



Defend the Palestinian People! Down With Zionist Terror Machine!

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For Workers Revolution Against Zionist, Arab Capitalist Regimes!

DECEMBER 5—Shortly before noon on 9 November, two Israeli attack helicopters fired anti-tank missiles on a van carrying Palestinian Fatah activist Hussein Abayat, completely destroying it and killing two women standing nearby. This deliberate assassination, timed to coincide with a meeting in Washington between U.S. president Clinton and Palestinian Authority (PA) president Yasir Arafat to discuss yet another "truce," underlined that the only "peace" the Zionist butchers have in mind is a peace of the graveyards.

Pursuing their one-sided war of terror with a vengeance, Israeli generals promised more assassinations would follow. According to the London-based Arabic newspaper *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, Israeli military intelligence has drawn up a list of some 400 Palestinian fighters targeted for assassination or arrest in the "autonomous" parts of the Occupied Territories nominally controlled by the PA. Within Israel's pre-1967 borders, heavily armed cops with attack dogs have staged Gestapo-like late-night raids on Palestinian homes, breaking down doors and destroying furniture, Amnesty International reported. Hundreds of Israeli Arab "citizens," among them children, have been arrested and beaten—many held without bail—on suspicion of joining protests in defence of their besieged compatriots in Gaza and the West Bank.

Over 300 Palestinians have been killed since the start of the "Al Aksa Intifada" in late September, many of them children shot through the head or chest. Many thousands more have been injured. The Zionist rulers are entirely capable of carrying out a massacre of Palestinians on a truly genocidal scale. **Defend the Palestinian people!**

As pogromist rampages by fascistic "settlers" target Palestinian farmers to prevent the reaping of crops and drive



Waging one-sided war of terror, Israeli troops fire on Palestinian youth in Gaza Strip. All Israeli troops, settlers out of all the Occupied Territories!

AFP

them off the land, Israeli government spokesmen are mooted a plan for "unilateral separation." Israel would formally annex a huge part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip where the settlers are concentrated, while permanently sealing off the Palestinian ghettos, even cutting off water and electricity. Arab day labourers whose wages account for one-fifth of all income in the Occupied Territories would be denied access to their jobs in Israel. This is a plan for strangulation

and starvation of the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories! **All Israeli troops, settlers out of all the Occupied Territories!**

While the Israeli bourgeoisie is riven over how much access to its reservoir of cheap labour in the Occupied Territories to retain, some such plan was Israel's aim in the "peace process" from the outset. Immediately following the seizure of the territories in 1967, the (thoroughly bourgeois) "Labour" party, which preceded Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak's One Israel, proposed a similar scheme called the "Allon plan." The Zionist rulers began "creating facts on the ground," encouraging the creation of militarised "settlements" by ultra-chauvinist religious fanatics in strategic parts of the West Bank. Following the 1993 U.S.-sponsored "peace" accord between Israel and Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—creating a sham Palestinian "autonomy"—Labour prime minister Yitzhak Rabin escalated the development of the settlements and sped up the construction of "strategic" highways carving up Palestinian areas. Gaza was surrounded by an electrified fence reminiscent of the walls built around the Jewish ghettos in Nazi-occupied East Europe. The Israeli capitalists began

importing tens of thousands of "illegal" immigrants from Southeast Asia and East Europe to do the low-paid, back-breaking jobs previously reserved for Arab labourers.

It is urgently necessary for working people and the oppressed around the world to rally to the defence of the Palestinians. Class-conscious workers in Australia have a particular responsibility to oppose the machinations of the Australian imperialists whose troops serve in United Nations-sponsored and other "peacekeeping" outfits in the Near East, acting as one-way border guards for the Zionist butchers. Labor and Coalition governments alike have been vociferous backers of Israel's anti-Palestinian terror. The Australian rulers also sent military forces to aid the U.S.-led "Desert Slaughter" against Iraq while Australian warships help maintain the decade-long starvation blockade which has killed over one and a half million Iraqi men, women and children. Today, the U.S., the Zionist state's chief imperialist sponsor and the most deadly enemy of the world's peoples, continues to bomb and starve the Iraqi people while plotting a further terror strike against some Islamic country as "retaliation" for the October

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Revolutionary internationalism: Spartacist supporters at 10 December Sydney demonstration.

Asp photo

Zionist Terror...

(continued from page 1)

attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen. **Down with the bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq! U.S./Australia/All imperialists out of the Near East!**

Arafat Appeals to United Nations Imperialists

As Palestinian youth with little more than rocks and slingshots confront the blood-drenched Israeli military juggernaut, desperate Palestinian protesters both in the Near East and in the diaspora overseas have appealed for "international intervention" to protect the population of the Occupied Territories from the Zionist killing machine. Now Arafat is explicitly calling for the United Nations to send a 2,000-strong "peacekeeping" force, a demand raised at a Palestinian solidarity demonstration of tens of thousands in Rome on 11 November.

Israel and its American imperialist patron have no intention of allowing a UN intervention. But Palestinian militants must have no illusions in Arafat's cynical appeal to this instrument of the imperialist robber barons and butchers. In 1982, faced with constant Israeli bombing raids over Beirut, Arafat likewise begged for imperialist intervention to protect Palestinian refugees and PLO fighters in Lebanon. U.S., French and Italian "peacekeeping" troops moved into Lebanon to *disarm* the PLO militants, overseeing the transfer of many to Tunisia. With the PLO fighters gone, in September 1982 Israeli troops surrounded the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut and Israeli defence minister Ariel Sharon let loose the fascist Lebanese Christian militias for a 36-hour orgy of killing, rape and torture. More than 2,000, mainly women, children and the elderly, were slaughtered, shot at close range. For the next eleven years, Arafat took refuge in Tunis, returning to Gaza after signing the U.S.-sponsored "peace" accord in 1993 which turned the PLO into enforcers of the Israeli occupation.

It was the UN that presided over the 1948 partition of Palestine under British colonialism, giving a green light to the Zionists' forcible expulsion ("ethnic cleansing") of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians whose children and grandchildren continue to live in squalid refugee camps throughout the Near East. Today the UN lends its imprimatur to the continuing starvation blockade of Iraq.

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), notorious for cheering on the Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor in 1999 (see back page), demands a "UN protection force" which "should be of limited duration and have a clear mission of protecting Palestinian civilians as part of a process of facilitating the establishment of a Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza" (*Green Left Weekly*, 29 November 2000). In other words, the DSP wants the Palestinian people to suffer directly the yoke of imperialist neo-colonial occupation, just as the East Timorese do.

Also appealing to the imperialist butchers is Socialisme par en bas, the



Palestinian protesters in Jordan burn Israeli flag, 24 October. Arab bourgeois regimes are no less oppressors of Palestinians, as over three million languish for decades in squalid refugee camps in Baqa'a, Jordan and elsewhere.

French group affiliated with the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the late Tony Cliff and with the Australian International Socialist Organisation. They endorsed a statement for a 28 October "great rally" to demand not only UN intervention but "meaningful sanctions by the French and European governments against the state of Israel." Such appeals to one's "own" imperialist rulers are outright class treason, directly counterposed to the proletarian internationalist fight to destroy the imperialist system of exploitation and war through socialist revolutions.

Zionist Israel Founded Through Anti-Palestinian Terror

The potentially genocidal "final solution" Israel's capitalist rulers have in store for the dispossessed Palestinian Arab people underscores the inherently chauvinist character of the Zionist state, which was founded upon the brutal suppression of Palestinian national rights. In the course of the 1948 "War of Independence," 800,000 Arabs were driven out of Palestine—their land stolen, their homes demolished, their lives destroyed—to be warehoused in squalid refugee camps throughout the region, where their children and grandchildren were born and remain to this day. Only 150,000 remained in Israel, with the Palestinian population of cities like Jerusalem and Haifa reduced from over 70,000 each to barely 3,000.

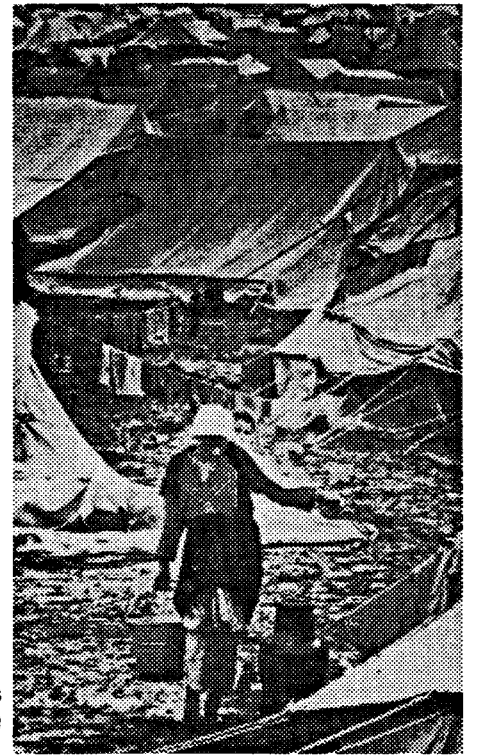
These remnants of the Palestinian nation within the 1948 borders, today numbering a million, were nominally made "citizens," forced to live in exclusively Arab towns and villages—often lacking even sewerage systems—in three small parts of the country which remained under military administration until 1966. Today only eight percent of all Israeli Arabs live in "mixed" cities like Haifa and Tel Aviv. Over the years, some 80 percent of remaining Arab-owned land has been expropriated by the regime. A 1976 general strike against such land confiscations led to the massacre of six Israeli Arabs by police, which is annually commemorated by Palestinians as Land Day.

Denied participation in the military and until 1960 in the Histadrut—the corporatist "labour" federation founded on the program of "Hebrew only" labour—these Palestinian "citizens" were thereby denied a whole range of social benefits and excluded from a whole range of jobs. Many of those who have work are concentrated in unskilled construction, service and agricultural jobs along with labourers from the Occupied Territories—and, increasingly, "illegal" immigrants. It was such conditions, as well as national solidarity with their compatriots under Israeli occupation, which fuelled the recent protests by Israeli Arabs. As their communities were completely sealed off by Israeli police, 13 were killed. Now a leading police commander threatens to "settle accounts" with Israeli Arabs.

Conditions within the Occupied Territories are immeasurably worse. Average annual income has plunged from \$2,500 in 1987 to \$1,500 (compared to \$17,000 in Israel), while unemployment ranges up to 40 percent. As a result of the "peace process," wrote correspondent Amira Hass in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* (18 October), Israel has been able to "double the number of settlers in 10 years, to enlarge the settlements, to continue its discriminatory policy of cutting back water quotas for three million Palestinians, to prevent Palestinian development in most of the area of the West Bank, and to seal an entire nation into restricted areas, imprisoned in a network of bypass roads meant for Jews only."

"Transfer"—the forced population transfer of all Arabs from the Occupied Territories, and perhaps from within Israel itself—has long been the rallying cry of the Zionist right. But it originated with the Zionist "founding fathers." The head of the Jewish Agency's Colonization Department, Joseph Weitz, wrote in 1940: "Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country.... And there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries; to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe should be left."

—quoted in introduction to Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* (1973)



U.N.

Under capitalism, there is no "room" for two peoples in this small country. To secure the national rights of the oppressed Palestinian people—without thereby denying the national existence of the Hebrew-speaking people—the Zionist garrison-state must be shattered from within through Arab/Hebrew workers revolution. The conflicting rights to national self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab peoples, as well as national emancipation for the Kurds and the many other oppressed nationalities of the Near East can only be equitably realised in a socialist federation of the Near East.

This elementary truth, denied by much of the opportunist left, is formally acknowledged by the fake-Trotskyist Committee for a Workers International (CWI), represented by the Socialist Party in Australia) in an October Web site statement by its Israeli group, Maavak Sozialisti (Socialist Struggle), which argues regarding Israel that "it is impossible to genuinely solve the national question under capitalism." The statement issues the following appeal:

"A class socialist leadership of Israeli Palestinians could make an appeal to Jewish workers to struggle together with them in order to overthrow the hated Barak government, and for the overthrow of the corrupt capitalist system...."

"This could be achieved because in Israel the capitalists and their servants in government continually attack Israeli workers and youth by means of privatization, unemployment and attacks on wages and work conditions, and the dismantling of the welfare state."

