous assault was "just a step forward in trying to bring about peaceful resolution." In fact, the resolution was meant to be bloody from the outset. For 51 days an army of hundreds of state police, National Guard, FBI and BATF agents, using M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles from the Texas National Guard, gradually tightened a noose around the farm buildings. They were determined to exact revenge for the deaths of four BATF agents and the wounding of 16 others in the February 28 raid.

As the siege approached the third month, the feds were getting itchy trigger fingers. They had early on cut off water and electricity to the buildings, and gradually tore down trees and walls on the perimeter, laying down miles of razor-sharp concertina wire. At night, as blazing floodlights lit up the area, the FBI engaged in "psy-ops" tactics dreamed up by their "cult experts." Huge loudspeakers played wretched Nancy Sinatra songs, Tibetan monks chanting, the sounds of roaring locomotives and the squeals of rabbits being slaughtered. A local paper wrote, "If there were a contest for the most deranged...the feds would win hands down."

At 6:04 a.m. on April 19, the FBI announced by phone and over their loudspeakers, "This is not an assault."

They then unleashed their combat engineering vehicles—M-60 heavy tanks rigged with bulldozer blades and huge booms—which began to smash gaping holes in the side of the farm buildings and drench the inside with CS gas. These 58-ton main battle tanks are evidently the military's weapon of choice for mass murder—they were used to bury thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches during the opening assault of the Persian Gulf War.

Shortly after nine o'clock that morning, after three hours of pounding by the tanks, someone inside the farm hung out a banner demanding: "We want our phone back." But the FBI wanted them sealed off—an offer to mediate by Richard DeGuerin, Koresh's attorney, was turned down flat. DeGuerin later told CNN that "I thought we had an agreement to wait this out...they were going to come out peacefully." But the government didn't want them to come out alive. The fire began at 12:06 p.m., but the FBI waited eight minutes to even call the fire department. When fire engines arrived, the FBI refused to let them in for 21 minutes.

Clinton's Apocalypse Now

So who started the fire? As part of its Big Lie campaign, the government insists that Koresh's followers deliberately started the blaze. We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government.

In his appearance before the House Judiciary Committee, FBI Director William Sessions (who is a former member of the Waco city council) claimed the fire started nowhere near where the tanks were tearing the building to shreds. This contention is repeated by some fire "experts" interviewed by the *New York Times* (28 April), who "dismissed the possibility that the F.B.I. tanks battering holes in the compound could have started the fire." But these henchmen for the capitalist state have a problem—millions of people saw the siege live on CNN—and some taped it on their VCRs.

In fact, the smoke first came out of a second-floor window above and right next to where the M-60 had been smash-

ing the building. Around noon, Waco time, CNN was broadcasting live coverage of the same tank rumbling in and out of the building. As the first flames appeared, CNN's anchorwoman switched over to their reporter on the scene:

Mike Capps: "Bonnie, for the last 15 minutes we've watched this M-60 vehicle, this combat engineering vehicle, make large holes in the side of this building and pump tear gas in there. And at times, as you well know, tear gas can be incendiary and apparently this is what's happened. And it looks like—now we have a very large-scale fire breaking out on what must be the south side, right near the front side of this building... As I said, this combat engineering vehicle has been working very diligently around the front door of the complex." **CNN Anchor:** "Mike, it appears that the portion of the building that is on fire right now is part of an observation tower that is adjacent to the front door. It's also on the second floor, which is where the women's sleeping quarters are."

As protection against BATF snipers, the Davidians had covered the windows with black plastic and stacked bales of hay in front of the windows. Kerosene lanterns were used all day to light the inside, as the FBI had cut off the electricity in the second week of the siege. Survivors later explained how "collapse of a wall and part of a ceiling tipped over a Coleman portable lamp, spewing burning kerosene over the floor and igniting part of the compound" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 April). In seconds, driven by 40-mile-per-hour winds and feeding on the bales of hay and tarpaper which lined the walls, the entire complex became an inferno.

