

## We Said: No Vote to Labor or Bourgeois Greens!

# Rudd's ALP Rules for Racist Australian Imperialism

**Break With Laborism! We Need a Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Party!**

DECEMBER 9—After more than eleven years in power the vicious, anti-working-class Liberal/National Coalition government was swept from office at the 24 November federal elections, with the execrable Howard becoming only the second Australian prime minister to lose his own seat. Faced with escalating attacks on working conditions under the union-busting *WorkChoices* legislation, slashing of welfare particularly targeting single mothers, and crumbling health, education and transport services, working people and the oppressed voted in droves for the Labor Party (ALP). However, despite hopes among many that a Rudd ALP government will ameliorate living and working conditions, make no mistake that Labor is as committed as its predecessor to serving the bosses' interests.

On 26 November, Murdoch's *Australian* editorialised, "For all the assumptions of a bright new era that are being foisted on Mr Rudd by the green Left, and the desire for a return to the 1950s expressed by class-warriors in the union movement, the prime minister-elect has given us every indication that he will deliver more of the same economic management strategies the previous government gave us." Projecting itself as a "modern" party of technocrats and "economic conservatives," Rudd's ALP promised the bosses that they, not the Coalition, best understood the needs of 21st century capitalist economy and would, for example, address the growing frustration of big business over the Howard regime's neglect of key communication, transport and port facilities.

More importantly, faced with a disgruntled working class, sectors of the ruling class see benefits in having a Labor government at the helm. The *Australian* advised, "After 11½ years of a Coalition

government, Labor may be better able to move the welfare reform agenda forward to break inter-generational dependency. Just as Mr Rudd may be the one to rebuild community trust in the need for workplace reform" (*Australian*, 27 November).

On election eve, Rudd again declared solidarity strikes *verboden* under the threat of state repression. Days later he quashed appeals by Unions NSW leader, John Robertson, to retrospectively abolish the Howard government's system of non-union individual work contracts, Australian Workplace Agreements (AWAs). For all the ALP's talk about ripping up *WorkChoices*, not only will existing AWAs be upheld, in some cases up to five years after the elections, but the Labor government has projected its own form of individual contracts under common law. Labor is now preparing a "razor gang" to slash the public service.

Rudd's claim that he'll govern for "all Australians" and will "put aside the old battles...between business and unions" harks back to the Accord era of the nationalist union-busting Hawke/Keating regimes. In his abhorrence of union militants, hostility to working-class struggle and pious Christian views, Rudd is also reminiscent of the reactionary former British Labour prime minister, Tony Blair.

Rudd has recommitted the federal ALP government to the police/military occupation of Northern Territory Aboriginal communities, with new Indigenous affairs minister, Jenny Macklin, threatening to extend it to the states. Their stated intention to retain a limited version of the permit system on Aboriginal lands is partly aimed at placating opposition within Aboriginal communities and disquiet within the ALP. The ALP will continue racist immigration policies such as the



Andrees Latiff/Reuters

Enforcing racist immigration laws, Rudd Labor government plans to deport recently detained Indonesian fishermen and their families (above). ALP committed to aggressive Australian military presence in region, including occupation forces in East Timor (left).

brutal mandatory detention of refugees, a scheme set up by the last federal Labor government. One of their first acts in government was to declare that they would deport 16 Indonesians detained some weeks ago. The ALP is also wedded to the "war on terror" which particularly targets dark-skinned, Asian and Muslim people. During his election campaign, Rudd despicably fuelled a mounting racist campaign against the construction of an Islamic school in the southwest Sydney suburb of Camden, declaring ALP opposition on "planning grounds."

While Labor claims it will pull out combat troops from Iraq by mid-2008 (leaving army trainers, and air and naval personnel in the Persian Gulf indefinitely) it remains gung-ho for the murderous imperialist occupation of Afghanistan. It is also fully committed to an aggressive Australian imperialist military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. On election night, Rudd spoke glowingly of our "great friend and ally the United States," a sentiment reciprocated by the U.S. president George Bush. As massive benefits flow from the growth of resource exports to China, Rudd's ALP government staunchly upholds the reactionary U.S./Australia military alliance, historically predicated on racist anti-communism and targeting in particular the Chinese deformed workers state.

Preferences from the Greens helped deliver Labor a significant majority in the lower house. This was assisted by the myriad fake socialists who called for a vote to the bourgeois Greens while above all looking to an ALP victory. To the extent they have any influence, these class traitors bear responsibility for helping bring the Rudd Labor government to power. Having got what they wanted, they now

offer more of the same empty fight-back rhetoric to pressure Labor to the left while continuing to enthuse over the capitalist Greens. Thus Socialist Alternative declare "increased support for the Greens was one of the most encouraging outcomes of the election" (*Socialist Alternative*, December 2007) while the Democratic Socialist Perspective blather that, "progressive movements will have to continue mobilising to push the incoming Rudd Labor government to deliver on its promises" (*Green Left Weekly*, 28 November).

In part, the large vote to Labor is a product of the wretched campaign by the trade-union misleaders to stifle class struggle against Howard's *WorkChoices*, channelling massive working-class opposition into an election campaign for Labor. The conflict between workers' expectations and the reality of a Rudd Labor government will generate opposition possibly leading to explosions of class and social struggles. In defending the struggles of the working class and oppressed, we seek to win the most advanced layers away from Laborite nationalism and reliance on the state to a revolutionary perspective. It will take the overthrow of the capitalist system through workers revolution to get rid of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Such a task is counterposed to the outlook of pseudo-socialists who politically chain workers to their class enemy by practising parliamentary con-games, supporting capitalist parties like the Greens in order to supposedly pressure the pro-capitalist ALP tops.

The Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) forthrightly declared before the elections "No Vote to ALP! No Vote to Bourgeois Greens!"

*continued on page 2*



ASp photo

Sydney, 8 September: Spartacist contingent at anti-APEC protest fought for proletarian internationalism against racist Australian imperialism.

## Rudd's ALP...

(continued from page 1)

We are determined to build a multiracial, internationalist, revolutionary workers party, committed to leading the proletariat in sweeping away this rotting capitalist system through socialist revolution.

We reprint below, in slightly adapted form, a 16 November Spartacist League/Australia statement on the elections.

It is little wonder that millions of working people are eager to see the widely-hated Howard Liberal/National Coalition government swept from office at the 24 November federal elections. While the capitalist bosses reap record profits in a booming economy, workers face relentless attacks on union rights, wages and conditions, the slashing of welfare, and crumbling transport, school and hospital systems. Under mounting anti-union laws and "anti-terror" legislation, unionists, immigrants, Muslims, Aborigines and leftists have faced violent state repression. Meanwhile, the Howard government is steadfastly committed to the blood-drenched U.S.-led occupation of Iraq.

Despite some posturing over Iraq and the anti-union *WorkChoices* laws, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) "opposition," led by Kevin Rudd, is just as committed to waging war on workers and the oppressed. While most of the pro-capitalist, Laborite union misleaders nevertheless push for a Labor victory, some unions, including the Victorian electricians and firefighters unions, are campaigning for the *bourgeois* Greens in these elections, mainly on the basis of their stated opposition to *WorkChoices*. Tailing these union tops, and highlighting their own political bankruptcy, many self-described socialist groups are also treacherously championing a vote to the Greens as a means to apply pressure against the very right-wing Labor Party, which they nevertheless hope to have in government. Thus the International Socialists (ISO) declare, "We need to vote out the Howard government" and "send a powerful message of protest to the Labor Party," trumpeting "All unions should back the Greens" (*Socialist Worker*, 5 November).

In a similar vein, Socialist Alternative (SA) while calling to "Kick Howard Out!" demands "Everybody on the left, every union activist, everyone who hates war and racism needs to vote Green in protest against Labor's right-wing agenda" (*Socialist Alternative*, November 2007). Declaring that a Labor victory would be "a huge boost," the Democratic Socialist Perspective-led Socialist Alliance (SA), call to vote SA *then* Greens. All these reformists prettify the program of the Greens and bury its class character. The Greens are a capitalist party based on small-"I" liberal elements of the petty bourgeoisie who seek a kinder, gentler capitalist system. Sometimes posing as a friend of workers, minorities and the oppressed, they play a role in preserving illusions in capitalism. For socialists to call for a vote to a capi-

talist party is *outright class betrayal*.

It is also class treachery for socialists to call for a vote to the ALP in these elections. Unlike the Greens, the ALP is, to use Lenin's words, a *bourgeois workers party*—thoroughly pro-capitalist in its leadership and program while having organic ties to the working class through the trade unions. There are times when communists can offer *critical* support in an election to parties *within the workers movement*. For instance, if a reformist or bourgeois workers party draws a class line against the bourgeoisie, then Marxists might offer critical support as a tactic in order to show workers with illusions in that party that, once in power, it will defend the interests of the capitalists and

## Partisan Defence Committee

# Protest "War on Terror" Arrests of Maori Activists, Leftists!

## New Zealand

The following was issued as a leaflet on 24 October by the Partisan Defence Committee, a legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League/Australia. All the arrestees, known as the Urewera 17, have been released on bail, some having spent almost a month behind bars. After attempts to charge them under New Zealand's 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act collapsed, the state has resorted to laying spurious firearm-related charges against all but one activist who faces other charges.

Numerous protests were held across New Zealand following the racist and deeply repressive 15 October "anti-terror" raids on Maori, peace and environmental activists. On 19 October up to 1,000 people in the township of Whakataane marched on the local police station in outrage at police actions, which included house raids and reportedly the boarding of a school bus by a gun-toting cop. Protesters carried placards saying "He taonga te mokopuna [Our children are treasures]," "We are not terrorists, we've been terrorised" and "Don't point the gun at me! I'm under 5" (*New Zealand Weekend Herald*, 20 October).

The following statement, produced by the Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) in Australia, was distributed in Auckland at a protest outside the District Court on Friday 19 October, at a protest rally in the city the following day as well as at Auckland University. The city rally, which included leftists, Maori activists and civil rights campaigners, marched from Aotea Square to the Auckland

Central Police Station. While there some protesters attempted to pull down the New Zealand flag with police emblem and replace it with the Maori sovereignty flag. This attempt resulted in a brief scuffle between police and activists with the activists escaping.

The PDC protest statement was well received, particularly by Maori activists. It was announced at Saturday's rally that international protests against the outrageous raids were being planned for the following week.

We protest the arrest and detention of 17 Maori, anarchist and environmental activists in raids carried out across New Zealand in the early hours of 15 October by hundreds of heavily armed police of the Clark Labour-led government. One of those arrested was veteran Maori sovereignty campaigner, Tame Iti. Mr Iti, Jamie Lockett and others whose names have not been released have been denied bail. While one Wellington judge described the information backing charges against four of these who appeared in her court as "scant," police have threatened further arrests amidst a hysterical media campaign.

Using the criminal attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 and the subsequent Bali and London bombings as a pretext, capitalist rulers from London to Washington to Canberra and now Wellington have seized the opportunity to jack up state repression, accompanied by racist hysteria in the service of suppressing Maori, trade unionists and leftists and youth opposed to bloody colonial occupations from Iraq to the Pacific.

Augmented police powers are being wielded to accustom people to the

restriction of democratic rights and create a climate of fear aimed at quashing in advance any social struggle against the bloated capitalist profit system that consigns the working class and oppressed to increased exploitation and misery.

The 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act was used to justify the warrants for the arrests. While targeting Maori activists today, these measures ultimately threaten all opponents of New Zealand imperialism, the entire workers movement and the left. They are really about political suppression. We call on the workers movement in New Zealand and internationally to rally against this outrageous witchhunt. **Free all the arrested activists! Drop the charges!**



Sydney, 25 October: SL joins protest outside NZ consulate, one of a number of international protests.

not the workers. However, the ALP today offers the working class no opportunity whatsoever to vote in their own class interests. It stands openly committed to delivering more anti-union attacks, strong state repression and militarism. We say: **No vote to the racist anti-working-class ALP! No vote to the capitalist Greens! No vote to candidates who promote the Greens and ALP, such as SA and the Socialist Party (SP)! For a revolutionary workers party to lead a class-struggle fight against racist capitalism!**

### "War on Terror," War on Workers

It's not the first time reformists such as the DSP-led Socialist Alliance, SA, ISO and SP have called for a vote to the Greens. For these reformists, the class independence of the proletariat is of no consequence as they consistently seek to tie workers to their class enemy and sow illusions in the capitalist state. The state—consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and army—exists to enforce capitalist class rule *against* the interests of the working class and oppressed.