This is a flagrant capitulation to Zionist "labourism." The statement despicably fails to raise even the simple unambiguous demand for defence of the Palestinian people against Zionist terror and for all Israeli troops and settlers out of the Occupied Territories, calling only "for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli army from Gaza, Hebron and Bethlehem." This is not surprising. The CWI's British mainstay, Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party, is notorious for its refusal to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and its capitulation to anti-Catholic Loyalist

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Australasian

SPARTACIST



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

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Spartacist Forum

**No Deportations! Close the Concentration Camps!
Full Citizenship Rights For All Immigrants!**

Down With Liberal/ALP Racist War on Immigrants!

Saturday, 3 February 2001, 2 p.m.

Sydney

Level 2, Transport Social Club,
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For more information: (02) 9281 2181 or GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

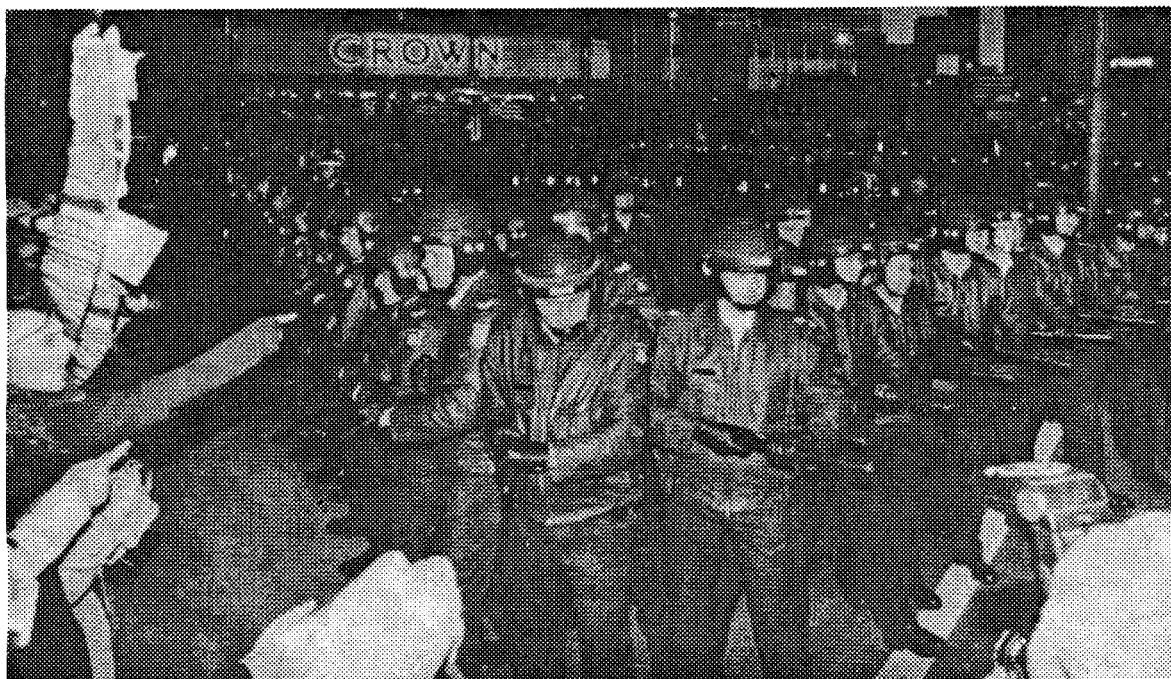
S11: Anti-“Globalisation” Left Pushes Illusions in Capitalist State

ALP Orders Cop Riot Against Leftists

From 11-13 September in Melbourne, as many as 20,000 protesters gathered to “Shut Down the World Economic Forum” (WEF) of capitalist bigwigs. For this the youthful “S11” protesters were repeatedly brutally attacked by cops on orders from the Victoria Labor government of Steve Bracks. In the state’s largest police mobilisation in 30 years, 2,000 cops sealed off the area around the Crown Casino WEF venue. In preparation for mass arrests, rural jails long condemned as unfit for humans, were reopened.

Furious that protesters prevented 200 of the 850 delegates from attending the first day of the WEF meeting, Bracks reportedly told the cops to jack up their violence. This they did, running amok in a series of brutal baton and horse charges. They broke bones, punctured lungs, smashed teeth and cracked skulls. In the worst assault, 30 people were hospitalised. In one potentially fatal incident an unmarked police car deliberately ran over a protester lying on the road. Charges have been laid against at least ten protesters—ranging from “obscene behaviour” to “hindering police”—and more charges are expected. We demand: **Drop all the charges against the S11 protesters!**

ALP premier Bracks praised his thugs in blue for their “restraint” and for a “fantastic job.” ALP New South Wales premier Bob Carr chimed in, denouncing the anti-WEF protesters for “bully boy fascism.” Bracks planned to reward the



Victorian cops prepare to smash anti-WEF protesters. State machinery of repression serves capitalists, including when run by the ALP.

cops with a state barbecue, but had to back down when a number of Labor branches condemned him while several individual members publicly resigned. Among trade unionists, not least from those who provided first aid to injured protesters, revulsion at the cop rampages was such that the Laborite leader of the Victorian Trades Hall Council—who on the eve of S11 held a violence-baiting joint press conference with police—ended up denouncing “the Government and senior police” for “indiscriminate violence against protesters” (*Australian*, 21 September 2000).

The premeditated cop riot was a powerful object lesson in how the police

“serve and protect” the capitalist class. The same cops who bloodied S11 protesters are regularly used to terrorise and murder Aborigines and smash picket lines of striking workers. The capitalist state—its cops, courts, armies and prisons—is a machinery of repression committed to defending the private property, profits and rule of the capitalist exploiters, **not least when it is administered by a Labor government.**

In his book *State and Revolution*, V.I. Lenin, leader of the successful 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, noted that:

“A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and, therefore, once capital has gained

possession of this very best shell ... it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that **no** change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic can shake it.”

The social-democratic ALP is committed to defending the capitalist order and when in power it rules for the bosses. It is, as Lenin termed it, a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly bourgeois in leadership, outlook and program while based on the organisations of the working class. The ALP’s role is politically to chain the working class to the capitalist system, derailing and if necessary brutally beheading class struggle. From day one in office, Bracks has gone after the unions (see below). This is not a personal quirk; in 1949 ALP prime minister Ben Chifley called out the army to smash the coal miners strike.

During Labor’s reign from 1983 to 1996, the government smashed the Builders Labourers Federation and the pilots union while overseeing a massive escalation in attacks on immigrants and Aborigines.

A revolutionary workers party must be built by **splitting** the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership, centrally through the fight to replace the social-democratic union misleaders with a class-struggle, revolutionary leadership of the unions. In the knowledge that it is not possible to take hold of the existing capitalist state machinery and wield it in the interests of the exploited and oppressed, such a party would

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Smash Attacks on Latrobe Valley Power Workers!

DECEMBER 10—Within months of its election, in February 2000 the ALP Victorian state government invoked emergency laws threatening massive fines to break a strike of Latrobe Valley power workers. On 2 November, driven to breaking point, hundreds of power station operators staged a wildcat strike at several power stations including Yallourn Energy, blacking out large parts of Victoria for several hours. Faced with threats of mass sackings and a lockout by the power station owners to break the union, these workers courageously defied the bosses’ courts and the top brass of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU).

Ranting that the unionists would feel “the full force of the law” for their “outrageous, illegal” action (*Australian*, 4-5 November 2000), ALP premier Steve Bracks immediately invoked the Emergency Services Act. Supporting Bracks’ despicable strikebreaking was Victorian Trades Hall secretary Leigh Hubbard and CFMEU divisional secretary John Van Camp. The power bosses took full advantage of this stab in the back, filing for \$60 million in “damages” against the union and at least nine individual union members. Here, once again, is proof that the ALP and the union tops, defenders of the capitalist system and the supposedly sacred “right to profit,” serve as cops for the bosses, their agents within the workers movement.

On 16 November, at the first union meeting since the walkout, several CFMEU members told *ASp* that they had received letters from Van Camp warning them not to attend. Nevertheless, about 300 workers and some of their family members turned out. But while the mood

campaign of pseudo-socialists who organised and hailed “S11” and similar protests fuels the lie that the main enemy of the Australian working class is not the Australian capitalists, but “foreigners.” This can only inflame anti-immigrant and other vile racism which is deadly

Down With ALP Strikebreaking!

going into the meeting was one of anger against the Labor government and Van Camp, the unionists came out quite subdued.

The local leadership, which had defied the ALP and the top union brass to defend the 2 November strike, endorsed a motion, which passed, calling on the strikebreaking ALP government “to intervene in the Yallourn dispute to assist us in achieving a fair outcome!” Invoking nationalist Australian protectionism, the rope that has choked the working class in this country for generations, the motion pleaded, “We hope our government is committed to governing for Victorians, not foreign owned multi-national companies...” Yallourn Energy is currently 49.9 percent owned by British-based PowerGen.

Outside the meeting, talk of “globalisation” as the enemy was thick. This underscores how the anti-“globalisation”

poison to the unity of the working class against the capitalists.

Economic nationalism, protectionism, pits workers in Australia against workers in other countries as they compete to beg the capitalists to “save jobs” here—which means unemployment elsewhere. Lining up behind their “own” bosses, the CFMEU tops, for example, have called strikes to demand that Australian mining companies charge Japanese steel mills higher prices for coal. Protectionism fuels trade wars between competing imperialist powers which in turn have already led to the mass slaughter and destruction of two world wars. Smashing the bosses’ attacks on jobs requires class struggle **against** the capitalists and their decaying profit system. We fight for international working-class solidarity: miners who slave for Rio Tinto whether in Australia, Indonesia or elsewhere have the same enemy!

The Latrobe Valley power workers have a long history of militant struggle, including an eleven-week battle in 1977. That strike was sold out and betrayed by the likes of Bob Hawke (then head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and later ALP federal prime minister) and John Halfpenny (then a top Victorian union official and prominent supporter of the reformist Communist Party).

Unleashing the power of the labour movement in class struggle against the bosses requires more than militancy and determination. It requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist ALP and the union tops joined to them at the hip. Against the prevalent craft unionism, which undermines labour solidarity, a struggle for **industrial** unions is necessary. Opposing the poison of racism and protectionism, the working class must champion the rights of immigrant workers—who are key to class struggle—and fight for international working-class solidarity based on shared objective interests, anti-capitalist struggle against the global system of imperialism. The working class needs a new, revolutionary leadership that will struggle in the interests of the workers, championing the rights of all the oppressed, to overthrow the brutal system of capitalist exploitation through socialist revolution. It is to the task of building such an internationalist, proletarian, revolutionary party that the Spartacist League is dedicated. ■

Capitalists Target Unions, Social Services, Abortion Women's Rights Under Attack

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The nationalist myth of a supposedly egalitarian "fair go" society is propagated by both the capitalist class and its Labor Party lackeys, a palliative intended to mask the deep divisions of race, sex and class in this society. The capitalist system, despite its claims of formal legal equality for all, is premised on the exploitation of one class by another and the corresponding social oppression. It institutionalises every kind of inequality, notably racism and women's oppression.

The profound anti-woman bigotry that shapes modern imperialist Australia goes back to when the British first stepped on these shores, bringing with them private property relations. Aboriginal people were hunted down, murdered and robbed of their land; Aboriginal women were raped, enslaved and in every way brutalised. The earliest women convicts were branded as prostitutes while "virtuous" married (often ruling class) women were "God's police," the moral guardians of a supposedly degenerate populace.

Today, women, especially immigrant women, have been hit hard by the ruling class' relentless union busting and attacks on jobs and conditions. Women's wages are spiralling downward, rapidly. In 1993 women's average weekly earnings were 87 percent of men's—today that figure has plummeted to 66 percent as women are more and more driven to part-time, contract and non-union jobs.

The pretence of a social "safety net" has been shredded. The government has slashed the dole, welfare, pensions and disability payments. Under "mutual obligation," single mothers must "earn" their benefit pittance while fines for minor infractions of welfare rules put millions back in government coffers. Today an estimated 5 million people live in poverty—about 25 percent of this thinly populated country—and one in five children live in families where no parent has a job.

For every statistic and outrage that illuminates the oppression of women in Australia, life for Aboriginal women is immeasurably worse, as it is for the Aboriginal population as a whole. Pre-

ventable diseases like leprosy and trachoma ravage Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal women die of cervical cancer, a largely preventable disease, at *nine times* the rate of other women. The Jawoyn people of Katherine Gorge were driven to exchange land rights in order to get a dialysis machine from the blood-sucking Northern Territory government.

