



Break from ALP/ACTU Scabherders!

Workers Action Must Bring Down Hawke!

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In August ALP prime minister Bob Hawke launched a massive military strikebreaking operation in a bid to smash the Australian Federation of Air Pilots (AFAP) emulating Labor PM Chifley's use of troops in the coal mines in 1949. The naked force of the state has been levelled at the AFAP because they had the nerve to break from the Accord straitjacket with its "wage-fixing guidelines" and to challenge Labor's sacred cow, Arbitration. Then, on 30 September, with Australia's domestic civil air transport all but taken over by the air force, the minister for defence, Kim Beazley, called out troops of the Second Cavalry Regiment against peaceful protesters at the US spy base at Nurrungar, South Australia. Protesters were attacked, beaten and maced by police. Some 500 protesters took 492 arrests over a few days, 219 alone on 1 October. They incurred the wrath of Hawke and Beazley because they challenged the other hallmark of the Labor regime, the anti-Soviet US alliance.

The Accord and the US alliance: these are the linchpins of the ALP government. A question mark over either one would spell its doom. After six years in power no one would question that Hawke is the most servile lackey of US imperialism, especially now that his "personal friend," the CIA's man George Bush, is at the helm. With Gorbachev's seemingly never-ending concessions to imperialism (INF treaty, Afghanistan pullout, Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea to name a few) the imperialists are emboldened and even more aggressive. Desperate for a stake in international counterrevolution, Beazley wants Australian "peacekeeping" troops in Kampuchea, seeking a reversal of the historic defeat of US and Australian imperialism by social revolution in 1975. Drive out US bases! Smash the US/Australian military alliance!

The Australian economy is a shambles. Columnist Max Walsh

approvingly quoted Apple Computers' advertisement "interest rates are rocketing, the economy is plummeting and the airlines aren't moving" (Sydney Morning Herald, 12 October). Working class resentment at the last six years of grinding austerity is mounting and the Accord is shaky. Strikes are on the increase. On 12 October, the blue collar Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees' Union resolved to disaffiliate from the ACTU in protest at the new Accord. The government's hamfisted reaction over the pilots is a reflection at the top of growing social tensions. There is no longer much pretence of "consensus" in Hawke's Australia, as the vicious vendetta against the pilots shows. The Australian working class is facing a major test. It must enter the battle. The Hawke government must be brought down by the working class in action!

HAWKE'S WAR ON PILOTS

The pilots knew that with the forthcoming 1990 deregulation of the airline industry they would have to fight for their jobs and conditions. The AFAP started preparing for a strike at the beginning of the year. When they put their 30 percent wage claim in August, and then, under threat of punitive fines resigned en masse, the airlines and the government seized the opportunity to bring deregulation forward twelve months. Ansett and Australian quickly announced their intention to shed a quarter or more of the pilots' jobs, force a 30 percent increase in their flying hours and put them on individual contracts, ie, destroy the AFAP. After the pilots will come the flight stewards leaving industrial muscle like the metalworkers and transport workers until last hoping they will be isolated and easily defeated. This speaks to the need to break the craft union divisions in the working class, and build industrial unions — one industry, one union — to forge genuine working class



Federal Capital Press



Phillip Lock



Bulletin



la Repubblica

A Dakota approaching Canberra airport (top), part of military strikebreaking against pilots. Hawke (centre) "shoulder to shoulder" with "mates" — Ansett chief Abeles (left) and media baron Murdoch.

solidarity in struggle.

The pilots did not reckon on the determination of the airline bosses and chiefly the Hawke government to smash them. By the end of September the tourism industry had lost \$340 million, and tourism bosses were screaming for a settlement. Tasmanian Labor premier Field talked about declaring a state of emergency and demands millions in federal government compensation. In an ominous harbinger of things to come under "deregulation," safety standards have been ripped up, overseas pilots have been "fast-tracked" into service and in the words of AFAP president, Brian McCarthy, planes are flown by

"misfits and mercenaries." If you value your life you won't fly. Even the Civil Aviation Authority admits an "erosion of standards."

The pilots remain solid. After ten weeks on strike only seventeen of the 1650 AFAP members have signed the scab contracts, eight of these management pilots. Only sixteen of the airlines' 69 planes have returned to service. But these and the scab charter flights are being serviced and fuelled by the airport unions. By early October, the RAAF, the airlines' few planes, charter flights and international carriers were carrying a significant number of passengers (though the claims of

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Civil War Threatens in Baltics

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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Civil War Threatens in Baltics

We print here excerpts from a statement by the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 26 August, distributed by the Soviet news agency TASS.

These words as printed are fair and even often true. But they come from an institution which has saturated the Soviet Union since the 1920s with a mass of unmitigated lies — in the first place by the regime of the infamous Stalin, and perpetuated by his successors in the bureaucracy of which he was the architect.

Today the Soviet population must tend to believe nothing that is published by the Soviet government. Thus they deeply disbelieve that there is poverty, racism, limited and expensive medical care, massive unemployment, homelessness and the like in the imperialist countries. They do not know that there is enormous ostentatious wealth that would put any Soviet

bureaucrat to shame, displayed by the small numbers who are the vicious and arrogant capitalist ruling class.

Exception must be taken to the statement's pejorative use of the words "foreign organizations." Some "foreign organizations" are resolute military defenders of the Soviet Union; others are imperialist spies. The bureaucracy does not want to know the difference.

The statement by the CC of the CPSU also leaves out the critical element, insisted upon by Lenin, that all nations not seeking counterrevolutionary social change were promised the right to fully administratively disaffiliate from the rest of the Soviet Union. This right was incorporated in the founding constitution of the USSR.

In the guise of national separation, the Baltic nationalist independence movements seek not merely separation with full pro-

tection of all peoples within these borders, but a vicious capitalist restoration, rapidly producing a new and ethnically pure ruling class, and the degradation or ex-

clusion of all other Soviet peoples.

It is in this context that it is necessary to view this often accurate document by the Soviet Central Committee.

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The current situation in the Baltic republics is the cause of increasing concern. Developments there affect the vital interests of the entire Soviet people, our entire socialist motherland.

Perestroika paved the way for the rapid growth of the national awareness of peoples, made them confident that they can independently solve the problems of their political, social, economic and cultural life.

The Baltic republics actively joined in the process of deep transformation. Workers' collectives got moving and the intellectual forces of all strata of society became active.

But at a certain stage nationalist, extremist groups took advantage of democracy and openness and gradually began to introduce an unhealthy aspect into the development of events.

Having misappropriated the part of true proponents of the national interests, they, step-by-step, steered the course of affairs toward an alienation of the Baltic republics from the rest of the country and the disruption of long-standing organically formed links with other Soviet nations. Their positions became more and more openly extremist and separatist. The anti-socialist and anti-

Soviet nature of their projects became evident very soon. In some places, organizations resembling political formations of the bourgeois period and the time of Nazi occupation sprang up. Actually, parallel bodies of power began to be set up. Intimidation, deception and disinformation became routine, and even moral terror and defamation of all who disagreed, all who remained true to internationalism and the idea of an integral Soviet Union. Some of the mass information media served as sources fostering nationalistic attitudes.

Abusing freedom of international relations, nationalist leaders contacted foreign organizations and centres, seeking to involve them in what was in fact the internal affair of their republics and treating them as consultants and advisers, as if people in the West were better aware of the actual needs of the Baltic nations, as if they were guided not by their own open or concealed projects with respect to our country, but were in fact concerned about the Soviet people's welfare.

It came to direct acts of vandalism, mockery of state insignia, desecration of sacred things viewed as inviolable by any decent

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TROTSKY

Trotsky on the class nature of the Soviet State

Today the imperialist pundits are fantasising over the prospects of the "peaceful" restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe and the break-up of the Soviet Union. Yet, as Trotsky pointed out over 50 years ago, the restoration of capitalism in the deformed and degenerated workers states requires a social counterrevolution. The

betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracies only bring closer the decisive battles and struggles which will decide the fate of the Soviet and Eastern European working masses. Revolutionaries must remain at their posts, as intransigent defenders of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

Against the assertion that the workers' state is apparently already liquidated there arises, first and foremost, the important methodological position of Marxism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established by means of a political overturn and a civil war of three years. The class theory of society and historical experience equally testify to the impossibility of the victory of the proletariat through peaceful methods, that is, without grandiose class battles, weapons in hand.... In the last analysis, the theories of reformism, insofar as reformism generally has attained to theory, are always based upon the inability to understand that class antagonisms are profound and irreconcilable; hence, the perspective of a peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism. The Marxist thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history sweeps madly ahead, but also to the periods of counterrevolution, when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism.

— Leon Trotsky, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State", Writings (1933-1934)



LENIN

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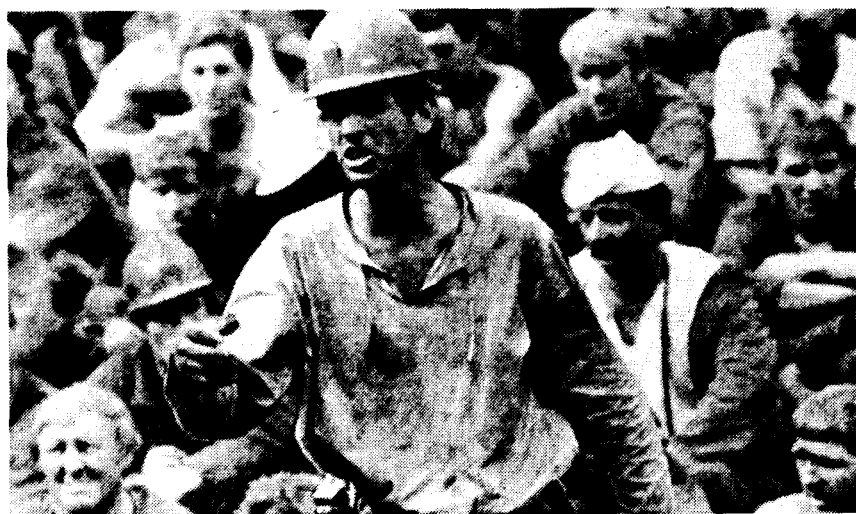
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Anniversary of the Russian Revolution Spartacist Forums:

Stalinism in Crisis For Workers Political Revolution!



TASS via Reuters

- Return to Lenin's Communism! • For Workers Soviets!
- Oust the Bureaucrats!

Sydney

Saturday 4th November 7pm
University of Technology
Building 2, Rm 435
15-73 Broadway

Melbourne

Saturday 11th November 3pm
Function Room
Sir Robert Peel Hotel
Cnr Queensberry & Peel Sts
North Melbourne

Stop Baltic Counterrevolution!

