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Statement of the International Communist League

Defend Iraq Against U.S. and Allied Imperialist Attack!



Aral/Sipa



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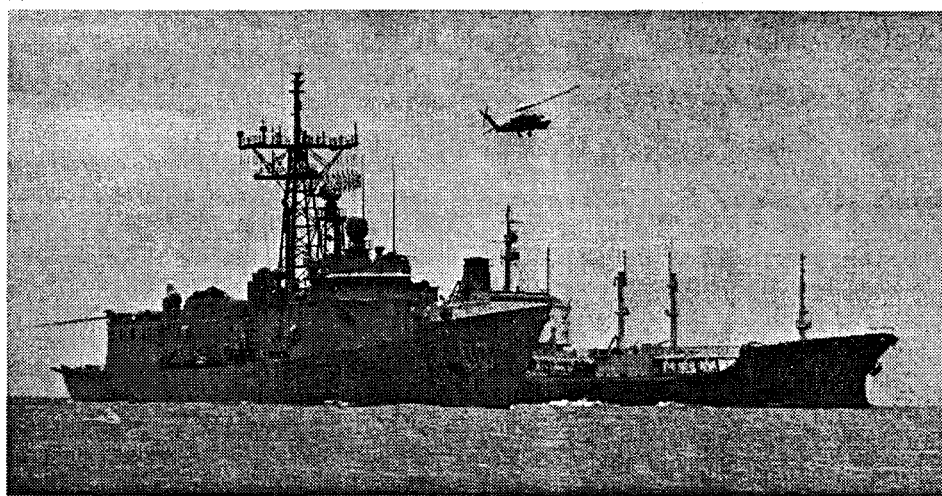
Baghdad: Neighbourhood destroyed by U.S. missile attack, 1997; women demonstrate against UN starvation sanctions, 1998.

The following statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) was issued on 23 October and is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 790, 1 November), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

U.S. imperialism is leading the world to war. Tens of thousands of American and British troops are getting positioned for a full-scale attack on Iraq, while other powers from Australia to Turkey elbow each other for a role in the slaughter and a share of the loot. The White House has already revealed plans for a post-Saddam Hussein military occupation of Iraq. Look at the war chest of nuclear weapons the U.S. has and threatens to use today and it's clear that the fate of life on this planet is threatened by the continued existence of this imperialist order.

In the war against Iraq, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) clearly takes a side: We stand for the military defense of Iraq without giving a milligram of political support to the Saddam Hussein regime. Hussein is a bloody oppressor of Iraqi workers, leftists, Shi'ite Muslims, the Kurdish people and others. As such, he was a close ally and client of U.S. imperialism for two decades before he made a grab for Kuwait in 1990. Now the U.S. wants a more pliant regime and tighter control of the oil spigot, not least to put economic rivals like Japan and Germany, who are more dependent on Near East oil, on rations. With its renewed saber rattling over North Korea, Washington makes clear that that country will be next on its hit list in the event of an easy win in Iraq. The fact that the imperialists have not already threatened to bomb North Korea in

Down With the UN Starvation Blockade!



Department of Defence

Australian naval vessel, HMAS Sydney, enforcing blockade of Iraq in Persian Gulf. UN/imperialist sanctions have killed more than 1.5 million Iraqi civilians.

response to news that it may be developing a nuclear capability only underlines that nuclear weapons are the sole guarantor of a country's sovereignty in today's world. Every victory for the imperialists in their predatory wars encourages further military adventures; every setback serves to assist the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

The colossal military advantage of the United States against neocolonial Iraq—

a country which has already been bled white through 12 years of UN sanctions which have killed more than 1.5 million civilians—underscores the importance of *class struggle* in the imperialist centers as the chief means to give content to the call to defend Iraq. Every strike, every labor mobilization against war plans, every mass protest against attacks on workers and minorities, every struggle against domestic repression and against attacks

on civil liberties represents a dent in the imperialist war drive. To put an end to war once and for all, the capitalist system that breeds war must be swept away through a series of revolutions and the establishment of a rational, planned, egalitarian socialist economy on a world scale. *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack!*

The extent to which Washington's allies in the United Nations, especially Germany, have openly criticized the Bush administration's rabid provocations in the Near East is a measure of the growth of tensions among the imperialist powers in recent years. But while objecting to the rudeness of an American cowboy boot on their necks, all the subordinate imperialist states will acquiesce to the diktats of the master of capitalist ruling classes, U.S. imperialism, because they lack the might to oppose the U.S. and they want to be rewarded with at least a share of the spoils. As an official for the French oil company TotalFinaElf bluntly stated, "We want the oil and we want to be in the game of rebuilding the country. If there were a new regime and we have not been with the Americans, where will we be?"

