

Revolutionary Internationalism vs. Nationalist Protectionism

The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class at Home!

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Defend China Against Imperialism, Capitalist Counterrevolution! Australian Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor Now!

SEPTEMBER 1—The horrible realities of decaying capitalism have drawn youth and others to the September protests (“S11”) to “Shut Down the World Economic Forum” (WEF) in Melbourne. Many want to fight against the ever-widening gulf between rich and poor, increasing racist attacks, vicious exploitation of women and children in “Third World” factories and sweatshops, despoliation of the planet. Despite the hype, however, S11 is not about organising a fight to destroy the *system* of capitalist imperialism.

Like the April demonstration against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Washington, D.C. and the Prague protests against the World Bank and IMF later in September, S11 is directed at protesting “globalisation” and is consciously being built in the “Spirit of Seattle.” Far from anti-imperialist, the November 1999 Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO) were based on the premise that imperialism, specifically bloody U.S. imperialism, could be pressured into becoming “humanitarian” and a force for social progress. The Seattle demonstrations were politically dominated by national chauvinism, racist protectionism and counterrevolutionary attacks on the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state.

This anti-revolutionary program is also the bedrock of the pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party social democrats. Thoroughly within the nationalist Laborite framework, S11 does *not* target the *Australian* ruling class. Indeed, last year various groups organising the anti-WEF actions were parading in demonstrations behind the ALP’s demand that racist Australian imperialism send troops to East Timor. Today they call to fight “globalisation,” which, they claim, means “transnational” corporations and bodies like the WEF, IMF and World Bank supposedly dictating anti-worker and environmentally destructive policies to Australian and other governments. Targeting “global,” i.e., foreign, corporations as the main enemy inescapably leads to lining up behind one’s “own” capitalist exploiters against their competitors.

The Australian imperialist state is enforcing neocolonial rule from East Timor to Papua New Guinea and Fiji not because Nike says “Just do it,” but because this serves the interests of the Australian capitalists. At the same time, ruling over a white racist enclave in Asia, the Australian capitalists are very



Chris Crerar
Riot cops attack refugees protesting barbaric conditions at Woomera concentration camp, South Australia, 28 August. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

much the loyal, willing junior partners of U.S. imperialism, who they see as their “protector.” At home the Australian capitalists unleash union-busting, savage racism against Aborigines and immigrants and state violence against anyone who gets in the way of their drive for untrammelled profits.

Youth and other protesters in Melbourne or at the Sydney Olympics will not be facing an army of “transnational” cops, but the mailed fist of Australian capitalist “democracy.” While the Victorian ALP premier Steve Bracks is preparing a massive police mobilisation against the protesters, the cops and media are carrying out a vicious, anti-communist, violence-baiting witchhunt to prepare public opinion for state violence. Meanwhile, the Howard government is rushing through a new bill to make it easier to use the army to suppress political protests and break strikes which specifically allows use of “lethal force,” i.e. murder. This is the capitalist state in action, a machinery of repression to defend the profits and rule of the capitalist class.

The power to end the misery produced by capitalist imperialism lies not in the

politics of protest, no matter how radical sounding, but in the hands of the international working class. Concentrated at the point of production, it is the working class that makes the wheels of profit turn and is thus capitalism’s gravedigger. Unlike the necessarily nationally based capitalist classes, the proletariat, as Marx and Engels famously proclaimed, has no country. Based on this understanding, we Trotskyists of the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, say: the main enemy is our “own” capitalist ruling class. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead a workers revolution to smash racist Australian capitalism. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Globalisation: Myths and Realities

A whole gamut of political forces are active around S11: the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, the S11 Alliance (including ostensibly socialist groups like the International Socialist Organisation and Workers Power), the anarchist-controlled S11-AWOL, the openly protectionist Laborites of Public First,

green groups and several species of liberals. Protest demands are hence quite varied, but the dominant line is opposition to “corporate globalisation.”

Contrary to anti-globalisation orthodoxy, capitalism is not based on “global” corporations that operate above the nation state. Rather, corporations like BHP and General Motors, while conducting operations internationally, are owned and controlled nationally, e.g., BHP in Australia, General Motors in the U.S. Though sometimes colluding with one another on a temporary basis, the nationally based capitalists are impelled to compete ruthlessly with each other for spheres of exploitation, markets and raw materials, and ultimately wage new wars to redivide the spoils. Bodies like the IMF and WTO represent temporary agreements, or more often, attempted agreements, between contending capitalist powers. The Seattle WTO meeting collapsed not because of the protests but because of the conflicting demands of the competing imperialists and the underdeveloped countries they exploit.

The superexploitation of the peoples of the so-called Third World is not the

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Main Enemy...

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result of a new phenomenon called "globalisation." To be sure there have been changes in the world economy over the last few decades such as greater integration of financial markets and the growth of internationally competitive manufacturers in East Asia and Latin America. But these are only quantitative. Decaying capitalism became imperialism almost a century ago. As Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin wrote in 1916 at the height of the carnage of World War I:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

—Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism

The Bolshevik Party opposed World War I from the standpoint of *proletarian internationalism*. Against those who insisted, in Lenin's words, "that peace and reforms were possible under imperialism," the Bolsheviks turned the imperialist war into a class war against their "own" rulers and led the 1917 October Revolution—the greatest working-class victory in history.

Intensified inter-imperialist rivalries means increasing imperialist militarism, reflecting that the interests of the capitalist exploiters are very much tied up with the nation state. Imperialist countries like the U.S. and Australia use the armed might of the state to defend their interests against rivals abroad and enforce brutal superexploitation in the neocolonial countries—where governments really are "dictated to" by foreign capitalists, i.e., their imperialist masters. In 1989, the then-ALP government's defence minister Kim Beazley sent the Australian military to direct PNG's war against the people of Bougainville (which they now occupy in the guise of "peace monitoring"). They sought to re-open the massively profitable Australian-owned Panguna copper mine, shut by the rebellion of the subjugated local population. The IMF is able to act as a bloodsucking debt collector only because it is backed by the military might of the imperialist powers that dominate it.

The S11 Alliance claims to oppose "Third World" exploitation, but there is not a shred of opposition to the brutal Australian occupation of East Timor in the demands of the S11 anti-WEF rallies. This mirrors the *silence* of the left in Seattle last year over the devastating U.S.-led war against Serbia a few months earlier. While we in the ICL declared, "Defeat imperialism through workers revolution—Defend Serbia!" most of the self-styled left *supported* to one degree or another the imperialists' devastation of this small Balkan country in the name of "humanitarian" concern for Kosovar Albanians.

Similarly, only a year ago the "socialist" groups in the S11 Alliance were feverishly building, marching in and hailing demonstrations screaming for

Australian troops to be sent into East Timor. Aimed at enforcing neocolonial "stability" for continued imperialist superexploitation, especially in Indonesia, the East Timor occupation powerfully confirms the predatory nature of imperialism (see back page). Based on the proletarian internationalist principle of opposing first and foremost one's own bourgeoisie, from the beginning we have fought for union bans to stop arms

tralian ruling class: their presence is *Australia's* contribution to the drive for capitalist counterrevolution. *For unconditional military defence of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba from imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution!*

In China the ruling bureaucratic caste has imposed pro-capitalist "market reforms" that have allowed imperialist penetration of the planned, collectivised

sition to the Trotskyist fight for unconditional military defence of those states where capitalism was overthrown—today China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba—the ISO was founded on the bogus theory that these workers states are "state capitalist." This is simply a rationalisation for embracing the purported "democracy" of their "own" bourgeoisie. Intoxicated by the "Spirit of Seattle," the ISO positively touts the anti-Communist China-basher Ralph Nader as a "third option" while their American cousins openly hustle votes for Nader's *capitalist* Green Party in the U.S. presidential election.

Bitter Fruit of Capitalist Counterrevolution

The devastating effects of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and East Europe are powerful empirical proof—if any were needed—that capitalism is a decaying, irrational and destructive system. Unemployment has gone from virtually zero to tens of millions. Attacks on women's right to abortion and fascist terror against minorities are rampant. Fratricidal nationalist bloodletting has swept from the Caucasus in what was the USSR to the former Yugoslavia.

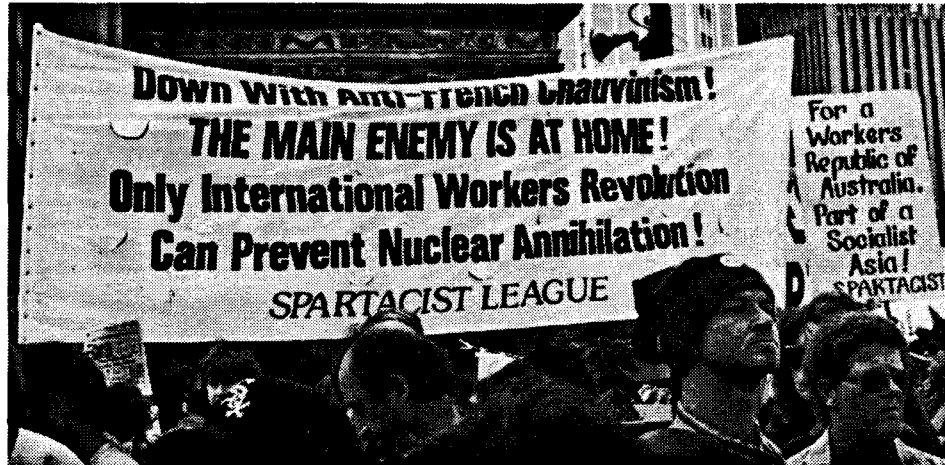
In post-Soviet Russia life expectancy for men is now 57 years, below what it was a century ago, and 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above subsistence level. Some 15 million are actually starving. Malnutrition has become the norm among schoolchildren. With the disintegration of the state-run universal health care system, preventable diseases like tuberculosis are endemic. This unprecedented economic and social implosion is the real measure of how historically progressive the planned, collectivised economy was. It also underlines that the stakes in China are very high.