Bloody counterrevolution is brewing in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Their appetites whetted by Gorbachev's policy of perestroika — encouraging market forces and private enterprise — bourgeois nationalist movements in this relatively prosperous region of the USSR have openly set course for restoring capitalism under the slogan of complete independence from the Soviet Union. The Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and the Lithuanian Sajudis — overlapping with nationalist wings of the Baltic Communist parties — seek to resurrect the reactionary "independent" bourgeois republics of the interwar years, vassal statelets of German and British imperialism noted for repression of Communists and Jews. To this end, these supposed "democrats" have enacted discriminatory restrictions on language, voting and employment rights, and "immigration" controls directed against non-Baltic peoples.

What apparently finally provoked the Central Committee statement of the Soviet Communist Party excerpted here was the August 23 "human chain" protest linking the capital cities of Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The protests were marked by flagrantly anti-Russian and anti-Communist manifestations, including the now omnipresent flags of the interwar bourgeois republics, banners reading "Soviet occupation army go home!" and signs equating the Nazi swastika with the hammer and sickle. Echoing the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd, protest organizers declared that the Soviet Union had "infringed on the historical right of the Baltic nations to self-determination...occupied them with overwhelming military force." The Sajudis declared that Lithuania "is no longer under the administrative or judicial jurisdiction of the USSR with immediate effect."

Stalin's "non-aggression" pact with Hitler did not prevent the Nazis from invading the Soviet Union in 1941, but the Soviet annexation of the region in July 1940 cannot be separated from the exigencies of the German war threat at the time. Trotsky argued that although the territory was

strategically important, the Red Army occupation would be seen as an act of violence, not liberation, and in the long run would do more harm than good. In any case, Stalin's annexation lasted only until Hitler invaded and occupied the Baltics a year later, at which time many bourgeois nationalists enthusiastically joined with the Nazis in hunting down and murdering Communists and Jews. The social revolution which

chauvinist measures strike at the heart of the multinational Soviet state.

There has been significant resistance to these reactionary measures by workers in Estonia. The predominantly Russian "Internationalist Movement," co-led by a Russian and, interestingly, a Siberian Estonian (a group also looked down upon by "pure" Estonians), called a strike for the second time in less than a month

Hitlerite occupiers in 1942! At the unveiling ceremony a former member of "Erna" was given a platform to rant that Estonia must "be liberated from the Reds." Even mainstream nationalist spokesmen like Estonian economist Tiit Made echo disgusting Nazi rhetoric: the New York Times (10 August) reports that he sees "Russians as aggressive people whose primitive behavior he traces to centuries of breeding



Estonian nationalists mobilise under the banner of reactionary interwar bourgeois state.

marked the real integration of the Baltic republics into the USSR came following the Red Army's heroic defeat of Nazi fascism.

We warned recently: "The stage is set for a bloody civil war in which capitalist counterrevolution will disguise itself as a struggle for 'national liberation and self-determination'" (Spartacist no 43-44, Summer 1989). Last November, the Estonian parliament passed a resolution — subsequently ruled unconstitutional — asserting a "right" to unilaterally reject Soviet laws. Two months later, it decreed Estonian the sole official language. Fully 40 percent of Estonia's population and half of Latvia's are ethnic Russian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian, predominantly concentrated in the working class. In May, Lithuania followed suit with a law asserting its veto power over USSR legislation and its right to control migration into the republic. On August 8 Estonia passed legislation — again ruled unconstitutional — demanding a five-year residency requirement for the right to vote and ten years for the right to stand in elections. These

in protest against the discriminatory voting restrictions. Some 30,000 workers walked off the job, shutting down dozens of factories in Tallinn and bringing rail and air cargo transport to a halt. The Estonian government immediately moved to ban the protest strike and brought in scabs to run buses in Tallinn. But the strike continued for nine days, until the central government agreed to review the local legislation.

Latvia and Lithuania have already passed legislation aimed at restoring private property in agriculture by allowing lifetime possession and inheritance of "family farms." When in late July the Supreme Soviet in Moscow endorsed a new program of "economic autonomy," giving the Baltic republics control of trade, industry and resources and the right to run their economies on a market basis, Estonian economist Mikhail Bronshtein cheered: "It opens the road for us to begin realizing our program of independence" (New York Times, 28 July). But these tiny countries, necessarily dependent on the Soviet economy, cannot hope for a semblance of independent economic life, should they win the local civil war necessary to restore capitalism. Like Hong Kong vis-a-vis China, the Baltic states could only serve as a spearhead for imperialist penetration into the Soviet Union.

On the right flank of the People's Fronts stand even more extremist nationalist formations. According to a TASS dispatch reported in Die Wahrheit (25 August), newspaper of the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, the Estonian city of Kohtla recently unveiled a public monument to a group of World War II Nazi collaborators called Counterintelligence-2-"Erna." The monument was erected on the site of an earlier monument put up by the

with Mongol occupiers." According to the racist Made, Russian "aggressiveness and violence is manifested even in love... After rape, comes a feeling of love and delight."

On the eve of the August 23 protest, the National Independence Movement of Latvia (LNKK) staged a two-day conference in Riga, as the Washington Post (22 August) put it, "to plot publicly the downfall of 'the Soviet empire'." Speakers included Republican US Senator Robert Kasten and a representative of Polish Solidarnosc. The rabid Baltic nationalists would do well to recall what this region looked like the last time it was "liberated from Reds," under the sponsorship of imperialist intervention against the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1919, the armies of newly independent Poland marched into and seized sections of Byelorussia and Lithuania, including Vilnius, and imposed Polish as the official language. The following year, Pilsudski invaded the Ukraine, provoking a Soviet counteroffensive.

Today, the nationalist resurgence in the Baltics poses once again the dangers of war and counterrevolution. In a sharp warning foreshadowing the August 26 Central Committee statement, Valentin Falin, head of the CPSU's international department, said: "If the striving to divide what cannot be divided continues, as was characteristic of the period before the previous two world wars, if lands and frontiers are being recarved while the lives and safety of people are neglected, the worst, and this time, the final disaster will be brought on" (New York Times, 23 August). Worried about developments in the Baltic, and responding in part to West German



Working masses of Latvia staunchly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Latvian Smolny Battalion in Petrograd, November 1917.

China and the Left

The mass outpouring of defiance in Beijing and cities throughout China in May and June heralded proletarian political revolution against the corrupt and despised Stalinist bureaucracy led by Deng Xiaoping. The imperialist press tried to paint the protests in Tiananmen Square as pro-Western, and equated the students' "goddess of democracy" with the Statue of Liberty. While the student protests surely contained confused and contradictory elements, their main thrust went in the opposite direction from that desired by imperialism. People who repeatedly sang the socialist anthem, the *Internationale*, even as they marched out of the square under the guns of Deng's tanks on June 4, were not seeking to restore capitalism. What terrified the bureaucracy was the dramatic mobilisation of hundreds of thousands of workers, defending the students against martial law repression and showing their own outrage over the unemployment, inflation and gross inequality spawned by ten years of "building socialism with capitalist methods."

The Beijing massacre starkly underlined the need for a clear class program for proletarian political revolution and soviet democracy. Yet much of the left internationally basically echoed the imperialist lies, either promoting illusions in bourgeois democracy as the alternative to Stalinist bureaucratic rule, or else denouncing the protests as pro-capitalist and whitewashing the Deng regime. As we wrote in the wake of the June 4 massacre (*Workers Vanguard* no 480, 23 June): "The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard."

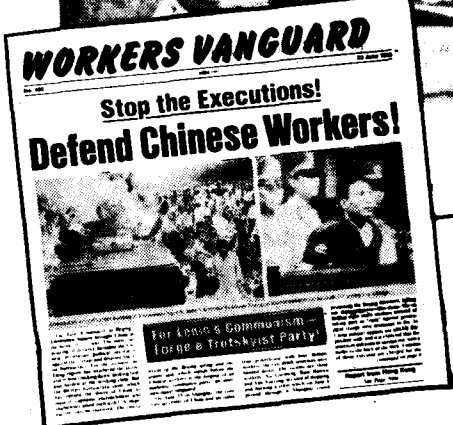
SPA APOLOGISES FOR BEIJING MASSACRE

The hardest defenders of the Chinese Stalinists turned out not to be their local lickspittles, whose paper *Vanguard* decided the wisest course would be to ignore China for a while, but the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). These staid Brezhnev-era Stalinists are not too happy about the direction Gorbachev's "glasnost" is taking and instead, like Gus Hall's Communist Party/USA, look more to conservative bureaucrats like the East German Stalinists and the Ligachevites in the CPSU. Members of the SPA's youth group, the Young Socialist League have even expressed a new-found adoration for the "great and glorious" Kim Il Sung of North Korea. Initially the SPA's paper *Guardian* (17 May) said the student marches were "not an attack on China's political system or an uprising against the government or the CPC," but rather "have the same goal" as the Chinese Communist Party. Immediately following the massacre, its first response was to

offer excuses for the Deng regime — "the good intentions of the masses were manipulated for quite different purposes" — while reserving judgement: "the real reasons for the military action have yet to be explained" (7 June). The next week, the Chinese Stalinists' line had come through and the *Guardian* reprinted it lie for lie, with an expanded version a

feet of the pope, Pilsudski and the "Black Madonna." Yet there must be SPAers who find it hard to swallow their leaders' whitewash of the Beijing bureaucracy after its years of virulent anti-Sovietism, concretised in the criminal US/China alliance and the 1979 invasion of Vietnam.

Under Gorbachev the Symon-McPhillips leadership of the SPA



Beijing, May 1989 — Chinese workers defended student protesters and opposed Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms." International Communist League called for proletarian political revolution.

month later (19 July) announcing that "no-one was killed ... during the whole process of clearing the square" and that "a tiny minority" who "advocated the overthrow of the socialist system," backed by "overseas reactionaries" were responsible for the demonstrations.

While complaining that the capitalist press tells lies about the "socialist" countries, the SPA joined in the biggest bourgeois lie of all — that the mass upheaval of May-June aimed to restore capitalism. Of course, the imperialist press tried to portray the demonstrations as unambiguously pro-Western. But the "swarms of mass media reporters from the capitalist countries" mentioned by the *Guardian* could find virtually no protesters who denounced the 1949 revolution, or who vilified Mao, or who looked to capitalist Taiwan and Hong Kong. For the SPA "socialism" equals the bureaucratic monopoly of political power, the absence of which would mean "anarchy" and "counterrevolution." They can't tell the difference between hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers and students who sang the *Internationale* again and again, and the CIA-funded Polish Solidarnosc, which knelt at the

have often been left wondering which way to turn. Life certainly hasn't been made any easier by the profound political crisis that grips the Stalinist bureaucracies from the USSR to Poland, Hungary and China. The SPA explains that "These developments are putting the international communist movement [read the Stalinists] on the defensive" and pleads "for a reconsideration of some of the policies and ideas being followed" (*Guardian*, 30 August). The SPA is profoundly uneasy about glasnost, nationalist turmoil and working class unrest. They long for a return to the bureaucratic infallibility of the Brezhnev era, when the USSR was a "workers paradise" and Trotsky was a "counterrevolutionary."