War: The Continuation of Politics by Other Means

The American ruling class cynically manipulated the grief and horror felt by millions at the criminal and demented attack on the World Trade Center to wage war on Afghanistan. But the patriotic consensus in the U.S. is wearing thin, and elsewhere there is massive opposition to a war against Iraq. War demands civil peace, and from Los Angeles to London the imperialist warmakers are revealed as vicious

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For Class Struggle Against Australia's Capitalist Rulers!

Iraq...

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domestic union-busters and strike-breakers. Declaring that a strike could "threaten national security," the Bush administration has brought down the force of the capitalist state to coerce the powerful American dockers union, the ILWU, to work under the dictates of the union-busting employers association. Across the seas, British firefighters are threatened with strikebreaking by the army. Plunging stock markets rob millions of workers of their pensions while public scandals expose insatiable corporate greed. Tens of thousands of working people, including the entire workforce at a number of Fiat plants in Italy, face a future of being chopped off like a gangrenous limb by owners seeking to protect their own profit margins amid the capitalist economic crisis. Civil liberties have been shredded and the capitalists have intensified their assault on social welfare and other gains wrested through decades of workers struggles.

Everywhere, the anti-immigrant witch-hunt has been whipped up to fever pitch in an effort by the capitalist rulers to deflect working-class struggle with racism and xenophobia. The anti-immigrant hysteria provokes a tide of blood as *thousands* of desperate refugees die trying to cross the U.S. border from Mexico or to land a rickety boat in Australia or Europe.



Castellonovo/NY Times



Reuters

Devastated Jenin after Israeli blitzkrieg in April. Fascistic Zionist settlers rampage in Palestinian city of Hebron, July.

instrumentality of revolutionary workers parties is the only way forward.

In the U.S., not even dizzying flag-waving or the heavy fist of state repression has induced the masses to embrace war with Iraq. In Europe, hundreds of thousands of workers and anti-imperialist youth have demonstrated their opposition to this war. The problem is that the anti-war protests in Europe have all been channeled into a national-chauvinist direction of getting one's "own" rulers to stand up to the Americans. In the U.S., antiwar

labor. The leader of the Russian Revolution, V.I. Lenin, emphasized the difference between *bourgeois pacifism*, which lulls the masses into passivity and embellishes capitalist "democracy," and the yearning for peace by the masses. Following the outbreak of the first inter-imperialist world war, Lenin wrote:

"At the present time, the propaganda of peace unaccompanied by a call for revolutionary mass action can only sow illusions and demoralize the proletariat, for it makes the proletariat believe that the bourgeoisie is humane, and turns it into a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of a so-called democratic peace being possible without a series of revolutions is profoundly erroneous."

—"The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad" (February 1915)

In wars between the imperialist predators and plunderers and their colonial and semicolonial victims, the proletariat has a side. As Lenin stressed in his 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*: "If tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on [tsarist] Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slaveholding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

There are palpable opportunities to organize class-struggle opposition to imperialist war and to break the narrow nationalist and economist limits of strikes contained by labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. During the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, Italian COBAS unions organized a one-million-strong political general strike against the war. Fiat workers, who today battle plant closings in Italy, organized a campaign of material aid—a campaign which all sections of the ICL actively supported—for their class brothers and sisters at the Yugoslav Zastava car plant, which had been bombed by the imperialists. Last year, Japanese dock workers at Sasebo pointed the way forward by "hot-cargoeing" (refusing to handle) Japanese

military goods destined for the war in Afghanistan. Today, courageous Turkish workers at the U.S. airbase in Incirlik, which is planned to be a major launching pad for the Iraq war, threaten a strike.

What's essential is to draw a class line and unshackle the working people and anti-imperialist youth from bourgeois politicians, their agents in the trade unions and their left servants, who seek to channel justified hatred of war into illusory calls for parliamentary reforms of the profit-driven system that breeds war and, in West Europe, into support for their own national bourgeoisie against the Americans. In the heart of the imperialist beast, the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the ICL, has pointed the way forward with revolutionary internationalist contingents in the antiwar protests. We demand: *For class struggle against the U.S. capitalist rulers! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack! Down with the UN starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/imperialist troops out of the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

Bush Doctrine: Nuclear Top Cops of the World

In September, the Bush administration released its "National Security Strategy," a diplomatic bombshell enshrining the principle of "pre-emptive" war, including with nuclear weapons, against anyone who steps in America's way and avowing that no power will ever catch up with the huge military advantage the U.S. has amplified since the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. (The U.S. military budget is now greater than that of the next 19 countries combined.) This threat is directed first and foremost against China, as well as against America's imperialist rivals. The new policy represents a significant shift from how America has dominated the world since it emerged triumphant over its rivals in the first and second imperialist world wars. For decades, the U.S. has wrapped its outright brigandage in the guise of "democracy" and "liberating" people from "dictatorship." The

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Workers Vanguard

October 26: Revolutionary Internationalist Contingents, organised by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs in the U.S., marched in anti-war protests in San Francisco (above) and Washington, D.C.