"Family Values" and Bourgeois Reaction

In the same measure that the bourgeoisie grinds down and impoverishes the working class, they push a reactionary "family values" crusade as an instrument of social regimentation meant to instil obedience to authority. Attacks on abortion rights, censorship, virulent anti-gay bigotry and a vicious anti-sex

In a bigoted tirade against single and lesbian women seeking fertility treatment, Liberal prime minister John Howard ranted that "in our society, children do have the right to have the care and affection of both a mother and a father." This is grotesque coming from Howard who to this day upholds the government stealing many thousands of Aboriginal children from their families. The more ruthlessly the rulers slash welfare and child care, target single mothers, the disabled and the sick, the louder they prate about the "holy family." For Aborigines, immigrants and people on welfare, "family values" means *their* families have no "value."

Soaring unemployment and poverty mean that the "family home," where the man is supposed to be "lord and master"

gram, "For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!":

"The establishment of compulsory arbitration early this century was based on the historic racist pact between the Laborite bureaucracy and the ruling class, institutionalising tariff-protected industries and a 'whites only' labour force. The Arbitration courts also enshrined anti-woman chauvinism, providing the legal basis for paying women lower wages, declaring in 1912 that 'a man was paid to support a family and a woman only to support herself.'"

The ALP and trade-union misleaders aim to preserve capitalism and with it the chains of women's oppression. From the refusal to wage a concerted fight to unionise the hundreds of thousands of mainly immigrant women outworkers, to joining with anti-abortion bigot and religious nut senator Brian Harradine to prevent women from getting the abortion pill RU-486, the Laborites are an enemy of women's rights.

In power, state ALP governments have retained abortion in the criminal statutes. In New South Wales the ALP has been at the centre of a hysterical, years-long anti-sex witchhunt aimed especially at homosexual men. People have been jailed for acts of *consensual* sex which took place decades ago, and teachers live in fear of false and malicious charges of child sexual abuse. At least three so accused have committed suicide (see "Frenzy Over 'Pedophilia' Fuels Anti-Sex Witchhunt," *ASp* No. 169, Spring 1999).

In seeking to forge an integrated revolutionary workers party as the tribune of the people championing the rights of all the exploited and oppressed, we fight for the workers movement to actively take up the fight for women's rights as an integral part of its battle against the capitalist system. This requires a political struggle against the Laborite union bureaucracy to root out from the workers movement the poisons of male chauvinism, racism and nationalism. The necessary instrument is a Leninist party that can bring to the working class the understanding that only if they mobilise in defence of women and minorities can they acquire the unity and strength required to defeat their exploiters.

A small taste of the potential for uniting men and women in class struggle was recently seen at the suburban Sydney RNJ Sicame factory where management tried to get the majority female (and heavily immigrant) workforce to break away from their union. The bosses obscenely taunted women workers as "sheep" and "slaves." The workers took industrial action to protest these outrages and withstood a company lockout for over a month.

The Spartacist League fights for equal pay for equal work, jobs for all, union control of hiring and aggressive recruitment of those who have been historically discriminated against—women, Aborigines and immigrants. We are for free abortion on demand to ensure that legal abortion can become a reality for working, minority and immigrant women. This cannot be isolated from the fight for good living conditions and free health and child care. We oppose efforts to regulate the manifold expressions of human sexuality. Our guiding principle is simply that of mutual effective consent. Government out of the bedrooms! We fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

Socialist revolution—the expropriation of private property through the proletarian seizure of power—will lay the



Simon O'Dwyer

Melbourne, February 2000: Cops manhandle sacked women textile workers at protest demanding \$1 million owed them.

witchhunt are all aimed at bolstering the repressive institution of the family, the main source of women's oppression and crucial ideological transmission belt for the "values" of the capitalist rulers.

Women's oppression is rooted in the original division of society into classes and is a necessary part of class society. As Friedrich Engels explained in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, the monogamous patrilineal family arose "to make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." Under capitalism, the institution of the family is the main mechanism for the oppression of women and youth. It means, for proletarian women especially, unpaid household drudgery and the burden of the socially necessary tasks of raising the next generation and caring for the sick and aged.

Posing the question of equality for women through providing a modicum of control over whether or not to have children, abortion is viewed as a threat to the family and is thus an explosive political question. It is in the criminal statutes of every Australian state and territory. Within that framework the states define the circumstances in which a woman may obtain an abortion. If a woman can afford it and lives in or can get to a city with clinics and hospitals, she'll often have to endure being besieged by anti-abortion bigots. As in the U.S., hysteria over late-term abortions is whipped up as a wedge against abortions in general. In July, senior Melbourne medical practitioners were suspended for performing a late-term abortion and their action is now the subject of a state coronial inquiry.

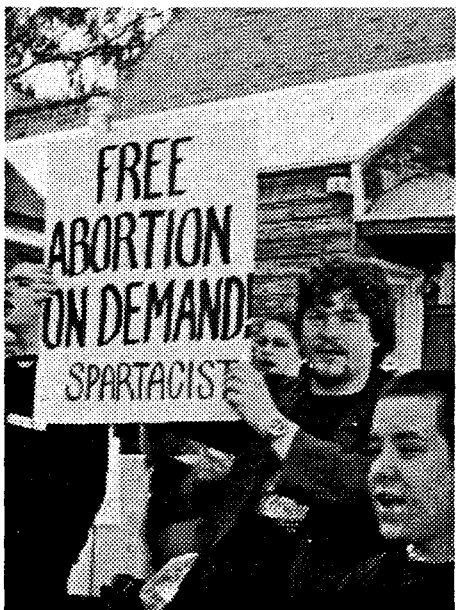
over the women and children, increasingly becomes a culture medium for violent abuse of women and children. This year in New South Wales alone domestic violence against women has skyrocketed and a staggering 25 percent of all murders in Australia occur between spouses and 80 percent of the victims are women. At times judges have ruled that the crime of rape does not apply to prostitutes and wives.

The attacks on women's rights are part of the generalised assault on the living conditions of the working class in all the major capitalist countries. Capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and East Europe has intensified interimperialist rivalries which have in turn fuelled union busting, anti-immigrant racism, and slashing of health care, education, and pensions as the capitalist classes race to boost profits in competition with their rivals.

Racism, Anti-Woman Bigotry: Twin Pillars of Laborism

Social democracy, which many workers hope will defend them against the worst of the bosses' attacks, in fact shows itself everywhere to be the eager administrators of the anti-working-class, anti-woman, racist capitalist system. Thus, the pro-capitalist ALP, like other "labour" and "socialist" reformist parties all over the world, uses its "working-class" credentials to seek to restrain the workers and oppressed from struggling against austerity and all forms of social oppression.

In this country, "White Australia" racism and anti-woman bigotry have been the twin pillars of the ALP for a century. As we wrote in the Spartacist League pro-



ASp photo

Demonstration outside Sydney clinic targeted by anti-abortion fanatics, August, 1999.

The Witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain

Feminists claim to be the true and only champions of women's rights, but when push comes to shove this is proven to be a lie. Take, for example, the witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain, which earlier this year was the subject of a spate of media attention.

Twenty years ago, in August 1980, Lindy Chamberlain's baby daughter Azaria was carried off and killed by a dingo at a holiday campground near Uluru (Ayers Rock) in central Australia. As if this tragedy was not enough, her grieving mother Lindy was victimised by a spiralling police, court and media witchhunt that became a bizarre national obsession. Framed-up by the courts and cops of territorial, state and federal governments—ultimately involving half a dozen court cases including two inquests, a murder trial, two failed appeals and a Royal Commission—in 1982 Lindy was convicted for the murder of her daughter and sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour. In jail she gave birth to her daughter Kahliya, who was taken from her at birth.

After over three gruelling years in jail, Lindy was released by the Northern Territory government in the face of a mounting public campaign of witnesses and supporters defending Lindy's innocence combined with the emergence of evidence the prosecution had insisted did not exist. It was not until 1988 that the convictions of Lindy and her then-husband Michael were finally quashed after a long legal battle.

The witchhunt of Lindy and her family was a lightning rod for the mean-minded bigotry and deep misogynist prejudice that permeates Australian society. Crucial evidence of Aboriginal

trackers was ignored, their settlement raided by the cops. That the Chamberlains were members of the Seventh Day Adventist church made them easy targets. The medieval hysteria whipped up by the media was matched by Salem-style witchhunters of the courts, before whom Lindy Chamberlain remained stoic and dignified. Vilified by the

Even 20 years later, cops, prosecution "experts" and journalists are still peddling the lies used to frame Lindy up (see, for example, *Herald Sun*, 17 August 2000). As we wrote in our article "Lindy Chamberlain: Victim of Anti-Woman Witchhunt,"

"The rampant sexism in this remote white imperialist enclave made a

oppression of women in Australia that it is held that women should be dumb, passive subjects....

"The witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain played a part in reinforcing the position of women as the core of the nuclear family—in this role women are to be subservient, not defiant and outspoken. The hypocrisy of the official bourgeois morality, which sanctifies the nuclear family, was sharply exposed in the state witchhunt of Lindy Chamberlain, which sought to destroy *her family*."

—ASp No. 121, July/August 1987

This case also exposes the hypocrisy of self-proclaimed feminists who kept silent. Their eyes were pinned on the prize of electing a federal Labor government in 1983: The ALP's Robert Hawke won, and continued the witchhunt against the Chamberlains. Despite Hawke's personal notoriety as a male chauvinist pig, a privileged layer of women saw Hawke's government as a manifest opportunity to enjoy the perks of power. A case in point was Susan Ryan, who became Hawke's minister for education and implemented the introduction of fees for overseas students. Others found themselves well-paid jobs in the public service and academia.

In 1983, against the rest of the left, the Spartacist League declared "No Vote to Labor!" and "Build a class-struggle workers party!" It was only the SL who fought tooth and nail against the ALP's Cold War anti-Sovietism. We proudly were at the forefront of militant mobilisations against Ryan's racist attack on foreign students. And we are proud to have taken up the case of Lindy Chamberlain—something the feminists and what passes for the left in this country refused to do. ■



Prosecutors' lies, capitalist media's hysterical bigotry were powerfully unmasked by John Bryson's 1985 book *Evil Angels*.

media because she would not cry or smile, her stony appearance in the courtroom was portrayed as cold unrepentance. No matter that she had nothing to repent, that her "emotionless" exterior was evidence of her resilience and self-respect in the face of the massive campaign against her.

woman of the calibre of Lindy Chamberlain a perfect target for witchhunting. The bourgeois media focussed on the fact that Lindy is an intelligent, assertive woman, who has displayed enormous reserves of strength....

"It is precisely these qualities... which were used by the media to portray Lindy as an aberration in Australian society. It speaks volumes about the

material basis for the emancipation of women. Ripping the productive forces out of the hands of the capitalist class whose only interest is profit will make it possible to replace the family as an institution, socialising tasks such as child care and housework. Emancipating itself the working class, men and women of all nationalities and ethnicities, will thereby emancipate all the oppressed, laying the basis for a truly classless society based on material plenty.

Marxism, Feminism and the 1970s "Women's Liberation Movement"

Confronted with the ugly social reality that is Australia, many young women consider themselves feminists, seeking to defend and advance women's rights. But feminism is incapable of resolving the most basic aspects of women's oppression because it functions entirely within the framework of bourgeois rule.

As a political program feminism seeks to unite all women as women, across class lines. Janet Holmes á Court and minister for social services Jocelyn Newman no doubt are repelled by the "mates club" at the top of this society. But there is a world of difference between their situation and that of the women working in Holmes á Court's vast corporate empire or the women whose day care and social security have been slashed by Newman's government. As Jocelyne Scutt, author of the recently-published book *Wage Rage*, put it, "For many women—the vast majority of women—glass ceilings are not the issue. Working on the factory floor, it's the concrete canopy that dictates position, wages, power...."

Holding that the main division in society is between the sexes, not the struggle between the working class and capitalist rulers, feminism necessarily reflects the ideology of the politically and economically dominant class, the capitalists. Campaigning for female suffrage the Australian feminists of the early 1900s,

for example, were poisonously racist, objecting to Chinese men being able to vote when they could not. Bourgeois feminism, which aims at the promotion of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women into the old boys' club of power and privilege, is an enemy of proletarian women, and stands in contrast to the liberating goals of Marxism.

Nevertheless, sundry memoirs and groups like the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) uphold the feminist "Women's Liberation Movement" (WLM) of the 1970s as the epitome of what women might achieve. For example, a recent article in the DSP's *Green Left Weekly* (8 November 2000) claims:

"A few decades ago, a strong women's liberation movement pushed governments to fund public services to do many of the tasks that women had traditionally performed. The decline in strength of the movement has allowed the balance to tip in favour of government cost-cutting. Only the rebuilding of a strong women's liberation movement will reverse this trend."