Just as we Trotskyists of the ICL are today the most intransigent defenders of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, we also fought tooth and nail against capitalist restoration in the USSR and East Europe. Groups like WP and the ISO who hailed Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 ascendancy in Russia today complain about some of the consequences brought about by the victory of the very counterrevolutionary forces they backed. WP is going all out for the 26 September Prague demonstration, but the IMF bloodsuckers wouldn't even be meeting in Prague, capital of the former Czechoslovak workers state, if not for capitalist counterrevolution there!

Laborism in the Service of Australian Imperialism

A Public First leaflet endorsed by the S11 Alliance claims the WEF "takes control out of the hands of Australians." The ACTU says "we do not want our governments to lose sovereignty" (*Australian*, 28 July) and has called a stop-work rally in Melbourne on 12 September "for Australian jobs and the human rights of workers all over the world" as

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ASp photo

Spartacist League contingent, Hiroshima Day, Sydney, 1995.

and supplies to the *Australian* occupation force, and demand: *Australian/UN troops get out now! Independence for East Timor!*

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

The Seattle protests were characterised not only by rampant trade protectionism but by anti-Communist attacks on China. There were foam-flecked speeches denouncing Chinese "slave labour" and placards organised by the AFL-CIO union tops reading "People First Not China First." The United Steelworkers union bureaucracy even organised the dumping of Chinese steel into the Puget Sound as onlookers chanted, "USA! USA!"

Targeting China is the key purpose of the proposed U.S. National Missile Defense system (for now on hold) in which the joint U.S./Australian spy base in Pine Gap is slated to play a key role. While not embracing this as eagerly as the Howard government, the viciously anti-Communist ALP has made it clear they are not opposed on principle. It was under the ALP federal government during the Cold War 1980s that Pine Gap was critical to the U.S.' targeting the USSR with nuclear missiles.

The anti-capitalist social revolutions in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, albeit bureaucratically deformed, freed them from imperialist subjugation and capitalist/landlord rule. Ever since, the imperialists have sought to reconquer these countries for capitalist exploitation. They want to make China a giant sweatshop by returning it to the way it was before the 1949 revolution: a horribly downtrodden neocolony like Indonesia and India are today, marked by the most hideous oppression of women.

The fight to defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution is integral to any anti-imperialist struggle. We oppose Pine Gap and the other joint U.S./Australian military facilities from the standpoint of our revolutionary opposition to the Aus-

economy. But there has also been massive and determined resistance by the working class across China to the devastating effects of "market reforms." *For proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy!*

Where do the "revolutionary" groups in the S11 Alliance stand on defence of China and the other workers states? They oppose it. The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), Workers Power (WP) and International Socialist Organisation (ISO) all backed the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that devastated the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. And today they continue to line up behind "democratic" imperialism. The DSP champions Han Dongfang, a regular on the CIA-funded *Radio Free Asia*, official mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism.

WP's League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) has just issued a new "Manifesto for revolutionary change" opining, "China's long march to capitalism has been completed." The LRCI declares China capitalist in order to avoid even the pretence of *defending* it against imperialist attack, a loyalty oath to the Laborite milieu in which they crave acceptance. Thus at a 5 August Melbourne "S11 Teach In," a WPER listed representatives of the Chinese and Vietnamese governments among the capitalist exploiters who would be present at the WEF meeting. In the discussion only the SL attacked WP's grotesque equation of the Stalinist bureaucracies at the head of deformed workers states with the imperialists.

The ISO from its inception has been defined by its embrace of the imperialists' drive to destroy the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution which were embodied in the former Soviet degenerated workers state (see page 6). In oppo-

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Spartacist Forums

"Reconciliation" is a Racist Hoax

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!

Wednesday, 13 September, 7 p.m.

Melbourne

Old Ballroom Annex, 1st Floor, Trades Hall, Corner of Lygon and Victoria Streets, Carlton South (use Victoria St entrance) For more information: (03) 9654 4315

Laborite Reformism and Globalisation

The Main Enemy is the Australian Imperialist State!

Saturday, 21 October, 2 p.m.

Sydney

Level 2, Transport Social Club, 19 Regent Street, Sydney (off Broadway, near Railway Square) For more information: (02) 9281 2181

Capitalist Counterrevolution Tramples Women's Rights

The following article is translated from the current issue of *Platforma Spartakusowców* (No. 11, Spring-Summer 2000), published by the *Spartakusowska Grupa Polski*, Polish section of the International Communist League.

At 6:30 p.m. on January 25 in the small city of Lubliniec near Czeszochowa, cops smashed their way into a gynecologist's office just as doctors were completing an abortion. The patient, a mother of four about 40 years old, and her physician and anesthesiologist were arrested by the cops and the two doctors now face criminal charges with penalties of up to three years' imprisonment!

This vicious police attack, threatening the life and health of a woman during a surgical procedure in the privacy of her doctor's office, underscores the profound contempt for women which permeates the Polish bourgeois state ten years after clerical-nationalist *Solidarność* spearheaded the restoration of capitalist rule. Nor is it accidental that this first police attack on a gynecologist's office was conducted not in a major city but in a small town in the economically devastated Slask coal mining region, plagued with poverty and mass unemployment amidst waves of privatization, pit closures and wholesale slashing of the social security system. The *Spartakusowska Grupa Polski* says: **Drop all charges against the Lubliniec doctors! Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!**

As our comrades of the International Communist League (then international Spartacist tendency) warned throughout the 1980s, banning abortion was a key aim of clerical-nationalist *Solidarność* from its inception, when it called for the right of the Catholic church to broadcast its poisonous anti-woman propaganda over state radio and television systems in August 1980. *Solidarność*, the yellow union for the CIA, Vatican and bankers, mobilized the forces of rampant clericalism and nationalism in Poland, helping pave the way for the capitalist counter-revolution which triumphed in the former Soviet bloc in 1990-92 and brought untold devastation to working people from Berlin to Vladivostok and beyond.

As we point out in the article "Polish Feminists and *Solidarność* Counterrevolution" (*Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 10, Fall-Winter 1999, reprinted as "Polish *Solidarność*: A Man's World," *WV* No. 724, 26 November 1999):

"This world-historic defeat for the working class has led to a vast increase in attacks on working women, from the sweatshops of Southeast Asia to anti-abortion terror in North America and beyond, and the unprecedented rise of woman-hating religious bigotry and enemies of basic human progress around the world."

We communists of the ICL/SGP stand on the record of our consistent fight against *Solidarność*-led capitalist restoration. We fought for the unconditional military defense of Poland and the other deformed workers states against imper-

Poland: Free Abortion on Demand!

alist attack and internal counterrevolution. As communist partisans of the cause of workers, women and all the oppressed, we sought to mobilize the proletariat to defend these states—whose gains included abortion rights, free health care, education, full employment—which represented a tremendous conquest of the proletariat deriving from the October Revolution of 1917. At the same time, we

the helm of the capitalist government in 1993-97, they loyally carried out the same capitalist program as their *Solidarność* predecessors, including enforcing the abortion ban which crowned the *Solidarność* counterrevolution and escalating the racist deportations of Roma [Gypsy] refugees.

As Marx and Engels noted in the *Communist Manifesto* over 150 years



Chalstowski/Forum

Polish nurses protest against low wages outside parliament building in Warsaw last year.

fought for workers political revolution to oust the corrupt and discredited Stalinist bureaucracies of the USSR and East Europe, which were undermining these gains and opening the road to capitalist restoration. This program remains an urgent necessity which the ICL fights for today in the remaining deformed workers states of China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea.

In capitalist Poland, there is widespread discontent over the misery wrought by massive privatization, devastation of state health care and education, and unemployment and starvation wages. In place of the jobs and social benefits eliminated in the name of "international competitiveness," workers, women and youth are fed a steady diet of anti-communism, religious obscurantism, nationalism and anti-Semitism.

Many look to the ex-Stalinist Social Democrats as a parliamentary "defense" against the worst abuses of capitalist misery and clerical reaction. Yet when the Social Democrats themselves stood at

ago, "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." The regimentation of the working class, women and youth in the service of profits through the promotion of reactionary social norms is the common political program of all wings of the bourgeoisie. As communists we seek to show workers and the oppressed that what is needed is not a "change of government" but a **socialist revolution**—led by the working class at the head of all the oppressed—to sweep away the putrefying capitalist system itself. Those who labor must rule!

Fight for a Leninist Party!

Among those calling themselves "revolutionary socialists" in Poland nowadays are the Employee Democracy group, followers of [the late] prominent British reformist Tony Cliff, and the Revolutionary Left Current (NLR), co-thinkers of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. These self-styled "revolutionaries" seek to recruit youth to their reformist programs by (occasionally) claiming to oppose the oppression of women and defend abortion rights.

To conscious workers and radical youth who may be checking out the credentials of such organizations for the first time, we of the SGP say, "Buyer beware!" When the most elementary defense of the gains of working people, including abortion rights, was posed pointblank, these fakers stood *on the opposite side of the barricades* together with the most vicious enemies of women: from Pope Karol Wojtyla to Afghan Islamic fundamentalists to Yeltsin's Orthodox priests. From 1980 onward, under the banner of anti-communist "democracy," these "left" groups hailed the very clerical-nationalist forces who led the restoration of capitalism and have unleashed anti-abortion state terror and capitalist immiseration.

To this day, these same groups hail the reactionary woman-hating bigots of Krzaklewski's *Solidarność* as genuine "trade unionists in the government" (*Employee Democracy* No. 18, January 2000)!

For the *Solidarność* reactionaries of the AWS/UW [*Solidarność* Election Action/Freedom Union] coalition government, criminalizing abortion is only one step in the crusade for "family values" and "combatting the loss of morality among youth." As we wrote after the imperialist occupation of Serbia (in which Poland took an active part): "Together with squeezing ever greater profits out of the working class in the name of capitalist competition goes the need for 'moral' regimentation of the working class" (*Platforma Spartakusowców* No. 9, Spring-Summer 1999). While banning abortion and promoting anti-immigrant racism, clericalism and anti-Semitism, the capitalists now seek to criminalize an entire generation of working-class youth, by targeting everything from pornography to homosexuality to rock concerts and the Internet.