SWP-SPA DIS-"UNITY"

For five years the SPA have been pursuing a completely unprincipled course of "unity" with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Apart from a narrow convergence of reformist appetites bred out of mutual isolation in the outer wings of Hawke's Cold War, SWP/SPA unity was always vulnerable to the test of events. Symon and McPhillips swept under the rug the SWP's scandalous apologies

for the Croatian fascist Ustashi and its support for clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarnosc. However the SWP's denunciation of the Beijing massacre, which ended what they called "China's Glasnost Revolution," has put paid to the talk of fusion for now, though the two groups are continuing their reformist "Socialist Alliance" electoral bloc.

For all its condemnation of the massacre, the anti-Trotskyist SWP, rejecting the program of workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, instead hopes the Chinese Communist Party will mend its ways, and "democratise the socialist system." Behind its consummate cynicism and limitless opportunist appetites, the SWP is a petty-bourgeois reformist, "left" nationalist group whose ultimate allegiance is to Australian capitalism. A weathervane of petty-bourgeois radical trends, the SWP are currently Gorbachev groupies who are all for the "socialist market" and "socialist pluralism" in Eastern Europe, echoing the hopes of imperialism and Cold War social democracy for "democratic" counterrevolution in the Eastern bloc. But the Chinese workers and students revolt was mainly directed against similar market-oriented "reforms" to Gorbachev's perestroika.

Moreover Gorbachev pointedly refused, in the interests of rapprochement with the Chinese Stalinists, to condemn the massacre and earlier snubbed the Chinese students who had sought to greet him. One would have thought this would have posed the SWP a problem. Problem? Not for the people who made the heirs of Hitler's Croatian puppet Ante Pavelic out to be "socialists." And *Direct Action*, true to form, rose to the occasion with the memorable headline: "Gorbachev opposes China crackdown" (20 June).

This set off a paper war between the partners-in-unity over "What Gorbachev really said on China" (*Guardian*, 5 July). The SPA got stuck into "some on the left" who "try and portray Mikhail Gorbachev as an opponent of the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party," quoting Gorbachev's statement in full. In reply, ("What Gorbachev said about China," 11 August) *Direct Action* went after the SPA's "shameful stance" and claimed that "Gorbachev has clearly and publicly opposed the methods used by the Deng clique on June 4," while reprinting the same statement by Gorbachev which "clearly and publicly" said absolutely nothing of the sort. The incipient political revolution in China sent shock waves through all the Stalinist bureaucracies. And the massive Soviet miners strike of July confirmed that the Soviet working class thinks no better of the results of Gorbachev's version of "market socialism" than its Chinese class brothers and sisters do of Deng's.

FOR WORKERS SOVIETS IN CHINA!

Given the heterogeneity of the Chinese "democracy movement" and the vagueness of its demands, it is not surprising that pro-capitalist elements were to be found within it. But unlike the overseas students in the United

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

States, West Europe and Australia, the Beijing protesters' demands were directed not toward "democratic" capitalist counter-revolution but at securing a Chinese version of glasnost — for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to demonstrate, and disclosure of the private bank accounts of the top bureaucrats. Hours before the crackdown, student protesters took a vow to give up their lives in the cause of "pushing forward our nation's process of democratisation" and "to protect the Republic" (London Guardian, 26 June). The autonomous workers unions which began springing up, notably in Beijing and Shanghai, called for advancing "the economic and political needs of the working class" and for "guarantees that the worker will be the real master of industry."

A Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard in China would have fought to dispel illusions in Western-style "democracy" and sought to polarise the politically confused movement, counterposing to Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism and "market socialism" a program for centralised economic planning under proletarian democracy. Our tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) proclaimed:

"What the Chinese working people urgently need is genuine communism, a genuinely Marxist and Leninist communist party to replace the bureaucratic regime with workers and soldiers soviets at the head of the poor peasantry. Instead of the nationalism of the Chinese Stalinists from Mao to Deng, which has led China into a counterrevolutionary military and diplomatic alliance with the US against the Soviet Union and Vietnam, what's needed is communist unity against imperialism."

— Workers Vanguard no 478, 26 May 1989

This article was published under the watchwords: "Oust the Bureaucrats — For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!"

After decades of Stalinist perversion of communism, it is understandable that the Chinese workers and students did not formulate their demands in clearly defined class terms. But some self-anointed Trotskyists deliberately blurred the line between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. At a forum on China in New York on July 11 United Secretariat (USec) leader Ernest Mandel raised the call for "pluralist democracy" and linked it to "total and complete support" for the "democratic reform movements" in the Soviet Union. "Pluralism" is a Cold War II catch phrase for allowing capitalist-restorationist forces to vie for power. When these fake-Trotskyists say "political revolution," what it comes down to is social counterrevolution, fighting for bourgeois democracy in the deformed/degenerated workers states.

Thus the USec's October Review group in Hong Kong joins with business and church groups in a popular-front formation called the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of the Patriotic and Democratic

Movement in China. According to the Far Eastern Economic Review (24 August), the Alliance has donated over US\$150,000 to the pro-capitalist Democratic Front of China, recently formed in Paris, whose leaders include businessman Wan Runnan and exiled student leader Wuer Kaixi. Mandel joins Wuer in seeking to "promote pluralism." For the USec the prime example of this is clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarnosc.

The amalgam between reactionary Polish Solidarnosc, now in government and openly stating its intention of capitalist restoration, with the Chinese revolt, was repeated in a 5 July meeting in Sydney by Stephen Jolly, editor of the Militant. Originating from a deep (very deep) "entry" into the British Labour Party by its parent tendency of the same name, and transported (what did they do wrong?) to the stony terrain of Hawke/Keating's Cold War ALP, the Militant group is a deeply reformist anti-Soviet outfit. Militant (which describes itself as a Marxist paper for Labor and youth), searches far and wide for an Australian Benn-type reformist, a thankless task. Meanwhile the leader of their racist Labor Party, Bob Hawke, shed a few crocodile tears for China, joined the imperialist hue and cry and summarily closed the doors on thousands of Chinese students who had already paid fees and left their jobs in anticipation of studying in Australia! Jolly presented a graphic and compelling eyewitness account of the massacre in Tiananmen Square and the events leading up to it. However it was a Spartacist League speaker who nailed Jolly's anti-Soviet reformism, pointing out that Solidarnosc is a counterrevolutionary movement counterposed to the party of the Bolshevik type that the Chinese masses need.

SLL STALINOPHOBES TAIL COLD WAR LABOR

While Hawke was grandstanding on China it was his loyal "mates" in the NSW Labor Council who acted — sanctioning union black bans on the Chinese consulate in Sydney. They called for "international trade sanctions" supported by the UN in conjunction with "international trade union action" coordinated by the ICFTU, a creature of the CIA. Chiming in behind them were not only the Militant but also the

dubious political bandits of the Socialist Labour League: "The union movement in every country should organise a boycott of all shipping to China" (Workers News, 30 June). In practice, such "workers sanctions" organised by the pro-imperialist labour bureaucracy would be nothing more than back-handed support for imperialist economic blackmail, undermining the collectivist foundations of the Chinese deformed workers state and punishing the Chinese workers to boot. What the SLL means by "workers action" is appeals to the sellout bureaucracy.

From Polish Solidarnosc to Khomeini's Iran to the CIA's mujahedin cutthroats in Afghanistan, the SLL and its US co-thinkers, the Workers League of David North, have hailed every anti-communist force on the borders of the Soviet Union. And now North trumpets that "Chinese Students Establish Independent Organisation" in exile (Bulletin, 23 June), hardly discomfited by admitting that it is "dominated politically by pro-imperialist elements." The SLL reprints North's ravings that the "relentless drive to brutalise and humiliate the Chinese workers, to beat them into submission, resembles nothing so much as fascism" (Workers News, 30 June). For years now North and the SLL have been itching for an opportunity to dispense with any fig leaf of Trotskyism in pursuit of their strident anti-Sovietism. The way they de-

scribe it, the Stalinist ruling caste might as well be a capitalist class. Where North and the SLL denounce Stalinism as "counterrevolutionary through and through," Trotsky insisted that the Stalinist bureaucracy was a brittle, contradictory caste sitting atop a workers state. Under the impact of the events of this past spring in China the army was politically split and the bureaucracy both paralysed and at war within itself. Proletarian political revolution would shatter the Stalinist bureaucracy, with some elements going over to the insurgent workers and others siding with counterrevolution. Only a government based on workers, soldiers and poor peasants soviets — as in the Russian Bolshevik Revolution — can save China from descending into anarchy, warlordism and bloody capitalist counter-revolution.

It is a measure of the influence of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that Deng is hated in China almost exclusively for his crimes against the Chinese people. But one of his greatest crimes was to ally China with US imperialism against the Soviet Union, an alliance sealed in blood with the 1979 invasion of heroic Vietnam.

The Chinese proletariat has a valiant history of revolutionary struggle dating back to the 1920s. As Australasian Spartacist editorial board member Andrew Giannakis, who spent several weeks in Hong Kong in June, told a Spartacist League public meeting in Melbourne on 5 August:

"From the very start a truly Communist China would help forge the unity of the world's working class and oppressed toilers against imperialism. It would generously aid the reconstruction of impoverished Vietnam whose decades-long struggle inflicted the greatest-ever defeat on US and Australian imperialism. The Chinese working class would link up with the powerful Soviet working class whose own resistance to Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika can open the road to proletarian political revolution there. Such a revolutionary internationalist government would also be a tremendous impetus for social revolution in Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. And therein lies the real future of the Australian working class in a workers republic, part of a socialist Asia." ■

Just Out!

SPARTACIST

(in Japanese)

Published in September 1989 by the Spartacist Group Japan

- Introduction on the origins and positions of the Spartacist Group Japan. The differences between the SGJ and the rest of the Japanese left. The need for a Trotskyist party in Japan today.
- "Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan," 26 October 1986 (Japanese and English).
- "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League/U.S.," adopted at the founding conference of the SL/U.S., September 1966.

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日本に於ける共通活動に関する
ISL 解明の暫定的な簡易的合意
原文

Interim Preliminary Agreement for
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26. 10. 1986
原文

原則の宣言
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Poland...

Continued from page twelve

echelons of the bureaucracy around Jaruzelski have sought to get Walesa & Co to share responsibility for the economic shock treatment.