Having brought in large numbers of immigrants when their labor was needed, in the face of recession the bourgeoisies of West Europe do not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labor. All this shows clearly that the capitalist system is the biggest threat to working people everywhere. A decade ago, the rulers crowed about the supposed "death of communism." But capitalism has brought the world to an impasse which the Iraq war illuminates with the terrifying glare of missiles streaking across a night sky. The fight for authentic communism (not its Stalinist perversion) through the

liberals and leftists bleat, "Money for jobs, not for war" and so fuel the lie that fundamental priorities of the capitalist rulers can be altered to serve the interests of working people.

The truth is that this whole capitalist system is based on the extraction of profit for the owners of the means of production through the exploitation and subjugation of the workers who produce the wealth of society. War is a concentrated expression of this, as competing capitalist ruling classes scramble to steal natural resources and to carve out new markets for export of capital and fresh sources of cheap

Australasian

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EDITOR: Chris Cunningham

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Wallace

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Phillipa Newman

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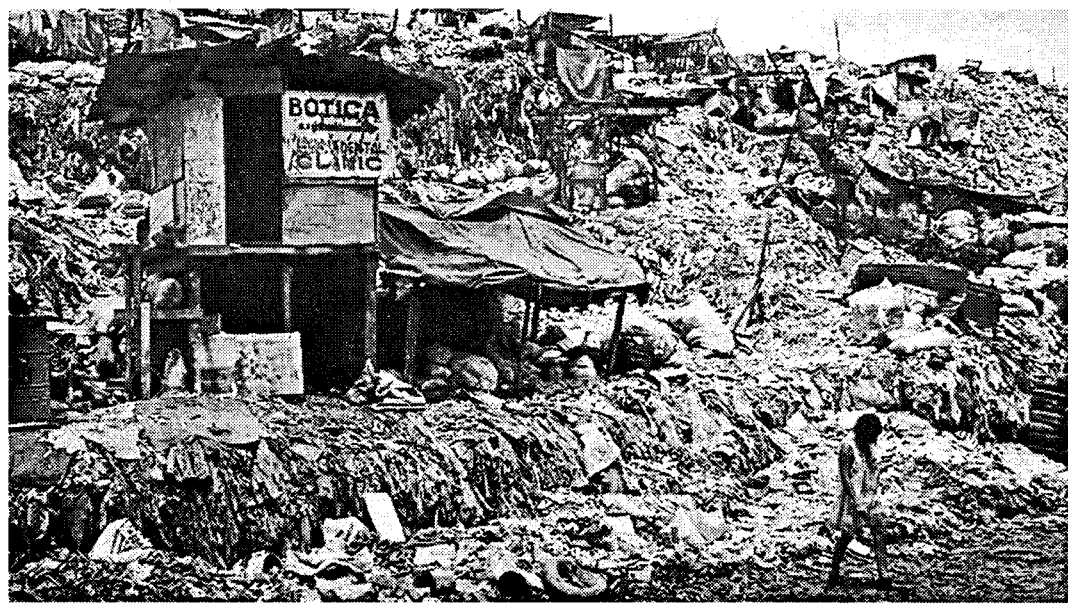
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Women and Revolution



AFP

Action Press

Philippine president Arroyo inspecting troops after crackdown against plebeian protesters in May 2001. Manila slum epitomises wretched state of masses.

Arroyo Regime Bans "Morning After" Pill

Church and State vs. Women in the Philippines

We reprint below an article from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 790, 1 November), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/U.S.*

Contraception and recent legislation to establish a reproductive health care program for women and teens in the Philippines have come under scathing attack by the bourgeoisie led by the right-wing government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and the Roman Catholic church. The Arroyo government, which was installed in a "People Power" coup in January 2001 by the bourgeoisie centered on the Makati Business Club, the military and the powerful Catholic hierarchy—with the backing of the Stalinist and social-democratic left—recently banned Postinor, a brand of "morning after" oral contraceptive pill on the grounds that it violated the country's draconian anti-abortion laws. This sets the stage for further assaults by the Philippine bourgeoisie on the severely limited access to birth control, reinforcing the horrible oppression of women in the country.