As if in response to their masters' call, the fake leftists of the Mandelite splinter group NLR II have put together a loose bloc with the Stalinist KMP and the Morenoite GIPR in order to explicitly *oppose* organizing workers in resistance to these attacks of the bourgeoisie. As they sneer in their "Bulletin of the Opposition" No. 1 (Fall 1999-Winter 2000):

"The basic field of activity must be the living conditions of workers, activity in the trade unions.

"There must be no concentration on secondary issues—to ascribe to national, sexual and racial minorities, or students, any ability to make changes in the system is simply wrong and unserious."

Buying hook, line and sinker the bourgeois lie that "communism is dead," these phoney "revolutionaries" turn their backs on Lenin's teaching in *What Is To Be Done?* that the ideal for revolutionary Marxists is not "the trade-union secretary, but *the tribune of the people*, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; who is able to generalize all these manifestations and produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; who is able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to set forth *before all* his socialist convictions and his democratic demands, in order to clarify for *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."

In contrast to the fake leftists who give a "Marxist" veneer to the reactionary poison of bourgeois ideology in the working class, the ICL/SGP, following Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, proudly inscribes on our banner the fight for the liberation of women and all the oppressed as part of the struggle for new October Revolutions! ■



Der Spiegel

Lech Walesa (left), founder of Polish *Solidarność*, 1980. Vatican-sponsored *Solidarność* counterrevolution drove women out of jobs, eliminated right to abortion.

Platforma SPARTAKUSOWCÓW

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PAN Victory After 70 Years of PRI Rule

Wall Street's Candidate Wins Mexican Elections

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 739, 28 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

WORKERS VANGUARD

"A Crowning Defeat: Mexico as the Victor," "Markets Hail Election Outcome," "Mexican Revolution." This was the triumphant reaction of the U.S. imperialist press to the outcome of last month's presidential elections in Mexico. For the first time since its inception 71 years ago, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was ousted from the presidency, losing to right-wing National Action Party (PAN) candidate Vicente Fox Quesada by 43 to 36 percent. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of the left-talking bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) took 17 percent of the vote.

For the Yankee imperialists and Mexican bankers, Fox, former chief of Coca-Cola's Mexican operations, is "the real thing." Unlike the candidates of the PRI and PRD, which both claim the nationalist mantle of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-20, Fox openly proclaims his goal of expanding NAFTA, U.S. imperialism's "free trade" rape of Mexico. Following the election, the Mexican stock exchange rose over 6 percent, the peso has been steadily rising against the dollar, and Mexican government bond ratings have been upgraded, reflecting imperialist expectations of greater opportunities for plundering the country. Wall Street looks to Fox to deliver on such longstanding goals as the privatization of Mexico's lucrative electrical, oil and petrochemical industries.

For seven decades, the PRI and its forebears sought to ensure social stability for its imperialist patrons, incorporating trade unions and peasant organizations into the party's massive bureaucratic machinery and unleashing bloody terror against workers and the poor. Generations of leftists, rural activists and militant union leaders have been murdered, kidnapped, imprisoned and tortured by the country's notoriously brutal police forces, military squads and *caciques* (rural bosses), with the military and financial support of the U.S. The PRI's rampant corruption, abject subservience to Washington and open election-stealing left it widely discredited and undercut its usefulness in maintaining social stability. Having lost confidence in the PRI, the U.S. rulers threw their support to Fox.

Many who voted for Fox did so as a protest against the PRI's long, brutal and corrupt rule, not out of ideological devotion to the PAN's reactionary Catholic program. Fox also received support from dozens of influential leftist intellectuals who in prior elections would have stumped for the PRD. Seeing no chance for Cárdenas to be elected, they threw in their lot with Fox and echoed the imperialists in hailing the election of this clericalist bigot as a victory for "democracy."

The PRI's loss is a major event which underscores the *fragility* of bourgeois rule in Mexico. While the PAN victory presages vicious attacks on women and gays and poses major attacks on Mexico's combative proletariat, Fox may find that running the bourgeois state is a lot harder than running Coca-Cola. Mexico has been racked by widespread social unrest. Along with the EZLN Zapatista peasant insurgency, which broke out in Chiapas in



Sergio Dorrantes



AP

Victory of right-wing PAN candidate Fox in presidential elections presages attacks on combative Mexican proletariat, women, peasants. Thousands of striking teachers protested in Mexico City in June against outgoing PRI president Zedillo.

No Illusions in PRD Nationalism— For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

1994, is a longstanding guerrilla war by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Guerrero. The yearlong UNAM student strike in Mexico City which ended in February polarized society, as masses of working people mobilized to support the struggle to defend public education. In the past few months, schoolteachers and Aeroméxico flight attendants, among others, have waged militant strikes against imperialist-dictated government attacks. The potential power of the Mexican working class has been augmented by the massive growth of industry through increased imperialist investment, especially in the north. In 1999 alone, a million new jobs were created in the *maquiladora* region along the U.S. border, where workers toil for miserable wages and face brutal anti-labor repression.

Based on the principle of the political independence of the proletariat against all wings of bourgeois nationalism, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), Mexican section of the International Communist League, declared "Not one vote for the PRI, PAN or PRD!" (see article, page 11). The GEM fights to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Mexico to lead the combative working class,

marching at the head of all the oppressed, to the revolutionary conquest of power.

The PAN and Catholic Reaction

The roots of the PAN are in right-wing reaction to the Mexican Revolution. In 1926, Catholic forces enraged by anti-clerical provisions of the constitution—particularly those mandating secular education—fomented a peasant-based civil war, the "Cristero revolt." The war lasted over two years and cost 80,000 lives, ending in an uneasy truce brokered by the American government. The PAN, which is linked to the sinister, right-wing international Catholic group Opus Dei, was organized in 1939 as the political expression of Cristero ("follower of Christ") ideology. The PAN trumpeted the virtues of Franco's Spain; its members wore blue shirts like Franco's fascist Falange.

Fox was educated by Jesuits in the state of Guanajuato, the center of the Cristero revolt. Early in his campaign, he unfurled the Cristero banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe and repeatedly let rip their old battle cry, "If I advance, follow me! If I hold back, push me! If I retreat, kill me!" But in order to split votes away from the PRI and PRD, Fox, who was guided by former

Clinton campaign adviser Dick Morris, subsequently took pains to downplay both his reactionary Catholic clericalism and his free-market schemes, telling the Mexico City daily *La Jornada*, "In the end, the one who governs is Vicente Fox, not the PAN!" Fox claimed that he had no plans to privatize the electrical, oil and petrochemical industries and vowed to uphold the secularism embodied in the constitution. He also toned down his rants that schools should teach Catholic "values," his virulent opposition to abortion and his condemnation of homosexuality as "a degenerate act which goes against human nature."

Since 1938, when President Lázaro Cárdenas (father of the PRD leader) nationalized the oil industry, any politician advocating selling it off would have been committing political suicide, accused of being a "vendepatrias" (seller of the fatherland) and provoking the powerful oil workers union. The nationalization of oil was met with enormous pressure from the imperialists, including a boycott of Mexican oil exports, aimed at restoring their holdings. Writing from his Mexican exile, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote in defense of the expropriations by the Cárdenas regime:

"Without succumbing to illusions and without fear of slander, the advanced workers will completely support the Mexican people in their struggle against the imperialists. The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense."

—"Mexico and British Imperialism" (June 1938)

At the same time, Trotsky stressed, "The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government."

Ever since then, the PEMEX oil monopoly—Mexico's largest company, estimated to be worth some \$40 billion, and the linchpin of the country's economy—has been the target of imperialist designs. Only days after Fox's election, he justified the faith of his Wall Street patrons by announcing his intention to introduce legislation to scrap restrictions on the full privatization of petrochemical plants and to open up PEMEX and CFE (Federal Commission of Electricity) to private initiative.

Moves to denationalize oil and electricity could detonate an explosion among workers in those industries, whose PRI-affiliated unions have kept them in check up to now. Following the elections, the corporatist Mexican Labor Federation (CTM) and Congress of Labor (CT), which have long served as key props of PRI rule, announced the formation of a "front of unions" including the National Workers Union (UNT) federation, the SME electricians and other unions not affiliated with the PRI.

Fox's victory has raised expectations particularly among Mexico's desperate petty bourgeoisie. Fox campaigned by promising he would wipe out crime and corruption, improve the country's infrastructure, double spending on education and provide better health care. He spouted utopian visions of eliminating wage differentials between the U.S. and Mexico through developing industry—conveniently overlooking the boot that U.S. imperialism has firmly planted on the neck of the very dependent Mexican bourgeoisie. A corollary of the subordinate interdependence of the Mexican economy with that of the U.S. is that any

economic dislocation north of the border will impact with great severity on Mexico, with disastrous effect on the living conditions of working people and the poor.

The free marketer Fox is a stalwart supporter of NAFTA. In a country where real wages have plummeted 75 percent in the last 12 years, the implementation of NAFTA in 1994 has widened the gap between rich and poor in Mexico more than in any other Latin American country. With the products of American agribusiness flooding Mexican markets, the already impoverished peasantry has been ruined. Malnutrition, disease and illiteracy are on the rise, especially in the less-industrialized south. Fox's vision of a North American common market encompassing Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, if implemented, would be a garage sale for U.S. capital to further loot the Mexican economy. His populist-sounding schemes are to be financed through increased imperialist investment and "reforms" eliminating exemptions on sales taxes that benefit the poor.

Fox's victory underscores the crucial need to mobilize the Mexican proletariat in defense of the rights of women, whose vicious oppression is reinforced by the grip of the Catholic church on the society, particularly in the countryside. Immediately following the election, the Mexican Episcopal Conference, an organization of top Catholic clerics, announced it would "take advantage of Fox's triumph" to push for religious teachings in the public

plants, young women compose as much as 90 percent of the workforce.