At the same time, a number of well-placed apparatchiks are looking out for number one by transforming themselves into private capitalists, now that they have run the socialized economy into the ground. A prototype is the former minister of industry, Mieczyslaw Wilcez, who is both a millionaire private entrepreneur and PZPR party member. Timothy Garton Ash writes in the New York Review of Books (15 June) that "the process whereby members of the nomenklatura advance into private enterprise, using the power and connections that go with their official positions, proceeds apace." Ash notes the advantages of "compensating some members of the nomenklatura for their loss of political power, and dividing it between those who stand to lose and those who stand to gain. One might call this the 'nomenklatura buyout' theory."

CRISIS OF STALINIST RULE

The Polish events reflect a broader crisis of Stalinism. In Hungary the ruling party is split, the majority now calling themselves social democrats, while a myriad of rightist opposition parties sprout up. And not far in the background is Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. When PZPR chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski tried to hold out for more ministerial portfolios, Walesa told him to "stop rocking the boat" and a 40-minute phone call from Gorbachev delivered the same message. On a more fundamental level, the Polish events are a logical outcome of the Gorbachev perestroika "reforms." We have warned that this program of "market socialism" emboldens counter-revolutionary elements, and in Poland they are now on the threshold of power. This will have a direct influence on the situation in the Soviet Union, particularly the Baltic states, where behind calls for "self-determination" forces of counterrevolution are mounting.

Counterrevolution in Poland or the Baltic would not be some "peaceful" and "evolutionary" process, as Brzezinski and others paint it, but a bloody pogrom. For as Polish Catholic nationalism gains the upper hand, virulent anti-Communism and anti-Semitism come to the fore. Walesa is an open admirer of Polish prewar fascist dictator Pilsudski; he asked the Solidarnosc parliamentary fraction to open its first meeting by singing, "We, the First Brigade," the marching song of Pilsudski's legions. Just how deep these strains run is seen in the case of Bronislaw Geremek, Walesa's chief brain-truster, whom many considered the obvious candidate for prime minister. The London Guardian (18 August) noted that Geremek "has come under attack from the Roman Catholic right because of his early membership of the Communist Party and because he is a Jew."

The virulent anti-Semitism of Poland's Catholic hierarchy has been exposed by the dispute over a Carmelite convent on the site of Auschwitz death camp. A few years ago, under pressure from international Jewish groups, church officials from France and Belgium as well as Poland agreed to move the convent to a center for Christian-Jewish dialogue to be built nearby. After a small group of American Jews protested the continued presence of the convent at Auschwitz last month, Polish Cardinal Glemp spoke at the national shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa August 26, accusing Jews of "offending the feelings of all Poles." Glemp ranted about Jewish-controlled media spreading "anti-Polish feel-

ternal or internal, may throw the atomized Soviet society into civil war. The workers, having lost control over the state and economy, may resort to mass strikes as weapons of self-defense. The discipline of the dictatorship would be broken. Under the onslaught of the workers and because of the pressure of economic difficulties, the trusts would be forced to disrupt the planned beginnings and enter into competition with one another. The dissolution of the regime would naturally find its violent and chaotic echo in the village and would inevitably be thrown over into the army. The socialist state would collapse, giving place to the capitalist regime



Arthur Grace/Newsweek



Lech Walesa with imperialist chief Bush in Gdansk in July (top); reactionary Polish nationalists, "Fighting Solidarity," cheer for Bush.

ing," and vituperated: "dear Jews, do not talk with us from the position of a people raised above all others." While the Polish hierarchy has reneged on the promise to move the convent, the French and Belgian prelates involved insist the agreement is still in force.

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky in his seminal article on "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933), which he characterized as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, foresaw a process remarkably similar to what is happening in Poland today. Trotsky notes: "The bureaucracy is not a ruling class. But the further development of the bureaucratic regime can lead to the inception of a new ruling class: not organically, through degeneration, but through counter-revolution." The strangulation of the party, soviets and trade unions, he points out, atomizes the proletariat:

"The first social shock, ex-

or, more correctly, to capitalist chaos."

Yet this does not mean the situation is hopeless, Trotsky insisted. As the working class entered into action, the Stalinist apparatus would be suspended in midair:

"A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counter-revolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade.... The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."

An opening to build a revolutionary proletarian party now exists in Poland, especially because the

workers are struggling not just against the despised Stalinist regime but also against Walesa & Co.

WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST SOLIDARNOSC ORDERS

The present events in Poland go back to the outbreak of workers strikes last year. The Stalinists tried to negotiate their way out via a series of "Round Table" discussions which led to the legalization of Solidarnosc and the calling of elections for June 4. The June elections produced a total rout of the Stalinists. While virtually every one of the Solidarity candidates got through on the first round, almost all of the PZPR's "national list" was defeated, even though they ran unopposed, as voters crossed off their names from the ballot in disgust. Solidarnosc took 99 out of 100 seats in the upper house of parliament, and now holds a third of the seats in the Sejm. This arrangement was supposed to guarantee a PZPR-led government, but when the Stalinists' previously compliant satellites (the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party) went over to Solidarnosc, General Kiszczak gave up his attempt to form a cabinet.

Solidarnosc leaders "came home" to Gdansk on Sunday, August 20, as Mazowiecki and Walesa attended an ornate celebratory mass. In the churchyard, Walesa had to silence a group of hecklers who shouted, "We want bread, not a prime minister." The protest was led by "Fighting Solidarity," a split-off connected with the ultrarightist clerical-nationalist KPN. At the first congress of Solidarnosc in 1981, these were the people who led opposition to any positive reference to "socialism" in its program. When Bush came to Gdansk in July, "Fighting Solidarity" welcomed him with signs proclaiming, "A Good Communist is a Dead Communist." The Polish economic crisis is so sharp that it has fueled support for these violent anti-Communists who reject the "Round Table" agreement. At the same time, the Stalinist-led unions have also won support by protesting austerity policies, while Solidarnosc unions have grown slowly, with only about a fifth the membership they had in their heyday of 1981.

Solidarnosc' economic calculations are based on somehow getting massive aid from Western capitalism. When Bush visited Poland in July, Walesa repeatedly asked him for \$10 billion to save his country from a "great, great upheaval." Yet the American president promised only \$115 million, barely one percent of what Walesa asked for. Imperialist aid is crucial for Solidarnosc' plans: with all of the talk about restoring capitalism how can they do it without big infusions of capital? There's nobody in Poland with any capital to buy up state-owned industry, even at bargain-basement prices. Yet Washington and Wall Street are loaded up with debt — from the federal deficit, bankrupt S&Ls and Latin America — and those that have the cash, like Frankfurt and Tokyo bankers, are reluctant to pour it into the sinkhole of Poland.

And now Solidarnosc will have to take responsibility for the

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

economic policies which spell misery for its working-class base. As an analyst from the US Council on Foreign Relations put it:

"As Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is going to have two problems. First, he is going to have to stab his adversaries and then he is going to have to stab his supporters ... he is going to have to shut down inefficient, overmanned state enterprises, such as the Gdansk shipyards, where Solidarity was born, or some mines and steel mills...."

The architect of Solidarnosc's economic plans is Harvard professor Jeffery Sachs, whose claim to fame was advising the Bolivian government on how to defeat hyperinflation in 1985. Sachs' solution: firing two-thirds of the tin miners, the key section of the Bolivian proletariat. This program could be explosive if tried in Poland, a bureaucratically deformed workers state where capitalism was abolished and the workers' interests are supposed to be paramount. As we pointed out in "Solidarnosc/Stalinist Pact Against the Workers" (WV no 479, 9 June), "The workers are beginning to recognize that Walesa & Co are traitors to their class."

Now that Solidarnosc leaders have explicitly avowed that their aim is to restore capitalism in Poland, it lays the objective basis for defenders of socialist property to seek unity with the proletarian base of Solidarnosc in genuine class opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats and former leaders of Solidarnosc who aspire to form a neo-bourgeoisie on the backs of the workers. But as Lenin noted, politics is concentrated economics, and militant labor struggles won't go very far without forging an authentic Marxist party, for which Poland has ample traditions.

INTERNATIONALIST TRADITION OF POLISH COMMUNISM

The Western press depicts the entire Polish people as always and irrevocably ardently nationalist and piously Catholic. Communism is presented as a totally alien element in the Polish body politic, imposed solely by the Russian Red Army in 1945. For example, a historical sketch of postwar Poland in the *New York Times* (18 August) is titled "40 Years of Communism in Poland: Stalin's House on a Soft Foundation." The reality is just the reverse. It was Stalin and his followers and heirs who destroyed and discredited Communism in Poland.

For decades Poland had one of the oldest and strongest traditions of Marxist proletarian socialism of any European country. The first Marxist working-class party in the tsarist empire, the party Proletariat, was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s. Ludwik Warynski's Proletariat rejected the traditional Polish radical program of a national uprising and worked closely with the Russian populists for a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire. Warynski's anti-nationalist tradition was taken over in the next generation by the greatest Polish proletarian revolutionary leader of all, Rosa Luxemburg. The Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPIL), led by Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, united the vanguard of



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Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's" — Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

the Polish proletariat and left-wing intelligentsia.

In the decade before World War I the mass of the Polish industrial working class adhered to the Polish Socialist Party-Left, a centrist formation which significantly did not agitate for the restoration of an independent Polish state. The nationalist wing of Polish socialism, led by Josef Pilsudski, was supported by only a minority of the Polish workers in this period. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the defeat of Germany by the Western powers in World War I led to the establishment of an independent Polish bourgeois state, with Pilsudski at its head, in late 1918. At the same time the Polish Communist Party was formed through a fusion of Luxemburg's SDKPIL and the Polish Socialist Party-Left.

Roman Werfel, who joined the Polish Communist Party in 1923, told of the CP's internationalist spirit in an interview with a pro-Solidarnosc journalist:

"The most important thing for communists at the time was not the issue of frontiers, but that of an all-European socialist revolution, whose outbreak was perfectly conceivable. There seems to be an implication, in what you've just been saying, that a great nation, a nation worthy of note, is one which appropriates the greatest possible number of territories populated by foreign nations. But this view is false. It may be correct from the point of view of the exploiting classes, which profit from such territories, but certainly not from the point of view of the people; they get some scraps from time to time, but later they pay for those conquests with sweat and blood."

— quoted in Teresa Toranska, *Oni: Stalin's Polish Puppets* (1987)

In the early 1920s the Communist Party under the leadership of the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa) was stronger within the Polish working class than the Pilsudskiite social democrats. There was a saying in the Communist International: "The German party is the biggest; the Polish party is the best." In fact, the Polish party offered more resistance to Stalinization than any other large Communist party. In December 1923 its central committee sent a letter of protest to the Russian party which stated:

"...for our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary prolet-

ariat the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism."

— quoted in MK Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* (1976)

The Polish American historian Dziewanowski observes: "A pro-Trotsky undercurrent continued to remain a factor of some importance until the party's dissolution [in 1938], particularly among the Jewish membership."