FBI spokesmen endlessly repeated that the gas that was pumped into the farmhouse was "non-lethal" and "non-flammable." Clinton claimed that the CS gas "would force anybody who breathed it to run outside." Buried in news stories was the fact that CS is covered by the Paris Convention on chemical weapons, which bans its use in international warfare—but that doesn't stop the government from using it against a Christian sect on the Texas prairie. Carried in 50-gallon drums on M5 gas dispersers mounted on the tanks, the CS was injected in massive quantities as a fine powder. It was also delivered in liquid form in 300 "Ferret" rounds fired by riot guns at the upper windows of the complex.

The FBI knew exactly what they were doing—in testimony afterwards they

Spartacist  Forum

Stalinism—Gravedigger of the Revolution How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled

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bragged of their consultations with chemical warfare specialists at the Edgewater Arsenal, and commanders of the Army's Special Operations Command. What news accounts haven't reported is that the Army's own *Field Manual 19-15* on "Civil Disturbances and Disasters" warns that in using CS gas on large groups of people, "Open pre-determined escape routes are mandatory." More specifically, it states that "Large quantities of the CS agent should not be introduced into closed structures, rooms, and buildings," and notes that "excessive exposure to CS1 may make them incapable of vacating the area" (cited in Col. Rex Applegate, *Riot Control—Material and Techniques* [Paladin, 1981]).

But instead, the government sprayed gallons of CS into the buildings for hours to disorient and trap their targets inside. The burning of almost 100 people in Waco ignited memories of Vietnam, where the imperialists destroyed cities and villages in order to "save" them from Communism. And it was in Vietnam that CS was first widely used by the U.S., provoking worldwide protests.

All the survivors say there were no plans for mass suicide, and that the demolition tanks started the fire. As DeGuerin points out, even the location of the bodies gives the lie to the government's claim of "mass suicide." Small groups of five or six, then eight, then nine, sometimes a mother holding a child. And most of the bodies were lying face down, an indication of death by smoke inhalation. Those on the second floor of the complex of buildings were trapped. In the first minutes of the tank assault on the complex, the stairs leading from the front door area to the upper level were wiped out.

This is how a small, racially integrated religious group paid for "refusing to submit to proper authorities." The American capitalist state exercised in blood its "sovereignty" over the Davidians' 77 acres of Texas prairie.

New Age Witchhunt: "Child Abuse"

As the fire raged in Waco, phone calls and faxes denouncing the feds' butchery poured into the Justice Department. So Reno and the FBI launched a media blitzkrieg claiming they had to go in because Koresh was "slapping babies around." Child abuse is the all-purpose witchhunt of the '80s and '90s. "Protecting the kids was the ultimate rationale for going in," said Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos. The government's ultimate justification: we had to kill the kids in order to save them.

This was pure, cynical media manipulation—although the bourgeois press



WV Photo

Spartacist League uniquely raised cry of outrage. Picketing FBI headquarters in Washington, April 21.

hardly needed much manipulating. The FBI held a special three-hour briefing for the press, and suddenly there were reams of stories that the "children would die of hunger or disease" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 April). Janet Reno oozed "concern." But the entire exercise was a charade to reverse public opinion. After the "child abuse" hysteria, *Newsday* (22 April) noted: "Critics say what some may view as 'child abuse' others may consider spanking!" The *Washington Post* (25 April) reported that "none of the 21 children released from the compound in the early stages of the 51-day siege has shown signs of abuse, Texas child protective service officials said." But by then Reno and Clinton had the polls inverted, running 90 percent in the government's favor.

The *New York Times* (4 May) continues to push the child abuse angle, with a feature story based on "deprogramming" by the shrink from the Baylor College of Medicine who has had his hands on the kids for the last two months. Claiming they "learned to substitute the word 'love' for fear," that the sect had "a number of unusual ideas about combining fruit and vegetables in the same meal," that "the girls were likely exposed to inappropriate concepts of sexuality," the report by Dr. Bruce Perry concludes that parental ties were undermined by "a whole variety of destructive emotional techniques" including "shame, coercion, fear, intimidation, humiliation, guilt, overt aggression and power." Sounds like a typical American

family to us. As for his allegation that the children's heart rates were elevated to 140 (compared with a normal rate of 70 to 90), mightn't that have a lot to do with the fact that they were brought out after a murderous assault by the feds that killed several of their parents and playmates?!