In this 80 percent Catholic country, the woman question is a central and explosive issue. The 1987 constitution includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws

For Free Abortion on Demand!

in the world, and when the Philippine bourgeoisie re-introduced capital punishment in the midst of an "anti-sex crime" crusade in the late 1990s, a new anti-abortion law meting out the death penalty—to both the woman and the doctor—was also proposed. Capital punishment, which was temporarily suspended as a result of opposition from abolitionists and civil libertarians, has received the green light from Arroyo, whose government is also seeking the death penalty for those it deems "terrorists." *Legalize Postinor! Free abortion on demand! Abolish the death penalty!*

Arroyo's identification with the church is no surprise. Besides being a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and an admirer of former right-wing British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, Arroyo also declared when she was a senatorial candidate: "My position [on family planning] is the position of the Church." Shortly after ousting from power capitalist politician Joseph "Erap" Estrada, a self-styled "man of the masses" whose downfall was sparked by charges of "immorality" and corruption, among Arroyo's first moves

was to ban a film exposing the horrid conditions faced by the country's sex workers.

The right-wing attacks on women's rights come in the context of a growing leftist movement, seething anger over capitalist austerity and the threatened displacement of thousands of Filipino workers in the Near East that could result from the invasion of Iraq by the United States, the former colonial power in the Philippines. The campaign to impose social regimentation and conformity is justified as part of Arroyo's crusade to establish a "strong republic" founded on private property, anti-communism and "family values." These positions have served to embolden the Catholic church, whose social weight has grown considerably since its key role in the first "People Power" revolt which overthrew the blood-soaked dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986.

It was in the 1990s that the church mobilized a million of its followers in opposition to the family planning program pushed by the administration then headed by President Fidel V. Ramos, a Protestant. And, backed by a host of "pro-family, pro-life" groups, the powerful Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines has been able to shoot down bills aimed at legalizing divorce and same-sex marriages. Such moves by the church are aimed at bolstering and strengthening the hold of the bourgeois family, the key institution for women's oppression and the main instrument for social control in capitalist society. Women's oppression is compounded by religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—which teaches women that their "natural place" is at home slaving over the stove and laundry and being sexually available in the bedroom, while denied the choice of when, whether or how many children they would like to bear.

Currently, the church is targeting the proposed limited-scope Reproductive Health Care Act, which was endorsed by conservative Senator Rodolfo Biazon,

a former commander of the Philippine Marines. The bill merely seeks to provide birth control information to women. But in the Philippines, where sex education is not mandatory in schools and where "sex education" programs and literature mainly teach "chastity" and abstinence, even minimal reforms are a welcome departure from the prevailing stifling priest-ridden atmosphere and are thus viewed as a grave threat to social order by the bourgeoisie. Religious leaders have branded the bill's authors "adulterers, fornicators and terrorists." Flouting the constitutional separation of church and state, the Catholic hierarchy has publicly warned politicians against supporting contraception, threatening to campaign against them in the 2004 elections. Hence, only three out of 24 senators and 60 out of 216 Lower House members have signed the proposed bill.

Fight for Women's Rights!

The feminist group Likhaan says that the Philippines has 2.6 million pregnancies each year, more than half of which are "unintended, forced, and unwanted." About 4,000 of these end up in the death of mothers due to complications in pregnancy and childbirth, including from botched abortions. A safe and simple medical procedure when carried out professionally, abortion can become deadly when driven underground. By conservative estimates, 800,000 abortions are performed in the country; at least 80,000 women, according to the Population Commission, have been hospitalized as a result of botched abortions. The survey also found that the use of contraception, which is banned by the Catholic church, fell to 47 percent among Filipino women in 2001, compared to 49 percent in 1999.

In 1999, religious reactionaries campaigned to discourage pregnant women from receiving tetanus injections by raising the bogey that the vaccine caused miscarriages. Apparently having scared mothers away from the tetanus injections, the campaign also succeeded in keeping children away from health centers for their regular immunization. This resulted a year later in the dramatic rise in the

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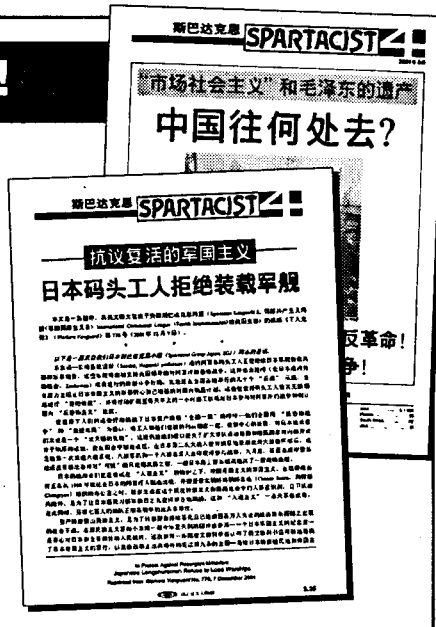
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Philippines...