In the late 1920s the Communists led the opposition to Pilsudski's fascistic dictatorship, while the social democrats served as Pilsudski's shock troops. The growing White terror forced ever larger numbers of Polish Communists to take refuge in the Soviet Union. While many foreign Communists were killed in the Great Purges of the late '30s, Stalin's war against the Polish party was exceptional. Practically all Polish Communists in Soviet territory were either physically liquidated or sent to labor camps. The entire leadership — Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa, Unszlicht — was killed. In 1938 in an unprecedented act Stalin dissolved the Polish Communist Party as a "nest of Pilsudskiite-Trotskyites."

The destruction of Polish Communism begun by Pilsudski, carried forward by Stalin, was continued by Hitler. Many Communist cadre were killed during the Nazi occupation. No less important, the extermination of the Jews radically changed the political balance of forces in Polish society. Jews constituted 10 percent of the prewar population, proportionally greater than in any other country. As an oppressed

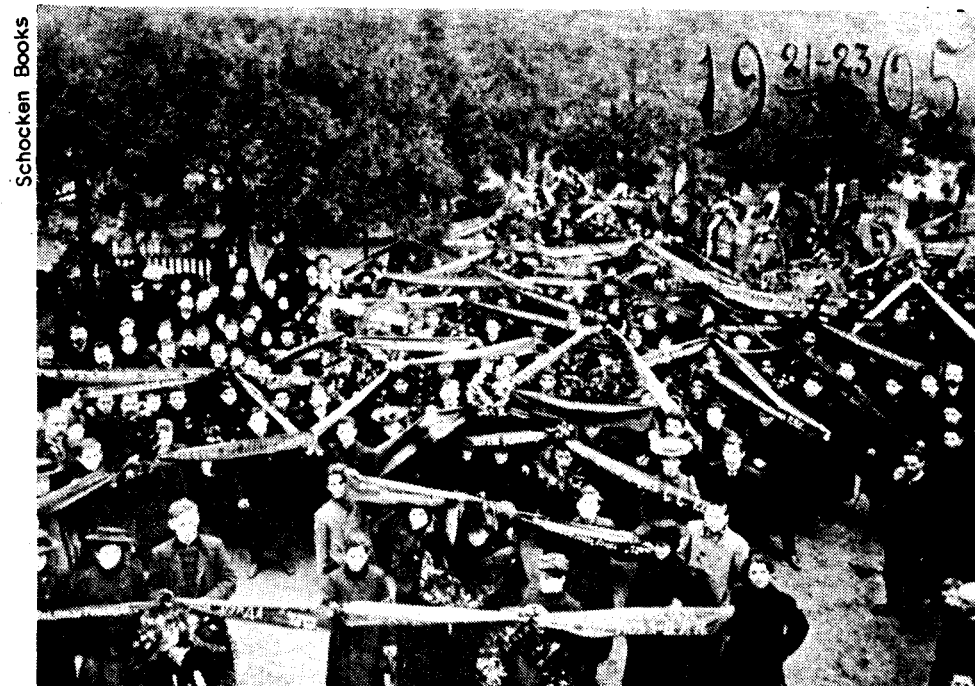
and urbanized people, Jews played an important role in all Polish left-wing organizations. Thus the Nazi Holocaust destroyed a powerful counterweight to the clerical-nationalist forces of Polish reaction. Stalin and Hitler, along with Pilsudski, are the three godfathers of Solidarnosc.

BITTER FRUITS OF BUREAUCRATIC RULE

Nonetheless, Communism was by no means an insignificant and despised force in Poland when the Soviet Red Army liberated the country at the end of World War II. Many young workers and intellectuals looked forward to the socialist reconstruction of their devastated country. Significantly, a number of prominent figures now in Solidarnosc were once ardent Communists. As a teenager in the early 1950s, Jacek Kuron, today a pro-Western social democrat, was a fanatical Stalinist who enjoyed publicly baiting Pilsudskiite reactionaries. Filmmaker Andrzej Wajda, currently a Solidarnosc senator, began by directing "socialist-realist" epics. Wajda's interesting film *Man of Marble*, made in the late '70s, depicts the socialist idealism of many young workers in the early postwar years.

That idealism was soon eroded by Stalinist police-state terror amid the economic privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy. Yet the mass of Polish workers and intellectuals continued to believe in socialism. The crisis of "de-Stalinization" in 1956 brought Poland to the brink of a proletarian political revolution. It was headed off by the liberal-national Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Continued on page eight



Vilna, Poland, 1905: Polish and Russian Social Democrats and Jewish Bundists demonstrate in memory of victims of the tsarist pogroms.

Poland...

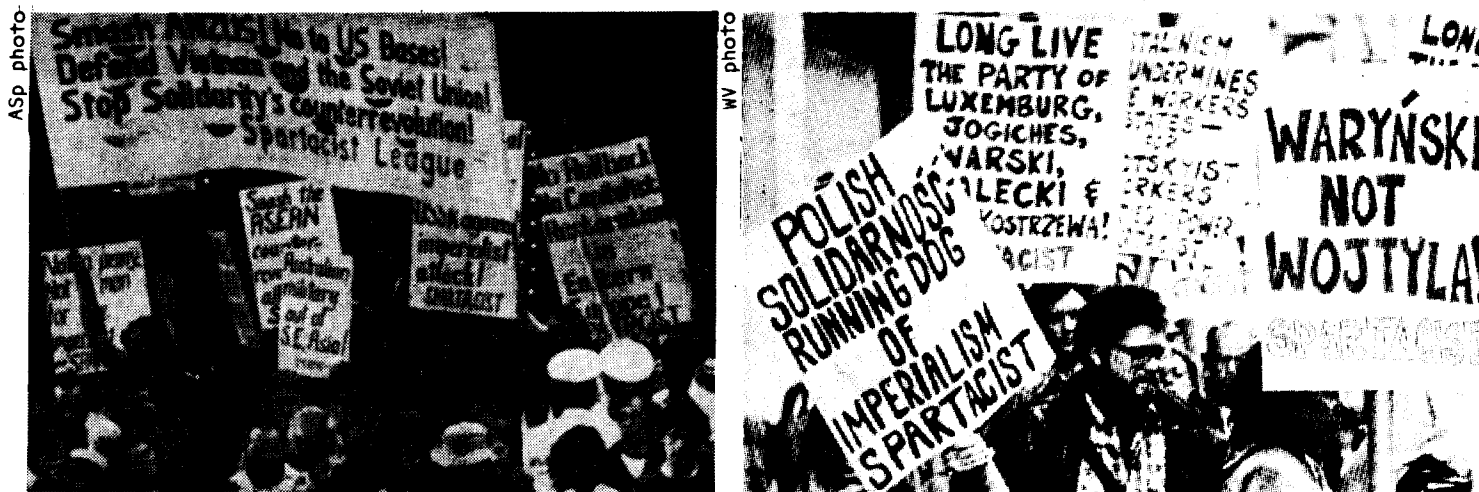
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Once Gomulka had consolidated his power, in part by conciliating the Catholic hierarchy, he suppressed both the workers councils and leftist intellectual circles which had arisen during the 1956 "Polish October."

As the economy stagnated in the 1960s, Gomulka's once-great popularity declined. In 1968 a faction within the bureaucracy around secret police chief Moczar sought to channel the growing popular discontent into traditional anti-Semitic Polish chauvinism. Under the rubric of "anti-Zionism," the few tens of thousands of Jews who had survived the Nazi Holocaust, many of them loyal Communist cadre, were driven out of the country. This reactionary and cynical campaign further alienated the intelligentsia from the "Communist" regime and strengthened the forces of clerical nationalism.

In 1970 the Baltic ports exploded when the Gomulka regime raised food prices a few weeks before Christmas. Led by the shipbuilders, thousands of workers, some singing the Internationale, attacked police and burned down the Party headquarters in Gdansk and Szczecin. Gomulka ordered in the army: over a hundred workers were killed. Once again Poland stood on the brink of a mass workers uprising. And once again Polish Stalinism presented to the workers a new face and a new deal. Gomulka was replaced by Edward Gierek, an ex-coal miner with a reputation as a liberal reformer. Gierek personally went to the Baltic ports and vowed his government would never use force to suppress workers' protests. He further promised an era of unparalleled economic prosperity. Walesa recounted that he, like most Polish workers, welcomed and believed Gierek's promises.

Gierek's "economic miracle" of the early '70s was financed by massive borrowing from Western banks. When in 1976 Gierek imposed an austerity program to pay



Almost a decade ago, international Spartacist tendency exposed Solidarnosc as a Polish company union for the CIA and Wall Street: Spartacist League in anti-war demonstration in Melbourne, 1981 (left); demonstration outside Solidarnosc office in New York, September 1981.

back the loan sharks of Wall Street and Frankfurt, Polish workers reacted even more strongly because they felt betrayed. It was only after 1976 that the mass of the Polish proletariat and intelligentsia became totally disillusioned with the "real existing socialism" as practiced in their country. Gradually, they turned to the Vatican and Western capitalist governments for salvation. Solidarnosc arose out of the "dissident" circles of workers and intellectuals nurtured and protected by the church hierarchy, now directed by Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla.

BUILD A BOLSHEVIK PARTY!

The formation of a Solidarnosc-led government in Poland has heightened the triumphalist mood in Western ruling circles that the end of Communism is at hand. The latest rage at Washington cocktail parties is the apocalyptic vision of State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama who claims we are now witnessing "the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy" (*New York Times*, 27 August).

This kind of "the West has won the Cold War" triumphalism rests on two fatal illusions: that the people of East Europe, the Soviet Union and China are longing to transform their societies along the lines of "free world" capital-

ism; and that the Soviet government, under Gorbachev, will not or cannot prevent capitalist restoration in East Europe. The latter view is strongly espoused by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who combines the blustering arrogance of American Cold Warriors with the anti-Russian chauvinism and Great Power illusions of the Polish petty nobility.

Yet many of the social struggles which have convulsed the Communist world in the past year have been not for but against the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracies to introduce elements of capitalism into the collectivized economy. The massive strikes of coal miners in Siberia and the Ukraine last month were directed against the effects of Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika. The upheaval in China was fueled by the resentment of working people over the gross corruption and inequalities generated by Deng's policy of "building socialism with capitalist methods." Even in Poland workers are now striking against the IMF-dictated economic shock treatment being carried out by the Solidarnosc-led government.

While Western imperialist ideologues imagine the masses in so-called Communist countries yearning for capitalism, they have also convinced themselves that the Soviet government has become a "paper tiger" which will no longer protect its postwar sphere of influence in East

Europe. The talk in Washington is that the 1945 Yalta agreement has become null and void and East Europe is up for grabs. Plans are mooted about to bring Poland and independent Baltic republics into the IMF. But if unfolding counter-revolution menaced the Soviets along their vital Western borders and threatened to blow apart the multinational USSR, Moscow would have little choice but to respond militarily. Thus Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, far from easing or ending the Cold War, has increased the danger of World War III.