"General" Reno is no stranger to this kind of witchhunt. Columnist Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Nation*, details Reno's savage persecution of an innocent 14-year-old for "satanic abuse" who she kept locked up, frequently in solitary, for 20 months. Writing in the Boonville, California *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, Cockburn captures the hysterical nature of the "child abuse" bugaboo: "To call someone a child abuser these days is like calling someone a Communist in the 1950s or a witch in the seventeenth century. Normal standards of evidence or even reason cease to apply." And Cockburn notes that the Cult Awareness Network "experts," who boast of assisting the BATF in Waco, are offering to "deprogram" the children so that they testify on behalf of the FBI against their parents!

Lies and More Lies

On February 28, the BATF "went in there like Marines on Iwo Jima." With one spectacular raid they hoped to drag the "gun running Jesus" away in chains and reap a huge publicity bonanza to ensure the future of this agency of state terrorism. When the smoke cleared, and the BATF took away their dead cowboys, nobody could even point to a crime that anyone in the Branch Davidians had committed.

During the siege and subsequent assault, the press retailed the BATF's charge that Koresh had an "illegal .50 cal. machine gun." In fact, every weapon they owned, including a Barrett .50 cal. semi-automatic rifle, had been examined and returned by the local cops as perfectly legal. The government was playing to Congressional liberals pushing Clinton's program of gun control and 100,000 more cops on the streets. For shock effect, Arizona Senator DeConcini came onto CNN's *Larry King Live* talk show brandishing a grenade, asking the Waco victims' lawyers if their clients were going to explain this before Congress. "My client is dead, Senator," replied DeGuerin.

The bourgeois media dutifully parrots this pack of lies in order to alibi Clinton and Reno. With the same groveling subservience they displayed during the Persian Gulf War, the press tamely accepted being kept almost two miles away during the entire siege and inferno. Only three days later were reporters allowed to

move within 200 yards of the smoldering ruins, while the government was removing all the evidence and shipping it off to the FBI in Washington. The pages of newspapers and magazines are full of photographs of murdered Bosnian babies—so where are the photos of the two dozen children incinerated in Waco?! The quintessential expression of the "free but responsible" capitalist press were the identical covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* blaming the Waco inferno on the victims.

The bourgeois press is echoed by Clinton's foot soldiers on the left. Lamenting the "lax gun laws," Gus Hall's Communist Party buys the feds' line: "The Waco cultists, armed with a .50-caliber machine gun and assault rifles, engaged in a firefight in which cultists and FBI agents died" (*People's Weekly World*, 24 April). Unlike the CP, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party denounces the "Waco massacre," but they must be hoping nobody will remember their headline greeting Reno's nomination: "Can Establishment live with woman 'top cop'?" (*Workers World*, 25 February). As for the rad-lib crowd, the *Nation* lamely called the Waco holocaust "disgraceful," but on the eve of the assault they practically scripted the government's case, painting Koresh as a crazy, gun-toting polygamist, the "N.R.A. Gun Nut of the Month."

Gun control is the program of a vicious capitalist class that is hell-bent on asserting its monopoly of armed force in order to rule over defenseless subjects. The reformists and liberals preach faith in the capitalist state. The flames which consumed a racially integrated group of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas illuminate yet again the basic Marxist truth that this state is a deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed. Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was intended as a deadly warning to all those who "have a hostile attitude" toward this racist ruling class.

The Branch Davidians' "crime" was to want to be left alone to live as they chose on their 77-acre piece of Texas. We understand that religious superstition in all its variants is at best a fanciful refuge from—and more often, a cynical apology for—the horrors of this capitalist world. As communists committed to forging a party that can bring workers and the oppressed to power through a socialist revolution, in this country and around the world, we intend to make sure that those who carried out the holocaust in Waco will be brought to justice by a future workers government.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 575, 7 May 1993

North Korea...