The imperialists around the world seized on the criminal 2001 World Trade Center attack to ramp up strong-state powers in the name of "war on terror." In late 2005, Howard orchestrated highly publicised "anti-terror" raids in order to justify ramming through further draconian legislation—which Labor supported before even viewing it! Two years later,

22 Muslim men caught up in the raids continue to languish in state Labor-run maximum security prisons in Goulburn, Lithgow and Geelong without being convicted of any crime! **Free all the detainees from Guantanamo, to Iraq, to Australia! Down with racist "war on terror" government repression!**

While initially targeting Asian and Arab minorities, the "anti-terror" legislation shreds the democratic rights of all and is ultimately aimed against the entire working class. Elements of the Howard government's anti-union laws have been patterned on the "anti-terror" laws. For example, the witchhunting Australian Building and Construction Commission (ABCC) has ASIO-style powers to spy on, secretly interrogate and prosecute militant workers. Now getting a taste of the treatment meted out to imprisoned refugees and framed-up alleged terrorists, Western Australian construction unionists are currently before the bosses' courts for the "crime" of striking in defence of their sacked union delegate. **Defend the unions! Down with the ABCC and all government union busting!**

Savage union-busting attacks have gone hand-in-hand with racist terror against Aboriginal people and refugees. Northern Territory Aboriginal communities are now subject to a military and cop occupation as police killings across the country continue on the streets and in the lockups. Indigenous Palm Island community activist, Lex

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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Australasian

## SPARTACIST

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

Marxist newspaper of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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## New ICL Bulletin

# The Logan Dossier

We reprint below the Preface to The Logan Dossier, produced by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League in August 2007. All references not otherwise cited refer to documents published in the bulletin.

This bulletin documents the facts and findings leading to the expulsion of Bill Logan from the international Spartacist tendency, now International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), at our first delegated International Conference in August 1979. Logan had been national chairman of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (now Spartacist League/Australia) during its formative period, 1972-77, national chairman of the Spartacist League/Britain at the time of its founding in 1978 and a member of the International Executive Committee (IEC), the leading body of the iSt/ICL. Logan was investigated by an International Control Commission, tried and found guilty of crimes against communist morality during his tenure as SL/ANZ national chairman and shown to be a "proven, massive liar and a sexual sociopath who manipulated the private lives of comrades for reasons of power politics and his own aberrant appetites and compulsions in the guise of Marxism" ("Motion and Vote on the Findings of the Trial Body"). By a unanimous vote, the conference delegates resolved that Logan had no place in the iSt and "cannot be and should never have been a member of a working-class organization."

Following Logan's expulsion, we took the unusual step of publicly releasing three internal bulletins titled "On the Logan Regime" (*International Discussion Bulletin* No. 10, Parts I and II, January 1979; Part III [*International Information Bulletin* No. 16], November 1983). The first and second of these deal with the fight against Logan's abusive regime in the SL/B and some initial re-examination of the Logan period in the Australian section. The third contains materials related to the SL/ANZ charges and the trial, including the reports from the trial body to the conference and excerpts of the floor discussion. Some of the material in this bulletin was originally assembled for inclusion in one or more additional bulletins at the time, but has remained unpublished until now. Other materials in this bulletin were retrieved from our party archives or transcribed from the tape recordings of the trial proceedings.

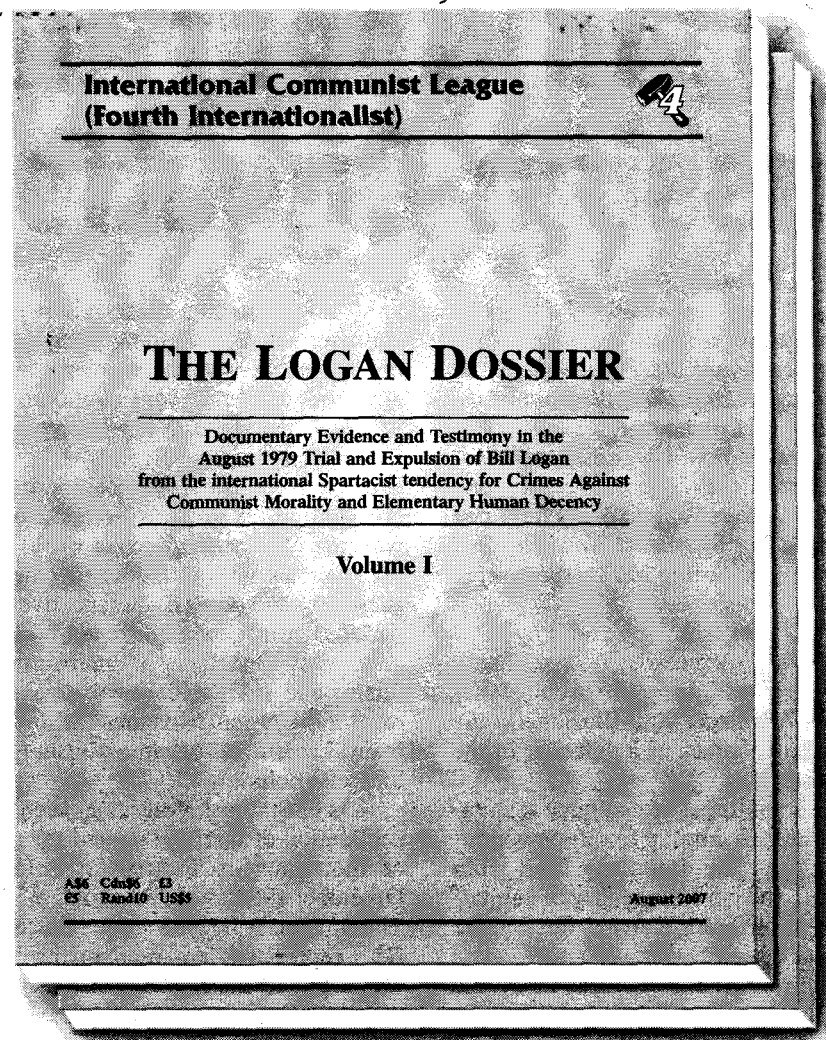
What Logan did to the Australian comrades first emerged at a national gathering of the SL/ANZ in January 1979. A couple of months before that, in October 1978, Logan had been ousted as national chairman of the SL/B, resigning from the post after a sharp political confrontation. During his 18 months in Britain, Logan had shown himself to be unfit to lead the section. He was duplicitous in his dealings with the iSt center, the Interim Secretariat (I.S.—now International Secretariat), and with his peers on the IEC; abusive in his treatment particularly of women comrades, and heavy-handed in his response to criticism or disagreement from SL/B members. At the time, the Logan regime in Britain was seen as a bureaucratic aberration, the result of an insecure, trigger-happy leader who was in over his head.

Logan remained on the IEC and, at considerable party expense, he and his wife and collaborator, Adaire Hannah, were transferred to New York to work in the I.S.

No one could then imagine that a leading member of our communist organization could be the monstrous sociopath Logan was soon proved to be. Logan's abusive practices were constrained in the SL/B by its frequent contact with the international leadership and its core of mature cadre. The SL/ANZ, on the other hand, was a distant section with relatively inexperienced young comrades. But the fight in Britain unlocked and catalyzed a process of re-examination by the SL/ANZ membership. This came to a head at the SL/ANZ national gathering, as comrades began revealing to each other and to the visiting I.S. representative, Reuben Samuels, painful experiences they had long kept to themselves for fear of being "disloyal." The SL/ANZ conference saw an outpouring of traumatic recollections and accusations.

Those accusations were subsequently codified in a resolution of the SL/ANZ Central Committee (see "Charges from the SL/ANZ Central Committee"). An International Control Commission (ICC) was appointed by the IEC. It was charged with amassing and weighing the evidence and was constituted as a trial body to pursue further testimony and reach a verdict in the case. This trial body was made up of comrades from throughout the international who were highly regarded for their integrity and had had no significant previous involvement with Logan. It was chaired by comrade Martha Phillips (Piper) from the SL/U.S., who was murdered in Moscow in 1992 while fighting to cohere a Trotskyist nucleus in the face of the counterrevolutionary tide that destroyed the Soviet Union. The trial body included other comrades from the SL/U.S. and from the Canadian and German sections of the iSt. Also serving on the trial body was the veteran Sri Lankan Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, whose organization had until then been engaged in fraternal relations with the iSt for some time. Comrades Toni R. and Rachel W. served as recording secretary and support counsel, respectively, for the Commission. Comrade Dave Reynolds of the SL/ANZ Central Committee acted as prosecutor on behalf of the Australian complainants.

In the months before the trial, over three dozen statements and documents totaling hundreds of pages were submitted by SL/ANZ members and other comrades offering detailed testimony of Logan's acts, and by Logan and Hannah in his defense. More than 30 witnesses testified in person at the trial, which took place over a period of four days immediately preceding the formal opening of the International Conference. Several hundred pages of documentary evidence from the period of the Logan/Hannah regime—minutes, memoranda, political correspondence and extracts of some personal correspondence—were also available to the Control Commission. Logan had the right to cross-examine witnesses and dispute the documentary evidence. The findings of the trial body were then



Extensive introductory section by the International Secretariat of the ICL includes:

- Preface
- Summary of Facts and Findings
- Summary Continued: Refuting Logan's Lying Defense
- A Postscript on Bill Logan and the BT: Garbage Doesn't Walk by Itself

Documentation includes:

- Indictment and Verdict
- Minutes, Correspondence and Other Background Evidence (1972-77)
- Pretrial Documentary Testimony (1979)
- Trial Proceedings, 26-29 August 1979—Selected Transcripts

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reported to the conference and were the subject of an extensive discussion involving two reporters and more than 40 speakers.

We publish here essential documents submitted as written testimony to the trial body as well as certain correspondence and other materials from the period of the Logan regime in Australia demonstrating how it flouted existing Spartacist norms and corroborating the testimony. Additionally, we are including substantial extracts of the transcripts of the proceedings of the trial body, where such testimony does not largely replicate the written materials. It should be stressed, as it was at the outset of the trial by comrade Martha P., that in a Leninist party trial written and oral testimony are given

equal weight. For the sake of convenience, the current bulletin includes some items previously published in *IIB* No. 16: the SL/ANZ CC resolution detailing the charges, Dave R.'s summary presentation to the trial body and the ICC motion expelling Logan adopted by the International Conference.

\* \* \*

As Marx understood when he put aside other critical work for the better part of a year in 1860 in order to expose the dubious and slanderous Herr Vogt, necessary tasks of political sanitation cannot long be avoided without paying a price. In the years after his expulsion Logan resurfaced in New Zealand and managed to insinuate himself back into the left internationally,

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### Earlier Bulletins

#### On the Logan Regime

(Three parts)

As a service to the workers movement we have made these internal international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

Part I (January 1979) \$4 (82 pages)  
Part II (January 1979) \$4 (44 pages)  
Part III (November 1983) \$4 (79 pages)

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#### International Information Bulletin

Published by the International Secretariat

Post Conference: 4

#### ON THE LOGAN REGIME PART III

The Dishonorable Schoolboy Sent Down

ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE ICL

# It's All About the Russian Question

The following exchange of letters is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 899, 28 September 2007), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League. Two previous letters from Chris Slee, a Democratic Socialist Perspective cadre, and replies by Workers Vanguard, are reprinted in Australasian Spartacist Nos. 198 and 199 (Winter and Spring 2007 respectively).

8 July 2007

Dear Workers Vanguard

Your response to my second letter (WV 894) confirms your illusions in the Stalinist bureaucracy as a defender of the workers state.

You see the threat of capitalist restoration in China as coming from oppositionists such as Li Jianqiang and Han Dongfang, and deny the reality of capitalist restoration being carried out by the bureaucracy itself.

You write: "At the political level, the imperialists aim to replay in China the strategy used during Cold War II in East Europe and the former Soviet Union: promoting domestic anti-Communist oppositional forces".

This is a one-sided account of imperialist strategy during the Cold War. In addition to cultivating opposition groups, the imperialists also cultivated pro-capitalist tendencies within the bureaucracy.

This was most clearly seen in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin came from within the Stalinist bureaucracy. He was a leading member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before he fell out with Gorbachev.

Yeltsin came to power essentially through a coup. During the power struggle in August 1991, he won the support of key sections of the officer corps. Mobilisation of Yeltsin's supporters in the streets played a secondary role.

Even before Yeltsin's coup, the bureaucracy had already adopted a capitalist-restorationist perspective. This was shown a year earlier when the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the "500-day plan" for the creation of a "market economy". Yeltsin won the intra-bureaucratic power struggle because he was seen as the best person to implement the bureaucracy's perspective of capitalist restoration.