The "decline," as the DSP puts it, was the direct result of the reformist, class-collaborationist politics pushed by the likes of the DSP (then the Socialist Workers Party—SWP). Their aim is not the fight for proletarian revolution, but building "movements" and "campaigns" to pressure the capitalists for a few crumbs.

In the late 1960s and early '70s Australia's stifling, bigoted society began to fissure in the face of growing opposition to the Australian imperialists' participation in the U.S.' bloody losing war to crush the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Mass strikes shredded the anti-strike laws and waterside workers prevented military cargo from getting to Vietnam. There was an extraordinary strike of Aboriginal cattlemen at Wave Hill that re-invigorated the struggle for Aboriginal rights. Dr. Bertram Wainer was carrying out abortions in defiance of the law. A direct product of revulsion at

the brutality of this male-chauvinist society, the feminist movement also grew, eventually taking on a mass character.

To ensure that the rising social discontent did not go beyond the reformist limits of pressuring the capitalist government, the bourgeoisie turned to the ALP in 1972. Ruling at a time of relative economic prosperity, the Whitlam government, the first federal ALP government in 23 years, sought to placate the working class and others by shelling out for some reforms. These included cheaply available no-contest divorce, the abolition of tuition fees which for a few years pried open the doors of the universities to state-school students, and a short-lived universal health care scheme. The feminists got some crumbs too as the Labor government funded some of their projects and organisations, a powerful inducement to reformist illusions.

Whitlam was no more a friend of the working class and oppressed than any other ALP leader. But for meddling with the CIA's operations at the super-secret Pine Gap spy base, Whitlam was thrown out of office by the British Queen's governor-general in November 1975. There was an enormous working-class response. While proclaiming "maintain the rage," the ALP and the union tops mobilised the anger in the streets, working overtime to channel the rage into getting out the vote for the ALP in

the election. Having demonstrably no alternative to Laborism, the feminists' mantra, with the rest of the left, became "Vote Labor."

The Spartacists' Fight for Marxism

The Spartacist League intervened in the debates and struggles of the women's movement, fighting for the program of Marxism. Out of this political combat with feminists and the reformist left we recruited and trained a layer of women cadres. Armed with our unique journal *Women and Revolution* (whose publication was unhappily suspended in 1998 due to a lack of resources) we drew on the early experiences and work of the Bolsheviks, who led the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks rejected the demeaning notion that the liberation of women was "women's work" and saw it as a task of the party as a whole. Our comrades looked to the tradition of the Bolshevik work among women, exemplified by the journal *Rabotnitsa* (The Working Woman) and to the Leninist principles of the early Communist International (CI) which established a women's section and an international women's journal.

Counterposing the program of revolution to reformist tinkering and "sisterly" class collaboration, we struggled in the

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Women's Rights...

(continued from page 5)

spirit of Clara Zetkin who argued at the Third Congress of the Communist International:

"No separatism, no doing your own thing which would in any case lead to splitting the revolutionary forces and diverting them from their great goals of the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the construction of communist society. The communist women's movement means nothing other than the planned apportionment, planned organization of the forces, men as well as women, in the communist party, in order to win the broadest masses of women for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, for the struggle to overthrow capitalism and for communist construction."

Against the SWP who at the time argued that "consistent feminism leads to socialism," we pointed out that:

"The logic of the feminists' striving for an autonomous women's movement is inherently petty-bourgeois—attempting to balance between, but remaining aloof from, both the capitalist class and the proletariat. It is thus no accident that the social basis of the feminist-dominated women's movement is primarily from among petty-bourgeois women. And its active demands reflect the concerns of this layer, rather than focusing on the needs of working-class women, for example the restriction of the Women's Abortion Action Campaign (sponsored by the Socialist Workers League—SWL) to 'repeal all abortion laws' as against a campaign for free abortion on demand and free quality health care...."

—"Hostility to class struggle exposed: Feminism and the political crisis," *ASP* No. 27, 20 December 1975

"Consistent Feminism" Leads to ... Anti-Communism

Our sharp struggle for the Marxist program aroused deep hostility among the leading proponents of bourgeois feminism, who tried to drive our comrades from the WLM groups in Melbourne and Sydney. In the forefront of this anti-communist campaign were women members and ex-members of the deeply reformist Communist Party of Australia (CPA).

The Stalinist CPA, having long ago rejected the proletarian struggle for power, espoused a nasty nationalist ethos that echoed the Laborite view of women workers and immigrants. As many memoirs attest, the feisty women drawn to the CPA were often relegated to secretarial or kitchen duties, and bourgeois double

standards of morality prevailed. The CPA did not fight for abortion rights. According to the memoirs of both Dorothy Hewett and Zelda D'Aprano instances of wife-bashing and rape occurred in and around the party and were covered up. In bitter response to such male chauvinism, an entire layer of older CPA women cadres turned to feminism. Far from representing a break from CPA class collaboration, it was transferred to a new arena.

Self-proclaimed "Marxist-feminist" Margo Moore, supported by leading CPAer Joyce Stevens, openly called "for the *unity* of women and for alliances of

needs" of bourgeois women, necessarily at the expense of the working class of both sexes. The experience of the Women's Liberation Movement shows that no strand or brand of feminism can address the needs and aspirations of the mass of women. Tying proletarian women to those from the exploiting class, feminism sabotages the fight for integrated class struggle against capitalism.

Capitalist Counterrevolution Tramples Women

Backed by the fake left, the ALP came to power again in 1983 as U.S. imperialism's loyal ally in the Cold War against

the beginning of an ultimately successful crusade—using Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church as a battering ram—for capitalist restoration which has driven women out of the workplace and eliminated the right to abortion. State-sponsored anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant racism are rampant. Grotesquely, the Australian "left" still exults in the rise of Solidarność. Recently the International Socialist Organisation and Socialist Alternative, for example, have run articles hailing this outfit which was backed by the CIA and Vatican. The victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe was an historic defeat for the international working class, massively rolling back the rights of women and bringing untold misery to literally millions.

Women's Liberation and the Vanguard Party

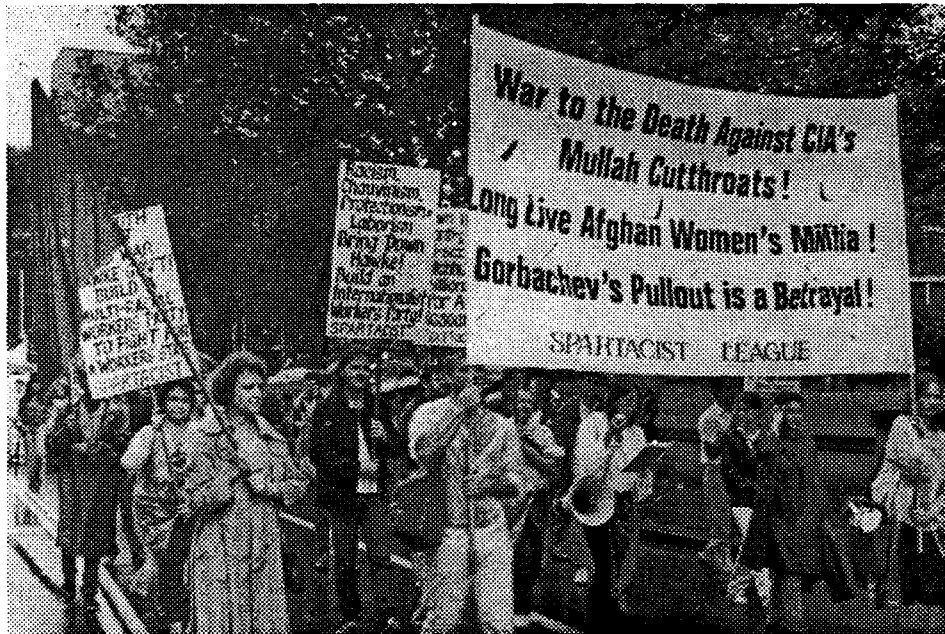
Supporting the aims of the imperialists and their ALP frontmen abroad, the fake left bows before the capitalists and ALP at home. They peddle the illusion that it is really possible to pressure the capitalist state to be more humane, less racist, fairer to workers, women, immigrants, etc.

For our part, the Spartacist League of Australia seeks to build a Leninist vanguard party, a tribune of the people, that will weld together all the struggles of the working people and oppressed in a fight to bring down the entire capitalist system and build a socialist society. In 1993 we mobilised trade unionists, students and Aborigines from the Redfern community to successfully break the racist colour bar at the Student Prince Hotel in Sydney. In 1995 when Keating targeted immigrant students, the Spartacus Youth Clubs initiated united-front protests. In defence of abortion rights, we've joined pickets and demonstrations, highlighting the centrality of working-class defence of abortion clinics to sweep away the anti-abortion bigots.

The struggle for women's liberation is also *international*. Against virtually the entire left who in 1979 backed the Islamic fundamentalists led by Khomeini in Iran—a disaster for women, gays and national minorities—we said "Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution! Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!" In 1998 the SL/A and other sections of the International Communist League joined in protests initiated by the Worker-communist Parties of Iraq and Iran in defence of persecuted Bangladeshi woman writer Taslima Nasrin who faced both imprisonment and a *fatwa* death threat for her outspoken opposition to Islamic fundamentalism.

We look to the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which created the objective preconditions for the liberation of women—the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order. After the proletariat's seizure of power, the Bolsheviks quickly removed all the old legal impediments to women's equality. Within the limits of terrible economic backwardness and encirclement by the hostile imperialist powers, the early Soviet workers state did what it could to pioneer communal kitchens, laundries and creches, pointing the way to the large-scale allocation of social resources that is necessary to achieve equality for women.

In a socialist society, where those who labour will rule, there will be jobs for all, free education and health care—including free abortion on demand and free contraception for all who want it—and free, quality housing for all. Poverty will be a relic of the barbarous past. Only then will it be possible to realise the free development of each individual as the condition for the free development of all. ■



ASP photo

International Women's Day, Sydney, 1989. Spartacists hailed 1979 Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against woman-hating CIA-backed cutthroats. Laborite left stood with imperialism against USSR.

women across different classes in a revolutionary struggle." This "unity" included a sympathetic attitude to wives who might mobilise to break a strike by their husbands (*Scarlet Woman*, March 1977).

At a Sydney International Women's Day planning meeting in January 1977, we proposed as slogans "Jobs for all through shortening the workweek with no loss in pay! Free abortion on demand! Free 24-hour child care! Free quality health care for all! Reverse the cut-backs!" To the shock and horror of the feminist honchos, this was adopted. Moore and her CPA allies went into a frenzy and launched a drive to exclude us "from general meetings of Women's Liberation and from groups and activities initiated from the general meeting."

Reflecting the impact of our principled programmatic interventions, Moore's motion was defeated, with even the SWP feeling forced to vote against it. The SWP feminists had no less desire than Moore and the CPA to suppress the revolutionary Marxist politics of the SL, they just wanted a more "democratic" facade. (Eventually, the "autonomous feminists" did succeed in excluding us.)

The SWP branded our fight for revolutionary politics "sectarian" and "ultra-left." That's because they shared (and, as the DSP, still share) the underlying anti-Marxist feminist principle that all women must unite and must organise "independently as women around their own demands." The DSP's *Feminism and Socialism* (1992) continues:

"By *independent* we mean that the movement is organised and led by women; that it takes the fight for women's rights and needs as its first priority, refusing to subordinate that fight to any other interests; that it is not subordinate to the decisions or policy needs of any political party or any other social group since the movement must be open to all women who wish to fight against their oppression...."

A rehashed version of Moore's "unity of women ... across class lines," this is a recipe for a movement that, in capitalist society, puts at the fore the "rights and

the Soviet Union. Under first Hawke, then Keating, union busting and wage-slashing massively bolstered the profits of the bosses. Massive job loss and erosion of wages and working conditions hit women hardest, striking particularly at the mainly immigrant women in manufacturing industries. Along with cuts to social services and health care, Keating reinstated tuition fees. Immigrants were deprived of social benefits while 50,000 overseas students were prevented from receiving Austudy. Under Labor, the rate of Aboriginal imprisonment rose by 51 percent and the number of deaths in custody tripled. The 13 years of ALP attacks paved the way for Howard's even more frontal assault on the working people and oppressed.