Restoration of capitalism in East Europe would not introduce a new global order based on "liberal democracy"; it would mean bloody counterrevolution, nationalist pogroms and wars, which could lead to nuclear holocaust. The struggles now taking shape in East Europe will determine not only the near-term future of this region but possibly the fate of mankind. The bankruptcy and internal demoralization of Stalinism has opened the road to capitalist restoration. But it also brings to the fore the possibility for proletarian political revolution establishing workers (soviet) democracy. For the working class of East Europe and the Soviet Union to triumph, over both the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and the counter-revolutionary nationalists, requires the leadership of a genuine communist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Baltics...

Continued from page three

concerns over the flood of ethnic Germans seeking to emigrate, the Gorbachev regime has recently mooted establishing an autonomous ethnic German homeland around Kaliningrad (the former East Prussian city of Konigsberg). This would conveniently establish a bulwark between the Baltic republics and Poland.

Decades of Stalinist nationalism and Great Russian chauvinism have created a sea of bitter nationalist sentiments, and Gorbachev's perestroika has now opened the floodgates. The leadership of the "Inter-Movement" seeks to pressure the Kremlin to act as guardians of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltics. But strikers are careful to call for "equal rights for all nations" and to eschew privileges for any language. A proletarian challenge reasserting the principles of

Leninist internationalism against all variants of nationalism — and particularly Great Russian chauvinism — could polarize the ethnic Baltic populations as well, at least some of whom must be shocked by the direction in which this reactionary nationalist crap is heading.

Potentially, the greatest nationalist threat to the unity of the Soviet peoples is that of Great Russian chauvinism, now spearheaded by the fascists of Pamyat. The Soviet working people must smash Pamyat and, with that authority, easily destroy more marginal fascists and counter-revolutionary threats. It will take proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish Bolshevik internationalist principles, guaranteeing full and equal rights for all the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union.

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"Market Socialism" Breeds More Misery

For Workers Political Revolution in the USSR!

Special English-Russian Section: Pages 16-17

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Hawke...

Continued from page one

50 percent of normal seat numbers are ludicrous).

An Australasian Spartacist Special Supplement (8 September) noted that "Organised labour has a vital interest in the outcome of this dispute — if it allows this military strikebreaking to go unanswered it will pay the price." It demanded: "Smash Hawke's strikebreaking and all the anti-union laws! All the airport unions, domestic and international, and especially the powerful Metalworkers and Transport Workers, must join the battle, put up mass picket lines and shut the airports down tight!" If that does not happen, and it will not if the Laborite union tops have their way, then the pilots will surely be defeated, and the cause of all organised labour will be dramatically set back.

SMASH ARBITRATION!

Our Special Supplement continued: "Hawke reacted so violently to the pilots' wage claim because if successful it could well sink the Accord and his government along with it. After all, if the pilots can get away with thumbing their noses at the bosses' courts then the working class might figure they can too." The pilots' strike has thrown into

stark relief how crucial it is to smash the Arbitration system. First the Industrial Relations Commission (IRC) cancelled the pilots' award, then intervened to compulsorily arbitrate, making the companies' individual contracts the new award. As Brian McCarthy said, "All they have done is side with the Prime Minister and his friends in the airlines" (Australian, 14-15 October).

The Arbitration system is historically the main mechanism for tying the working class to the capitalist state, the tool of a weak bourgeoisie for regulating the working class. It is the sacred cow of the Laborites, who make it work. And for all their talk of "breaking the centralised wage-fixing system" the bourgeois parties have no alternative. With the labour market tight, they agree it's needed now to prevent a "wages breakout." All critics of Hawke's handling of the pilots' dispute, from the Labor "lefts" to the Liberal Party to the HR Nicholls Society cried out for "independent arbitration." You can't play by the bosses' rules and win. Strikes will be won through the unions being prepared to rip up court orders and injunctions and stashing their money some place safe. Maybe some union leaders will have to go to jail. But victories don't come cheap. The precondition to the working class struggling for power in its own name is the complete and un-

conditional independence of the unions from the capitalist state. Breaking free of the chains of the bosses' courts means forging a revolutionary leadership of the unions.

ACTU bosses Crean and Kelty have been Hawke's eager chiefs of staff in the war on the pilots. Denouncing the AFAP as "industrial thugs," they've fought to keep the rest of organised labour out of the dispute and airport ground staff working. The ACTU was instrumental in insuring that Hawke and Keating, whilst slashing the wages of working people and cutting social security for the poor, pay out \$100 million or more in "compensation" to the airline bosses to pay the wages bill of the other airline employees — a bribe to scab on the pilots. Lefts like ACTU president-designate Martin Ferguson and Victorian Trades Hall Council secretary John Halfpenny have mouthed criticism of the government's attack on union rights, but they are key to holding the Accord and the government strikebreaking operation together. They fear a working class mobilisation challenging the reactionary Accord/Arbitration system, which would destroy these labour lieutenants of capitalism's "special relationship" with the capitalist state.

Despite the efforts of the ACTU tops to keep the pilots isolated, there have been sporadic supportive actions. In late Sep-

tember the powerful West Australian Construction, Mining and Energy Workers Union organised a ban by hundreds of its members on flying Ansett to the giant North West Shelf oil rigs and remote WA mines. In early October several hundred flight attendants refused to work with scabs. But what counts is shutting down the airports with united strike action. On 21 September, air traffic controllers, after being handed down a miserable pay rise under the Accord by the IRC, and branding the Commission a "bosses court," backed down on strike action. A spokesman said they had decided "not to provoke the Federal Government while it's in its present mood" (Australian, 22 September). This is precisely the intention. The military strikebreaking operation is a gun aimed at all unions.

BRING DOWN HAWKE WITH HARD CLASS STRUGGLE!

While in New York recently, Keating said the AFAP "is a rogue professional body and it is being treated with the same kind of contempt as the air traffic controllers were treated by the Reagan administration in the US" (Australian, 30 September/1 October). Keating's flagrant solidarity with Reagan's union-busting is a mark of the arrogant contempt the Labor tops have for their own working class base. The parallels

Continued on page ten

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Continued from page two

individual — monuments to those who fell in the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars.

Soviet people across the country watched and read with astonishment and bitterness about things that in no way agreed with what they knew of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian national traditions and would appear insulting to the national character of these people known for their honesty, sober-mindedness and respect for standards of civilized human relationships.

The activity of forces that are destructive, anti-Soviet and anti-national in their core, the atmosphere of nationalism led to the promulgation, at the level of bodies of state authority in the republics, of unconstitutional acts contradicting our state's principles of federation and envisaging discrimination against the non-indigenous population of these republics.

On August 23, 1989 attempts were made to fan up emotions to a point of actual nationalist hysteria. Slogans foisted upon thousands of people were brimful of animosity toward the Soviet system, Russian people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army.

The activities of the nationalist forces have already led to serious economic losses in the economy of the Baltic republics, as well as to inter-ethnic and social tensions. In some places, a

real threat of a civil conflict and mass street clashes which will involve grave consequences, has arisen.

Things have gone far. The fate of the Baltic peoples is in serious danger. People should know into what abyss they are being pushed by the nationalist leaders. The consequences could be disastrous for these peoples, if the nationalists managed to achieve their goals. The very viability of the Baltic nations could be called in question.

We should say it openly and with a feeling of responsibility before the Baltic and all Soviet peoples.

It must be said that the leaders of these republics failed to do everything in order to contain the process in the normal channel of perestroika reforms. They failed to stem the negative tendencies, to redress the situation, to uphold the principled positions, to convince people of the harmfulness of the plans and practice of opposition forces. The genuine line, consolidating society on an internationalist basis, on nationwide and universal values of perestroika taking maximum account of national peculiarities and requirements, came against obstacles which are yet to be cleared.

One also has to admit that some Party committees and functionaries gave in to difficulties and lost heart. Some even began to play up to nationalist senti-

ments, weakened counteraction to separatist plans.

The situation that arose calls for a deep analysis, real and serious assessment and resolute urgent measures to clean the perestroika process in the Baltic republics from extremism, destructive and harmful tendencies.

The CPSU Central Committee urgently calls on the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, all those who cherish their homeland, peace and national accord to realize the full extent and reality of impending disaster, to display responsibility and wisdom at this turn of the history of the entire country.

The Central Committee appeals to the working class, peasants, and those who create the material base of life and are always the first to suffer most of all from social and national upheavals — we need jointly to seek and find a way out of the situation, to stop the hysterical elements and not to give in to nationalist hysteria.

We all share many difficulties. The country and its economy are in a difficult situation. Do not believe those who try to prove that the life of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians will be better off and comfortable, once the migrants are evicted, the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Jews and others who live and work together with you put in an unequal position, the republics secede from the USSR. This is an obvious lie. This is delusion.

Each republic, each region are linked by thousands of economic, social, cultural, scientific, technological and simply human ties with others, with the entire country. What will happen if these ties are cut at one fell swoop? It

is absolutely clear that none will be better off.

The Baltic republics, which are the first in our country to get the opportunity to organize truly independent management, to go over to self-reliance and cost-accounting, today face the broadest vistas for initiative, innovation, economic development and better life. Accretions and distortions of the past, which prevented state bodies and the population of the republics from feeling and acting as masters in their house, are being removed.

The CPSU Central Committee hopes that the working class, working people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, who have glorious revolutionary internationalist traditions of struggle for the happiness of their and all peoples of our great country will say their weighty word this time as well, defend the new revolution and uphold perestroika.

We appeal to the common sense of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Baltic region. It is time, in our common interest, to put an end to the fateful course of events, to come to your senses, go over from confrontation to dialogue and a painstaking search for expedient decisions and compromises.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is appealing to all communists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to Party veterans and those who recently joined their fate with that of the Leninist party: you must set an example of good-will and human communication and persuade people of the necessity of concord and consolidation.