In Eastern Europe, mass protests played a bigger role in bringing about changes of government than in the Soviet Union. Some former leaders of anti-regime mass movements became leaders of capitalist governments, Polish Solidarity being an obvious example.

In the preceding years, imperialism had succeeded in winning over many of the leaders of protest movements in Eastern Europe. These movements arose out of a justified anger at bureaucratic privilege and repression. But setbacks in the struggle for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, as well as setbacks in the working class struggle on a world scale, led some activists in these movements to abandon a socialist perspective. Imperialist propaganda portrayed bourgeois democracy as the only alternative to Stalinism, and (in the absence of a strong revolutionary left movement in the West) many Eastern European activists fell for this false solution.

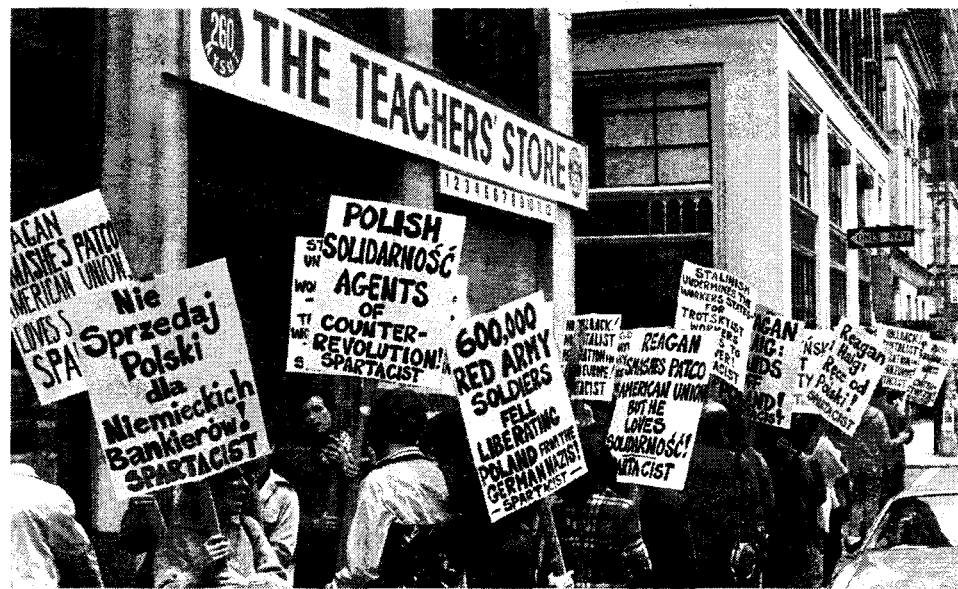
Acts of Stalinist repression, such as the declaration of martial law and the arrests of thousands of workers in Poland in December 1981, made the problem worse. The Spartacist League supported Jaruzelski's repression, not recognising that it was a gift to the imperialists. It made it easier for Reagan and Thatcher to pose as defenders of democracy, human rights and workers rights. This in turn helped them to sell "free market" economics to Solidarity activists and other Eastern European oppositionists.

Returning to China, you rightly condemn "the brutal suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests", but seek to minimise the impact of the repression. You quote Trotsky's statement that "on the road to capitalism the counter-revolution would have to break the resistance of the workers", and argue that this has not happened in China. You say that, in the 1989 Beijing massacre, "the working class was not smashed".

But a similar comment could be applied to Russia. Yeltsin's coup of August 1991 did not "break the resistance of the workers", or "smash" the working class.

The Russian working class did not resist Yeltsin's coup; rather, the workers were spectators to the struggle within the bureaucracy. The coup was nevertheless very significant, since it initiated a policy of rapid privatisation that impoverished the working class and caused many workers to lose their jobs. The result was catastrophic, but the catastrophe unfolded over several years, not just on the day of Yeltsin's victory.

Trotsky said that the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat". Yeltsin's privatisation push showed that the bureaucracy had overcome its fear of the working class. The defeats for the



Workers Vanguard

September 1981: Spartacist protest against opening of New York City office of Solidarność, company union for CIA and bankers.

international working class at the hands of Reagan, Thatcher etc had given the Russian bureaucracy confidence in its ability to defeat working class resistance to privatisation.

The same is true in China, though the details are different. The Chinese bureaucracy has proceeded more slowly with privatisation, and has continued to use the organisational form of the Communist Party. China has received much more foreign investment than Russia, with many transnational corporations choosing China as a base for production for the world market.

The Chinese bureaucracy's "gradualist" strategy has been much more successful economically than Yeltsin's "shock therapy", which sent Russia into a deep depression. China has experienced a long boom similar to that in South Korea and Taiwan in earlier years. This boom is based on the extremely ruthless exploitation of the working class, especially the vast numbers of migrant workers.

Neither in China nor in Russia was there just one single "catastrophic" event that broke the resistance of the workers. The resistance of many specific groups of workers to privatisation, job cuts, welfare cuts, oppressive working conditions, etc has been crushed in numerous separate battles, but outbreaks of resistance have continued to occur in both Russia and China.

Nevertheless the state in both Russia and China is a capitalist state. It defends the interests of the capitalist class. This does not exclude the maintenance of a significant nationalised sector of the economy in both countries, nor attacks by the state on specific capitalists (e.g. Putin's attacks on certain "oligarchs"), nor conflicts between the Chinese or Russian states and US imperialism.

Chris Slee

WV replies:

We have extensively answered Chris Slee's arguments on the class character of the Chinese deformed workers state in our replies to two letters from him (see "Why China Is Not Capitalist: An Exchange," WV No. 890, 13 April and "Again on Why China Is Not Capitalist," WV No. 894, 8 June). Slee's arguments echoed prevailing pseudo-left views on China; our replies provided an opportunity to underline our Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of China against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. They also provided a means to expose Slee's social-democratic enthusing over "democratic" forces backed by the imperialists against the Stalinist regimes.

In his third letter, Slee again denies the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy—portraying it as simply counterrevolutionary—in order to justify support to capitalist counterrevolution, including the Solidarność bid for power

against the Polish workers state in late 1981. In replying to his second letter, we noted that "Slee does not deign to mention his longtime affiliation with the Australian Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), whose forerunners during Cold War II enthusiastically supported imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces in the former Soviet sphere, from Lech Walesa's Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin's 'democrats' in Russia."

Slee readily admits that in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, "Some former leaders of anti-regime mass movements became leaders of capitalist governments, Polish Solidarity being an obvious example." Quite so, as the mass movements they led were pro-capitalist. Slee falsely implies that Solidarność was initially struggling for "socialist democracy." In fact, from its formation during the August 1980 Gdansk shipyard strike, Solidarność was led by pro-capitalist elements and actively supported by the Vatican and American and West European imperialism, not exactly champions of "socialist democracy." And as we wrote in "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" (WV No. 289, 25 September 1981):

"With its first national congress in September, decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for 'free trade unions' within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for 'free elections' to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of 'Western-style democracy,' that is, *capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government.*" [emphasis in original]

There was no question that for genuine Trotskyists it was necessary to stand with the regime of General Jaruzelski when it spiked Solidarność's bid for power in December 1981. We condemned the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy for driving the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of Washington and the Vatican. Slee condemns the Stalinists for preventing Solidarność from overthrowing the deformed workers state at that time. We refer our readers to the October 1981 Spartacist pamphlet *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*.

In arguing that the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has restored capitalism in China, Slee contends that this is also what basically happened in the former Soviet Union. He thus describes Boris Yeltsin's seizure of power in August 1991 as an "intra-bureaucratic power struggle." Yeltsin had been a leading figure in the Soviet Stalinist regime. However, in 1990 he and other right-wing forces split from the ruling Communist Party, which was then breaking apart. Trumpeting his support for "democracy" and "free market" economics, Yeltsin was able to gain the support of the U.S. imperialists in his struggle to overthrow the decomposing regime of Mikhail Gorbachev. What happened in the Soviet Union in 1989-91 was, as Leon Trotsky had predicted decades

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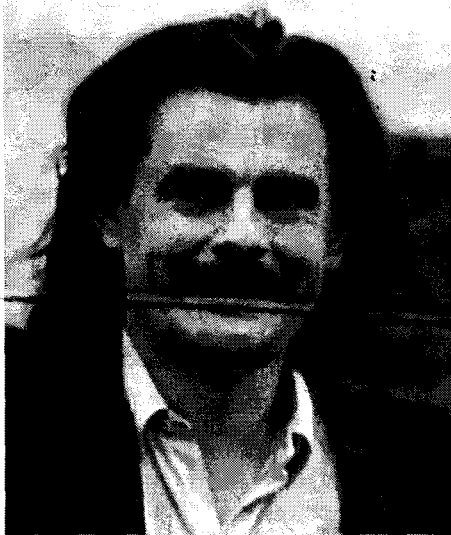
It is with profound grief that we inform our readers of the death of our beloved comrade Gérard Le Méteil, a member of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, who died in Dieppe on September 3 in unknown circumstances after having been taken into police custody, allegedly for public intoxication. We extend our deep sympathy especially to Gérard's eight-year-old son Nicolas and also to Nicolas' mother Valérie, the whole Le Méteil family and his many friends. A close comrade of Gérard's wrote in tribute: "The loss of Gérard is immensely painful for us all, for our party, and for each of us individually. It is a political loss but it is also a personal loss. Everyone valued Gérard on both levels: as a comrade and as a friend. The party was his reason for living and he always put the party's needs before his own personal options. He dedicated the best 25 years of his life to the party."

Gérard joined the LTF in April 1982 and was elected to the Central Committee at the LTF's Eleventh National Conference in December 1989. He was won to the Ligue Trotskyiste, French section of the international Spartacist tendency (now International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]), in part through his involvement in a December 1981 united-front labor mobilization against the fascists initiated by the LTF in Rouen, a port and industrial center in northwest France. Four to five hundred protesters were mobilized, including some 200 trade unionists and a bloc of students from the Ecole Normale (teachers college) that Gérard, working with an LTF comrade, had organized. The mobilization strengthened the roots of the LTF's local in Rouen, where Gérard worked for much of his life.

Key issues in the recruitment of Gérard, who had been involved in a Communist Party sports organization, were the importance of the Leninist vanguard party and the Trotskyist position in defense of the Soviet Union. Before he joined, Gérard took part in an LTF meeting at the Tolbiac campus of the University of Paris on 2 March 1982. A move by the Polish Stalinist regime against the reactionary Solidarność "union" had taken place only months before in that deformed workers state. France, under social democrat François Mitterrand's popular front, was the cockpit of the anti-Soviet mobilization in Europe, in which the pseudo-Trotskyists played an active role.

As elsewhere, the Tolbiac campus was polarized. LTF comrades in Rouen were literally spat on by leftists who had earlier marched with us against the fascists. Our comrades at Tolbiac had received phone threats, and Gérard came down from Rouen to join the successful defense of our meeting against a howling mob of over 30 fake Trotskyists and others. At the close of the meeting, a gauntlet of campus security guards (*vigiles*) and *autonome* youth combined to attack those leaving. A comrade recalled that in the raging street fight that ensued, "Gérard displayed considerable physical courage and connected with some well-placed punches." Shortly after that experience, Gérard applied for membership in the LTF.

## Gérard Le Méteil



Workers Vanguard



1959–2007

During the next seven years, he became known as an extremely energetic and talented activist on the Rouen campus. He would jump on a table in the campus cafeteria and, with a passionate speech, mobilize students to protest an atrocity perpetrated by the government or the campus administration. This work also meant daily political combat against our opponents on the left. Constantly seeking to win people over, trying to understand where they came from and finding the convincing arguments contributed to the political wisdom and depth for which he was known. Gérard later brought this experience to bear in his political education of our younger comrades, several of whom have become cadres in the LTF and other sections of the ICL.

Gérard was a teacher by profession and a longtime member of the SNUipp union. His death did not go unnoticed among leftists and unionists in the region and elsewhere. Postal workers organized a minute of silence in a general assembly during the night shift at the Créteil sorting center in Paris on September 5.

Since Gérard had been won hard to the understanding that we are above all the party of the Russian Revolution, it was completely in character that he took time off work to throw himself into the ICL's intervention into the nascent East German political revolution in 1989-90. Known as one who looked outside the French "hexagon," he followed the work of our entire international with the greatest attention. An excellent military leader, he was in charge of our security squad at the July 2001 mass demonstration against the Group of

Eight imperialists in Genoa, Italy, where the cop rampage left at least one young protester dead.