The feminists and fake lefts who were active in WLM stood with the ALP in backing the counterrevolutionary Cold War drive against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. This was vividly exposed over Afghanistan. In 1979 the Soviet Red Army intervened on the side of social progress against the CIA-armed *mujahedin* cutthroats who waged war against the Afghan government which had lowered the bride price, freed women from the stifling *burka* (veil) and taught little girls to read. Lining up behind their own imperialist rulers, many feminists (and virtually the entire "left") backed the anti-woman fanatics. We raised the call, "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" This followed from our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Kremlin's withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989, foreshadowing capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, led ultimately to the victory of the murderous Taliban Islamic reactionaries who enslave women in the veil and deny them health care and the right to work.

In Poland the rise of imperialist-sponsored Solidarność in 1980 marked

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Cop Riot...

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mobilise the working class, drawing in all the oppressed, in determined class struggle to smash the capitalist state through workers revolution. Only the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the building of a workers state will open the road to the creation of an egalitarian socialist society free from racial and sexual oppression, exploitation and war.

Having seen first hand at the S11 protests what a capitalist ALP government means, some youth are beginning to question the Labor-loyalism that is the holy grail of the left who deeply believe

police had to a union, could not achieve any gains" because they "ruled out any form of industrial action." We say: Cops are not workers, but the strikebreaking henchmen of the capitalist class. Cops out of the unions!

Workers Power (WP) and its Revolution group are also trying to refurbish the ALP's tarnished image, blaring, "Condemn Bracks! Make Labor deliver!" ("Shutdown Global Capitalism on May 1 2001," undated leaflet). Writing "The Victorian Labor Party showed its true colours during the recent S11 protests," they nevertheless declare: "Now that Labor is in power in Victoria, we must demand of Labor that it live up to its promises, and that it defend the rights of



AMWU, CFMEU push nationalist protectionism, poison to class struggle against the capitalists.

that the social democracy in power is something other than a capitalist government. Our literature table at a 21 October Melbourne rally called by the S11 Alliance outside an ALP party conference drew much attention, featuring placards declaring "Break with the ALP! Build a revolutionary workers party!" and "Cops kill blacks, beat pickets/leftists and attack gays! Cops, screws, security guards out of the unions!"

In contrast, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) was pushing a "Petition to Steve Bracks and the Victorian Labor government" to "condemn the unprovoked police violence against the anti-capitalist protesters..." They whine, "We did not vote for this" (*Socialist Worker*, 22 September 2000). But they did, knowing full well that "law and order" was a major plank of Bracks' election campaign and that "His one major spending commitment is for more police" (*Socialist Worker*, 22 October 1999). The ISO declares "the ferocious police violence against S11 protesters" as "Bracks' shame," but the ISO and its international co-thinkers are notorious for supporting "strikes" of cops, prison and security guards. Indeed, a 22 January 1999 *Socialist Worker* article sympathises with the "1923 Victorian Police Strike," a "revolt which neither the commissioner nor the police association could contain." According to the ISO, "The Police Association, the closest the

workers and the downtrodden." WP talks about the need to "win the argument that ultimately what is needed is revolution, and therefore a revolutionary workers party" (*Workers Power*, November 2000), but in the meantime... pressure the ALP.

The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class At Home!

The Melbourne demonstrators showed great courage in the face of the vast machinery of state violence deployed against them. Many were motivated by hatred of the brutal superexploitation of the so-called "Third World." But this is not the result of some new phenomenon called "globalisation," but the inexorable workings of the system of capitalism in its death agony. In this highest stage of capitalism, called imperialism, the capitalists of a handful of richer countries like the U.S., Japan and Australia, not only exploit the working class at home but engage in the superexploitation of cheap labour and the plunder of natural resources in the poorer "ex"-colonial countries. For example, since the Australian/UN occupation of East Timor, Australian capitalists like corporate giant Telstra have made a quick killing exploiting Timorese workers who are paid just \$5 a day.

Globalisation is but a present-day version of the idea of "ultra-imperialism" put forward by German Social Democrat

Karl Kautsky in the early 1900s, who argued that capitalists in different countries can resolve their conflicts of interests through peaceful (even democratic) means. As we pointed out in our pamphlet *Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism*: "So-called multinational or transnational firms do not operate above or independently of the nation-state system. Rather they are vitally dependent on their own bourgeois national states to protect their investments abroad from popular opposition and rival capitalist states. Hence, imperialist states must maintain strong military forces and a corresponding domestic industrial base."

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 the capitalist corporations sometimes collude 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—ultimately through new wars to redivide the world between them. Bodies like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO) represent temporary agreements, or more often, attempted agreements, between contending capitalist powers. The 1999 Seattle WTO meeting collapsed not because of the protests but because of the conflicting demands of the competing imperialist powers and the underdeveloped countries they exploit. As we Spartacists emphasised at the S11 protests, in meetings and debates, ending the threat of nuclear annihilation and putting an end to the brutal subjugation of the peoples of the world requires a struggle for workers revolution in both the imperialist and neocolonial countries.

In contrast the various groups organising the S11 protests, in particular the Labor-loyal left, tried to channel the militancy of the youthful protesters into a dead-end program of appealing to the world's bourgeoisies to stop acting like what they are... imperialist exploiters. So like the protests in Seattle, Washington, D.C. and Prague, the Melbourne demonstrations were aimed at pressuring the agencies of imperialism—the World Bank, the IMF, the WEF—to be less exploitative and more open and democratic.

Revolutionary Internationalism vs. Nationalist Protectionism

In the lead up to the 11-13 September protests an S11-endorsed leaflet by Public First claimed that the WEF "takes control out of the hands of Australians." Against such whitewashing of the Australian imperialist rulers, we Spartacists headlined in our last issue, over 700 of which were sold at the S11 protests,

"The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class at Home!"

Just a year ago the "socialist" groups in the S11 Alliance were feverishly building, marching in and hailing demonstrations screaming for Australian imperialist troops to be sent to East Timor. From the very beginning we have opposed Australia's neocolonial occupation, demanding "Independence Now for East Timor! Australian Troops Get Out!" We strenuously opposed the chauvinist anti-Indonesian trade-union bans, cheered by the likes of WP and the ISO, which were designed to get the troops into Timor.

These bans epitomised the Laborite trade-union tops' fierce loyalty to their "own" ruling class. Indeed, long before "globalisation" became a buzzword, the union bureaucracy has sought to single out "foreign multinationals" for the attacks on jobs and working conditions. On 12 September, as part of the anti-WEF protests, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) held an openly protectionist "rally for Australian jobs" which prominently featured the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union's slogan "Make it here or jobs disappear."

Such protectionism is toxic to class struggle, promoting the lie that the threat to jobs and conditions comes from workers of other countries. Lining up workers behind their "own" bosses, it then pits them against their overseas class sisters and brothers as well as fostering racist divisions within the working class at home as immigrant workers are identified as fifth columnists of "foreign producers."

This racist chauvinism splits the working class apart, aiding the capitalists' bloody attacks. Look at the ongoing campaign of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Workers Union bureaucracy to work hand in glove with the government to drive out so-called "illegal workers." No wonder that when union misleaders at the anti-WEF rally railed against Chinese workers, a young Asian S11 protester "wanted to crawl into a hole," as she told *Asp*.

It is precisely at the point where economic nationalism, including protectionism, dovetails with the reactionary bogey of world organisations dictating to nations and undermining their sovereignty that anti-"globalisation" puts winds in the sails of anti-working-class reactionaries. Thus it was not entirely surprising the fascist, rabidly racist One Nation tried to attend S11 events and the fascist "National Association for the Advancement of White People" is trolling the S11 e-mail group.

The "Spirit of Seattle"

The Melbourne protest, like the 26 September demonstrations against the IMF and World Bank in Prague, was

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Cop Riot...

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billed as the continuation of the "battle of Seattle." But as our International Communist League (ICL) statement "Smash Imperialist Exploitation Through World Socialist Revolution!" directed to the Prague protests said:

"Turn Prague into Seattle? Were it not for the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed East Europe and the former Soviet Union a decade ago, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund would not be meeting in Prague! The 'velvet revolution' ripped Czechoslovakia apart and now the working people, women and national and ethnic minorities suffer the raw exploitation, impoverishment and depredations of the capitalist market. As for the illusions of 'freedom,' today police forces specially trained by the American FBI and backed up by NATO threaten labor and leftist demonstrations with a brutal enforcement of 'law and order' for the imperialist bankers."

—Workers Vanguard No. 742, 22 September 2000

The Seattle protests were characterised not only by rampant trade protectionism but by anti-Communist attacks on China. As the anti-China ravings of the pro-imperialist union tops showed, the "spirit of Seattle" was very much alive in Melbourne too. The 1949 Chinese Revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed, was a world historic event which freed that country from brutal imperialist domination and landlord-capitalist rule. Ever since then, the imperialists have sought to reconquer China

for capitalist exploitation. At anti-"globalisation" events and elsewhere, Spartacist spokesmen have insisted that youth who really want to fight "global" capitalism have to defend against imperialism and internal counterrevolution those countries where capitalism was overthrown—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba.

Such defence is urgently posed today. The fate of the Chinese Revolution hangs in the balance as the Stalinist bureaucrats' "market reforms" pave the way for capitalist counterrevolution. Just as we Trotskyists fought implacably for the defence of the Soviet Union and the bureaucratically deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, today we stand for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialism. A Trotskyist party is necessary to lead the proletariat to victory through a workers political revolution to oust the parasitic, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy to preserve and extend the gains of the 1949 Revolution.

Workers Power claims to fight the ravages of capitalism, but they supported counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność, favourite "union" of the CIA and western bankers. In the USSR in 1991 they called for a "united front with the Yeltsin forces" and one of their members literally stood on Yeltsin's barricades. Only last year they were still hailing capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe, including the 1989 "velvet" counterrevolution which destroyed Czechoslovakia, headlining, "The revolutionary wave that broke Stalinism" (*Workers Power*, November 1999-January 2000). Today as

millions of Chinese workers and peasants protest against the effects of the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms" which threaten the gains of the Chinese Revolution, the WP fake-Trotskyists declare China capitalist in order to avoid even the pretence of defending it. As for the ISO, their very origins are in scabbing on the defence of North Korea and China against imperialism (see "Cliffites After Cliff: Troubled Waters for 'Socialists' Who Cheered Counterrevolution," *ASp* No. 172, Spring 2000).

Forge a Revolutionary, Internationalist Workers Party!

The next major anti-"globalisation" protests are set for May Day 2001, and in Melbourne and Sydney blockades of the Stock Exchange are planned. WP, "autonomous left" collectives such as Love and Rage and others are pushing the call for a one-day "global general strike" against "corporate tyranny." Indeed strikes and struggles against capitalist class rule will be a necessary part of the struggle to smash imperialist exploitation. The key is that the working class come to the understanding that those who labour must rule, that it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. Such an understanding does not develop spontaneously. It requires the intervention of Marxists organised in a revolutionary party which wages a political struggle against the current Laborite misleaders of the working class who find energy and purpose in mobilising for Australian imperialist troops into East Timor while laying prostrate when it

comes to defending the working class against the capitalists' attacks.

Marxist theory and the model of Lenin's Bolsheviks leading the working class to state power in the October 1917 Russian Revolution provides the only revolutionary solution. The workers cannot take hold of the machinery of the capitalist state and "reform" it in the interests of the oppressed. They must fight for power, smashing the capitalist state (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) and creating a workers state (a dictatorship of the proletariat) based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets) which will put down the counterrevolutionary resistance of the capitalist rulers who today enslave millions across the globe. Lenin's Bolsheviks canceled the debt amassed by the tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie by taking power and refusing to pay it. This was part of the Bolshevik's revolutionary internationalist perspective—against appeasement of imperialism, they fought to extend the Russian October Revolution to world socialist revolution.

As a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman said at a 23 November meeting of the Sydney Campaign Against Corporate Tyranny—United in Struggle (CACTUS):

"We want to defeat world imperialism just as Lenin's Bolsheviks did—not pressure capitalism, but to smash it through workers revolution. To begin to fight against capitalism in this country means to oppose Australian imperialism, to build a revolutionary, proletarian internationalist party to overthrow Australian capitalism."

Join us in the fight for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Zionist Terror...

(continued from page 2)

reaction, even regularly providing a platform for a fascist Loyalist killer.

The Hebrew-speaking proletariat is indeed no less exploited by its "own" ruling class than are workers elsewhere. In recent years, there have been a series of militant strikes and protests against austerity and privatisation. Secular Israelis are suffocated by a semi-theocratic state in which even basic questions like marriage and divorce are determined by the whims of ultra-Orthodox rabbis. The Ashkenazi (European-derived) elite lords it over the Sephardic (Near Eastern) Jewish population, many of whom live in conditions of poverty not qualitatively better than those of Israeli Arabs.