Accompanying attacks on women is the anti-gay bigotry prevalent in Mexico. With homosexuality perceived as a threat to the patriarchal family, especially in this Catholic country, anyone assumed to be gay can be targeted for brutal beatings and even murder. Declaring AIDS to be a gay disease, the church has campaigned against condom use, condemning possibly millions of young men and women to death. Even ostensible leftists frequently hurl anti-gay slurs. Against such bigotry, the GEM champions the democratic rights of homosexuals and calls for free abortion on demand as part of our program for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

For Revolutionary Internationalism!

Whoever occupies the presidential palace is sitting atop a volcano of social discontent. As evidence of the turmoil in Mexican society, in February villagers in Hidalgo state seized 68 cops who had violently raided a teachers college occupied by student strikers.

The electoral loss of the PRI, which had managed the bourgeois state through highly centralized bonapartist rule, will only add to the instability of the government. Despite its loss, the PRI still controls the governorships of 19 of Mexico's 32 states. Though it won the presidency and has become the largest party in the legislature, the PAN did not



Workers protest threat to privatise electricity companies. Union tops derail class struggle through nationalism tying workers to Mexican bourgeoisie. AP

whose power, prestige and very jobs depended on PRI rule—and plans to co-opt prominent PRIistas into his cabinet. Fox also announced plans to make the country's police forces more "efficient," including by creating a Ministry of Security and Justice modeled on the American FBI. Ten days after the election, Fox met with Mexican secretary of defense Enrique Cervantes and naval secretary Lorenzo Franco to map out plans to deal with the EZLN and EPR guerrilla insurgencies.

Attacks on the unions, peasants, women and others by Fox, who is openly identified with the U.S. imperialist bloodsuckers, will serve to spark renewed nationalist sentiments and will particularly feed illusions in the PRD, which is painted by the bulk of the Mexican left as a "left" alternative to the PAN and PRI. The PRD was formed in the late 1980s after Cárdenas, a principal leader of the PRI, split from the ruling party. In 1994, the PRD, which supported the imposition of NAFTA, solidarized with the federal government's attack on the Zapatista insurgents. When the Mexican economy crashed in 1995, impelling tens of thousands of workers into the streets to defend their living standards, the PRD joined the PAN and PRI in a pact to stabilize the government. Cárdenas appealed to the Clinton government for a bailout which was subsequently adopted, giving the U.S. virtual control over the Mexican economy.

For many UNAM militants, illusions in Cárdenas were crushed when the PRD-run Mexico City government unleashed its riot cops in brutal assaults on the student strikers. The PRD subsequently claimed to defend the student strikers against PRI repression. But when Cárdenas made a campaign speech at UNAM in June, several hundred angry students protested by shouting, "Cárdenas out of UNAM!" Although Cárdenas initially announced the PRD's refusal to

collaborate with a PAN government, a Reuters (23 July) dispatch on a PRD leadership meeting reports that "Cárdenas changed his tune on Fox" and "said the PRD had to work with the PAN in Congress."

To mobilize the powerful Mexican proletariat against their exploiters and oppressors requires a political struggle against all wings of bourgeois nationalism, which binds the workers to the Mexican bourgeoisie. The urgent needs of Mexico's impoverished workers and peasants—for agrarian revolution, education, health care, jobs—cannot be fulfilled by the corrupt and venal Mexican capitalist class, which is completely beholden to U.S. imperialism. To fulfill these tasks requires the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the seizure of power by the Mexican proletariat, opening the road to socialist revolution throughout the Americas, particularly the imperialist heartland of the U.S.

Fundamental to the nationalism pushed by the Mexican left is the lie that the U.S. working class cannot be mobilized in struggle against the American imperialist rulers. In fact, the struggles of the Mexican and U.S. proletariat are closely interlinked, including through the agency of the Mexican immigrant workers who along with other immigrants comprise a growing and militant section of the American working class. The Spartacist League/U.S. fights for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and calls for aggressive union organizing of immigrant workers. This requires a struggle to oust the American labor bureaucracy, whose class collaboration is exemplified by its historic ties to the capitalist Democratic Party. The labor tops' chauvinist protectionist appeals are poison to class struggle at home and to international labor solidarity. We fight to forge the revolutionary workers party needed to smash U.S. imperialism from within, through proletarian revolution. ■



Museo Nacional de Historia, Museo Cristero
Reactionary Catholic PAN has roots in 1920s "Cristero revolt" against anti-clerical measures associated with Mexican Revolution. Banner reads: "Long Live Christ the King."

schools, while the anti-abortion bigots of Pro Vida have called for legislation forcing pregnant teenagers to get married. The ban on abortion, which is also supported by a section of the PRD leadership, leads to the deaths of thousands of women each year as a result of botched illegal operations. At the same time, women have become an increasingly significant component of the proletariat in recent years, with 35 percent of all women of working age now in the labor force. In the foreign-owned *maquiladora*

capture a majority in the Senate or House of Deputies. The PRD captured the mayoral election of Mexico City, the second most important executive post in the country, although the PAN now dominates the city legislature. To implement his policies, Fox will have to find bloc partners among either the PRI or PRD legislators.

Not surprisingly, Fox immediately announced he has no intention of purging the government bureaucracy—a huge apparatus of 3.5 million civil servants

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Cliffites After Cliff

Troubled Waters for "Socialists" Who Cheered Counterrevolution

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Hammer*, newspaper of the *Spartacist League/Britain*. It was distributed in July at *Marxism 2000*, a week-long annual event held by the *British Socialist Workers Party*.

WORKERS HAMMER

Following the demise of its founder-leader Tony Cliff, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the largest self-styled "socialist" organisation in Britain, is in deep crisis. A bitter factional struggle has erupted between the SWP and its American satellite, the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Internal opposition groups have sprung up within the SWP's "International Socialist Tendency." As revealed in the ISO's March 2000 *Internal Discussion Bulletin* and elsewhere, the questions posed in the present fight include Tony Cliff's "theory" of "state capitalism"; policy over the Balkans War; the SWP's "turn" to electoralism; the approach to protests against "globalisation," as well as the organisational liquidation of various Cliffite outfits internationally such as their South African group's disappearance into the South African Communist Party.

For its part, the SWP leadership has responded to internal dissent by dissolving every branch in Britain and Ireland and reorganising them as "campaign units." Oppositionists such as the "Sverdlov" grouping in the U.S. have seized mainly on the lack of internal democracy—which is infamous. Indeed, the British left is full of former "oppositionists" tossed out of Cliff's organisation. Just as the gangsterism of the SWP against its opponents on the left is the "method" by which it seeks to resolve the contradiction between the "socialism" it claims to stand for and the abject reformist content of its actual work, the lack of internal democracy is the internal reflection of this same contradiction.

At the heart of the current crisis in the Cliffites is the Russian question. A 28 May Internet posting by Sverdlov reported: "There is not a single comrade inside the ISO—for example—that can defend the state-cap theories since the fall of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe." He added that there is very little insistence on such theories as a precondition for membership. The reason for this is obvious: ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and close to a decade

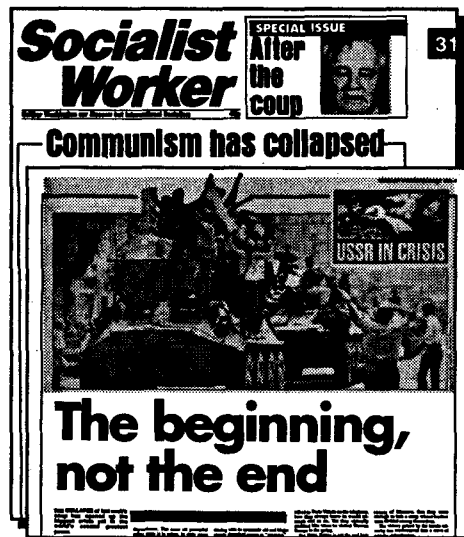
after the final undoing of the October Revolution of 1917, the resulting catastrophe for the proletariat and oppressed in those countries and around the world is there for all to see.

The origins of the SWP lie in Cliff's refusal in 1950 to defend the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against a counterrevolutionary war led by Washington, whose main imperi-

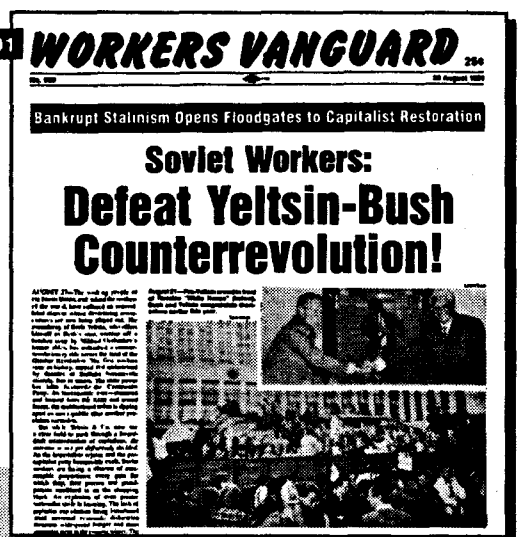
Labourite "democratic" imperialism. The Cliffites absurdly claim that capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR represented merely a "step sideways." As we explained in the recent issue of our international theoretical journal, *Spartacist*:

"Today Cliff's U.S. followers unabashedly declare: 'The revolutions in Eastern Europe were a step sideways—from one

But it's not by any means what a new generation impelled into opposition against the imperialist wars, racist terror, attacks on the rights of women, poverty, immiseration and the growth of the fascists that were the results of capitalist counterrevolution want! The SWP's triumphalism over the "death of communism," its perspective of cashing in on its "anti-Stalinist" credentials in the wake of



Cliffites hailed Yeltsin counterrevolution which ushered in misery and hunger for working people, national and ethnic minorities. ICL fought to mobilise Soviet workers in defence of gains of October Revolution.