Gérard's detailed knowledge of French politics and of the history of the workers movement extended to the former and current French colonies. He researched and gave a forum on the French general strike of June 1936, when the Stalinists sabotaged the possibility of workers revolution. An article based on his talk was published in *Le Bolchévik* Nos. 179 and 180 this spring. He devoured new books, particularly about the crimes of French imperialism, and read extensively about the Algerian War, understanding well that these crimes still animate the French bourgeoisie in its racist oppression of North African immigrants, their children and grandchildren. It was often Gérard who proposed to the party to take up the cause of an immigrant family or Roma (Gypsy) encampment facing racist attack by the government or others.

One of his strengths was that he appreciated contradictions in society and on the left. His effectiveness flowed from his political understanding and his evident confidence in the power of our program. A comrade wrote in tribute: "He was a 100 percent person, in his love, his hatred, a 100 percent communist, a guy that could inspire you. He was an activist, a leader, a great speaker with a deep voice, somebody from a Zola novel, full of passion and always, some sad, tragic glimmer in his eye."

In the mid 1990s, after capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, Gérard suffered a personal breakdown and left the party for a couple of years. His return to active politics followed the big strike wave in France in late 1995. He had thought through a lot of the problems of the French section, and comrades recalled that he was a breath of fresh air, brimming with enthusiasm over the recent class struggles and, as always, full of insightful and stimulating observations about events in the country and the world. In September 1996, he was again elected to the Central Committee, on which he continued to serve until his death.

Comrades and friends are struggling to come to grips with the loss of comrade Gérard, only 48 years old and a talented athlete from his youth who had run numerous marathons. We are hoping to clarify the circumstances of his death. In Paris on September 9, comrades, family and friends gathered to honor him at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery. A letter from the ICL's International Secretariat in New York saluted our comrade and friend:

"Gérard fought for the emancipation of the workers and all the oppressed people of the world, and for the transformation of society from capitalism to socialism by means of workers socialist revolution. To be successful, this liberating revolution requires the leadership of a revolutionary political party of the workers vanguard—the Fourth International, which we of the International Communist League are fighting to reforge. This memory of Gérard, as a comrade, is our greatest assurance that the spirit of humankind, striving for human solidarity, is unconquerable."

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 898, 14 September 2007

earlier, the *disintegration* of the Stalinist bureaucracy, out of which elements emerged that formed a capitalist-restorationist political force led by Yeltsin.

After seizing power in August 1991, Yeltsin dismantled the remaining structures of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. The Communist Party was outlawed and the armed forces purged of officers who might resist the dissolution of the USSR and the restoration of capitalism. At this critical juncture in modern world history, the International Communist League put out a leaflet, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!", that was distributed in the tens of thousands in Soviet Russia. It began:

"The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup

by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution. The first workers state in history, sapped and undermined by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, lies in tatters. The state power has been fractured, the Communist Party—its bureaucratic core—shattered and banned from the KGB and armed forces, the multinational union is ripping apart as one republic after another proclaims secession."

—WV No. 533, 30 August 1991; reprinted in the August 1993 Spartacist pamphlet *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*

Slee blows a lot of smoke to obscure one simple, decisive fact: He and his party stood with Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary rabble; the ICL fought to the last in defense of the gains of October.

Turning to China, Slee again asserts that the state is "capitalist." This is simply a philistine cover for *support to those forces which indeed seek such a counter-*

*revolutionary outcome.* In our reply to Slee in WV No. 890, we explained:

"Should China succumb to counterrevolution, the results would be catastrophic: the return of imperialist subjugation, the dismantling of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, the deepening of 'death of

communism' ideology internationally. This is an outcome we seek to combat. And in such a showdown, the DSP will stand on the side of counterrevolution, as it has done and is doing."

With this reply to Slee's third letter, we rest our case. ■

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# From Spartacist South Africa



SAMWU



Werner Beukes/SAPA

Left: Teachers union at 1 June Johannesburg rally on first day of four-week national public workers strike. Right: 28 August protest against evictions ordered by Johannesburg city government.

## Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party to Fight for Workers Revolution!

The following article is reprinted, in slightly edited form, from *Spartacist South Africa* No. 5 (Spring 2007), publication of the South African section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*.

Thirteen years after the fall of apartheid, it has become increasingly evident to the black toilers that the Tripartite Alliance government has not altered the social and economic conditions of the impoverished masses. The rigid, legally enforced racial segregation and subjugation of apartheid is no more. But behind the liberation rhetoric of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and the democratic trappings of "one person, one vote," there is the reality of *neo-apartheid capitalism*, based on the same social foundations as the former regime: the brutal exploitation of the overwhelmingly black proletariat by a tiny class of fabulously wealthy white capitalist exploiters (albeit now sprinkled with a few black front men).

The official unemployment rate for the black African population exceeds 40 percent, while millions have been evicted from their homes or had their electricity or water cut off because they could not pay sky-high bills. Police crackdowns have escalated against workers striking against poverty wages, township residents protesting deadly cuts in electricity and drinking water, students resisting tuition increases. There is mounting rage directed at the uncontrollable corruption of the government. Meanwhile the capitalist ANC-led government searches for scapegoats to head off mounting discontent. Immigrants, many fleeing starvation and repression, are blamed for the high unemployment rate. Ominously, tribal enmities are being fostered. Since coming to power, the ANC has increasingly worked to pit different sections of the oppressed against

each other. The contest to succeed Thabo Mbeki as head of the bourgeois ANC is viewed by many as a contest between the Xhosa central leaders of the ANC and Jacob Zuma, a Zulu traditionalist. Zuma also derives a lot of his support from the fact that he poses as a "man of the people," willing to listen to the workers and the township poor. But he is simply a bourgeois populist politician who endorses the

government but as part of a coalition with the ANC rather than as ANC ministers.

The real question confronting SACP militants is why would a party that claims to represent the interests of the working class trample on those interests in order to maintain an alliance with the bourgeois ANC. Why would a party that claims to be fighting for a communist society—in which capitalist exploitation has been

Through such class-collaborationist coalitions, the Communist parties in countries like France and Italy have derailed working-class revolutions. The essence of class collaboration is the argument that the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie can be expressed in a common programme, like the "national democratic revolution." In truth, the interests of the exploited and the exploiters are irreconcilably *counterposed*. The alliance with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC that is at the core of the SACP's politics, and has been for decades, necessarily means subordinating the workers and the oppressed to the capitalist order. The SACP justifies this perspective by asserting that the ANC represents all classes of the black African population. It was absolutely necessary to stand in solidarity with the ANC—as well as AZAPO [Azanian People's Organisation], the Pan-African Congress and other nationalist fighters—when they engaged in military confrontations with the apartheid state. But that is a very different matter than extending political support to the bourgeois-nationalist programme of such organisations.

Lenin's Bolshevik Party was a steadfast champion of all struggles against national oppression and Great Russian chauvinism in the tsarist empire, which Lenin termed a prison house of peoples. But the Bolsheviks fought for the rights of oppressed peoples *with the methods of proletarian class struggle*. Lenin politically exposed and combatted nationalism as a bourgeois ideology, be it of the "most just" or "most refined" sort. This Leninist understanding is all the more critical in South Africa, where class exploitation is integrally bound up with national oppression. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October Revolution, wrote to his followers in South Africa in the mid 1930s ["On the South African Theses," 20 April 1935]:

"It is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

"Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change not only the relation between the classes, but also between the races, and will assure to the blacks that place in the state which corresponds to their numbers, insofar will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character."

The struggle for national liberation can be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution in South Africa. Yet far from educating and leading the black African

### Break With the Bourgeois Tripartite Alliance!

austerity policies of the current government. An ANC run by Zuma would be just as anti-working-class as the current ANC.

It was against this backdrop of growing dissatisfaction that the 12th national congress of the South African Communist Party (SACP) met in July in Port Elizabeth, where the future of the alliance with the ANC was the subject of vigorous debate. While SACP leader [Blade] Nzimande gives thinly veiled support to Zuma on the false basis that he is pro-working-class, some delegates at the recent congress called for the SACP to run candidates under its own name, as opposed to on the ANC slate. However, the resolution of the Gauteng region proposing that the SACP run its own candidates explicitly asserted that the "revolutionary alliance led by the ANC" is "an historic and important alliance that should be preserved." This means that the SACP could continue to serve in the bourgeois

eliminated and replaced by a collectivised economy and an egalitarian social order—participate in a government that defends the interests of the capitalists and suppresses the struggles of the workers, the oppressed and the township and rural poor?

The SACP is not a Leninist party. It is, rather, what Lenin called a *bourgeois workers party*, with a working-class base and a pro-capitalist leadership and programme. In order to placate its working-class base, the SACP tops have been forced to become more critical of Mbeki. The bottom line, however, is that through its alliance with the bourgeois ANC and its class-collaborationist programme the SACP must serve the bourgeois order.

This could be seen graphically during the recent bitterly fought public workers strike. While the SACP claimed to support the strike, via its ministers in the bourgeois government it served as strikebreakers: Minister of Safety and Security Charles Nqakula set the cops and army against the strikers, while Minister for Intelligence Services Ronnie Kasrils unleashed the intelligence services to spy on the teachers union. The COSATU [trade-union federation] bureaucracy, an integral component of the ruling Tripartite Alliance, deliberately refused to mobilise unions like the miners and metal workers which had the social power to win the strike. You cannot wage an effective struggle against the capitalist government when you are part of that government!

The Tripartite Alliance is a *nationalist popular front*, the South African variant of a governmental coalition binding a reformist workers party to the bourgeoisie.

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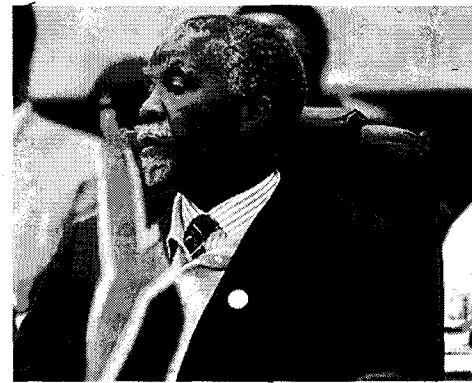


proletariat to take its place in revolutionary struggle at the head of all the oppressed, the SACP has for decades diverted the struggles of the proletariat into support for the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. The result of this has been not the liberation of the black African and other non-white masses but the "freedom" of a handful of aspiring black bourgeois to jump aboard the "grave train" and join in the exploitation of their "own" people. The nationalism promoted by the ANC/SACP has also served to fuel and embitter national, tribal and other divisions among the masses, frustrated by their failure to achieve any modicum of gains 13 years after the end of apartheid. At the same time, sections of workers and youth are beginning to perceive that they can be oppressed by their own kind and not simply by whites.

South Africa is not a nation but a colonial-derived state. Apartheid South Africa brutally exploited migrant labour from elsewhere in southern Africa. The peoples of these surrounding countries made numerous sacrifices to support the struggle against apartheid. But today immigrants are discriminated against and subjected to deportation. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! South Africa/Azania, one and indivisible, cannot be the programme for workers revolution in southern Africa. We stand for a voluntary socialist federation of southern Africa in

Leninism. There are two fundamental classes in modern society—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution*: "The state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another." The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes, or achieve workers rule by electoral means. The capitalist state, which serves as the executive committee of the bourgeoisie, cannot be reformed. As Lenin insisted, the replacement of a bourgeois state by a workers state requires a *revolution* that overthrows the capitalist system of exploitation.

The article "Protest Apartheid-Style Police Brutality Against Union Bus Drivers!" [WV No. 893, 25 May] addresses the issue of the bourgeois cops. The core of the state consists of the police, army, courts and prisons. The public sector workers strike underscored that the cops are an integral part of the capitalist state, wielded by the bosses to repress the working class. The line of the SACP and COSATU that cops are workers, welcoming them into the trade unions, reflects their revisionist position that the state is "ours." This dangerous illusion is reinforced by the fact that some cops in the "new" South Africa formerly served as armed fighters in the ANC's struggle against apartheid rule. This does not diminish by one iota their current role as



AFP photos

**Bourgeois-nationalist ANC is in midst of power struggle between Jacob Zuma (left) and South African president Thabo Mbeki.**

executive office (see "Down With Executive Offices!" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007).

On one level, Mbeki's sacking of deputy health minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge reflected the government's continued contempt for AIDS victims and more generally for the masses of poor people who suffer from the country's crumbling health system. Madlala-Routledge had made mild criticisms of the government's neglect of HIV/AIDS and had pointed out that the fact that 2,000 babies had died at Frere Hospital in the Eastern Cape over five years constituted a national emergency. Unable and unwilling to marshal the resources necessary to provide free anti-retroviral medications and other measures to alleviate the impact of the AIDS pandemic, the bourgeois-nationalist ANC instead pushes anti-science obscurantism. Mbeki has never acknowledged the elementary fact that AIDS is caused by a virus, HIV, while his health minister Tshabalala-Msimang is a notorious advocate of "traditional remedies." In other words, millions of people deprived of anti-retroviral drugs are abandoned to die. Women are among the hardest hit by the AIDS pandemic: for example, over 39 percent of pregnant women in KwaZulu-Natal test HIV-positive. "Traditional views" are frequently combined and overlap with the religious doctrines of the Christian church and missionaries, reinforcing anti-sex bigotry and the stigma of AIDS. We demand: Free anti-retrovirals and free quality health care for all! Open up the private hospitals for all!