Let's preserve the single family of the Soviet peoples and the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.■

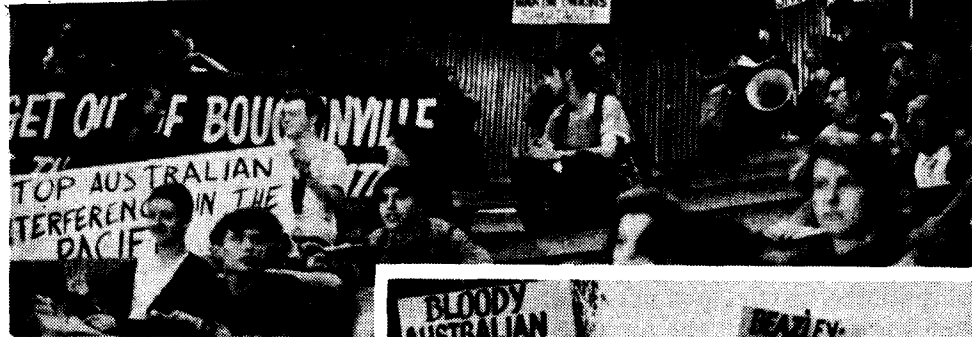
At Sydney University on 13 September some 40 protesters including Spartacist supporters, Cockatoo Island dockyard workers and reformists from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-backed Campaign 2000 demonstrated against Hawke's Dr Strangelove — the minister for war, Kim Beazley. He got a hot reception from demonstrators jeering and heckling. Both ABC and SBS television featured Spartacist placards and chants. Beazley was on the first leg of a national speaking tour to dispel growing unease over the Cold War Hawke government's image as military bully boy of the South Pacific. In particular Beazley was responding to opposition to the ANZAC frigate project from the New Zealand Labour Party left. A report from its committee on foreign affairs and security labelled Australia "the most destabilising country in the region" because of its "defence modernisation" (Australian 14 September 1989). But while Beazley was announcing the government's "peaceful intent" the RAAF was being used at home to scab on the pilots' strike in an attempt to bust their union. A couple of weeks later on 30 September, Beazley directed troops in an outrageous and unprecedented attack on 500 demonstrators protesting against the US spy base in Nurrungar, South Australia. This prompted

"Bomber" Beazley Runs into Flak at Sydney Uni

one Labor left backbencher, Tom Uren to denounce Beazley as "trigger happy" and "gung ho." Beazley has been waging a none-too-covert dirty war on the island of Bougainville. His government's notion of being humane is providing 800 tents to house the Bougainvillians whose villages have been razed to the ground by his mercenaries and the PNG military.

Spartacist placards and chants at the demonstration nailed Hawke/Beazley as Cold War policemen and loyal lackeys of US imperialism, linking the government's drive to anti-Soviet war to their union-busting and scabberding at home. The pathetic SWP reformists however decided to wail "No more Vietnams," ie no more defeats for Australian imperialism, revealing only their identification with their "own" bourgeoisie. This is of a piece with their calls on the Hawke government to support independence for New Caledonia and intervene in Bougainville on the side of the oppressed tribal landowners. In

Asp photos



sharp contrast the Spartacist League demanded: Australia, PNG military/cops out of Bougainville! Down with Australian jackal imperialism! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!■

Beazley (left) confronted by worker and student protest, 13 September.

Hawke...

Continued from page nine

with PATCO are obvious. But smashing the BLF in 1986 was the equivalent watershed here. Carried out by the union bureaucrats, including "leftists" like the BWIU leadership, with the cops as shock troops, it opened the way for the current no-holds-barred attack on the pilots.

The Hawke years have been characterised by vicious frame-ups and witchhunts. From Aborigines at Toomelah in NSW to Justice Lionel Murphy, from BLF leader Norm Gallagher to Lindy Chamberlain, trumped-up legal charges, attacks on freedom of

association and free speech have been used as part of the arsenal of the ALP's strong state drive to ensure a compliant and docile population for mobilisation for war. Now in the pilots' dispute the government is bringing the armed fist of the state to bear against the unions. Even a retired RAAF air vice-marshal, BH Collings, was provoked to note in a letter to the Australian (22 September) that "the ADF [Australian Defence Force] is now an arm of the executive for use against sections of the community who do not toe the industrial line of the incumbent government.... It would seem that Mr Keating's concerns at Australia becoming a banana republic have already been justified.... It seems to me that

some basic freedoms are under threat in Australia as a result of the way this dispute has been handled, not the least of which is the freedom of association.... In this dispute, the ADF is instead being used to assist the Government in suppressing such freedoms." The rights to organise in unions and to strike — the most essential rights of the working class — are won and defended in class battles.

Hawke is in trouble: the bourgeoisie is losing confidence in the ALP's ability to keep the working class under control as the economy gets in ever deeper trouble. So Hawke plans to win the next election on the basis of smashing the AFAP. His ruling ALP has received accolades from the right for their conduct of the pilots' dispute. The HR Nicholls Society awarded Hawke a special citation. Rupert Murdoch, part owner with Abeles of Ansett, weighed in: "My own feeling is of considerable sympathy for this government and for Mr Hawke and Mr Keating, and criticism that the conservative forces, the radical conservative forces, can't get their act together" (Australian, 12 October).

It is not elections to the bourgeois parliament, but the relationship of class forces, in the factories, on the streets, which is decisive. For the present, with the working class bound hand and foot by the union tops in their Accord, the ruling class is calling all the shots. Victory over the pilots will give the next government, whatever its political stripe, a mandate for massive union-busting. The idea that "Labor is a lesser evil" is a cruel illusion. Hawke's scabberding is unequalled by any Australian Tory government. The Hawke Labor government will go.

The question of the utmost importance to the working class is not so much when (the sooner the better) as how. The Unsworth Labor government in NSW lost power in 1988 because its working class base deserted it. The same fate befell Chifley in 1949. But passivity and electoral protest cannot stem the tide of reaction. There needs to be some hard class struggle. Rip up the Accord — for massive wage rises to make up for a decade of inflation! 30 hours work for 40 hours pay — spread the available work around! There need to be mass strikes and sit-downs, defended by mass picket lines that no-one dares cross, to defend jobs and deal a death blow to ACTU "award restructuring."

AUSTRALIA: RULED BY THE "ORDER OF MATES"

Expatriate journalist John Pilger's recently published A Secret Country (Jonathan Cape, 1989) has been subjected to vitriolic attacks in the bourgeois press (two-thirds of which is owned by Murdoch) for its denunciation of the "Order of Mates" running the "pleasant vulnerable land of Rupert, Bondy and the Silver Bodgie, where the illusion of 'saturation media' masks censorship by omission and a growing intolerance to rival ideas." Pilger earned the ire of Hawke and the ruling class for his exposure of Australian Apartheid for Aborigines during the bicentennial celebrations. He's a left-liberal nationalist, yearning for a return to the heady days of the Whitlam era, which were in fact an aberration born of defeat in Vietnam and the relative capitalist boom. A Secret Country documents the unmentionable of Australian bourgeois politics: how the Whitlam

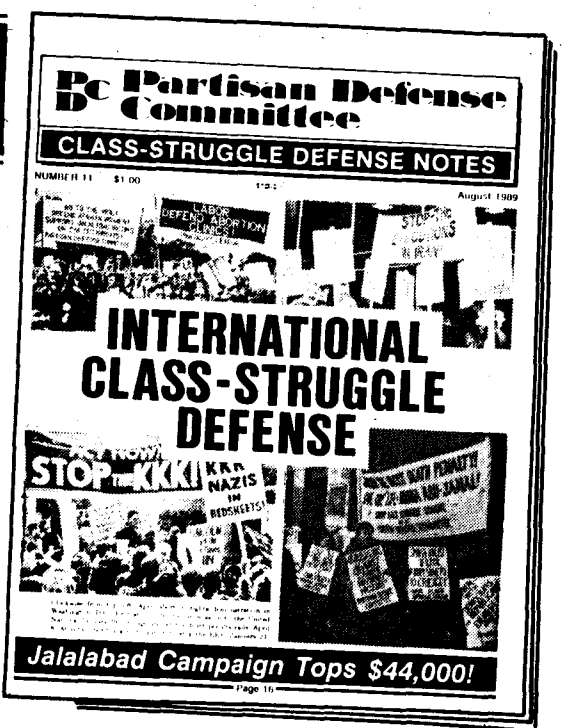
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government was overthrown with CIA involvement because it questioned the role of the Pine Gap base. Pilger details the myriad connections of the right-wing ALP machine with both organised crime and the US State Department and CIA. He records Hawke's "mateship" with successive US embassy labour attaches, which assured his being given the nod by the CIA for both his accession to the ACTU presidency and the leadership of the ALP.

This CIA man, Hawke, invokes nationalism in his war on the pilots. On 13 September he put his job on the line: "If I can't protect Australia against a small group who would destroy the economy then I wouldn't deserve to be Prime Minister." What he's protecting are capitalists like Abeles and Murdoch, who refined their union-busting techniques against British printers in 1986-87 at Murdoch's Wapping plant in London (Abeles provided the transports to get the scab papers through the printers' picket lines). Murdoch himself is a global class warrior, who changes his citizenship to suit his bank book. Recently he bought a 50 percent share of two Hungarian papers to promote imperialist anti-communism there. Bond, Murdoch, Packer, Elliott & Co, stash their profits in offshore tax-havens and write off their debts at home to become the lowest taxpayers in the country.

The bosses have plundered the economy. The inefficient manufacturing base, built up behind high protectionist tariff barriers, has been run into the ground and the economy has been buffeted by the vicissitudes of the world commodity markets. The foreign debt has in recent years skyrocketed to Third World proportions, now standing at a record \$104 billion net. The attempt to smash the pilots will jack it up more as tourist dollars evaporate. Hawke, Keating and Kelty demand "sacrifice" from the poor and working people, claiming "Australians have been living beyond their means." In fact, it's the ALP tops' "Order of Mates" who have mortgaged the country to the hilt to finance their speculative, corporate take-over sprees. The vast majority of the debt is private — net publicly guaranteed debt amounts to only 12 percent of the total. Between them Bond, Murdoch and Liberal Party president John Elliott's Elders IXL are responsible for a staggering one-third of the private sector debt. And they want the rest of the population to pay for their high-living now that the bubble is about to burst.

Via the instrument of the Accord, the ALP government has carried out the most massive income redistribution in the country's history. A recent study by the Social Welfare Research

Centre at the University of NSW indicates that Australia has now surpassed Britain to be amongst the worst of the OECD countries in terms of inequitable distribution of wealth. The wealthiest twenty percent of the population earn 43.7 percent of the country's income, the poorest twenty percent just 4.4 percent. And the gap is widening. Home mortgage rates have rocketed to 17 percent while banks make record profits. Hawke declared in September that his 1987 campaign pledge to eliminate child poverty had been fulfilled six months early! Tens of thousands of children are homeless and at least 2.5 million people live below the official Henderson poverty line. But the poor don't exist — Hawke says so!

ACTU SCABHERDING BACKED BY LABOR "LEFTS"

The ACTU's annual congress at the end of September passed a motion from "left" Metalworkers secretary George Campbell and BWIU secretary Tom McDonald which condemned the government's handling of the dispute as "in conflict with ACTU policy" while opposing the pilots' claim. All the reformist left parties (except the Communist Party, which from day one has lawyered for ACTU strikebreaking against the pilots) express verbal support to the pilots and tut-tut about ALP/ACTU strikebreaking. Yet when the ACTU congress comes to town see how they run. Lobbying the strikebreakers to be "more reasonable" was the order of the day.