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number of children getting sick with, if not dying from, measles.

The reactionary partnership of the church and the bourgeois state comes to the fore in the latest wave of budget cuts for public health and social services, combined with moral terrorism and financial pressure by the clergy. Besides the government ban on Postinor, the church has successfully forced the owners of the 7-11 convenience stores in the Philippines to stop condom sales and prevented some *barangay* (village) public health centers from dispensing free oral contraceptive pills to working women and the poor. In central Philippines, the clergy have torn down posters advertising contraceptives and in Iloilo City threatened to withdraw the lease on several department stores, including the ShoeMart and Gaisano chains, if they continued to sell condoms openly. This campaign of religious backwardness brings to mind the 350 years when the archipelago, then a possession of the Most Catholic Majesties of Spain, was under the sway of the friars.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which for eleven years provided technical assistance and supplies to support birth control in the Philippines, decided in September to discontinue support for the procurement of condom shipments. This is despite increasing concerns by international health agencies over the rise of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases in the Philippines. USAID's decision is part of the U.S. government's current policy of cutting funding to any overseas organization that provides family planning and abortion services. USAID supplies of oral contraceptives will be discontinued in 2003, and the country has enough stocks to last only until September 2004. During a recent action at the U.S. embassy in Manila, protesters fired five condom-tipped skyrockets at the embassy grounds in outrage at the implementation of the gag order by the Bush administration.

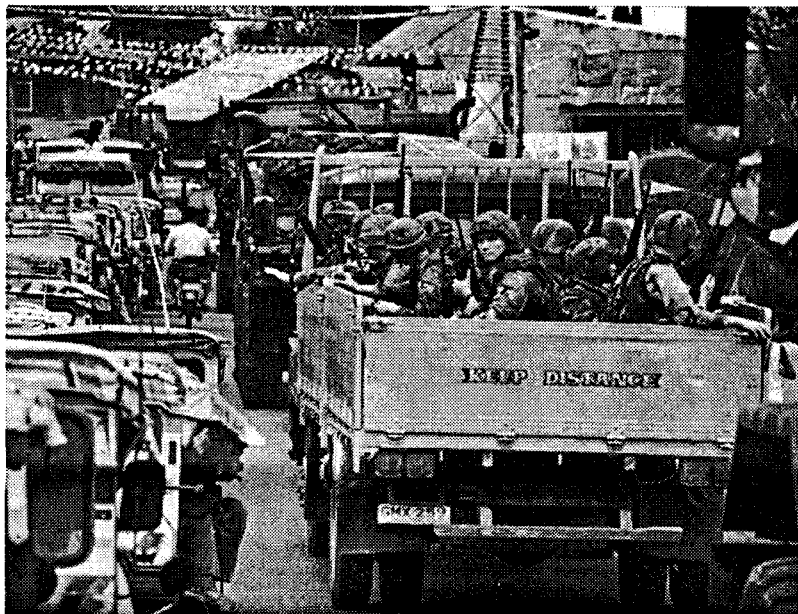
All this is happening as the U.S. imperialist rulers continue to maintain hundreds of elite special forces troops and advisers in the country, while funneling tons of war matériel aimed at improving the Philippine bourgeoisie's arsenal of state repression. Under the cover of the "global war on terror," over 100 U.S. troops have joined units of the Philippine Army in its bloody pursuit of secessionists in the historically Muslim southern island of Mindanao. We say: *Philippine troops out of Mindanao! U.S. troops out of Mindanao and all the Philippines!*

Class Collaboration Betrays Workers, Women

The brutal experience under governments headed by two women presidents—the *hacendera* (landlord) Corazon C. Aquino and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the daughter of a former Philippine president—should disabuse young Filipino leftists and fighters for women's rights of any illusions that installing a woman at the helm of the capitalist state represents a major conquest for the oppressed. In the years since Aquino came to power in the "People Power" revolt in 1986, proletarian women have continued to face hellish conditions in the factories and plants. Women form the vast majority of

workers in the garment, textile and semi-conductor industries, and these women are overwhelmingly young. In this country, where more than half the population is below 30 years of age, a woman of 25 is considered beyond her prime for work on the assembly lines, and "six-month work contracts" are the closest thing to a permanent job. Twelve-hour shifts in heavily guarded factories, which are little more than sweatshops, are not uncommon. Childcare and health services are unheard of, and women are still fired if found to be pregnant so that the capitalist bosses can avoid paying maternity benefits. What little union rights and benefits workers enjoy—both men and women—are precious fruits wrested in militant struggle against the capitalists, often involving bloody confrontations with company goons and the state.