Der Spiegel photos

alist ally was the British Labour government. Cliff's bogus "theory" of "state capitalism" (promoted by earlier social democrats who had opposed the Russian October Revolution of 1917) was the rationalisation for this programmatic departure from revolutionary Trotskyism, the repudiation of unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and those states where capitalism had been overthrown against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Proclaiming themselves a "third camp," which in fact placed them in the camp of their own bourgeoisie, over the years the SWP generalised their capitulation to

form of capitalism to another' (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 23 April 1999). Don't try this line on any Russian worker today. The unprecedented economic and social implosion now occurring in the territory of the ex-USSR is the real measure of just how historically progressive the planned, collectivized economy really was. In the chaotic conditions of post-Soviet Russia, the laws of capitalism have resulted in total economic collapse: production has fallen at least 50 percent since 1991, capital investment by 90 percent. Today a third of the urban labor force in Russia is effectively unemployed; 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above subsistence level and 15 million are actually starving....

"While clinging to their threadbare theories, the Cliffites and their ilk are oddly modest about their real contribution. The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and East Europe was the implementation of their program. Like Shachtman, who supported Washington's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Cliff & Co. did their utmost to seek to bring victory to U.S. imperialism in the Cold War, lusting for the bloodying of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, championing the 'trade union' credentials of Solidarność—instrument of the Vatican, Wall Street and Western social democracy for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland—and vicariously dancing with the black marketeers, monarchists and yuppies on Yeltsin's barricades in 1991. *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) trumpeted Yeltsin's victory: 'Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing.' Well, now the Cliffites have what they wanted."

—"The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories—Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999

the destruction of the gains of the October Revolution, has in fact resulted in the present internal crisis.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

As revolutionary Trotskyists, we understand that the world's first workers state succumbed to bureaucratic degeneration under conditions of hostile imperialist encirclement, the devastation of the proletariat through the Civil War against imperialist-backed counterrevolution and the failure of the revolution to spread internationally, particularly to the imperialist centres. Under these conditions, the nationalist bureaucratic apparatus headed by Stalin usurped political power from the proletariat in 1924, but did not destroy the socialised property relations. Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" became the ideological justification for transforming the Communist parties internationally into bargaining chips in an illusory search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Trotsky and his followers fought to *unconditionally defend* the workers state issuing from the October Revolution *despite* the Stalinist caste, calling for a political revolution by the Soviet proletariat to overthrow that caste.

It was armed with this programme that the ICL mobilised our forces in a sustained intervention into the incipient proletarian political revolution in the DDR [East Germany] in 1989-90. We fought against capitalist reunification down the line, fighting for socialist revolution in



Spartakist

East Berlin, January 1990: Spartacists initiated 250,000-strong rally against fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park. We fought against capitalist reunification and for a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe.

the West, while fighting to lead the East German proletariat in defence of the East German workers state and in political revolution against the Stalinists who would hand the DDR over to the imperialists. Later, in the Soviet Union we fought to mobilise the proletariat against the enveloping counterrevolution, distributing over 100,000 leaflets at factories and workplaces demanding: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" But in the absence of the revolutionary intervention by the working class, capitalist counterrevolution destroyed the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in 1989-92.

The "Russian question" is posed point-blank in China, where a class battle of immense importance is looming. The deepening of "free market" measures by the Stalinist bureaucracy is undermining the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which destroyed the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and established collectivised property, a planned economy, and state monopoly of foreign trade. The Chinese proletariat, however, has witnessed the results of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR and has responded to the attacks on these gains with convulsive class battles and mass protests. **Defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution! For proletarian political revolution!**

The Cliffites, in keeping with their origins, have lined up with the imperialists' anti-communist crusade against China. Speaking at a demonstration in defence of asylum-seekers on 24 June, leading SWPer Weyman Bennett attacked Chinese president Jiang Zemin as the Chinese "dictator"—the code word for bourgeois anti-communist forces who seek the destruction of the gains of the 1949 Revolution. Bennett went so far as to attack Labour minister Jack Straw for having allowed Jiang Zemin into Britain! How typical of slavish social democrats who embrace their "own" imperialist rulers' "democracy" against the hard-won conquests of the working class!

When British imperialism finally had to surrender Hong Kong to the Chinese deformed workers state in 1997, *Socialist Review* (June 1997) stated: "Socialists should neither mourn nor celebrate the handover of Hong Kong. In the short term very little will change for the majority of the population—Hong Kong will be as undemocratic and exploitative a society as it has ever been." The British seized the island in 1841 during the first Opium War and ran it as a virtual police state—and a haven for crooks and warlords fleeing the Chinese Revolution—until forced to pull out. In contrast, we said at the time: "Trotskyists can only cheer as the rotted British Empire loses its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People's Republic on July 1" ("China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?", *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Last November's Seattle demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation, while drawing in everything from right-wing supporters of Pat Buchanan to anarchoid youth and spokesmen for the Mexican Zapatista peasant-guerrilla movement, were dominated by the anti-communist, rabidly nationalist AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy. The Seattle protests were marked by foam-flecked speeches denouncing Chinese "slave labour," by signs promoting the CIA's "Free Tibet" crusade and by the dumping of Chinese steel into Puget Sound. AFL-CIO head Sweeney railed against a "trade deal with a rogue nation" while trade-union placards demanding "People First Not China First" mingled with banners such as one screaming "For the Basic Human Rights in Vietnam—Kill the Red Evil."

The SWP, noting the absence of a sea of ISO banners at the event, has denounced the ISO for flunking the "test of Seattle" and there has been much back-and-forth about how deeply to capitulate

to the "movement" as it is. Meanwhile, the ISO has evidently felt pressure from other quarters, running articles like: "Why China-Bashing Hurts U.S. Labor" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 3 March). In part this reflects the fact that some youth are repelled by the vicious anti-communism of the trade-union tops, but it is also a plea to the Sweeney bureaucracy not to damage the Democrats too much by feeding "the right"—i.e., the Republicans. The ISO said as much: "If the labor movement plays into this campaign, it will simply give a 'progressive' cover to the labor-hating Buchanans and Helmses" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], 7 January).

The idea that the world is governed by bodies like the WTO and IMF which trample on the "sovereignty" of the most powerful imperialist countries is both reactionary and absurd. The authority exercised by these bodies derives from the power of the rival imperialist states for which they function as agents. In presenting "globalisation" as a new development in which a handful of multinational corporations, the WTO, IMF and World Bank are responsible for the impoverishment of the masses of the "Global South," reformists today recycle the Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's myth of "ultra-imperialism" which Lenin debunked in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage*

Tony Cliff's SWP supported CIA-aided mujahedin cutthroats in Afghanistan, cheered Soviet withdrawal which meant death for women, leftists.



of Capitalism. Lenin wrote:

"Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars."

Promoting the "spirit of Seattle," the Cliffites peddle the illusions that the IMF, WTO and other institutions can be reformed and the imperialist powers—the biggest exploiters of labour on the planet—can somehow be pressured to abolish sweatshops and impose "fair labour standards" globally. Correspondingly, the issues of domestic poverty, racial oppression and sweatshop labour are buried. Also buried are the nearly daily bombings and starvation blockade of Iraq, the NATO bombardment of Serbia back to the Stone Age and imperialist troops in the Balkans. These political verities would blemish the cosmetic of "human rights" painted by reformists and union misleaders on the face of U.S. and British imperialism. In contrast, the ICL fights to win workers and radical youth to the consciousness that the class interests of the workers and the oppressed are diametrically opposed to those of the capitalists and the eradication of poverty, racism and war can only be accomplished

March 1999:
Spartacist
League/Britain
protests NATO
war against
Serbia.



through a socialist revolution led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party.

Balkans War: Flunking the Test in Britain and the U.S.

The Balkans War—the first major war in Europe since World War II—was a direct consequence of capitalist counterrevolution. The Yugoslavian deformed workers state was born out of World War

only on the basis of proletarian state power. But the socialist and democratic ideals to which the Tito regime publicly appealed were undermined by the bureaucratic deformations and inherent limitations of Stalinism, with its programme of "building socialism in one country." Resurgent nationalisms were fuelled when "market socialism" was introduced; they would later be whipped to white-hot heat by the imperialists as a battering ram for the restoration of capitalism. The bloody communalist slaughter that ensued, by the Cliffites' lights, was just another "step sideways."

The NATO war against Serbia was a war of domination aimed at realising longstanding U.S. plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia through subduing Milosevic. As Lenin stressed, in the case of an imperialist war against a small nation or semi-colonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of the "own" government but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. That is the position of the ICL. Our international declaration on the war (issued 21 April 1999) said unambiguously: **Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!** Long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians as a shibboleth for imperialist bombardment of Serbia, we championed the right of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to self-determination. With the onset of the imperialist war against Serbia, we Marxists recognised that the right of the Kosovo Albanians to secede—a democratic question—was subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against U.S./Britain/NATO attack.

Blair's Labour government were aggressively pro-NATO "Atlanticists" and
continued on page 8

Socialist Worker
May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

II, when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. The victory of the multinational Partisan forces demonstrated that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict, unity of the South Slav peoples within the borders of Yugoslavia was possible—but

<p>SPARTACIST 4</p> <p>NUMBER 54 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 1998</p> <p>For New October Revolutions!</p> <p>Third International Conference of the ICL SEE PAGE 7</p> <p>Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) SEE PAGE 9</p> <p>On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices SEE PAGE 24</p> <p>Organizational Rules and Guidelines International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) SEE PAGE 31</p> <p>Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa SEE PAGE 40</p>	<p>SPARTACIST 4</p> <p>NUMBER 55 ENGLISH EDITION AUTUMN 1999</p> <p>The Russian Revolution and the Collapse of Stalinism</p> <p>The Bankruptcy of "New Class" Theories Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplices of Counterrevolution SEE PAGE 6</p> <p>The Stalinist Thermidor, the Left Opposition and the Red Army 2</p> <p>On Trotsky's Concept of a "Relax Faction" in the Soviet Bureaucracy 25</p> <p>Down With Imperialist Occupation of Kosovo! All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now! 40</p> <p>April 1999 Declaration of the International Communist League: Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia! 43</p> <p>Women and Revolution and ICL Perspectives For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! 56</p> <p>Forge a Trotskyist Party! For Workers Revolution! Lessons of Indonesia 1965 SEE PAGE 27</p>
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Cliffites...