(continued from page 11)

nuclear warheads in the past couple of decades without raising a peep of protest from Washington or its lapdog IAEA. On March 24, South African president De Klerk announced the apartheid regime built six atom bombs over the past 15 years. De Klerk claimed the devices were destroyed after 1989, and that even blueprints were shredded. While the Randlords certainly don't want a future ANC "power-sharing" government to get its hands on nuclear weapons, this does not mean the bombs have really been dismantled. IAEA sources say South Africa may still have some 350 kilos (770 pounds) of weapons-grade uranium (London *Independent*, 26 March).

Moreover, as the liberal South African *Weekly Mail* (26 March) observed, De Klerk "hid more than he revealed." The article noted that the apartheid state's nuclear capacity was "on the technological cutting edge internationally," including self-guided nuclear "smart

bombs." South Africa's nuclear weapons program—carried out with U.S., Israeli and German cooperation—was no news to anyone. It was exposed by the ANC more than 15 years ago (see "West Germany Gets the Bomb," *Workers Vanguard* No. 170, 26 August 1977). In 1980 the apartheid regime sentenced South African researcher Renfrew Christie to ten years in jail for passing nuclear secrets to the ANC.

And how about the *only* country in the Near East with not just a crude warhead but *hundreds* of deliverable weapons—Israel? Mated to the Jericho II missile, this arsenal gave the Zionist rulers the power to level every urban center in the Near East and to strike the Soviet Union, the main target of U.S. imperialism after WWII. The Zionist arsenal was heroically exposed by Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear weapons plant. After giving the story to the London *Sunday Times* in 1986, Vanunu was kidnapped in Italy by Israeli agents working with the CIA, tortured, given a kangaroo-court trial and sentenced to 18 years in solitary.

Vanunu also exposed the central role

played by the Israeli regime in helping South Africa get the bomb in exchange for South African uranium. In 1979, the two countries even conducted a joint nuclear test in the Indian Ocean, revealed by two reporters for the Israel daily *Ha'aretz* in a book banned by the Zionist censors. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have campaigned from the outset to demand: Free Mordechai Vanunu now!

Despite a dirty colonial war under UN cover which killed nearly 10 percent of the Korean population, the U.S. imperialists failed to smash North Korea, where a social revolution from above overthrew capitalist-landlord rule. Now that the threadbare planned economy in the North has been deprived of Soviet oil as well as military support, facing a total imperialist embargo, the Stalinist regime is facing a truly desperate situation. Within the framework of "socialism in one country," i.e., Stalinist nationalism, there is no way out. So, while rejecting the outright surrender being demanded by the imperialists, Kim can only appeal to the IAEA to return to a mythical "neutrality" and plead that the U.S. turn peaceful.

While the South Korean *chaebols* (big monopolies) salivate over the prospect of exploiting cheap North Korean labor, the "democratic" police state in Seoul pales at the prospective costs of a German-style *Anschluss* (annexation). Washington, however, is intent on pressing the regime in the North to the point of collapse.

The North Korean deformed workers state must be defended against the imperialists and their puppets in Seoul. But what's critically needed is a *revolutionary* reunification of the peninsula through a socialist revolution in the South and a proletarian political revolution in the North. An internationalist perspective in Korea must necessarily embrace the powerful Japanese proletariat, which is key to the struggle for socialism in East Asia.

The Democrats now ensconced in the White House have always been the party of imperialist war in this century. It's up to the working class in the U.S. to disarm the nuclear-armed would-be "new world order" of slavery, terror and mass murder by carrying out a victorious workers revolution here. ■



Stuart Creek Workers Spike Racist Anti-Union Attack

When management at the Australian Meat Holdings (AMH) Stuart Creek abattoir near Townsville sacked 58-year-old Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley on 17 February they got more than they bargained for. The 350 members of the Australian Meat Industry Employees Union (AMIEU) hit back striking in defence of Alley and their union conditions and setting up a picket line to shut down the plant. After three weeks on strike the Stuart Creek workers defeated this racist anti-union attack, winning Alley's reinstatement. Coming at a time of mounting bosses' and government attacks against workers, women and minorities this was a small but significant victory for all working people and the oppressed.

Eddie Alley had worked in the plant for over 30 years as a stockman—the most senior worker in the stock camp. When the bosses demanded he move to a lower paying job, Alley stood firm on the union principle of seniority and upheld a union safety condition that required three stockmen in the yard. The bosses replied by sacking him. As AMIEU Northern District secretary Mick Sherrington said, "It was just victimisation as far as we're concerned, a breach of the seniority clause, it was racist."