COSATU general secretary [Zwelizima] Vavi hailed Madlala-Routledge (a member of the central committee of the SACP), claiming that thanks to her "the spirit of AIDS denialism is behind us." This is just false. Only a small percentage of those with HIV/AIDS are receiving medication. Moreover, the under-five mortality rate has actually *increased* since 1990, going from 60 per 1,000 live births to 65 per 1,000 live births (*Sunday Independent*, 12 August). By far the largest cause of death in children under five is HIV/AIDS! It is hardly a secret that medical services are crumbling: a shortage of staff, poor pay for health workers, decaying facilities, budget cuts for health

services. And when health workers struck recently, the government—in which the SACP serves—threatened to fire many of them because they are "essential workers." The fact is that the SACP, in aiding and abetting the capitalist attacks on working people as part of the Tripartite Alliance, is co-responsible with Mbeki for his criminal neglect of health services.

The AIDS pandemic exposes the bankrupt "nation-building" rhetoric pushed by the SACP; it obviously cannot be solved within the borders of one country. To even begin to provide free, quality health care and treatment for all in South Africa requires the creation of a workers government and the expropriation of the blood-sucking pharmaceutical giants. Only world socialist revolution, tearing the means of production out of the hands of the greedy capitalist class, can put the positive gains of modern science at the service of all mankind. (For more on this, see "Capitalism, AIDS and ANC 'Roll-out' Scam," *Spartacist South Africa* No. 4, Spring/Summer 2004.)

Meanwhile the bourgeois press has been filled with hysteria whipped up over financial allegations regarding the SACP. What exactly is going on here is not clear. It does seem to involve infighting between different factions of the SACP, including those around Nzimande who are pro-Zuma and others like COSATU president Willie Madisha, who is closer to Mbeki. In any event, we oppose any state prosecution of the SACP. This is an issue of workers democracy—financial irregularities, if there are any, in workers parties or trade unions should be addressed by the workers movement. An attack on the SACP on such grounds opens the door for similar attacks by the government against trade unions and other workers organisations. From the standpoint of the workers movement, the real corruption in the SACP is political: its class-collaborationist support for the ANC is directly responsible for the betrayal of the interests of the workers and oppressed.

### The Trotskyist Program of Permanent Revolution

It is critical that militant workers and youth assimilate the history of the

*continued on page 8*



AFP

**August 10: Demonstration outside Cape Town press conference called by Deputy Health Minister fired for criticising government's neglect of AIDS.**

which the peoples of the region should enjoy regional autonomy.

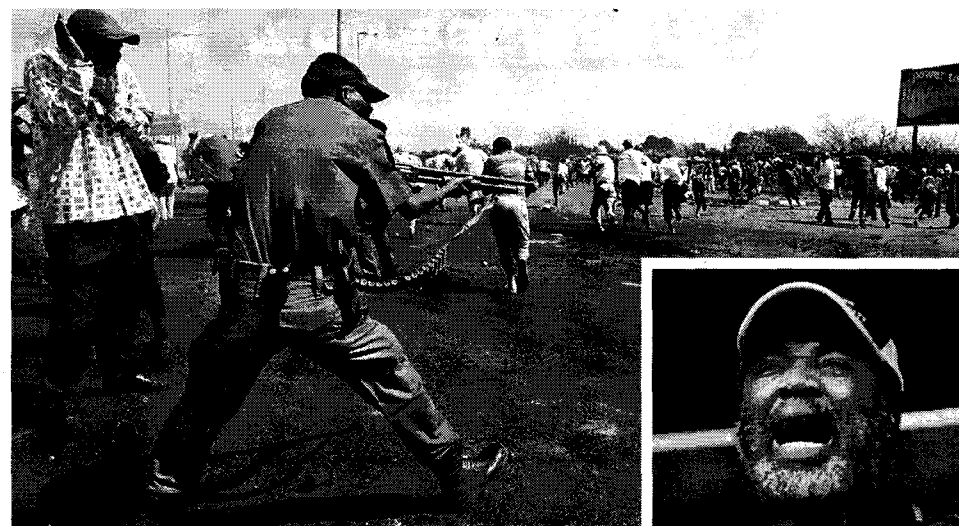
Lobbying the SACP tops to adopt a more critical posture toward the ANC will do nothing to advance the struggle of the proletariat for its own emancipation and that of all the exploited and oppressed. Rather what is necessary is the forging of an entirely different party, a party based not on nationalism and class collaboration but on the proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist programme of the Communist International at the time of Lenin and Trotsky and its programmatic continuator, the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938. It is to this task that Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is dedicated, as part of our struggle to reforge an authentically Trotskyist, democratic-centralist Fourth International.

### The State: An Organ of Class Domination

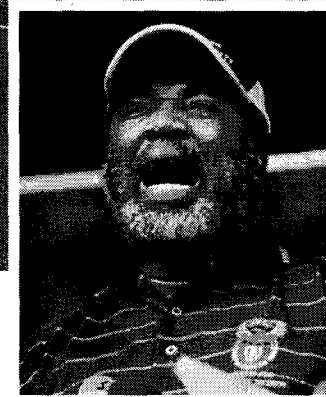
In this issue of *Spartacist South Africa*, we are reprinting three articles originally published in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the American section of the ICL. These articles address some of the central issues debated by members of the SACP and others in the workers movement. One of the most important of these issues is the need to have a clear understanding of the nature of the state. As we note in "Bitter End to Defiant Public Sector Strike" [WV No. 895, 6 July]: "In order to justify its participation in the government, the SACP has to pretend that the Tripartite Alliance is something other than what it is: a *bourgeois government*." The SACP line that the existing state is some kind of "class-neutral" entity in which the workers can gain "hegemony" is a profound revision of

enforcers of capitalist state repression against the oppressed, meting out terror and brutality in the same way as the hated apartheid police did. Nor is such a development unusual: once Algeria gained independence from France, the freedom fighters who had once been tortured by the French colonialist army and police became the torturers of their own people on behalf of the neocolonial bourgeois-nationalist Algerian regime. Spartacist South Africa says: Police, security and prison guards—out of the unions!

Responding to the grumbling at the base of the party, deputy SACP head Jeremy Cronin cynically asserted that SACP ministers in government had been appointed for something other than carrying out ANC policies: "You can't forget that you are a communist. If you are not a communist, then leave this party.... You can't privatise state-owned enterprises or abuse workers and their rights. You have options. Step down as a minister" (*Morning Star Online*, 13 August). The Gauteng resolution put forward at the SACP congress accepts the reformist, class-collaborationist framework of the SACP leadership that the workers can "contest power" in a bourgeois government. It is one thing for communists to stand candidates for and participate in bourgeois parliaments, in order to act as a tribune of the workers and oppressed there, as the Bolsheviks did even under the arduous and repressive conditions of the tsarist autocracy. It is a very different matter to stand for and assume executive office or serve as a bourgeois minister, whether on a local or national level. To assume such a position necessarily means enforcing the bourgeois order, including using the cops or army to repress workers struggle. This is why we are opposed to running for



Werner Beulkes/SAPA (above), Die Burger (right)  
**Soweto: Cops fire rubber bullets at township residents protesting lack of services, 3 September. Inset: National SACP chairperson Charles Nqakula runs cops as Minister of Safety and Security.**



# South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

communist movement. As we note in our article "Permanent Revolution vs. 'Two-Stage' Stalinist Betrayal" [ASp No. 197, Summer 2006/07], also reprinted in this issue, the bankruptcy of "revolution by stages" was proven by the course of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Tsarist Russia was an example of combined and uneven development, an overwhelmingly peasant country with a myriad of national minorities oppressed by the Great Russian landlords and capitalists. At the same time, however, there was a small but important proletariat in a few industrial centres, concentrated in huge factories equipped with the most modern technology. The Mensheviks, who in fact were the original proponents of "two-stage revolution," argued that the bourgeoisie must come to power to resolve the outstanding democratic tasks such as giving land to the peasantry. Against this perspective of binding the proletariat to the liberal bourgeoisie, Lenin counterposed the revolutionary collaboration of the proletariat and the downtrodden peasantry, culminating in a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

Trotsky likewise recognised that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution, but went further than Lenin. In his theory of *permanent revolution*, developed during the period 1904-06, Trotsky asserted that the Russian Revolution would be proletarian-socialist in character; that the solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks (such as destruction of the tsarist autocracy, land to the tiller, democratic solution of the national question) was conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat would place on the order of the day not only democratic tasks but socialist tasks as well. To guarantee such gains and to lay the basis for a world socialist society, proletarian rule had to be extended to the advanced capitalist world.

In 1917, when the tsar's government collapsed, the Mensheviks supported the new liberal bourgeois Provisional Government and later joined the government. Lenin waged a merciless political struggle against the Mensheviks and those in the Bolshevik Party who conciliated them. He came over to Trotsky's view that the revolution could triumph only by placing the proletariat in power. While the majority of the Bolshevik leadership initially called for "completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution," Lenin insisted that "The conclusion is obvious: only the assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government." Lenin won over the key cadre in the Bolshevik party; the Bolsheviks led

the working class, supported by the peasantry, in a revolution that smashed the old state apparatus, replacing the class dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratically elected councils (soviets) of workers and peasants.

At the time of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Communist International (Comintern) revived the Menshevik line of "two-stage" betrayal. By then the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state had placed at the head of the Comintern J.V. Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, who advocated the anti-Marxist, nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country," denying the need to spread the revolution outside the Soviet Union. They continued the policy of liquidating the Chinese Communist Party into the Chinese bourgeois nationalists, the Guomindang, led by Chiang Kai-shek. Lulled into the belief that Chiang was an ally, tens of thousands of Communists and militant workers, who were the effective power in the key city of Shanghai, were disarmed and murdered when he turned on them in the Shanghai massacre of April 1927. This policy of subordinating the working class to the bourgeois nationalists was opposed by Leon Trotsky. As a result of this experience, Trotsky generalised his theory of



Getty

Workers at South Africa's Kloof Gold Mine, March 2005.

with the ANC dates from the year after the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. At its recent congress the SACP leadership cited a resolution of the 1928 Sixth Congress of the Comintern that asserted:

"Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organization against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organizations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party

South Africa, where the capitalist class is white (now including a handful of other), the fundamental class divide is hugely distorted by the lens of racial color. The SACP uses this historic characteristic of South African society to much more openly and shamelessly advance its class-collaborationist alliance with the ANC.

Contrary to what some SACPers believe, the ANC has not betrayed its "socialist past," as supposedly embodied in the 1955 Freedom Charter. That document in fact makes no reference to either socialism or the working class taking power. The famous phrase that "the mineral wealth beneath the soil...shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole" was deliberately vague as to how it was to be realised. At best, it posed a nationalisation of the mines within the framework of capitalism. The charter explicitly upholds the right of "all people" to "trade where they choose" and "to manufacture," that is, it upholds the right to private property in the means of production. In the main it consists of a series of bourgeois-democratic demands, such as abolition of the apartheid laws and laws restricting suffrage. The document claims that "the people" should "share in the country's wealth" and envisions that "only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief." But "the people" are divided into different classes with counterposed interests. In referring to "democracy," the ANC meant *bourgeois democracy*, which means above all defence of the "right" of the capitalists to exploit the workers. The ANC was asserting its appetite to become the bourgeois rulers of the country. In pushing the Freedom Charter, the SACP reinforced the ideology of nationalism, the false belief that the black African people all have a common interest which stands higher than class divisions.