But Arab/Hebrew class unity will not be forged on the basis of reformist economism, as the CWI believes. The Hebrew-speaking workers, not least the Sephardic Jews who form the base of the right-wing and religious parties, are saturated with anti-Palestinian chauvinism, which has only intensified in recent weeks. If they are to be won to revolutionary class struggle against the Israeli exploiters, the Hebrew-speaking workers must be broken from the stranglehold of Zionist chauvinism and won to internationalist defence of the Palestinian people. For their part, the militant Palestinian workers and youth who courageously defy the Zionist military juggernaut, must be won from petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalism and anti-Semitic Islamic fundamentalists like Hamas, who are deadly enemies of Arab women and workers.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

While the CWI capitulates to the chauvinist backwardness of the Hebrew-speaking working class, most other reformist groups offer nothing more than a "leftist" gloss on the treacherous PLO policies which have brought the Palestinian masses to the current bloody impasse. Even as it acknowledges that the Arab regimes have suppressed pro-Palestinian protests, the U.S.-based Workers World Party (WWP) enthuses:

"This strong progressive Arab nationalism and inter-Arab solidarity has not been seen since the 1960s.... The wave of demonstrations has already swept away the wedge that Washington drove between Arab governments during the 1991 Gulf War" (*Workers World*, 26 October).

WWP's line is a rehash of the mythical, trans-class "Arab Revolution" pushed by many opportunist leftists in the 1960s and '70s to justify tailing petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalism and the "progressive" Arab bourgeoisies (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000). Until 1967, it was Egypt in Gaza and Jordan in the West Bank which subjugated and oppressed the Palestinians there. In "Black September" 1970, Jordan's King Hussein, father of the current monarch, ordered the massacre of 10,000 Palestinian fighters. Twenty years later, after the imperialist war against Iraq, the emir of Kuwait expelled 200,000 Palestinian workers whose labour in the oil fields helped make his billions of dollars. Yet for decades Arafat's PLO relied on the "good offices" of these bonapartist and feudal regimes, finally embracing U.S. imperialism following the 1991 Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had backed the PLO.

Over three million "stateless" Palestinians continue to languish in refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan—which is historically majority Palestinian—subsisting on little more than United Nations food parcels. While spouting off against Zionism in order to divert the anger of the poverty-stricken masses they exploit, the Arab capitalist regimes are enemies of the Palestinian people and of indigenous religious, ethnic and national minorities in their own countries: Shi'ite Muslims, Coptic Christians in Egypt, Berbers in Algeria, the Kurdish nation in Syria, Iraq, as well as Iran and Turkey. We fight for the revolutionary overthrow of all the murderous capitalist states in the Near East and for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan.

While the French Cliffite group backs Arafat's deadly appeals for imperialist intervention, the British SWP likewise

borrows from the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the PLO. According to the *British Socialist Worker* (14 October):

"Socialists argue for a democratic secular state in Palestine where Jews and Arabs have equal rights....

"A longer term alternative in the Middle East is revolution across the region to overthrow the corrupt regimes which live in wealth while their populations live in grinding poverty."

In the mouths of Palestinian nationalists like Arafat, who for years called for a "democratic secular state," it meant denying the right to self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking nation, which was deemed to be simply a religious minority. The Stalinophobic SWP apes the "two-stage revolution" dogma of the Stalinists—"democracy" first and socialist revolution later—which has always meant that the "second stage" consists of the massacre of Communists. In the case of Israel/Palestine, any talk of a "democratic" capitalist stage is a cruel hoax from the get-go.

The right to self-determination is a democratic question. But in situations of interpenetrated peoples—as in Israel/Palestine, Cyprus and Northern Ireland—it cannot be equitably resolved under capitalism. The capitalist nation-state is premised on the domination of one nation and the suppression or expulsion of the other. Where two peoples lay claim to the same land, the national rights of both can only be secured through the overthrow of capitalism. And in the case of the Palestinian people, this requires socialist revolutions in at least Israel, Jordan and Lebanon (which has a sizeable Palestinian minority), as well as its patron Syria.

Smash Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

In an informed 26 October piece on the Independent Media Center Web site outlining the background to the Barak plan for "unilateral separation," left-liberal academic Noam Chomsky cites a British article comparing U.S.-backed Zionist Israel to apartheid South Africa and comments:

"Such conclusions will come as no surprise to those whose vision has not been constrained by the doctrinal blinders imposed for many years. It remains a

major task to remove them in the most important country. That is a prerequisite to any constructive reaction to the mounting chaos and destruction."

As usual, behind Chomsky's seeming "anti-imperialist" rhetoric is an appeal for U.S. imperialism to adopt a more "constructive," humane and rational foreign policy. During the Gulf War, Chomsky called for the imperialist embargo of Iraq—which has since killed well over a million people—as a "peaceful" alternative to war (*Z Magazine*, February 1991).

U.S. support for Israel is not the result of "doctrinal blinders" but of its own imperialist interests in the strategic, oil-rich Near East. While far from simply a puppet of Washington, Zionist Israel serves as a bastion for imperialist order and stability in this volatile region, for which it is lavishly rewarded to the tune of some \$5 billion in aid annually. We do not look to the American imperialist state, the most rapacious and deadliest nuclear power on the planet, to chastise its Israeli junior partners or otherwise intervene in the Near East. Like countless charlatans before him, Chomsky seeks to obscure the fact that imperialism is not a doctrine or policy which can be reformed but a system—the highest stage of capitalism. In this, Chomsky aims to deflect radical youth from the struggle against the capitalist system.

The International Communist League seeks to forge internationalist proletarian vanguard parties bringing together Arab, Kurdish, Persian and Hebrew-speaking workers to overthrow all the Zionist butchers, sheiks, mullahs and military strongmen and create a socialist federation of the Near East. In Australia, the U.S., Britain, Japan and elsewhere the ICL fights to build revolutionary workers parties, tribunals of the people—sections of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, to sweep away bloody imperialism through proletarian revolution. Only international socialist revolution can end the genocidal terror and nationalist fratricide which is endemic to the capitalist system in its epoch of decay once and for all.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 745 and 746, 3 and 17 November 2000, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

North Korea...

(continued from page 12)

prospects of once again colonizing Asia. In August, Japanese investors signed a \$1 billion agreement with Hyundai to open up investment projects in North Korea. They are afraid of being left out of the plunder as one imperialist country after another establishes relations with North Korea, and they are opposed to a capitalist united Korea under the influence of U.S. imperialism.

There is no way the Korean peninsula can be united without either the smashing of capitalism in the South or the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in the North. Throughout our existence as a tendency, the International Communist League has placed the Trotskyist program for defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution and the social revolutions which overthrew capitalism in East Europe, China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea at the center of our work. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of North Korea, our defense against the class enemy is unconditional. It does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, nor does it depend on the circumstances and immediate cause of the conflict. Applying this program to Korea today, the Spartacist Group Japan stands for the unconditional military defense of North Korea against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! We call for the revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North! We fight for a workers revolution in imperialist Japan.

Interimperialist Rivalries Heat Up

Contrary to claims by liberals and leftists in both Japan and South Korea that "peace" is around the corner in Asia, if anything the North-South summit has unleashed greater militarism and jockeying for spheres of influence and exploitation on the part of the imperialists. East Asia is a hotbed of interimperialist rivalries as the major powers position themselves to intervene in Indonesia. While the U.S. amasses a naval fleet off the coast of Indonesia, and Australia calls for closing the refugee camps in West Timor where the [Japanese] Self Defense Forces (SDF) has been stationed for almost a year, Japan plans to send naval forces to the Malacca Strait to protect Japanese imperialist interests in the region under the auspices of "fighting piracy." We say: Independence for East

AP
South Korean president Kim Dae Jung (left) with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il during June 2000 summit in Pyongyang.



Timor Now! SDF out of West Timor! All imperialist forces out of East Timor! Hands off Indonesia!

When the Soviet degenerated workers state existed, the clash of interests between the imperialist powers was somewhat abated by their common interest in crushing the historic conquests of the 1917 October Revolution. Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, these conflicts have been given free rein. Today, the common hostility of Japanese and U.S. imperialism to the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states does not moderate this interimperialist rivalry but instead serves as an arena for its intensification.

The depiction of North Korea as a "nuclear threat" is an excuse by both Japanese and American imperialism to place a new generation of missiles in East Asia, the so-called "theater missile defense" system, directed primarily against the Chinese and North Korean workers states. The Japan-U.S. security treaty is a dagger aimed at China and North Korea. It will also be used against the workers and peasants in Asia as the imperialists attempt to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order. We call to smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution.

Japanese imperialism's desire to destroy the North Korean workers state was shown in March 1999 when the Japanese navy opened fire on and attempted to sink North Korean ships in the Sea of Japan. The newly released white paper on defense has singled out China as a major future threat, and Japanese navy patrols have increased in the area surrounding the Straits of Taiwan. The projected, expanded, defense budget for next year is to include funds for a new regiment, more tanks and highly-sophisticated weaponry.

As talks between Japan and North Korea opened in August, the SDF was re-positioned along the Sea of Japan, directly facing the Korean peninsula. This was followed by an announcement that urban guerrilla SDF units will be formed, and a reserve force established to augment existing SDF forces. The massive display of state power on the streets of Tokyo on 3 September—which included 8,000 Japanese soldiers, sailors and military pilots—had nothing to do with practicing rescue operations in the event of a major earthquake. Those military drills were preparation for riot control actions and were aimed at intimidating the population at home.

Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism has requested an expanded military presence in South Korea and recently moved cruise missiles to Guam as part of its increasingly aggressive posture in Asia. Simultaneously, the American imperialists seek to maintain their dominance in the region against their militarily weaker Japanese imperialist rival.

As part of our defense of China and North Korea, the SGJ, section of the International Communist League, stands for the right of the workers states to possess nuclear weapons and further develop and expand their nuclear capacities. It was only the fact that the Soviet Union had developed nuclear capacity that stopped U.S. imperialism from dropping atomic bombs on the Korean peninsula and China during the Korean War, and later on Vietnam.

For Workers Revolution to Avenge the Bloody Crimes of Japanese Imperialism

For more than 50 years the Korean peninsula has been split between the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North and the capitalist South. North Korea was created by the troun-

cing of the Japanese imperial army by the Soviet Red Army. This brought liberation to the Korean peninsula after 40 years of brutal Japanese colonial oppression, modeled on the Russian czarist occupation of Poland. Koreans had to be "assimilated"; the Korean language and Korean names were banned, and all school instruction was geared to loyalty to the Japanese emperor. Any opposition was met with brute force, as was demonstrated on 1 March, 1919 when the Japanese occupation forces murdered, wounded and jailed thousands of Koreans demonstrating for liberation.

It is with utter hypocrisy that the Japanese bourgeoisie today demands from North Korea an accounting of supposed abductions of Japanese. The truth is that Japanese imperialism enslaved and kidnapped at least one million men and women from Korea, China, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries which were under the boot of Japanese occupation during the Pacific War. More than 200,000 women from Korea, China, the Philippines and other countries were forced, under the threat of death, into sexual slavery by the Japanese imperial army during the Pacific War. As Japan expanded its occupation of China from 1937, the entire Korean peninsula was put under war mobilization, with youth forced to serve in the Japanese military as bullet shields and prison guards. Men were brought to Japan as slave laborers to work in the mines, munitions plants and at other forms of hard labor. Conservative estimates put the number of forced laborers at more than 800,000.

Recently several lawsuits by Chinese, Korean and Filipino POWs and forced laborers have been brought before Japanese courts in an attempt to win some financial compensation for the cruelty and inhumane conditions under which they labored. We hope these suits are successful and the plaintiffs can wring as much money as possible out of the Japanese government. But we neither seek nor accept an apology from this ruling class. Nor do we call on them to act in a moral, humane manner as many leftist organizations do. The left sees the question of war compensation as a way for the Japanese bourgeoisie to refurbish its image and move on to more profitable things. The Communist Party requests that the Japanese government "have a clear and constructive policy on compensation for its past colonial rule so that it can solve other problems with greater flexibility and generosity" (*Japan Press Weekly*, 2 September 2000). The Japanese Revolutionary

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East Timor...