(continued from page 7)

much of the fake left lined up foursquare behind the war cry "poor little Kosovo." Thus you had the right-centrist Workers Power (WP) outfit supporting the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and participating in a "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration on 10 April 1999 which was shot through with slogans like "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." Workers Power and other Labourite groups sponsored an 11 May meeting which featured two unvarnished pro-NATO speakers, one of whom, a rabid pro-Albanian nationalist, announced that anyone who didn't support NATO should stay home (see *Workers Hammer* No. 169, July/August 1999). And when Serbia was bombed into submission, as NATO tanks rolled in and ground troops occupied Kosovo, Workers Power cheered: "The working class must welcome the ending of the attempted genocide against the Kosovar people and, if it fully materialises, the return of all the refugees to their homes" (*Workers Power*, June 1999). What has "fully materialised" under NATO occupation is a reversal of the terms of oppression and the insertion of a mammoth NATO military presence in Serbia!

The SWP's position was somewhat different. Accommodating to [Labour "left"] Tony Benn, whose preference was for Europe over U.S.-dominated NATO, the SWP did not join the "poor little Kosovo" chorus. Instead, leading SWP member Alex Callinicos joined a host of others, including Alain Krivine of the French LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], in signing a letter which called for a "policing operation" against Serbia to be run by the European imperialist-dominated Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Published in *Socialist Review* (June 1999), this read in part:

"NATO is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."

The SWP's stance was also convenient for the Greek Cliffites. The Greek bourgeoisie for its own reasons are not keen advocates of the Albanian national aspirations. Furthermore, as in Italy, class-struggle opposition to the war in Greece was often channelled by reformists into anti-Americanism, a cheap substitute for an obstacle to proletarian internationalist opposition to imperialist war.

While the SWP capitulated to Bennite Labourism in Britain, the ISO in the U.S., where there is no Labour Party to capitulate to, bent to the prevailing pressure of "human rights imperialism," arguing for self-determination for Kosovo during the

bombing. According to the SWP, the ISO "failed the test of war" not least because it made "a big deal of the UN," which "pissed off the soft pacifists, and so the movement stayed small and dominated by the wrong people." When the ISO protests they did not make a big issue of the UN—we can on this one occasion back up their story. It is the ICL which opposes the UN—under whose auspices the Korean and Persian Gulf Wars were carried out—on principle as an "imperialist den of thieves" and their victims.

None of the Cliffite sections called for the defeat of imperialism, nor do they call for imperialist troops out of the Balkans. They capitulated to different forces depending on their national terrain. As inter-imperialist rivalries increase in the post-Soviet period, rivalries earlier suppressed in the common pursuit of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, such national differences in opportunist appetites can only intensify.

With the Cliffites' squabble over the Balkans War now public knowledge,

scale that makes the US support for KLA look grudging in the extreme."

Workers Power are so far to the right today that they disappear the fact that it was over Afghanistan that they broke—partially but to the left—from Cliff's "state capitalism" and recognised the USSR was a "degenerate" [sic] workers state. While WP joined the imperialists and their Labour lieutenants in opposing the Soviet military intervention against the CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan, it also claimed it would be "tactically wrong...to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops" (*Workers Power*, February 1980).

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan posed the Russian question pointblank. We said "Hail Red Army!" and "Extend the social gains of the Russian Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" We recognised that the class character of the USSR meant that the Red Army opened the possibility of social progress to this hideously backward country where the *mujahedin* waged a "holy war" to murder

cant battle waged by the British proletariat in decades, Cliff boasted that SWP members in steel plants were crossing miners' picket lines. In response to a question by a Spartacist supporter, Cliff said:

"On the question of our steelworkers crossing picket lines. We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines...."

—Tony Cliff, London public meeting of the SWP, 23 August 1984

Having abandoned the gains of the revolution in Russia, the SWP abandoned the goal of revolution anywhere. It has functioned—whether inside (as it was prior to 1967) or outside the Labour Party—as a pressure group on Labour. Take the SWP's latest "turn": its dive into the London Socialist Alliance (LSA). The SWP enthuse that the LSA is a genuine opposition to "New" Labour—which is widely and rightly hated by the working class and poor. "Socialist Alliances" are now to spring to life throughout Britain to put the Blairites on the run.

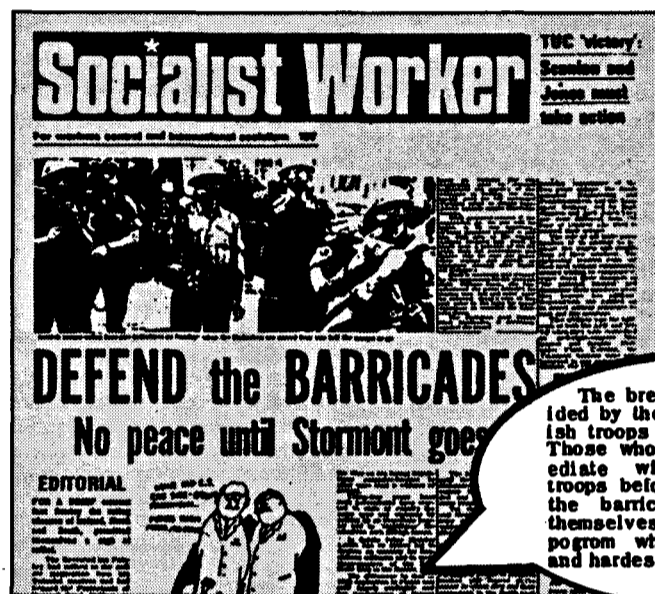
In fact, the LSA consists of almost every Labour-loyal organisation in Britain who helped elect Blair's Labour government—like the SWP, which described itself as nothing less than "over the moon" at the time Blair was elected. (See *Socialist Review*, June 1997.) Recently, the London Socialist Alliance pulled out all the stops for Ken Livingstone. It is the worst parliamentary cretinism to claim Livingstone's mayoral campaign as constituting a genuine "opposition" to New Labour. As the SWP itself wrote: "The [Balkans] war split the left, with those like Ken Livingstone becoming some of the most enthusiastic warmongers" (*Socialist Review*, July/August 1999). Indeed, Livingstone boasted of his role as far back as 1991, saying: "When Milosevic first sent his armoured columns into Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 I was the first member of Parliament to call for air strikes to defeat his aggression" (*Independent*, 21 April 1999). Some "opposition" to New Labour!

The Spartacist League refused to give Livingstone any support whatsoever; we wrote: "Without a doubt, a vote for Livingstone in the May London mayoral elections is a vote for New Labour: he supported the government's imperialist bombing of Serbia, he is for the British Army in Northern Ireland, and he is emphatically for the racist police" (*Workers Hammer* No. 172, Spring 2000). At the height of the racist frenzy against immigrants instigated by Labour and Tory leaders, Livingstone denounced Roma (Gypsies) and promised to employ more cops to clear beggars off the streets. For its part, the LSA pleads for "an end to the racism and corruption of the Metropolitan police," a backhanded way of giving anti-racist credentials to the racist Labour government, implying that whitewash inquiries can end racism in the cops.

SWP's Support to British Troops in Ireland

Revolutionaries in Britain have a special responsibility to oppose British imperialism in Northern Ireland. We call for the unconditional, immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and fight for a proletarian internationalist perspective of workers revolution against British imperialism, the Orange Statelet in the North and the clericalist state in the South. From the time it was first mooted we have opposed all illusions in Labour's imperialist "peace" deal, which is a fraud and is premised on the British Army presence remaining in place.

Not so the SWP. Its press carries headlines such as "Peace Hopes Now Under Threat in Northern Ireland" and whines: "The Tories, their press and the Unionist bigots must not be allowed to wreck the peace" (*Socialist Worker*, 4 September 1999). When the Labour government (including Tony Benn) sent the troops



Cliffites hailed introduction of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland by Labour government, September 1969. Three years later, troops gunned down 14 Catholics in "Bloody Sunday" massacre.

Workers Power has made a pitch to dissident Cliffites from the right. By WP's lights, the ISO did not support the KLA enough; they write that their "support for self-determination was entirely platonic. They seem to have been scared off such a position by the SWP's argument that the KLA was in league with imperialism" (*Workers Power*, June 2000). The fact that they were in league with imperialism certainly doesn't "scare off" Workers Power! To the contrary, WP goes on to make an appeal specifically based on the Cliffites' support for the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan against the Soviet Army:

"What about the SWP's enthusiastic support for the Afghan Mujahidin in the 1980s? Not only were they arch reactionary Islamists, based on the tribal-feudal landowners, funded by Saudi millionaire princes: they were supplied with stinger missiles and trained by the CIA, on a

unveiled women and teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops by Gorbachev was a betrayal which led to the victory of the barbaric Taliban. And it was the direct precursor to the Soviet bureaucracy's ultimate betrayal, handing over first the Eastern European deformed workers states and then the USSR to capitalist counterrevolution. For its part, despite its nominal adherence to some version of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question, WP backpedalled from its earlier partial break with Cliffism. Thus it supported counterrevolution at every opportunity, from Polish Solidarność through to Yeltsin's barricades in 1991. In 1998 they brought their "theory" into line with their practice and decided that the *state* in the USSR (but not the economy) had become capitalist in 1927, thus reverting back to their Cliffite origins. Of a piece with this is WP's nonsensical discovery of "moribund workers states." Simply put, WP is the horrible example of those who try to stake out a posture nominally to the left of the Cliffites, but fail to make a complete break on the key programmatic question: the Russian question. (See "Death of Communism' Centrists," *Workers Hammer* No. 161, March/April 1998.)

Anti-Sovietism Abroad Means Class Betrayal at Home

James P. Cannon, in his "Speech on the Russian Question" given during the 1939-40 factional struggle against Shachtman/Burnham, said: "Defensism and defeatism are two principled, that is, irreconcilable positions.... Defensists at home were defeatists on Russia. Defensists on Russia were defeatists at home." And indeed, every tendency that has abdicated from the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence of the degenerated and deformed workers states has ended up reconciling themselves with their own bourgeoisie.