The capitalist state is not a neutral agency that can be pressured to act in the interest of the masses. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and the army—armed bodies of men—the capitalist state is the instrument of bourgeois rule. It exists to impose and defend the "rights" of the capitalists to squeeze profits from the exploitation of the working class. The capitalist state is an instrument of repression against the working class and the oppressed and must be

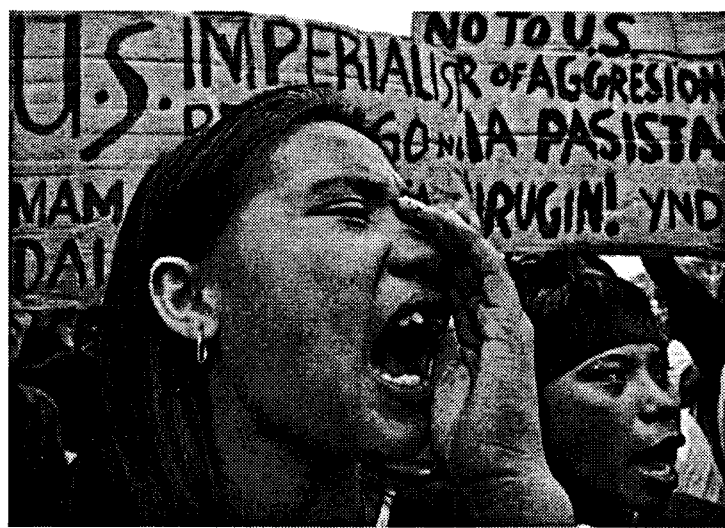


American troops deployed in the Philippines as part of U.S. imperialism's "war on terror."

swept away through socialist revolution and replaced with a workers state.

In the Philippines, working women suffer horribly under a triple burden of oppression: as women, as members of the working class, and as people in a semi-colony chiefly oppressed by U.S. imperialism. To even begin to lay the material basis for the emancipation of women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression requires the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order through workers revolution, and the extension of the revolution internationally. This requires above all the construction of a Marxist workers party that fights for the political independence of the working class from all parties and agencies of the capitalist class.

This perspective is counterposed to the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution" put forward by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) led by Jose Maria Sison and the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—co-thinkers of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party—which recently dissolved into the



October 16: Protesters outside U.S. embassy in Manila denounce war drive against Iraq and joint U.S.-Philippine military exercises.

Philippine Workers Party (PMP) founded by the assassinated leftist labor leader Popoy Lagman.

By openly aligning themselves with the Catholic church, the Sisonite CPP mobilized women workers, urban poor and youth to propel the reactionary Arroyo regime to power. At the time, the Sisonites hailed the "People Power 2" coup as a "victory for the people" (see "For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!" WV No. 763, 31 August 2001). The Sisonite electoral party Bayan Muna even campaigned for Arroyo's senatorial ticket in last year's elections and were

founded in 1971), subordinated the fight for women's liberation to the two-stage "national-democratic" struggle in alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. They wrote: "Filipino women cannot work for their total liberation unless the Filipino nation is first liberated from the clutches of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism" (*Liberation*, November-December 1988). Today, capitulation to religious morality and the refusal to challenge the institution of the bourgeois family are demonstrations of GABRIELA's loyalty to their "own" bourgeoisie.

For their part, the Sisonites have balked at openly calling for free abortion (substituting at different times the vague liberal call for "choice" or "reproductive rights") and abstained on the question of divorce (which is even championed by the Democratic Socialist Women, the women's group of the right-wing social-democratic PDSP) and on democratic rights for homosexuals (a matter the Sisonites have relegated to their fellow travelers). The Sisonites together with the SPP and social democrats played no small part in building the pro-Arroyo "People Power 2" mobilizations—composed of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeois professionals, the clergy and students from the elite universities—which hurled misogynist and anti-gay slurs at Estrada supporters in the Senate.