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and deed against the Australian/UN intervention in East Timor. We say the Australian 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, subjugators of oppressed neocolonies abroad. **Australian/UN Imperialist Troops get out of East Timor and stay out! Independence Now!**

Australian Army chief and former Interfet commander Peter Cosgrove all but admitted reports of torture had been swept under the rug in October 1999. Announcing an "investigation" was now under way, Army deputy chief Peter Leahy claimed that torture "is not the Australian way.... [I]t's against our key values and ethos" (*Daily Telegraph*, 1 November 2000). Tell that to the people of Libya who remember the Australian military as the most racist, rapacious thugs of all the imperialist armies that marched across that country during World War II. Or to the people of PNG, where during and after World War II, Australia's colonial army rounded up entire villages for "collaboration" with

the Japanese, shooting people one by one in the legs and then bayoneting them to death.

Torture and murder are the stock-in-trade of the imperialists' "special forces"—and part of the *modus operandi* of "humanitarian" UN "peacekeeping" interventions. Sadistic brutality and killings by Canadian imperialist "peacekeepers" were part and parcel of the imperialist "humanitarian" rape of Somalia in 1994.

Since Australian troops began jackbooting through East Timor, Australian imperialist militarism has risen dramatically. The recently released federal "white paper" *Defence 2000: Our Future Defence Force*, which won immediate backing from Labor leader Kim "Bomber" Beazley, projects increasing war spending by \$23 billion in the next decade. The number of "army commando force" torturers will be quadrupled.

The army "will be designed for swift deployment either on the Australian mainland or for operations 'in our immediate neighbourhood', with the local challenges relating to Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, East Timor and the South Pacific" (*Australian*, 7 October 2000). In other words, the Australian rulers are gearing up for more neocolonial occupations to protect their "interests" in the

region. **Australian imperialism get out of Bougainville, Fiji, the Solomons!**

The key target is neocolonial Indonesia whose "stability, integrity and cohesion" the white paper upholds especially against "major internal challenges" there. Determined to ensure the continued superexploitation of the impoverished masses across the Indonesian archipelago, the Australian-led occupation of East Timor, codenamed "Operation Stabilise," means Australian and other imperialist forces are better positioned for intervention. As we noted last issue, "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" (No. 172, Spring 2000). **Australian imperialism hands off Indonesia!**

In September 1999 fake lefts such as the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Workers Power (WP), and others marched in and cheered on demonstrations demanding Australian troops to East Timor. The DSP openly blared "Troops in now!" The ISO and WP were more shamefaced (with the latter even calling, if you looked hard enough in their press,

for troops out), but they both wildly hailed the chauvinist anti-Indonesia trade-union bans aimed at getting the Australian troops in. **Having lined up in action behind the Australian imperialist rulers and their ALP labour frontmen, these fake leftists have helped pave the way for more Australian imperialist occupations throughout the region.**

As proletarian revolutionary internationalists we fight for working-class action to stop arms and supplies to the Australian occupation forces in East Timor. We say: Not one man, not one dollar for the imperialist military! Through political struggle against the pro-imperialist ALP and trade-union misleaders, tailed by the social-patriotic fake left, we fight to build a multiracial internationalist vanguard party to lead the working class in smashing rapacious Australian imperialism through socialist revolution. ■

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North Korea...

(continued from page 9)

Communist League (JRCL), affiliated with the United Secretariat, writes, "The Japanese government has total responsibility to carry out normalization negotiations with North Korea. Overall reparations for colonial rule should be carried out right away" (*Kakehashi*, 26 June 2000).

We understand that no amount of compensation can atone for the crimes carried out by Japanese imperialism. As we wrote in "Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women" (*Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992), compensation is not enough! The living perpetrators of the crimes against the *ianfu* ["comfort women"] and slave laborers should face a tribunal comprised of their victims. It is only under the red flag of a workers republic in Japan that the unspeakable crimes against the countless victims of Japanese imperialism will be avenged.

Nationalist Juche vs. International Communism

The early foundings of Korean communism, inspired by the Russian Revolution, were internationalist. Pioneer Korean revolutionaries played an important role not only in Korea but also in building the Communist parties of the Soviet Far East, China and Japan. They were active participants at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East held in Moscow in 1921. The "Manifesto of the Korean Communist Party," written in May 1921, embraced this internationalism, as they attempted to reach out to revolutionary movements in neighboring countries:

"Our national emancipation movement is merely a step to the ultimate purpose of social revolution, and we are striving for the complete elimination of all the classes of our present society.... Our enemy is all the exploiting classes of the world, as well as the Japanese militarists and financiers, and all the masses who share the common fate under the oppression of the ruling class must unite their efforts.... We express heartfelt congratulations to the Russian working masses and await with great expectation their success. We also expect the success of the activities of the Chinese mass revolutionary organizations and trust in the success of the birth of the recent Japanese socialist organizations and Japanese Communist Party.... We strive to establish the Korean Soviet government under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that it can be possible to carry out the fight to destroy all the existing systems and establish the great society for ultimate happiness of all men."

Within the first year of liberation from Japanese rule [at the end of WWII], the northern half of Korea had abolished land tenancy and the land was redistributed. Industry was nationalized and labor laws providing for the 8-hour work day, social security system, higher pay for difficult or hazardous work and equal pay for men and women were implemented. Formal equality for women was established which did away with concu-



South Korean Hyundai workers during 1998 strike.

Ki Ho Park/Kistone

binage, prostitution, female infanticide and numerous other practices which exploit women, many of which still exist in the South today.

Nevertheless, the North Korean workers state was bureaucratically deformed from its inception, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 when a conservative layer in the party and state apparatus headed by Stalin usurped political control from the working class. The rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy did not go unopposed within the Russian Bolshevik Party. As head of the Left Opposition and later the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky fought against the degeneration of the Soviet workers state. Trotsky insisted that only the restoration of soviet democracy and a return to the perspective of world socialist revolution could save the USSR from defeat at the hands of imperialism and counterrevolution.

The bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste resting on collectivized property forms while, simultaneously, acting as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure on the deformed workers state. To preserve its caste privileges the Kim Jong Il bureaucracy is prepared to open the door to capitalist enterprises and thus augment the forces of capitalist restoration.

Kim Jong Il's suicidal announcement that he supports the continued presence of the U.S. military in South Korea is a continuation of the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" and its corollary "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism. The North Korean Stalinist bureaucracy, with its nationalist doctrine of *juche* ["self-reliance"], undermines the defense of the North and is an obstacle to socialist revolution in the South. The anti-Marxist notion that socialism can be achieved in one country, let alone half a peninsula, is counterposed to the internationalism embodied in Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which led the Russian workers in the successful Octo-

ber Revolution of 1917. Socialism in one country has kept the North Korean proletariat isolated. For more than 50 years, the North Korean workers have been walled off from political developments around the world and international class struggle. Today the fate of North Korea, and the struggle for a socialist Asia, hinges, in the aftermath of the overturn of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, on future developments in China. The working class in China and North Korea have long and close historical ties, cemented by the massive Chinese intervention on the side of North Korea in the Korean War.

The Beijing regime's introduction of "market reforms" and the accompanying attacks on the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed jobs, housing and education—have spurred huge struggles by the Chinese working class, from the incipient proletarian political revolution centered on the Tiananmen protests in 1989 to the recent revolt by 20,000 miners in northern China. We call for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies which appease imperialism and have driven these workers states to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. The Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution is predicated on the defense of the planned collectivized economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade. What is necessary is not a new form of class rule, but a change in the political character of the regime which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A proletarian political revolution in China or North Korea would likely spark similar struggles in the other country and also in Vietnam, forging the basis for international communist solidarity between those workers states. A revolutionary Korea would immediately face the threat of attack from Japanese and American imperialism, posing the iron necessity of promoting the spread of socialist revolution internationally, particularly to Japan and the U.S. What is necessary is the forging of revolutionary Trotskyist parties in China, Korea and internationally to guide the struggle of the workers for political power and to coordinate their struggles with those of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries. Only the victory of socialist revolution in the imperialist centers can provide the basis for the elimination of scarcity worldwide and bring to an end class society.

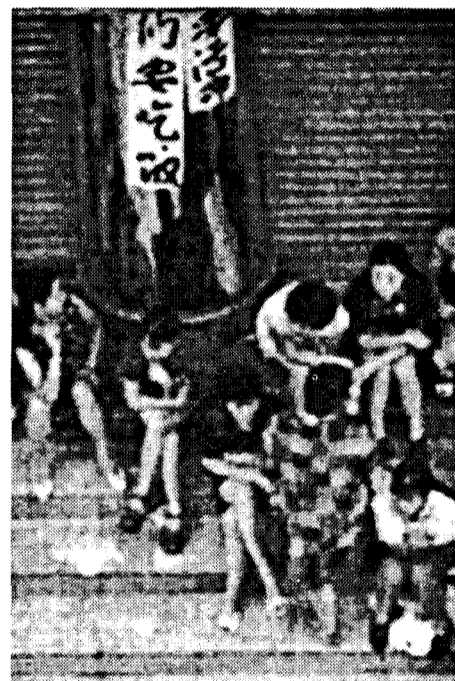
For the Independence of the Working Class

The Korean peninsula is divided by the class line, and South Korea is a class-divided police state, under a thin veneer of parliamentarism, codified in the National Security Law. Tens of thousands of radical students and militant workers languish in prison cells in South Korea. Even as the two Kims embraced and clinked champagne glasses, Kim Dae Jung was ordering the arrest of

South Korean students who were demonstrating in support of North Korea. This summer Lotte hotel workers in Seoul were brutally beaten by cops when they went on strike, with many having to be hospitalized. The founder of Hyundai, Chung Ju Yung, who has spearheaded the current round of "unification" talks, has for decades ranked among the biggest exploiters of labor on this planet. The personification of South Korean capitalism, Chung made his billions of *won* off the superexploitation of the South Korean workers. Militant Hyundai workers have been beaten, arrested and even killed for exerting their right to a decent living wage.

The recent summit talks have unleashed a wave of nationalist sentiment on the Korean peninsula and among the ethnic Korean population residing in Japan. In the first instance this nationalist sentiment stems from hopes that a united Korea will bring economic development to the peninsula, and mirrors the aspirations of the South Korean bourgeoisie, who believe a reunited capitalist Korea will make them a minor factor in the imperialist organization of world plunder.

However, International Monetary Fund dictates, increased Japanese imperialist investment and the presence of the U.S. military underscore the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea is a prime example of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. In nations where capitalism has



Ming Bao

Women workers in Hubei province, China, protest layoffs.

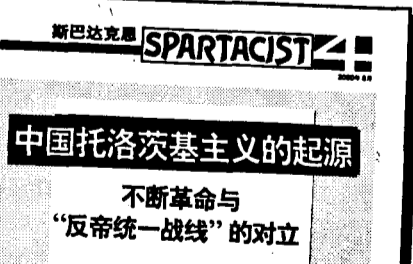
arisen after the world has become dominated and divided up by the already developed capitalist powers, the historic tasks of the bourgeois revolution—democracy, national unity and independence from the yoke of imperialism—cannot be carried out by the weak national bourgeoisie, which is dominated by foreign capital and fears above all the mobilization of the proletariat. These tasks can only be accomplished by the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Nationalist sentiment is used to tie the proletariat to the national bourgeoisie. The pro-capitalist leadership of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) has sought to channel the militancy of the workers in the service of their own bosses. The most prominent demand of this year's *shunto* [wage-struggle offensive] was to prevent the sale of Daewoo Motors to "foreign interests." At a meeting in Tokyo last spring called by the Japanese trade union Zentoitsu where American imperialism was portrayed as the main enemy of the Japanese and South Korean proletariat, a representative of the KCTU called for an Asian version of the North American Free Trade Agreement, in which China would produce cheap products for South Korea, which would in turn produce cheap products for Japan.

During the discussion period, when an SGJ member called for the defense of

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China against imperialism, for the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, and pointed out that the main enemy of the Japanese working class was the Japanese ruling class, the chairman of the meeting and his water-boys in the reformist left group Shiso Undo tried to silence and censor our comrade. This move was not popular with many of the immigrant workers in the audience who have a clear understanding of who their oppressor is on a daily basis.

The North-South summit and resumed dialogue between North Korea and Japan have brought about an unprecedented solidarity between [pro-South Korea] Mindan and [pro-North Korea] Chosen Soren, Korean organizations in Japan which until several months ago were bitter enemies. Joint festivals and meetings have been held throughout Japan in the last several months, and a new alcohol named "Reunification Liquor" has become a popular drink. *Minzoku Jiho*, the paper of Kantoren, which attempts to straddle both sides of the North-South divide, captured this development in the 21 August issue of their paper under the slogan: "To all fellow ethnic Koreans, regardless of belief or political ideology, we should overcome our social and generation status and for the motherland we should unite!"