The timing of this provocation was carefully chosen by the company, coming the first week after a two and a half month layoff between killing seasons. After the company refused to reinstate

Union Action Defends Aboriginal Stockman



Townsville Bulletin

Stuart Creek meatworker's picket, joined by Aboriginal community. Strike action defeated bosses' racist attack on Aboriginal unionist Eddie Alley.

Alley the entire workforce struck. While the bosses brought in scabs, 250 unionists regularly manned the picket line, facing off an army of strike-breaking cops sent by the Goss state Labor government. The Aboriginal community joined the picket, collecting funds, providing food and entertainment and mo-

bilising support in the local community.

AMH, formerly owned by Elders and now by the U.S. firm Conagra, has a history of victimisations and standover tactics. The Stuart Creek strike occurred just over a week after a ten-day strike at AMH's Beaudesert abattoir in Queensland where workers fought manage-

ment's plans to demote nine workers. Over the past decade the meatworkers union has been a target of government and bosses' anti-union attacks. In 1985 under the Hawke Labor government the union had \$1.7 million of its funds seized by a federal court and was ordered to pay massive fines as punishment for picketing the Mudginberri abattoir in the Northern Territory. In 1991 Victorian meatworkers' pickets in Camperdown and Wodonga fought against cops and scabs, shots were fired and whole towns were divided down the middle during their unsuccessful struggle to defend union conditions and stop the use of union-busting contract labour. After years of the union tops playing by the bosses' rules and sinking strike after strike in the service of their ALP government, the Stuart Creek workers won one for the working class. Their strike demonstrated that by rejecting the bosses' racist divide-and-rule tactics and playing a little hardball it is possible to win.

Strikes are won or lost on the picket line and not in the courts, and this was no exception. The AMH bosses after initially refusing to give an inch, finally accepted a 15 March Arbitration court recommendation that Alley be reinstated. But the court was only registering what had been won by the unionists hanging tough. An earlier Arbitration recommendation for a return to work and "negotiations" was rejected by the workers, who refused to return without

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Rod Aydelotte—Waco Tribune Herald—Sygma

Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies

MAY 4—As gloating FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents and Texas Rangers raised the flags of the United States, the Lone Star state and the BATF over the burned rubble of the Branch Davidian compound outside of Waco, Texas, the government and media geared up a cover-up that would have made Nazi propagandist Goebbels jealous. This isn't "spin control," it's the Big Lie. Not even their grotesque attempts to blame their victims can cover up the stench of the horrendous crime that Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno ordered on April 19.

Millions of TV viewers around the country and around the world watched in horror as the flames engulfed the

Branch Davidian commune. Clinton and his cohorts could not erase this image, so instead they called it "mass suicide." To justify sending in tanks to ram and wreck the complex, pouring in massive amounts of potentially lethal CS gas, allowing the house and its inhabitants to burn to the ground while fire engines were deliberately kept away from the blaze, U.S. top cop Reno claimed the feds had to act because of "child abuse." From the blossoming Rose Garden, Clinton pontificated that "Mr. Koresh's response...was to destroy himself and murder the children who were his captives as well as all the other people." No, they were all captives of this bloodthirsty government. *From the White House to the "Justice" Department and the FBI,*



Holocaust in Waco, Texas

those who perpetrated the massacre of 86 people, including 25 children, in Waco are mass murderers.

The "final solution" of Waco, as we noted last issue, [WV No. 574, 23 April], came directly in the wake of a massive police-state mobilization aimed at crushing in blood any protest around the verdict in last month's trial of four Los Angeles cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The *New York Times* (21 April) confirms the direct link between

the L.A. verdicts and the Waco assault: "Ms. Reno decided to approve the bureau's plan on Saturday evening, after a long meeting in her office with senior aides who had been euphoric and relieved over the verdicts earlier in the day in the Rodney King beating case."

When the Nazis herded millions of Jews into ghettos, boxcars and gas chambers, they obscenely claimed the Jews were "diseased." Now Clinton

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