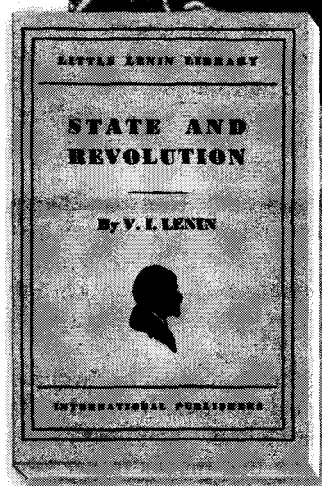
The demise of apartheid refuted the SACP's false claims that genuine racial and national equality could be achieved in alliance with the national bourgeoisie. Apartheid was not destroyed through revolution but rather through a "power-sharing deal" between the Randlords and the ANC, backed up by the Western imperialists. While one factor in inducing the capitalists to arrive at an agreement with the ANC was the escalation of labour struggle against apartheid, the bourgeoisie did not seriously feel that its rule was threatened. The deal took place in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, which provided material as well as diplomatic support to the ANC. Throughout the 1980s the ANC devoted the bulk of its efforts to a "divestment" campaign aimed at pressuring the Anglo-American imperialists to pressure the Afrikaner rulers to come to terms with the ANC; after the counterrevolution the ANC quickly came to terms with the Western imperialists and their South African junior partner.

Indeed the ANC was eager enough to share in the spoils of South African

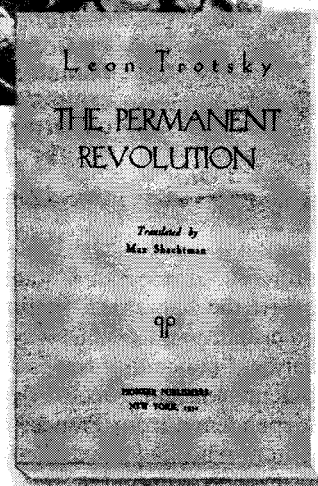
**AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST**



L.V. Leonidov



Works by Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky, pictured in 1919 in Red Square on anniversary of October Revolution, are crucial tools in fight for proletarian revolution in South Africa and internationally.



permanent revolution to the colonial and semicolonial world.

However, the Stalinist leadership of the Comintern drew the opposite conclusions. It defended its treacherous conduct in China and generalised this strategy of subordinating the working class to the national bourgeoisie to other countries like South Africa. (For more information, see our pamphlet *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*.) In fact, the alliance

in this organization [we repeat: "developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organization"]... The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa...constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa."

—Political report of the SACP's 11th Congress Central Committee as tabled before the 12th Congress (brackets and emphasis in original)

Stalin's Comintern sought to prettify its class collaboration by dubbing the Guomindang a "workers and peasants party." This "two-class" formula, denying that the class interests of the proletariat differed from the petty proprietor outlook of the peasantry, covered up the *bourgeois* character of the Guomindang. The Comintern claimed that a bourgeois revolution would "grow over organically" into the socialist revolution. Similarly the SACP denies the necessity for proletarian revolution, rejecting the "erroneous (and divisive) conclusion that a socialist transition required another political revolution in which the working class, in the name of 'socialism' overthrew its own national democratic state, and marginalized its own closest allies" ("Taking Forward the Struggle for Socialism, Chapter 5"). The ANC is dubbed a "broad national liberation movement" and a "class-contested terrain," the better to deny that the SACP is politically subordinated to a bourgeois party and participates in running the bourgeois state. In

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# Rudd's ALP...

(continued from page 2)

Wotton, faces serious charges following justified protests sparked by the police killing of Mulrunji Doomadgee. **Drop the charges against Lex Wotton now!** While government ministers rail against African refugees, giving a green light to racist and fascist terror on the streets, so-called "illegal" immigrants and refugees face mandatory detention in brutal concentration camps. A recent example is the outrageous treatment of Vietnamese immigrant Tony Tran, ripped away from his wife and child, and incarcerated for five years. The working class must unleash its social power in order to defend not only itself but all those targeted by capitalist injustice. **Police/military out of Aboriginal communities! Close the detention camps! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For union-based actions against the racist "anti-terror" and anti-union laws!**

Today's reactionary climate is a direct product of capitalist counterrevolutions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92 was an historic defeat for the international proletariat, throwing back political consciousness around the world, albeit unevenly, such that today few workers identify their struggles with the fight for socialism. Counter-revolution also removed the primary military and political counterweight to rampant imperialist pillage across the globe, in the process increasing imperialist rivalries. Reinforcing their counter-revolutionary alliance with the U.S., the Australian ruling class has escalated mili-

tarism abroad while unleashing an offensive against workers and minorities at home. Those fake socialists, such as the ISO, SALT, the DSP and SP, who lined up with their own bourgeoisie in cheering on capitalist counterrevolution share, to the extent they had any influence, responsibility for the reactionary consequences.

## Reformist "Left" Embrace Anti-China Greens

The reformist left's brazen electoral support to the Greens follows years of working together in popular-front coalitions formed to keep mass protests against the barbarous imperialist invasion of Iraq in 2003 within bourgeois limits. Through the likes of the "Stop the War" coalition, the DSP, ISO and SALT and other fake socialists have promoted Greens, Democrats and elements in the ALP who posture against the war. Key demands of these coalitions, like "bring the troops home," are tailored to be acceptable to the appetites of Greens and pro-capitalist ALP leaders who have been in the *forefront* of pushing for a greater role for Australian imperialism in the Asia-Pacific. This includes targeting the bureaucratically deformed workers states of North Korea and China for capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, the ALP also want combat troops withdrawn from Iraq so that the Australian military can play a greater role in the imperialists' bloody terror in Afghanistan.

While the boom in mineral exports to China lines the pockets of mining giants, the Australian government works with the U.S. imperialists to tighten the military chain around China. Extending from South Korea to central Asia, this includes increased militarisation of Australia's north,

# Beware SEP: Scab "Socialists"

The dubious Socialist Equality Party (SEP), affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International, stood in the federal elections, claiming to draw a class line "in opposition to the entire political establishment—Liberal, Labor and Greens." However, while putting forward formal slogans on the right of unions to organise, the SEP's program rests on the anti-proletarian line that "the trade unions have been transformed...[in]to instruments for the outright disciplining and suppression of the working class" (www.wsws.org, 16 October).

This is an apologia for strikebreaking and wilfully conflates trade unions—the basic defence organisations of the working class—with their mislead-

ers. Thus, following the recent United Auto Workers (UAW) strike in the U.S., the SEP's co-thinkers there advised workers that "should the UAW come to their [workers] plant, to vote to keep it out." This line dovetails with the interests of bosses from the U.S. to Australia who spend billions every year to keep unions out of the workplace. We warn that the SEP are political bandits who for years acted as paid press agents of various bloody Middle Eastern regimes, and whose services included fingering Iraqi Communists in Britain to the Iraqi embassy of the brutal Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein. (See "On Baghdad, and Bagmen" *Australasian Spartacist* No. 138, September/October 1990.)

including U.S. air and spy bases. The Australian rulers' current involvement in the U.S. "missile defence systems" is directed at removing China's ability to deter an imperialist nuclear first strike.

This, along with the 2006 Australia-Japan anti-China security pact, is part of the imperialists' long-term goal of capitalist counterrevolution in China, to overturn the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which smashed the state power of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords and ripped the country out of the clutches of the imperialists. Just as we defended the Soviet Union and Eastern European deformed workers states, we stand for the unconditional military defence of the gains of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban Revolutions, including their possession and testing of nuclear weapons. At the same time we fight for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies replacing them with a regime of workers soviets based on a program of revolutionary internationalism.

The fake left, by contrast, treacherously push the lie that China is capitalist. Laborite to the core, these "leftists" share the outlook of the nationalist union misleaders they tail, who have waged a years-long, China-bashing, protectionist campaign. This is particularly pernicious in that it serves to line the workers up behind their capitalist rulers against the deformed workers state. In 1999, the Laborite left similarly backed the chauvinist union tops as they rallied for Australian imperialism's occupation of tiny East Timor. At that time, virtually all of them, with the DSP in the vanguard, enthusiastically marched in demonstrations behind the ALP parliamentary and

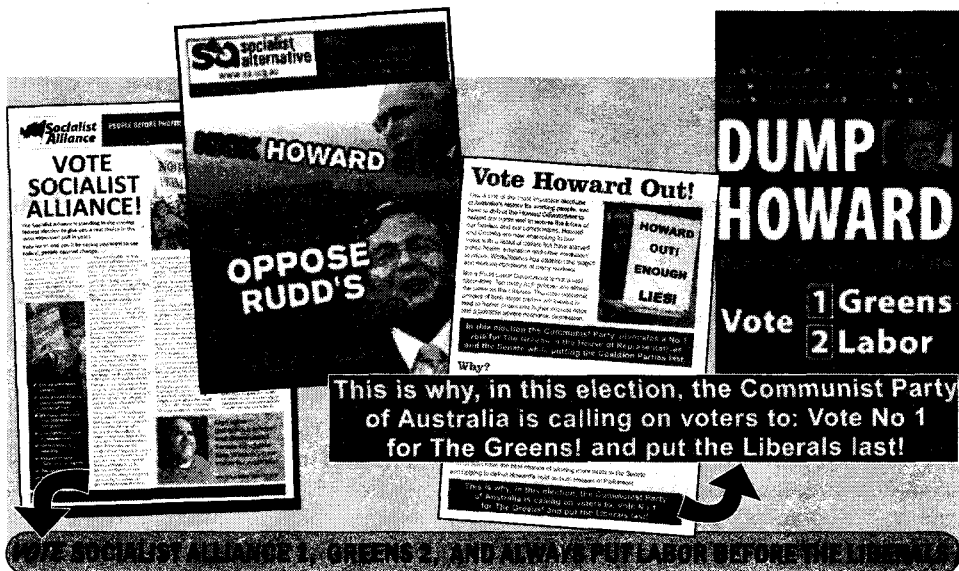
union misleaders screaming for "peace-keeping" troops to "save" East Timor. In contrast we have consistently opposed the Australian imperialist military. Just as in 1999, today we demand Australian imperialist troops get out of East Timor!

Giving the lie to the reformists' current purported "opposition" to the Australian military in East Timor is their support to the Greens, who in turn support the military occupations of both East Timor and the Solomons! Likewise they embrace the rabid anti-communism of the Greens, who champion every anti-China provocation, starting with the CIA-favoured Dalai Lama. At a rally last April outside Howard's Kirribilli residence, the Refugee Action Coalition, including one of the state-capitalist splinter groups, Solidarity, appealed to a future Labor government of "White Australia" capitalist "democracy" and provided a platform for the bourgeois Greens and the counterrevolutionary Falun Gong sect and "Free China" types to vituperate against China.

In a recent leaflet, the "Stop the War" coalition admits "An incoming Labor Government will support the War on Terror" and that the ALP is equally committed to militarisation. They nevertheless abjectly advise that "Electing Rudd will only be the beginning of the fight to cut off Australia's support for US policy in the Middle East." This Laborite "lesser-evilism" promotes reliance on bourgeois parliamentarism and the hoary social-democratic myth that social and economic justice, even stopping imperialist war, can be won through a change of capitalist government.

The blood-drenched horrors of the U.S. and Australian imperialist occupations of

*continued on page 10*



**Labor-loyal left called for vote to bourgeois Greens seeking to pressure Rudd Labor Party. For socialists to call for a vote to a capitalist party is outright class betrayal!**

capitalism. Talk of "nationalising the mines" was quickly dropped. As early as 1990 Nelson Mandela made clear that he had "never advocated socialism at all" and that he favoured "the flourishing of capitalism among Africans." The "power-sharing deal" was guaranteed by various "sunset clauses" (pushed vigorously by then SACP leader Joe Slovo) that enshrined the privileges of the old white ruling class. The ANC acted fundamentally no differently than other former petty-bourgeois nationalists like Robert Mugabe who, upon taking power, exploited their own people in league with the imperialists.

Over the following 13 years the ANC—aided and abetted by its labour lieutenants in the SACP and the COSATU bureaucracy—has indeed kept its end of the bargain with the Randlords, defending the sanctity of the bourgeoisie's property and profits. While there is a black government, the economic and social conditions of the black, Indian and coloured working masses have if anything deteriorated.

This gives the lie to the SACP's claims of a "national democratic revolution." It confirms in the negative the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, underscoring that achievement of national equality requires the overthrow of the capitalist system of exploitation.

Some SACPers, trade unionists and other leftists (including some grouped around the magazine *Amandla*), dissatisfied with the alliance with the ANC, have proposed a lash-up with other forces, including AZAPO and the "social movements" like the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). Despite its criticisms of the government, AZAPO is a bourgeois-nationalist formation qualitatively no different from the ANC (except being smaller). Indeed, its willingness to administer capitalism is demonstrated by the fact that it currently has a minister in the government (Mosibudi Mangena). Our article on "Permanent Revolution vs. 'Two-Stage' Stalinist Betrayal" deals with the popular-frontist "social forums." It speaks to the treachery of the SACP in enforcing the

dictates of capital that outfits like the APF have come to the fore, acting as a safety valve for the ANC-led government by leading protests against some of the government's more unpopular measures, such as cutting off water in the townships. No less than the SACP itself, these formations are tied to the imperialists and the capitalist states via their ties to and funding by bourgeois governments, banks and CIA-linked institutions like the Ford Foundation. (See also "Social Forum Con Game," *ASp* No. 192, Spring 2005.)