The sinister Socialist Labour League, for whom "struggle" means pressuring the union bureaucracy, mounted an hours-long lobby of the bureaucrats at the congress and issued an Open Letter politely addressed "Dear Brother/Sister" and signed "fraternally." Calling as usual for the leopard to change its spots by "expelling the Hawke/Keating right wing," these inveterate Laborites only direct disenchanted workers right back into the Labor fold. In the same vein the Socialist Party's Guardian (27 September) pathetically asserted: "This Congress provides unions with the opportunity to defend the pilots, to take a strong stand to return to class struggle, and to protect the independence and freedom of unions in Australia." SPA supporters run the Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers Federation, but far from fighting the federal leadership and organising class struggle against the new union-employer deal to slash thousands of waterfront jobs, they're busy selling it!

Special attention was given at the ACTU congress to a glossy BWIU research document, Can Unions Survive? which details the dramatic decline in unionisation in Australia. Since 1954 when 59

percent of workers were unionised, union membership has fallen to below 40 percent in 1989. In just two years, between 1986 and 1988, union membership dropped by 58,000. Young workers between 15 and 19 years old are unionised at an appallingly low 27 percent. And in the most sex-segregated workforce of all the OECD countries women have a 35 percent unionisation rate.

Workers increasingly see the corporatist union bureaucrats as alien to their interests. In this deeply racist, male chauvinist society the union tops make no effort to organise the mainly migrant women who slave in the textile sweatshops or at home as "outworkers." They deliberately don't recruit young apprentices, because it's "against" industrial law. It's not surprising unionism is declining when the union tops' role is to police the workers, and the unions are led by "business unionists" with law or industrial relations degrees finished off at Harvard Business School, who never worked in a factory, let alone led a strike. The fact is the fat cat union bureaucrats are an alien force in the workers movement, representing the class enemy.

Laborism is rotten to the core. Take, for example, the BWIU, which is dominated by the Stalinist Association for Communist Unity, now in the process of fusing into a "New Left Party" with the CPA. The BWIU's answer to declining unionisation levels is Crean/Kelty's corporatist "Australia Reconstructed" scheme for creating 20 tame-cat "super unions" by the year 2000. The BWIU leads the way, having built itself up to its present size over the shattered corpse of the BLF. The BWIU tops conclude: "The retention of the ALP in government is critical for the immediate salvation of the union movement." As always, the closer elections come the more the lefts hit the campaign trail, proclaiming "Labor is the lesser evil." The working class will have its day of reckoning with these Laborite misleaders, who are the root of the problem. In 1983, when Hawke proclaimed his Cold War program for policing capitalist austerity, the Spartacist League said: No vote to Labor! At every election then and since, a vote to Labor has amounted to outright class treachery.

The Hawke government has been waging a one-sided class war on its base for nearly seven years. In the past, such periods of reactionary Labor government have led to big splits in the ALP — in 1916, 1931 and 1955. In this

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period all wings of the ALP and union bureaucracy are up to their necks in union-busting and anti-Soviet Cold War. Right now, class-conscious workers know they're being betrayed by the ALP and face a real crisis of leadership. The opportunity is there for revolutionaries to exploit the widening gulf between the base and the tops and build a revolutionary workers party, through a sharp political struggle to split the ALP on class lines.

Against the Laborites' program of class collaboration and capitalist parliamentarism, of ever-greater "sacrifices" to prop up decaying capitalism, such a party would seek to lead the working class in a struggle to destroy the rule of capital, drawing all the oppressed behind its banner. Against the filthy White Australia chauvinism of the ALP, which poisons the working class with protectionism, anti-Asian and anti-Aboriginal racism and anti-communism, a revolutionary workers party would champion internationalist solidarity with the toiling masses of Asia and the Pacific, and defend the historic gains of the Russian, Chinese and Vietnamese Revolutions. Only the expropriation of the banks, factories and mines by a workers government can lay the basis for the planned socialist reconstruction of the economy within the framework of a socialist Asia. A revolutionary party committed to this program offers the only road for the working people out of the crisis-wracked, decaying capitalist system. ■

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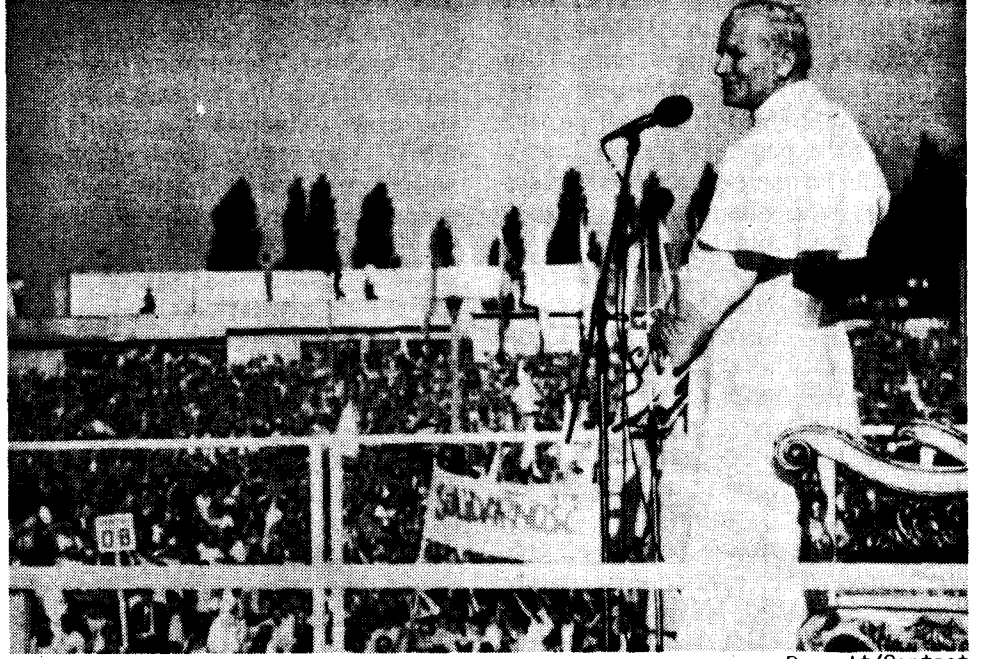


Stalinists Bow to Counterrevolutionary Solidarność

Poland on the Brink



Newsweek



Burnett/Contact

Stalinist general Jaruzelski (left) and Lech Walesa in parliament. Pope John Paul Wojtyla masterminds Solidarnosc' drive to restore capitalism.

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*, no 484, 1 September 1989.

On August 24, the Polish parliament, the Sejm, installed an open counterrevolutionary as prime minister. The new premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is a long-time leading Catholic politician and close adviser to Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa. The imperialist media triumphantly proclaim "An Epochal Shift" (*Time*) and "Communism Crumbles in Poland" (*Newsweek*). On American TV, Barbara Walters interviews Walesa on "the beginning of the end of Communism," as tears of joy glisten on her cheeks. Jimmy Carter's Polish Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski foresees a "peaceful revolution" and "evolutionary termination of Communist totalitarianism." The fast-moving events in Warsaw signal the opening of a terminal crisis for Stalinist bureaucratic rule in Poland. But the announcements of the "death of Communism" are premature, and a successful counterrevolution would be anything but peaceful.

Already, what happens in Warsaw is being directed by the Polish Pope straight from Rome. Columnist Anthony Lewis revealed (*New York Times*, 24 August): "This summer Mr Geremek [Solidarnosc' parliamentary fraction leader] and another leading intellectual adviser to Solidarity, Adam Michnik, were quietly invited by Pope John Paul II to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo," where the intricate

Strikes Break Out Against IMF Austerity

steps of the Polish parliamentary polonaise were orchestrated. The new prime minister Mazowiecki, in an interview with *Izvestia* (24 August), described his politics: "Simply put, I'm a Christian, a Catholic who follows the social teachings of the Catholic church, which emanate from the instructions of Pope John Paul II." Upon taking office, Mazowiecki placed a phone call to the Pope to get his "instructions." Many people, not just Polish Stalinists, might not find life in Poland as a latter-day Vatican state to their liking.

Eight years ago when we called Solidarnosc a "company union" for the CIA and bankers" and demanded, "Stop Solidarnosc' Counterrevolution!" the international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone on the left. Now as Solidarnosc takes the reins of government, it openly reaffirms its agenda for capitalist restoration. Lech Walesa, in an interview with the Italian newspaper *Il Messaggero* (22 August), said the new government intended to pull Poland along the road "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism." "Nobody has previously taken the road that leads from socialism to capitalism," he said. "And we are setting out to do just that, to return to the pre-war situation when Poland was a

capitalist country, after having gone through a long period of socialism." Their plans call for a "shock treatment" rivaling that applied to Chile by Pinochet after the bloody 1973 coup.

The first victims would be the Polish workers, who are already paying the price of brutal austerity dictated by Western bankers and carried out first by the Stalinists and now by Solidarnosc. The economy is in chaos — prices are skyrocketing and the shops are bare, the black market flourishes and the floating of food prices on the "free market" has doubled and tripled the cost of staples such as meat, cheese and milk. Desperation has spawned bitter strikes. Thousands of coal miners have occupied two mine complexes in Silesia in a strike which Solidarnosc warns could "dynamite" the new government. Thousands of rail workers struck in Lodz, the second largest city, only going back after Walesa denounced their action as a "provocation aimed against the first Prime Minister elected on the initiative of Solidarity." While Walesa calls on the workers to halt all strikes for six months, the new government's plans will mean mass layoffs on top of the triple-digit inflation.

The Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), the mouthpiece of the Stalinist apparatus, talks of the new government as a "grand coalition." A majority of the PZPR parliamentary fraction even voted for Mazowiecki. In the deal worked out between the church and Polish president General Jaruzelski, Solidarnosc has the prime minister and most of the cabinet while the Stalinists hold on to the critical posts of defense and interior ministries, and Poland will remain in the Warsaw Pact. For anyone familiar with even the "A" of the "ABCs" of Marxism, this does not (yet) constitute a counterrevolution. The Stalinists still head the police and army, those "armed bodies of men" which constitute the core of state power. This is not a "coalition," but a state of dual power at the governmental level. It could even last for a while as the components dither around in parliamentary maneuvers. However, the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus is disintegrating as Poland slides toward economic chaos and political anarchy.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has created a situation where it is impossible for it to continue to exist as a parasitic caste balancing between world capitalism and the socialized economy. To pay the Western bankers means imposing a level of hardship that guarantees massive strikes, slowdowns, the breakdown of labor discipline. Added to this is the prospect of a popular uprising. As a desperate maneuver, the top

Continued on page six

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