Uniquely in the Philippine left, the SPP's predecessor, the Liga Sosyalista, included the demand to "make abortion legal, free and safe" (*Progresibo* No. 4, November-December 1998). But in seeking to forge the "broadest possible unity," the SPP has joined hands with the anti-abortion bigots of Pro-Life Philippines, Catholic religious organizations and Liberal Party politicians like Jovito Salonga and Wigberto Tanada in signing a Gathering for Peace declaration in February that opposed the U.S. military presence and worried about "driving away in the process thousands of potential tourists and investors." Reporting on a Sydney conference sponsored by the Democratic Socialist Party in late March, we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (19 April):

"A Spartacist League/Australia comrade challenged SPP leader Sonny Melencio over the SPP's support for the Gathering for Peace declaration—with its concern over imperialist investment—and argued instead for a program of workers revolution to expropriate the capitalist state. In response, Melencio avowed a two-stage program and talked of the need for tactical alliances. But what the SPP leader described as a tactic is in fact a program that subordinates the proletariat to a mythical 'progressive' or 'anti-imperialist' wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for 'democratic' capitalism, leading to a second 'stage' not of 'socialism' but the slaughter of workers and leftists."

reluctant to oppose her government until Arroyo's military and anti-communist death squads carried out the murderous rampage against the Sisonites which has claimed the lives of at least 23 leaders and supporters.

Unlike the Sisonites and other inhabitants of the fake-left swamp, who treat women as just another sector to mobilize in a popular front with the "progressive" wing of the capitalist class, we adhere to the Leninist position that the vanguard party must be the tribune of all the people in the fight for socialist revolution. Unlike most of the Philippine fake left, which considers women's oppression to be the exclusive concern of women, we as Marxists hold that it is a social question that must be addressed by the entire working class—men included. Abortion, in particular, is not a "petty-bourgeois" or "Western" notion that has no place in the Filipino workers movement. The right to abortion is a very real life and death question in the Philippines, where unmarried mothers face a lifetime of social stigma and desperate poverty.

Women's groups like GABRIELA, which is influenced by the Sisonites, have not adequately addressed the abortion question in the Philippines. This is not simply because the leadership of GABRIELA and the like includes members of the religious orders, but even more because their program stands opposed to socialist revolution. Denying that the fight for emancipation of women could be a powerful motor force for socialist revolution, GABRIELA's predecessor, MAKIBAKA (the CPP's first women's group,

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Marxists call for free abortion on demand and strict separation of church and state, opposing any manifestation of discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Marxists fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like polygamy, based on the subordination of women, and the imposition of the *kumbong* (headscarf) on Muslim women. While the Catholic Philippine

Spartacist League of Australia

E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com Web site: www.icl-fi.org

Melbourne

GPO Box 2339
Melbourne Vic 3001
Phone: (03) 9654 4315

Sydney

GPO Box 3473
Sydney NSW 2001
Phone: (02) 9281 2181

International Communist League

Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Down With U.S. Government "Anti-Terrorist" Hit List!

Hands Off Communist Party of the Philippines!

The following article is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 790, 1 November), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On August 9, the U.S. government declared the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its New People's Army (NPA) "foreign terrorist organizations," making it illegal to provide any "material support or resources" to the CPP. CPP supporters can be deported from the U.S. or denied entry. A few days later, at the behest of the U.S., the Dutch government froze the personal bank account of CPP leader Jose Maria Sison and denied him the housing and food and medical allowances he is entitled to as a refugee in the Netherlands. Numerous other Filipino leftists in the Netherlands face a similar danger, including Sison's comrade, Luis Jalandoni. These measures are particularly ominous amid threats to extradite Sison to the U.S.

On August 29, the Canadian government also added the CPP, NPA and Sison to its "terrorist" list. With a media hysteria campaign comparing Sison to Osama bin Laden, the European Union is now also poised to ban the CPP.

Sison spent nine years in the jails of former U.S.-backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos, where he was also tortured. In 1986 he was released by Corazon Aquino, Marcos' successor, only to be charged with subversion by the Aquino regime while he was abroad. Repeated assassination attempts, first under Aquino and later under Joseph Estrada, failed.

The witchhunt against Sison and the CPP/NPA comes in the context of a crackdown against leftists and Muslim secessionists in the Philippines by the Arroyo government, aided by hundreds of American troops. Despite our funda-

mental political differences with the Stalinist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them against state repression. The American government's attack on the CPP in the name of the "war on terror" underlines that the assaults on the rights of Muslims and Arabs by the Bush administration are ultimately aimed at the left and labor movement.