What is necessary is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which must unite the most politically advanced worker militants with the best of the leftist intellectuals. Such a party must be a "tribune of the people," championing the interests not only of the working class but of all the oppressed—the unemployed, the rural poor, women, immigrants, tribal and ethnic minorities. It will be built in political and polemical struggle against the various currents of the South African left, including the SACP, whose best elements must be

won away from its pro-capitalist leadership to a Trotskyist programme. Only the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers state and planned economy will put the mineral wealth and all that has been built through the sweat and blood of the toilers at the disposal of working people.

A socialist revolution in South Africa, centred on the black proletariat, would confront formidable enemies in the imperialist powers, emboldened and strengthened by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution. Yet such a revolution would also galvanise strategically powerful allies: from the American black working class, to the militant young proletariat of South Korea and Indonesia and the working class in West Europe. This would electrify workers throughout the world and establish a base for the struggle for international revolution, especially in the advanced capitalist countries, which is vital for the achievement of a world socialist society, one in which poverty has been abolished and classes are no more. ■

## Rudd's ALP...

(continued from page 9)

Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australian imperialist plunder in the Asia-Pacific region cannot be eliminated through "regime change" in Canberra, or Washington for that matter. Militarism is an expression of the *system* of capitalist imperialism, in which the ruling classes of the richest capitalist countries ruthlessly compete for new markets and ever greater resources and sources of cheap labour in neocolonial countries. The various imperialist bourgeoisies enforce their neocolonial looting, and protect spheres of exploitation, through the deadly coercive power of their state. It is an elementary principle for Marxists to uncompromisingly oppose the imperialist depredations of their "own" ruling class. An end to imperialist war will only come about through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system internationally. We say: **For class-struggle opposition to the Australian capitalist rulers at home! Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military! Down with the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance! U.S. military and spy bases out now! Defend China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba! Australian troops/cops get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, East Timor and the Solomons!**

### Break with Laborism! We Need a Revolutionary Leadership!

The ALP acts to divert workers struggles into parliamentarism and loyalty to the state. When in power, as it is today in all states and territories, the ALP administers the capitalist system for the bosses. Founded on "White Australia" racism, the ALP has supported every war waged by Australian imperialism and was enlisted by the bourgeoisie to run the country during two interimperialist world wars. The Labor Party has a long history of suppressing militant worker struggles, from sending the military against the great 1949 miners strike to the Hawke/Keating government's busting of the militant Builders Labourers Federation in the mid 1980s. It was thirteen years of union-busting ALP rule which laid the groundwork for Howard's anti-union attacks.

The Laborite union misleaders are a pro-capitalist bureaucratic layer atop the unions, bought off by the crumbs from Australian imperialism's exploitation abroad. Sometimes under pressure from their worker base they are impelled to call strikes and other actions to defend workers against the capitalist rulers' attacks. Witness the recent struggle for better pay and conditions by Victorian nurses. Overall, however, they act to police the working class for the bosses and are the main mechanism for transmitting bourgeois consciousness into the working class. Today, along with ALP politicians who earlier vowed to "rip up" the anti-union laws, the union tops have

## Class Struggle and Bourgeois Parliament

Whichever government is in power under capitalism it is nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class. As Lenin remarked in 1917: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism..." (*State and Revolution*). While during the elections the fake socialists declared that the "battle is on the streets," in reality along with the "left" union tops their overriding concern was for a Labor government and the Greens winning the balance of power in the Senate. Thus these parliamentary reformists served to legitimise the deeply undemocratic electoral system in Australia, where compulsory preferential voting means the working class is compelled to cast votes for the class enemy or have their vote not count. We say: **Down with compulsory voting! Down with the compulsory preferential system!**

Marxists are not opposed to participating in elections. Alongside utilising, when appropriate, the Leninist tactic of critical electoral support, communists may themselves stand candidates and, if

elected, participate in bourgeois parliaments in order to use this institution as a rostrum for revolutionary agitation. However just as it is unprincipled to give political support to any capitalist party or politician, it is entirely *unprincipled* to stand for and assume *executive* office or serve as a bourgeois minister, either on a local or national level. To assume such a position necessarily means enforcing the bourgeois order, including using the cops and army to repress the struggles of working people and the oppressed. (See "Down With Executive Offices!" *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 60, Autumn 2007.)

This perspective is far removed from that of the Socialist Party, affiliated to the Committee for the Workers' International (CWI). In the mid-1980s in Britain, the CWI-led Liverpool council distributed some 31,000 redundancy notices to city workers! Led by SP National Secretary and Yarra City councillor, Stephen Jolly, the SP in the recent federal elections simultaneously called for a "new workers party" and "to vote for socialist candidates where possible, then the Greens." Given that the SP are prepared to call for

a vote to the bourgeois Greens and argue, for example, that the capitalist police are part of the workers movement, one can see that the party they project would have no qualms about supporting the Australian capitalist state. Thus there would be nothing "new" about the SP's workers party. It would just be another left Laborite obstacle to workers revolution.

Unlike the reformist opponents of Marxism, we Trotskyists fight to build a genuine revolutionary workers party. Basing itself on the lessons of history, such a party would model itself on Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party which 90 years ago led the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greatest victory ever achieved by the working people of the world. Committed to organising the working class independently of the capitalist rulers and for internationalist class-struggle solidarity with the working masses of the Asia-Pacific region, such a party would act as tribune of all the people and take up the fight against every expression of capitalist injustice and tyranny, in the struggle to sweep away the capitalist system through victorious workers revolution.



Chris Crerar

**Melbourne, 26 September: Thousands of striking unionists joined protest against anti-union WorkChoices legislation. Trade-union tops diverted working-class anger into election campaign for ALP victory.**

acted to head off the sort of class-struggle strike actions that can make these laws worthless scraps of paper. Over the last period, these Laborite traitors have responded to working-class anger by calling a series of mass rallies to allow workers to let off steam. Pushing nationalist protectionism and reliance on the courts (particularly Arbitration), the union tops have simultaneously channeled millions of dollars of union members' dues into the campaign for an ALP victory in marginal electorates.

When sections of the bourgeoisie signalled they could accept a Rudd government providing it maintained the core of

Howard's anti-union assault, the ALP went into overdrive. They quickly pledged to maintain tough restrictions on strikes and on access to worksites by union officials. Labor has also pledged to retain the ABCC, which targets the militant construction union, describing it as a "strong 'cop on the beat'." This was followed by a purge of militant-talking unionists from the ALP leader as Victorian Electrical Trades Union commander Dean Mighell. Now the ALP is committed to maintaining individual contracts, the cornerstone of the government's anti-union attacks, until at least 2010!

There is plenty of anger and hostility to the government's union-busting attacks. On 26 September in Melbourne, thousands of workers struck to attend a 20,000-strong rally against the anti-union laws. Alongside the recent nurses' strike, there has also been the threat of national strike action by postal workers. Disgruntlement with the ALP was summed up by a banner at a nurses mass meeting in Melbourne which in part read, "Brumby [state Labor Premier] Howard: what's the difference...."

Indeed, the ALP is an obstacle to advancing the interests of the proletariat. The working class needs a party that stands on an internationalist, revolutionary, proletarian program. Such a party will be built through a political struggle against Laborism. This means splitting the working-class base of the ALP from its pro-bourgeois leadership, centrally through the fight for a revolutionary

class-struggle leadership of the unions.

Such a leadership linked to a revolutionary party would actively mobilise, in demonstrations and strike actions, against acts of racist terror perpetrated against immigrants, Aborigines and all the oppressed. In contrast to union leaders who preach protectionist poison and xenophobia against "guest workers" this leadership would act to defend the rights of *all* workers, including through organising them into the unions and fighting for full union wages and conditions and full citizenship rights for all who have made it here, including access to social services. Against the double oppression of working women, it would fight for free 24-hour childcare, paid maternity leave and for free abortion on demand. It would fight for union hiring halls with union programs to recruit and train those historically discriminated against. Against unemployment, including the mass of hidden unemployed, it would take up the fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work around. It would energetically seek to organise non-unionised workers while opposing sackings. In opposition to craftist divisions, such a leadership would fight for maximum working-class unity, for industrial unions.

Ultimately, however, for the working class to secure jobs for all at decent wages, free education and health care and decent housing for all, requires a socialist revolution. This in turn, requires transforming the political consciousness of the working class from a class in itself to a class *for* itself, conscious of its historic role in sweeping away the rotting capitalist system. The indispensable instrument to lead such a struggle is a Leninist vanguard party. It is only under workers rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—and the establishment of a collectivised planned economy that production will be for human need and not for profit. The working class with its hands on the levers of production and organised in the factories, mines, telecommunications and transportation systems, has the social power and objective interest to overthrow the capitalist system. It will take the international extension of proletarian class rule to lay the material basis for the rational expansion of production and elimination of scarcity, allowing for an unprecedented development of human freedom and learning in all spheres. **For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!** ■

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## Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

one of the witnesses intimidated by police (<http://i117.photobucket.com/albums/o59/jaysyro/JPGVJONES.jpg>). Jones testified at a 1996 PCRA hearing that police had coerced her into lying at the 1982 trial, when she denied that she had seen someone run from the scene. That person could not have been Mumia, who was found seated on a curb bleeding profusely after having been shot by police. The district attorney arrested Jones while she was on the witness stand in 1996, hauling her away in handcuffs based on a years-old petty theft warrant.

Noting the "intimidation, threats and bullying I've endured since December 1981," Jones wrote, "If there were no merit or questions looming regarding Mr. Jamal's innocence, then can someone please explain to me why so much effort exerted to publicly try to discredit and humiliate me?" She offered in closing, "I knew Officer Faulkner and thought he was a nice person—to me. He helped and looked out for me several times. With that being said, I had no reason whatsoever to protect a man accused of murdering him—a man that I did not even know, that man being Mumia Abu-Jamal."

In a 2001 affidavit submitted to state and federal courts, Wolkenstein showed that there was no evidence that Mumia's gun was fired that night. The absence of divots in the sidewalk contradicts the cops' tale that Mumia fired repeatedly as he stood over Faulkner, while bullet trajectories point to more than one shooter (see PDC pamphlet, *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* <http://www.partisandefense.org/pubs/innocent/rw.html>).

Photographs by freelancer Pedro Polakoff, recently unearthed by Michael Schiffmann, further refute the cops' scenario (<http://www.abu-jamal-news.com/>). In addition to showing the absence of divots, the photos confirm that a cabdriver who testified against Mumia was not where the cops and prosecutors

claimed he was. They also clearly show police tampering with guns and other evidence in order to pin the murder on Mumia. Polakoff's photos were featured at a December 4 press conference in Philadelphia which was picked up by Reuters. Matt Lauer showed some of them in questioning Faulkner, sending Smerconish into a fury.

The next day, Faulkner appeared on MSNBC's *Hardball*, hosted by former Democratic Party speechwriter Chris Matthews, who did not even give the appearance of evenhandedness. Matthews rehearsed the claim that "for 26 years" neither Mumia nor his brother Billy Cook, who was on the scene that night, ever gave an account of what they saw. In fact, Mumia and his brother both gave sworn statements that, like the Beverly confession, have been consistently disregarded by state and federal courts. Mumia declared in 2001, "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent." His statement describes how he ran from his parked cab in Center City after he heard shots and saw other people running, recognizing his brother staggering in the street. "I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees" (<http://www.partisandefense.org/pubs/innocent/maj.html>). Mumia was not only shot but beaten by cops who wanted to see him dead.

Billy Cook gave sworn statements in 1999 and 2001 that "Mumia Abu-Jamal did not shoot Officer Faulkner and I did not shoot Officer Faulkner" (<http://www.partisandefense.org/pubs/innocent/wc.html>). Cook states that Kenneth Freeman, a passenger in Cook's VW, told him after the shooting that there had been a plan to kill Faulkner and that Freeman was part of that plan.

Maureen Faulkner also appeared on Fox News' *The O'Reilly Factor* on December 6. While admitting that he had no idea what happened the night of the shooting, O'Reilly opined that Mumia must be guilty because his frame-up was upheld by the courts, declaring, "I've got to go with

## Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

### Funds are urgently needed for legal defence!

Make a contribution today, payable to Partisan Defence Committee, write "Mumia legal defence" on the back of the cheque and mail to the address below. Every cent of such contributions is transmitted to Mumia's legal defence team via Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York.