This has been fairly dramatic in the case of the British SWP. Thus, during the 1984-85 miners strike, the most signifi-

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Hands Off...

(continued from page 12)

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So now the imperialists, very much including Australia, are openly debating military intervention. However, motivating and "justifying" sending troops into Aceh or the Maluku is a rather different matter than East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was seized by Indonesia in 1975. The imperialists have other weapons at their disposal to ensure the continued flow of superprofits sucked from the blood of workers throughout the archipelago, i.e., economic blackmail and other pressure upon the Indonesian government.

As well, East Asia is a hotbed of inter-imperialist rivalries as the U.S./Australia, Germany and Japan manoeuvre to secure and increase their extraction of vast wealth from Indonesia. The Australian/U.S. demand to shut down the camps in West Timor is directed against their imperialist rival Japan whose military, the Self-Defence Forces, help administer them. While Japan is mooting sending naval forces to "combat piracy" in the Strait of Malacca, through which much of Japan's oil and gas imports pass, the U.S. Pentagon "is looking at Asia as the most likely arena for future military conflict." It already has plans drawn up to send the U.S. navy to the Strait (*Guardian Weekly*, 1 June).

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While the Australian ruling class is not exactly ecstatic about this, it is perceived to be the price they must pay to secure their *own* very real interests in the region, for instance in the Solomon Islands and Fiji. As the *Bulletin* reported (1 August), "no one in Australian politics—government or opposition—believes that a break-up of Indonesia is in Australia's interest." What worries them is "protecting the 60% of Australian trade that moves through Indonesian waters" and stopping "a deluge of refugees that could turn up on Australian shores."

In or out of government, the racist, pro-imperialist ALP are also the stalwart defenders of Australian capitalist interests. The ALP, under the leadership of Kim "Bomber" Beazley, rabidly demanded that Australian imperialism occupy East Timor. Beazley has declared

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This is nothing to the fake lefts who, whatever their rhetoric, at bottom share with the ALP the deadly fiction that Australian imperialism can be pressured into playing a "progressive" or "humanitarian" role. Chief among these is the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) who were at the forefront of the "troops in" crowd. Pro-imperialist to their marrow, in 1998 the DSP's *Green Left Weekly* published an article welcoming the intervention of Australian imperialist troops in West Papua where they worked alongside the Indonesian military. The DSP's January Marxism 2000 conference passed a resolution that the Indonesian army in Aceh "be replaced by supportive and sensitive regional security cooperation with the people of Aceh" (*Indonesia-East Timor Watch*, February-April). These social chauvinists are so gung-ho for the Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor that they complain "The UN peacekeeping force in East Timor has begun downsizing. This will affect its capacity to support reconstruction programs" (*Green Left Weekly*, 26 July)!

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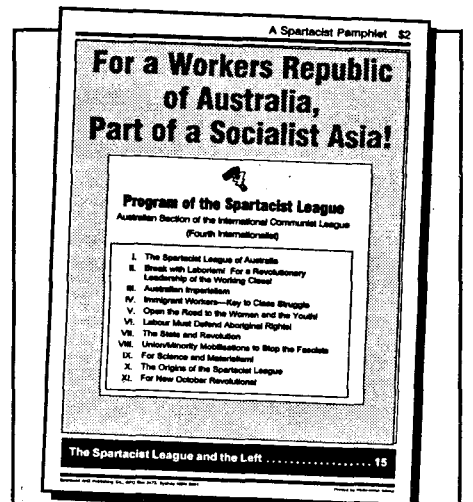
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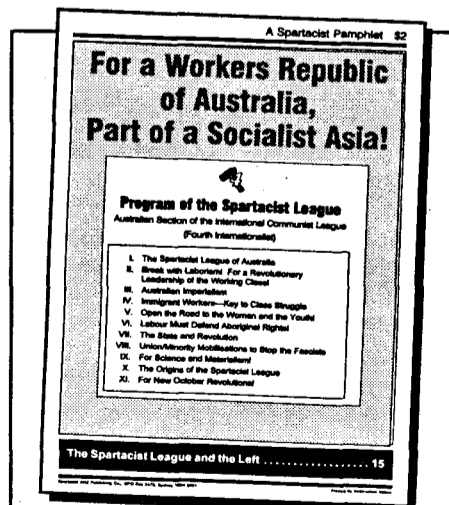
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Main Enemy...

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part of the anti-WEF protests. Prominent will be the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU) with its "Make it here or jobs disappear" campaign. Such nationalist protectionism is poison to class struggle. It is based on the lie that the enemy of workers in Australia is not the capitalists here but workers of other countries. Thus it inevitably fosters racist divisions within the working class as immigrant workers are identified as fifth columnists of "foreign producers."

In Fremantle, WA, a 1,000-strong rally against the use of "imported steel and foreign labour" resulted in getting 12 "guest workers" thrown out of their jobs at a nearby construction site. This obscene event was organised by the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) and other unions and addressed by ALP leader Kim Beazley. Of a piece is the MUA leadership's unabashedly racist campaign to "promote Australian shipping"—a disgusting 18 August press release ranted that the government has "opened up the domestic transport industry to guest workers, exposing the Australian coast to pollution!"

Such racist bilge fuels the Howard government's escalating brutality against immigrants and refugees. Desperate asylum-seekers are grabbed on the high seas, thrown into hell-hole camps and forbidden contact with the outside world. In the Port Hedland, Villawood and Woomera "detention centres," detainees have staged desperate protests, hunger strikes and spectacular attempts to escape the racist barbarism they are subjected to. Last week over 300 cops and guards used tear gas and water cannon against protesting refugees in Woomera. Free the detainees and close the concentration camps! No deportations! **Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

It is precisely at the point where economic nationalism intersects the reactionary bogey of world organisations dictating to nations and undermining their sovereignty that the "anti-globalisation" left joins hands with outright fascists, right-wing demagogues like Pat Buchanan in the U.S. or vile racist outfits like One Nation in Australia. In her notorious speech to parliament in 1996, Pauline Hanson railed that "If this government wants to be fair dinkum, then it must stop kowtowing to financial markets, international organisations, world bankers.... Reduced tariffs on foreign goods that compete with local products seem only to cost Australians their jobs." No surprise One Nation has tried to attend S11 events.

Under the banner of "Fair Trade" the AMWU and other unions are demanding tariff protection for Australian industries while disguising this as a measure against sweatshops in the "Third World." The threat of import barriers, so-called "social tariffs," is supposed to force these countries to improve conditions for their

own people. In fact, the chauvinist "Make it here or jobs disappear" campaign is intended to make jobs "disappear" elsewhere. The ACTU bureaucrats wouldn't mind seeing half the factories in Indonesia and South Korea closed down, condemning tens of millions of working people to utter destitution. Moreover, the usual fate of governments in neocolonial countries which do attempt to nationalise industries, which cannot meet their onerous debt obligations or which in some way try to ameliorate the hideous conditions of life is either imperialist invasion or a military coup by forces deemed friendlier to the imperialist robbers.

In the face of union-busting, jobs massacres, savage racism against Aborigines and immigrants and government threats to use deadly military force against strikers, the Labor-loyal union bureaucrats are prostrate. But when it comes to rallying around the Australian flag, be it protectionist trade policies or spearheading the drive to get Australian troops to East Timor last year, these union misleaders show great energy and purpose. Lenin called such traitors "the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie. For they are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class...." This "aristocracy of labour" has a material basis, for they are bribed from the crumbs of the enormous superprofits which the imperialists extract from their colonial and neocolonial possessions.

The vile chauvinism of the union tops and the ALP to which they are organically connected underscores the necessity of forging a class-struggle leadership of the unions. The ALP is a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly bourgeois in program and leadership, but based on the trade unions. A revolutionary workers party in this country must be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership. Against the poisonous racism and nationalism which the ALP parliamentary and trade-union leaders bring into the proletariat, a class-struggle leadership would fight to mobilise the social power of the working class, with its strategic immigrant component, in the struggle for jobs for all, working conditions and union rights as part of the broader struggle against the exploitative capitalist system.

Laborite Left and S11

Overt nationalism in the S11 Alliance has worried some of its component parts. The ISO and WP in particular are trying to distance themselves, prominently backing an August Melbourne demonstration in defence of refugees and claiming they oppose not only global corporations but also the rulers at home. On paper the ISO has attacked the AMWU's "fair trade" scheme as "nothing more than the same old 'protectionist' horse with a different jockey" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 July), while a pamphlet by WP's Revolution front-group argues against "economic nationalism" (without, however, once mentioning the ALP!). On occasion, the ISO talks about "the need to shut down capitalism as a whole—and to replace it with a rational society based on people's needs, not the drive for profit" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 August). The centrist WP even says "An effective movement against global capitalism must have as its aim the overthrow of capitalism on a worldwide scale" (*Revolution*, undated).

Don't be fooled, this is rhetoric meant only to entrap the unwary. Both ISO and WP are pulling out all the stops to be among the "best builders" of the S11 protests. As constituent parts of the "anti-globalisation movement," both groups in action spout the same nationalist garbage as the rest of the S11 Alliance, reflecting the deep-going Laborism that permeates the left in this country. At a 22 June "Cancel the Debt" meeting in Melbourne, the ISO presenter

stated that one of the five main crimes of the Howard government was to "cut tariff barriers." Another senior ISOer complained that deregulation of the milk industry allowed foreign producers in! As for Workers Power, at the 5 August "S11 Teach In" a WP leader whined that "democratically elected governments in Australia" were unable to deliver on their promises because they were being dictated to by "global corporations"!

Not everyone shares the unvarnished chauvinism of the ACTU and ALP, and a lot of youth are repelled by the Laborite toadyism of groups like the ISO, WP, Socialist Alternative, the Socialist Party (formerly Militant) et al. They don't want to be out hustling ALP votes come next election, which is exactly what these pretenders to Marxism will be doing. Some youth thus view anarchism as more attractive.