Since its inception almost 50 years ago Chosen Soren has adopted a nationalist outlook. While they embraced Kim Il Sung as the "great leader," this outlook is in large part a reaction to the institutionalized racism which exists in this country, the refusal of the left during the Korean War to defend North Korea and the left's refusal to fight for equal rights for Koreans living in Japan. [See "Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!" *ASp* No. 153, Winter 1994.]

Among longtime ethnic Korean residents of Japan there is also the expectation that the North-South summits and the resumed dialogue between North Korea and Japan will result in a lessening of the humiliation, oppression and discrimination they face from birth to death. Korean children can't wear their school uniforms in public without fear of attack; those that attend public school are beaten up and humiliated on playgrounds. National universities will not even allow those of Korean ancestry to sit for entrance exams; major industries and the national government refuse to hire third- and fourth-generation Koreans. All three trade-union federations have refused to organize Korean and immigrant workers into common unions with their Japanese class brothers and sisters, and leftist organizations, reflecting the chauvinism of their ruling class, have been virtually silent in response to the attacks on minorities. As we wrote in our leaflet denouncing the racist, anti-communist murder of Chosen Soren leader Ra Hun in 1998, "The complete prostration of the Japanese left and trade-union bureaucracy before their own bourgeoisie has helped create the social climate where acts of fascist terror can occur unanswered."

As the tribune of the people, we fight all manifestations of racism and discrimination as an integral part of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party which will lead all the working people in this country to state power. To achieve this task, the working class must be broken from the reformist trade-union leadership of all three union federations and the Japanese left which transmit the anti-Korean chauvinism of the bourgeoisie into the proletariat. We fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who lives in this country, regardless of ethnic or national origin. We call for full access to education including to the "imperial" universities, housing, hospitalization, social services and welfare, and for the right to vote and run for public office at all levels. We fight to end the exclusion of Korean residents from employment at major corporations, and for integrated industrial unions. We demand that the *gaijin* [foreigner]

cards and *koseki* [government registry of families] system be ripped up. We oppose all forced assimilation policies, and defend the right of minorities to retain any and all vestiges of their culture, language and customs—including the right to use their given family name.

The Nationalism of the Japanese Left

The Japanese left follows the tactical zigzags and zags of its own bourgeoisie as it attempts to carve out an economic and military Asian bloc against its Western imperialist rivals. They offer the ruling class advice on how to out-manuever the other imperialist powers in the exploitation of the North Korean workers. While today the left welcomes the establishment of "friendly relations" between Japan and North Korea, as recently as last year they were humming a different tune as the Japanese ruling class attempted to destroy the North Korean deformed workers state through starvation, provocation and military attack.

In 1998 when the Japanese bourgeoisie labeled North Korea a "rogue



Osaka 1994: Cops attack headquarters of Chosen Soren, pro-North Korea organisation in Japan.

state" for launching a missile over Japan, the Communist Party immediately issued a statement denouncing North Korea for violating Japan's "national sovereignty" (*Akahata*, 21 October 1998). [The JRCL's *Kakehashi* wrote that they support the "forces in North Korea which seek democratization and oppose the Kim Jong Il regime" (14 September 1998). This is in line with their support to the "democratic" Dalai Lama and Chinese Democratic Party, both of which work for the restoration of capitalism in China.

In 1999 when the Japanese coast guard attempted to sink North Korea ships, the Communist Party wrote, "It is quite possible for the Maritime Safety Agency to take whatever steps are necessary to deal with any suspicious vessels in Japan's territorial waters" (press release, 24 March 1999). *Kakehashi* could not even bring itself to mention the words "North Korea" in any of their articles at the time. The Kakumaru group sided with the Japanese government in their article of 5 April 1999 when they wrote, "From the beginning, North Korea and the Kim Jong Il government wanted to gain a better bargaining position, so it intentionally created a provocation by sending out two 'boats' to militarily test the Japanese/U.S. reaction."

Kakehashi imbibes in the bourgeoisie's lie that communism is dead, and accepts as inevitable the restoration of capitalism in North Korea and China, under Japanese leadership: "In regards to the North Korean industrial structure, it doesn't matter if one likes it or not. The range of the market economy cannot be stopped, and North Korea will be put in the Asian economic sphere. This flow is irreversible" (26 June 2000). They call on the Japanese bourgeoisie to be an active participant in extracting profits from the exploitation of North Korean workers, writing: "Assistance should be

requested from Japan, China, Russia and other surrounding countries, the Asian Development Bank, and other international institutions."

This position is a continuation of their more than 20 years of support to counterrevolution in the service of imperialism, from Poland to Afghanistan to Eastern Europe to the former Soviet Union. Far from bringing economic advancement, a reunited capitalist Korea will bring mass impoverishment. One need only look at the results of capitalist restoration in the former USSR to see what is in store for the working class of North Korea if the peninsula is united on a capitalist basis. In Russia today a third of the urban labor force is effectively unemployed; 75 percent of the population lives below or barely above subsistence level, and 15 million people are starving. Life expectancy has fallen dramatically and stands at only 57 years for men, while the overall population has declined.

For the past two years, representatives from the Communist Party have been jetting around Southeast Asia with the goal

leader] Kuroda's mentor, called for the "revolutionary re-armament" of Japanese imperialism in order to defeat the Chinese and North Korean armies. This echoed the call of the right-wing faction within the bourgeoisie at the time, which argued that Japan needed its own military.

Today, Kakumaru's main complaint is that [Japanese prime minister] Mori's administration is so right-wing that "the Japanese government is being left out of the mosquito net in terms of developments in East Asia" (*Kaiho*, 26 June 2000). They note that the North-South summit will not bring peace to Asia, and write that the agreement between North and South Korea "is not just an unresolved and opposing issue between the leaders of North and South Korea. The U.S. stands behind South Korea, and Russia and China stand behind North Korea. The backdrop to this 'agreement' is America opposing China and Russia in the struggle for hegemony in East Asia." Their failure to include Japanese imperialism in their scenario of further conflicts in the region alibis the very real appetites of the Japanese ruling class and erases the very real danger Japanese imperialism presents.

Sounding more left is Shiso Undo. They write that the "intensification of neo-liberal South Korean capitalist encroachments into the North Korean Democratic People's Republic should be stopped" (*Shiso Undo*, 1 July 2000). Their solution, however, is that the South Korean capitalists should reject the American and European new law of the jungle in favor of a more humanistic face for capitalist rule. This demand to throw "Western imperialism" out of Asia is in fact a call for Japanese imperialism to be given free rein in its exploitation of the region.

For a Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Party

The fight for a socialist Asia today is starkly posed. A workers republic in Japan would be a beacon for proletarian revolution in other imperialist countries and spark revolutions in the semicolonial countries of Asia.

The conquest of state power by the proletariat requires political consciousness. Such consciousness must be brought to the workers by a revolutionary, internationalist party which will unify the class across national and sectional boundaries which divide it and coordinate the interdependent struggles of the workers in every country. The precondition to international proletarian unity in Asia is the uncompromising fight by revolutionaries in Japan against imperialism, racism and national oppression.

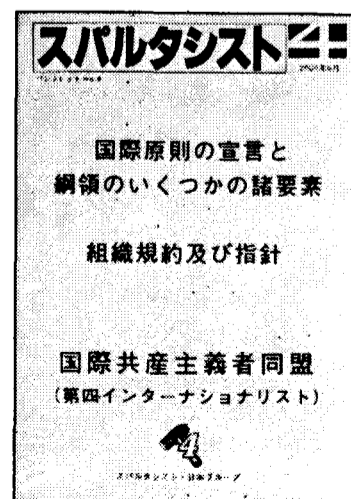
To accomplish this historic task, the working class must be broken from its reformist, pro-capitalism trade-union bureaucracy and left and won to a Marxist leadership. This is the perspective of the Spartacist Group Japan, as part of the fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

of improving the investment environment for the Japanese bourgeoisie by advising these countries to oppose "American hegemony" (*Akahata*, 25 September 1999). Chairman Fuwa counseled the Vietnamese government "to not shy away from the market but to look concretely at the rules that cause harm." Now, the Communist Party demands that the Japanese government not let unfinished business from World War II stand in the way of opening relations with North Korea.

Kakumaru epitomizes how the illusory search for a "third camp" between imperialism and the workers states is in reality a bridge which reconciles supposed socialists with their own ruling class. Similar to the Cliff group, Kakumaru's theoretical origins stem from the Korean War. As the U.S.-led United Nations forces were pushed to the southern tip of the Korean peninsula in 1950, Tsushima Tadayuki, the grandfather of Japanese state capitalism and [Kakumaru



Spartacist Japan



Spartacist Group Japan protests imperialist provocations against North Korea, 1994. Available in Japanese: ICL Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, \$2. Order from/pay to Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.



For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea Through Socialist Revolution in the South and Proletarian Political Revolution in the North!

Defend North Korea, China Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!

Japanese Trotskyists: For a Workers Republic in Japan, Part of a Socialist Federation of Asia!

In mid-November, Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer visited North Korea following Australia's reopening of diplomatic ties, in close consultation with South Korea, in May. In league with its senior imperialist partners in Washington, Canberra seeks the destruction of the North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state, pushing "reunification" through capitalist counterrevolution which the Australian rulers hope will also expand their sphere of exploitation. From 1950-53, thousands of Australian troops joined with the U.S. and other imperialist powers, under a UN figleaf, in an attempt to destroy North Korea, smash social revolution on the peninsula and "roll back" the Chinese Revolution of 1949. The imperialists slaughtered over three million Korean workers and peasants.

We print below a translation of an article from *Spartacist* [Japan] No. 22, November 2000, publication of our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan.

スパルタシスト

The recent series of meetings between the leaders of the North Korean deformed workers state and the capitalist

police state to the south have been hailed by people in Korea and among the ethnic Korean population residing in Japan, crossing North-South allegiances. The response of the majority of the Japanese left has been to "welcome" a united capitalist Korea, as they advise their ruling class to act quickly to take advantage of this opening. At the same time they push the utopian and reactionary notion that "peace in Asia" can be achieved short of a workers revolution in Japan, the major imperialist power in Asia.

The North-South summit represents an ominous development, spurred in the South by the ambitions of the *chaebol*, the giant conglomerates which dominate South Korean capitalism, to reunify Korea on the basis of capitalist wage slavery. [South Korean president] Kim Dae Jung made this very clear when he addressed a meeting of South Korean economic ministers and business executives in August: "Inter-Korean business cooperation must be made under the profit-oriented principle" (*Korea Times*, 24 August 2000). The subsequent re-opening of "dialogue" between North Korea and Japanese imperialism, which until recently attempted unsuccessfully to starve North Korea into submission, has whetted Japan's appetites over the

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Vitali S. Latov

Australian War Memorial

Imperialist bombs destroyed North Korean capital Pyongyang (above). Australian troops (right) joined 1950s anti-Communist war against North Korea, China.



Racist Torturers: Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Get Out of East Timor Now!

Grisly revelations in early November of torture, beatings and terror have laid bare the brutal racist truth behind the Australian imperialist-led "humanitarian" occupation of East Timor. The bourgeois media reported (then quickly buried) that shortly after Interfet "peacekeepers" landed in East Timor in September 1999, racist Australian "special forces" killed two and captured several suspected pro-Indonesia "militia" in the western border town of Suai, posing for "trophy photographs" with the dead bodies (*Courier-*

Mail, 1 November 2000). The prisoners were then tortured by "army intelligence" and elite Special Air Service psychopaths, the bodies and photographs of those freshly killed dragged out in front of them.

Since then, it has been revealed that scores of people have been locked up without trial in United Nations jails with at least one man refused medical treatment after being shot by UN troops (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 2000). Amid grinding poverty with unemploy-

ment at 70 percent and virtually no health or educational infrastructure, Australian troops have attacked thousands of desperate job-seekers in Dili, fired upon a pro-independence group and gone marauding at night terrorising East Timorese women in their homes. As we said last issue, the racist, misogynist Australian troops treat the dark-skinned people of Timor with "white man's burden" colonial contempt, to whom anything can be done.

East Timor, today ruled by a colonialist administration under the auspices of the

UN, mirrors Australia's neocolonies Papua New Guinea and Fiji where the racist imperialist pigs lord it over the people who they brutally exploit while stealing the natural resources of these tiny countries. The Timor Gap Treaty is nothing less than Australian imperialist theft of the oil and gas reserves off Timor's coast.

We revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club campaigned from the outset in word

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