**Organise protest!** Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organisations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organisation to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicise Mumia's case in your union or organisation's newsletter.

**Spread the word!** Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC badge: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$2 for 25 copies.

Order from/make cheques payable to Partisan Defence Committee, PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230. Contact us on (02) 9281 2181 or (03) 9654 4315.

the system." Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the PDC, responded, "There is no justice in this system for people like Mumia, for fighters for black freedom, for labor militants, for opponents of the capitalist system and its Democratic and Republican parties. The fact that the conviction and death sentence have been upheld by court after court despite overwhelming evidence of innocence shows this."

Herson stressed the need to mobilize the social power of the labor movement, along with all fighters against racist injustice, behind Mumia's cause: "The only pressure that will have an impact on the capitalist rulers and their courts is the fear

of the consequences of executing Mumia or entombing him for life. It took a campaign of international mass protest, crucially including trade unionists, to stay the executioner's hand when Mumia was under a death warrant in 1995." Herson pointed to the call by the PDC and other organizations for day-after emergency protests in the event of a negative decision by the Third Circuit and a planned national protest in Philadelphia the third Saturday after (<http://www.partisandefense.org/events/index.html>). He emphasized, "These protests must serve as a springboard to revive mass protest behind the call: Mumia is innocent—Free him now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" ■

## Logan...

(continued from page 3)

in good part through the instrumentality of a clot of embittered ex-members of ours in North America who in October 1982 declared themselves an "External Tendency of the iSt" (ET—renamed Bolshevik Tendency, BT, in 1985). In its October 1982 founding "Declaration of an External Tendency of the iSt," the ET made Logan the poster boy for the launch of a vendetta against our party, portraying him as a scapegoat of our allegedly bureaucratic "regime." Yet, to our knowledge, the ET/BT then maintained a public silence on Logan for more than eight years, until the sudden announcement in 1991 of its 1990 "fusion" with his New Zealand Permanent Revolution Group (PRG). At that point, not only did these political desperadoes publicly embrace Logan, they actually anointed him principal leader of their new "International Bolshevik Tendency." As we will detail later, while pursuing its own brand of Stalinophobic, social-democratic politics, over the years the BT has engaged in all manner of provocation and slander against us in its drive to destroy our party.

This same Logan, while masquerading as an "international Bolshevik" leader, has simultaneously maintained a real-life practice in Wellington, New Zealand, as a professional "celebrant"—a New Age version of evangelical preacher and spiritual healer. As detailed below in the section titled "A Postscript on Bill Logan and the

BT: Garbage Doesn't Walk by Itself," various public accounts by former members of the PRG and BT attest that Logan has continued some of the same kinds of practices for which we expelled him 28 years ago. For more on the question of the BT's peculiar political physiognomy, we refer readers to the above-cited bulletins; several editions of *Hate Trotskyism*, *Hate the Spartacist League*, our bulletin series consisting mainly of reprints of anti-Spartacist polemics by our opponents; the ICL pamphlet, *The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?* (August 1995) and numerous articles dealing with the BT in our indexed bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard* (see, for example, "Kneeling Before the Body of General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham," WV No. 827, 28 May 2004).

In publishing the documentary record of the Logan trial, we aim to make clear to a new generation of leftists that the likes of Logan have no place in the workers movement, to expose his opportunist "Bolshevik" Tendency for the suspect outfit it is and to demolish its lying smears and slanders against our party. Hopefully, the belated release of this bulletin will serve a broader purpose as well. In braying over the alleged "death of communism" in the years since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the very same bourgeois propagandists who apologize for a system of imperialist mass murder denounce those who seek to liberate humanity from class exploitation as evil incarnate—power-hungry, corrupt, patho-

logically violent and hostile to all human sensibilities. As this record of our fight to rid the workers movement of Logan shows, such attributes are inimical to the very essence of authentic communism.

But the features that made Logan the repulsive creature he is are not unusual in bourgeois society. The accumulation of wealth and the administration of power necessary to maintain and perpetuate that privileged status often attract people who have qualities like Logan's. The British ruling class, particularly in its Tory embodiment, has long been notorious in its appetite for blood sports, capital punishment (most recently mere hanging), corporal punishment in its schools and associated sado-masochistic sexual proclivities. All these things, taken together, serve an important social purpose. They outfit the rulers of the country and the late empire to properly administer their holdings, both in regard to the downtrodden and exploited, and in defense against imperialist rivals.

Logan was a product of this system in the small, neo-Victorian dominion of New Zealand. His political origins, amid the radicalization of the 1960s, lay in the right wing of New Zealand bourgeois politics, the then ruling National Party (see Bill Logan, "Never Exactly One of the Lads..." ed. Michael King, *One of the Boys?* [Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann, 1988]). His social and educational background lay in New Zealand's English-style "public school" (elite private school) culture, steeped in imperialist elitism and misogynist sadism.

Numerous people have revolted against such backgrounds to become Communists, not least heroic Soviet spies like Kim Philby. But even as an avowed communist, Logan boasted of clinging to "the style of a New Zealand private schoolboy who was almost always a class captain, cub-scout sixer or school prefect" ("Personal Notes in Preparation for a Discussion re the Sharpe Problem," 23 August 1978, "On the Logan Regime," Part I). He relished the low cunning and quiet self-confidence that enabled him to play on the vulnerabilities of others.

We strive for a society in which all forms of social oppression, exploitation and degradation—the warped byproducts of material scarcity—will be things of the past. To this end, we seek to make the proletariat—though shaped by the deformities of capitalist class rule—conscious of its historic role as the gravedigger of the capitalist system, and of class society as a whole. Power politics, lying and sexual manipulation are antithetical to this purpose. The Leninist party demands a monopoly on the political activities of those who join our movement. All the more so do we draw a hard line against interference in comrades' personal lives. Driven by considerations of power and control, Logan was a malicious puppet-master who was sadistically destructive of people's personal lives—making people live together who did not want to do so, causing people who did not want to live together to break up. There is no place for the likes of a William King Logan in our movement. ■



## Protesters Counter *Murdered by Mumia* Media Blitz

# Demand Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., on 9 December.

Chants of "Mumia is innocent! Free him now!" resounded outside NBC studios in New York on December 6, as Maureen Faulkner and right-wing radio broadcaster Michael Smerconish appeared on the *Today* show with Matt Lauer to push their book, *Murdered by Mumia*. The book rehashes police and prosecution lies used to falsely convict Mumia Abu-Jamal of the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner on 9 December 1981. With a decision on Mumia's case by the Third Circuit Court of Appeals due any day, the book makes its purpose clear by placing front and center the call to execute this innocent man.

The International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Journalists for Mumia and Educators for Mumia waged a campaign calling on the *Today* show to allow Mumia's supporters to counter Faulkner and Smerconish. Following the December 6 protest, called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (NYC), Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein remarked, "What was clear in the *Today* show and on the streets today is that there are two clearly defined sides: those who fight for Mumia's freedom based on his innocence and the forces of racist 'law and order' led by the Fraternal Order of Police who seek his execution."

Wolkenstein, who served on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999, continued: "This is the case of a racist and political



New York, 6 December: PDC and Spartacist supporters at rally outside NBC's *Today* show led spirited chanting of "Mumia is innocent! Free him now!"

frame-up. Some 900 pages of FBI/CO-INTELPRO files show that Mumia was a target of the FBI and the Philadelphia cops from the time he was a 15-year-old Black Panther spokesman. He was further targeted when he became a MOVE supporter and a journalist widely known as the 'voice of the voiceless'."

Sparing no falsehood in trying to clear the road to Mumia's legal lynching, Maureen Faulkner, Daniel's widow, and Michael Smerconish paint a viciously lying portrait of MOVE, a back-to-nature communal group that Mumia supports, as a bunch of "lawless" and "dangerous" murderers. Capping a years-long campaign of state terror against MOVE was the May 1985 police firebombing of its Osage Avenue home, killing eleven people, including five children, and destroying an entire black neighborhood. The authors of *Murdered by Mumia* obscenely paint MOVE as responsible for this racist mass murder, which was carried out by the police under black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and aided and abetted by the Feds.

Seeking to intimidate any who would take up Mumia's cause, the book includes a frontal attack on the Partisan Defense Committee, which solidarized with MOVE and has fought for 20 years for Mumia's freedom. Faulkner and Smerconish even attack Stuart Taylor, a conservative legal commentator who questioned the fairness of Mumia's 1982 trial presided over by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo. Sabo, who also presided over Mumia's post-conviction (PCRA) appeals, was overheard by a court reporter at the time of the trial saying, "I'm going to help them fry the n---r."

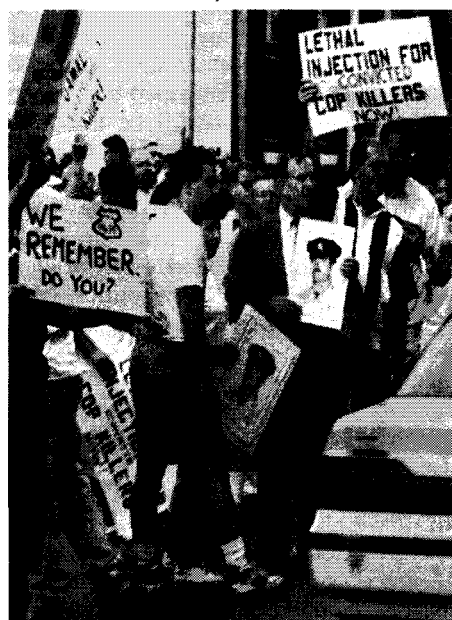
Smerconish and Faulkner make no bones about the political nature of the frame-up, retailing the prosecution line that Mumia's Panther membership proved that he had been planning to kill a cop for years. As the PDC's Erica Williamson remarked, "The racist capitalist rulers want to see Mumia dead because they see in him the spectre of black revolt. The fight to free Mumia is a key focus of the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty, a legacy of chattel slavery."

Rachel Wolkenstein commented, "In being written as a memoir, this book avoids having to refute the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence that has been unearthed in the years following his

trial. In fact, this evidence is irrefutable." Mumia's original trial was marked by racist jury-rigging, rampant intimidation of witnesses by cops and prosecutors, the concealing of evidence of his innocence and the manufacturing of phony ballistics and other "evidence" purportedly proving Mumia's guilt. Then in 1999, Arnold Beverly came forward in a sworn statement saying that he, not Mumia, shot and killed Officer Faulkner (go to <http://www.partisandefense.org/pubs/innocent/ab.html>). To those who base their protests on the call for a new trial for Mumia, Wolkenstein stated, "What is there to retry in this case? Mumia should never have spent a day in prison. There must be mass protests demanding that this innocent man be freed, now!"

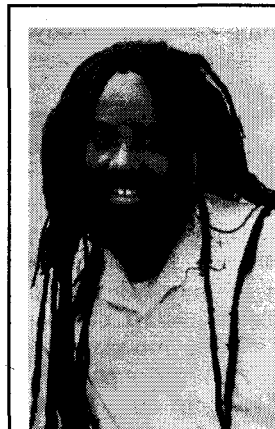
Beverly stated in his affidavit that he and another man were hired to kill Faulkner, who was a problem for the mob and corrupt cops because he interfered with graft and payoffs over prostitution, gambling and drugs. At the time of Faulkner's killing in the Center City area, the Philadelphia Police Department was under at least three federal investigations for corruption involving cop-mob ties. One-third of the cops in Mumia's case were implicated in corruption charges. Wolkenstein remarked, "This underscores that the cops are insistent on Mumia's death not only because he has been an outspoken voice for black freedom, but so that they can bury the proof of their own wrongdoing." She noted, "*Murdered by Mumia* includes not one word about these investigations."

Among those who wrote to the *Today* show demanding that it present a truthful account of this case was Veronica Jones, *continued on page 11*



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer  
July 1995: Mob of 300 racist Philly cops besiege headquarters of hospital workers Local 1199C, denouncing union support for Mumia.

## Prepare Now for Emergency Protests!



Jennifer Beach

On 17 May, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals heard oral arguments in Mumia's case, and there could be a decision at any time. If the Court rules to uphold the death sentence or denies Mumia's appeals for a new trial or a new hearing, the Partisan Defence Committee has called a protest in Sydney at noon on the Saturday immediately following the decision. Protests have also been called internationally.

For more information see the PDC Web site [www.partisandefense.org](http://www.partisandefense.org), phone (02) 9281 2181 or (03) 9654 4315, or email [pdc.sydney@exemail.com.au](mailto:pdc.sydney@exemail.com.au)

**Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!**  
**FREE MUMIA NOW!**  
**Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**