While some anarchists have criticised the underlying nationalism of the anti-globalisation protests, anarchism itself offers no program for revolutionary change with which to oppose the politics of the ALP and its left tails. All they offer is a posture of angry defiance to the powers that be. Anarchists, in common with the social democracy, are viscerally hostile to the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and to every other state where capitalism has been overthrown.

Ideologically, anarchism shares with the environmental groups the idea that through political pressure capitalist imperialism—an entire system of exploitation—will be transformed into something more humane, serving the interests of the working people and oppressed. The calls on the World Bank or a particular imperialist power to "Cancel Third World Debt," or implement environmental standards or an international labour code, perfectly embody such utopian fantasies. Against illusions in the "reformability" of imperialism, we say that ending the subjugation of the peoples of the world—debt bondage, superexploitation of labour, looting of raw materials—requires a struggle for workers revolution in both the imperialist and neocolonial countries.

As Marxists we are for industrial development and thus oppose the anti-industrial stance of the petty-bourgeois greens as both utopian and reactionary. We also recognise that the rational exploitation of natural resources is impossible under the irrational profit-driven capitalist system. Yet environmentalists all too often betray a chilling blind spot with regard to the *human* destruction that attends wars, strip mining and

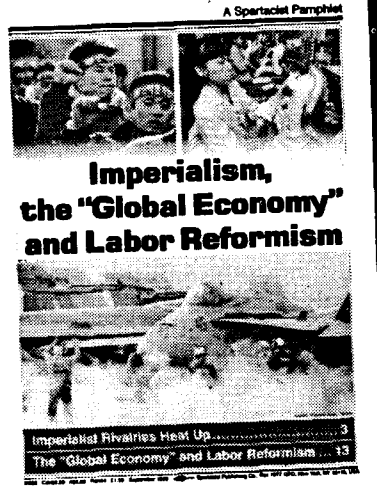
deforestation, to name just a few examples.

"Environmentalism" as an ideology is based on the false premise that there are too many people and not enough resources, that people consume too much. Yet the vast majority of the people on this planet do not consume enough, especially food. Connected to this, various green groups line up with the far right, pushing anti-immigrant racism in the name of combating supposed overpopulation and the attendant "environmental destruction" of Australia. The Green Party fully backed the Australian-led imperialist occupation of East Timor while the German Greens, junior partner in government, were bellicose supporters of the NATO bombing of Serbia.

Build a Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Party!

Any kind of nationalism, presented as a defence against "globalisation" or otherwise, is death to anti-capitalist struggle. It is a call to defend one's "own" bourgeois ruling class and ultimately a rallying cry for imperialist war. Decaying capitalism has already spawned two cataclysmic world wars. If not overthrown it will produce another inter-imperialist conflict—and this time all sides will have nuclear weapons at the start. Only international socialist revolution can save humanity from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The overthrow of capitalism on a world scale will allow the creation of an internationally planned socialist economy, leading to a tremendous leap in productive resources, providing everyone on the planet decent housing, health care and education, the material basis for each individual to develop to their fullest. But this requires forging a revolutionary workers party to render the working class conscious of its historic tasks and lead it in revolutionary struggle against the exploiters. This is what the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky achieved in Russia. Fighting for the complete political independence of the working class from the capitalists and all their agencies, the Bolsheviks welded together all the struggles of the oppressed into one mighty stream directed at sweeping away the exploiters. The International Communist League fights to build Bolshevik parties in every country of the world. We fight for new October Revolutions. This is the purpose of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs—join with us to send capitalism into the dustbin of history! ■




Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

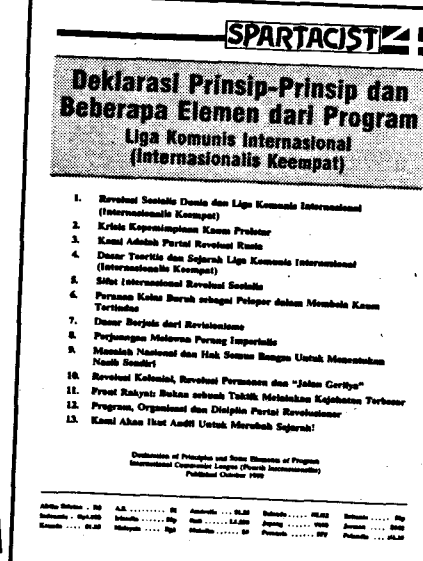
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Independence Now for East Timor! Australian Troops Get Out!

Australian Imperialism Hands Off Indonesia!

AUGUST 30—Amidst an outpouring of patriotic gore, almost one year ago Australian imperialist troops invaded East Timor. Now, with Indonesia wracked by militant workers struggles, separatist movements from Aceh to West Papua and communalist violence in the Maluku Islands, the drums are starting to beat for imperialist intervention into Indonesia.

Visiting Canberra in July, U.S. secretary of war William Cohen openly mooted sending troops to the Malukus, declaring "we will look for some leadership on the part of Australia." Days later, the UN Security Council attempted to pressure Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid into accepting "peacekeepers" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 July) as a Christian "community leader" in the Maluku capital Ambon bragged about plans to orchestrate a mass migration designed to bring in "peacekeepers" (*Australian*, 28 July). At the same time "more effective" patrolling by Australian and New Zealand troops along the East and West Timor border have led to repeated clashes with small groups of pro-Indonesian militias. Combined with the increasingly strident demands by Australia and the U.S. that Indonesia close down the refugee camps in West Timor, this is another imperialist pressure point.

Against the fake lefts who last autumn swung in behind the pro-imperialist ALP and trade-union misleaders screaming for "troops in" over East Timor, we revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, campaigned from the outset against the Australian/UN intervention in East Timor. Against the lie that racist Australian imperialism can be pressured into being "humanitarian," we say the Aus-



Jason South

Australian troops in East Timor. Last year, fake lefts hailed chauvinist anti-Indonesian marches demanding imperialist occupation.

tralian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of our "own" rulers—anti-woman, anti-Aboriginal, anti-immigrant union-busting bigots at home, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies abroad, from Papua New Guinea to the Solomons to Fiji. Australian imperialists get out of East Timor and stay out! Hands off Indonesia!

Far from being free and independent, East Timor is today ruled by a colonialist administration under the auspices of the UN. Unemployment is an astounding 95 percent and there is virtually no medical care or education. The racist, misogynist troops terrorise women in their homes and in general treat the people with

"white man's burden" colonial contempt. They figure they can do *anything*, as in Bougainville where the Australian occupying troops recently marched through the streets in a vicious anti-gay "parade" mocking the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras.

The ugly and brutal occupation of East Timor confirms what we said from the beginning—the Australian-led imperialist military intervention had nothing to do with defending the East Timorese people and everything to do with defending the interests of the imperialist powers, brutal exploiters of the peoples of the world. As we wrote in our 1 October 1999 leaflet:

"The UN mission's name—'Operation Stabilise'—captures its true intent: to enforce neocolonial stability in Australia's 'backyard' and prop up the Indonesian police-state regime in the face of massive social unrest."

This would be the exact purpose of a possible intervention in Indonesia. Groaning under the jackboot of International Monetary Fund-dictated austerity, which has driven 100 million people into dire poverty, Indonesia is a powderkeg on the verge of explosion. The imperialist powers are deeply worried that the lackey Javanese bourgeoisie, who have held the sprawling archipelago together through bloody military repression, might prove unable to defend the capitalists' rapacious plundering of this impoverished country. In August they pushed Wahid to give more powers to vice-president Megawati Sukarnoputri, a notorious Javanese chauvinist hardliner who is well-connected to elements in the blood-soaked Indonesian military which is once again getting Australian and U.S. aid.

Australian prime minister John Howard has repeatedly declared "that Australia strongly supported Indonesia's territorial integrity" (*Australian*, 9 June). And in late July the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) stated, "The ministers agreed that a united, democratic and economically prosperous Indonesia was fundamental to the maintenance of regional security.... In this context, they emphasized their support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Indonesia" (*Jakarta Post*, internet edition, 28 July).

What this means is illuminated by a bitter strike at the PT Kaltim Prima Coal mine in East Kalimantan. Workers

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NSW ALP Targets Aborigines, Immigrants Police State Olympics



Andrew Meares

Sydney, 11 August: ALP premier Carr's racist cops stage dawn terror raid against Redfern Aboriginal community.

AUGUST 31—Using the Sydney Olympics as a pretext, the Australian capitalist class has massively jacked up its deadly powers of state repression. The New South Wales ALP state government of Robert Carr has turned "Fortress Sydney," as the 27 August *Sun-Herald* blared, into a virtual police state in which new laws essentially prohibit any and all protest. In addition to the cops, thousands of "security guards" have been mobilised. At least 4,500 "defence forces" personnel have been deployed in Sydney and the SAS elite killer forces have conducted a series of sinister "anti-terrorist" military "exercises." According to the *Australian* (19-20 August) any groups "deemed capable of causing disruption to the Games are being monitored by the Olympic Intelligence Centre, a clandestine group of NSW and federal police and agents of the ASIO."

Under the Sydney Harbour Foreshore Authority, the Homebush Bay Operations and the

Olympic Arrangements Acts, anyone authorised by the Olympic Coordination Authority can use force against whomever they want without giving a warning, a reason or even identifying themselves. In addition to increasing the cops' notorious "moving on" powers, routinely used against Aborigines and youth, the laws forbid public assemblies and handing out, displaying or posting flyers without permission. The NSW Olympics Minister can extend these laws to anywhere in Sydney. Already, cops have harassed and threatened Spartacist League supporters distributing *ASp* to bus drivers.

Outrageously declaring "silence is a form of violence," police announced that if they aren't notified of protests in advance, they *will* attack demonstrators. This is exactly what they did on 18 March when the cops capsicum-sprayed and attacked the Sydney "Reclaim the Streets" event. On 9 August students protesting anti-gay bigotry at the University of Technology, Sydney, were set upon and arrested by Carr's cops.

The immediate target for state repression is Aborigines who seek to use the glare of international publicity to expose the continuing racist brutality and degradation they are subjected to. On 11 August 120 heavily armed cops stormed through Redfern under the guise of the racist "war on drugs," arresting anyone

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