Canada, which like the U.S. has a large Filipino population, is threatening a

Pacific Post: "We are looking at a variety of issues pertaining to fund raising by the Filipino groups, looking at bank accounts and the extensive remittance system used by the migrant workers to send money home."

Among the groups to be spied on and harassed are the B.C. Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines, SKILAB (an overseas Filipino workers group) and the Filipino-Canadian Youth Alliance-Vancouver. Another group under



October 21: Manila demonstrators burn effigy of Gloria Arroyo in protest against government's plan to impose draconian "anti-terror" measures.

full-scale witchhunt of the Filipino left. A small right-wing biweekly in Vancouver, the *Asian Pacific Post* (September 19-October 9), reported that Canadian cops and spies "are tracking the fundraising activities of several B.C.-based Filipino-Canadian associations to determine if they are pumping money to communist rebels in the Philippines." An unnamed government official told the *Asian*

attack is the Filipino Nurses Support Group, a labor organization representing Filipino nurses in Canada. Showing how widespread this witchhunt is, one of the named groups is the Philippine Women's Center, one of whose programs has been subsidized by the Canadian government.

The government threats to spy on remittances effectively targets every immigrant worker, since virtually all immigrants send money to their families back home. An estimated four million Filipinos work as seamen, toil in the oil fields of the Near East, or work as domestic servants, garment workers or nurses in Europe and North America. Their remittances, as much as \$4 billion per year, make up about 6 percent of the Philippine economy and are a major source of

hard currency in this terribly poor U.S. neocolony.

An example of how devastating a clampdown on remittances can be is last year's shut down of the Somalian-connected al-Barakaat, one of several *hawalas*, or informal money-transferring networks, used by Somali immigrants. In the wake of September 11, al-Barakaat was put on the "terrorist" list and closed down in the U.S., Canada and elsewhere, as U.S. authorities claimed that it was a conduit for moving Al Qaeda money. In Somalia—devastated by hunger and imperialist depredation, without banks, post offices or other infrastructure—such networks are used by 80 percent of the population to conduct daily banking and, most of all, to receive the overseas funds on which many rely for their existence. Less than a year later, as the U.S. added the CPP to its "terrorist" lists, it delisted al-Barakaat because...it had "no terrorist links"!

Seizing on the U.S. banning of the CPP, the Philippine government broke off "peace" negotiations with the CPP/NPA guerrilla forces and declared the CPP "terrorist." The Philippine military, with the aid of hundreds of U.S. "advisers," has used the campaign against the unsavory Abu Sayyaf guerrillas as a pretext to go after dissidents, leftists and secessionists among the oppressed Muslim minority in Mindanao and other southern Philippine islands. "Disappearances" and attacks on leftists and trade-union leaders sharply increased since the U.S. troops arrived early this year. Arroyo has also intensified the campaign of vilification against the NPA, calling it worse than Abu Sayyaf in order to set the leftist guerrillas up for liquidation.

There have been protests in the Netherlands, Canada and the U.S. against the deadly witchhunt of the CPP. It is vital that the working class take up the fight against the government's attacks on the left and democratic rights; the laws that now target mainly immigrants will be used against the whole working class. The same government that has outlawed the CPP has also invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley law against the West Coast ILWU longshore union. In Oakland, California on February 9, ILWU Local 10 was an instrumental force in the united front protest initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Partisan Defense Committee in defense of immigrants and against the "anti-terror" laws. Among the many organizations endorsing the protest was the Filipino Workers Organization, and one of their leaders addressed the rally.

The defense of the CPP and other Filipino leftists is a crucial task of the international workers movement. **Fight the "anti-terror" witchhunt! Hands off the CPP and Jose Maria Sison! Full asylum for Sison! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!** ■

bourgeoisie wages bloody civil war against Muslim guerrillas in Mindanao, it also recognizes *sharia* (Islamic law) in the region, further reinforcing the horrible oppression of Muslim women.

The struggle for women's emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. As in the 1917 Russian Revolution, women workers will be at the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement in the Philippines. The Bolsheviks recognized that in backward regions, the fight for the emancipation of women was a great motor force for revolution. In 1924, the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote about Muslim women of the Soviet East:

"The Eastern woman, who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak, will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress. She will have a passionate thirst to gain new ideas and new consciousness which will permit her to appreciate her new position in society. And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution and for ideas of Communism than the awakened woman worker."

For the Filipino working class and plebeian women and youth, workers revolution in the Philippines is a question of life and death. However, the gains wrested by a victorious socialist revolution will be short-lived in the face of

hostile imperialism. Moreover, it will be impossible, especially in the impoverished Philippines, to build socialism and therefore realize the full emancipation of women without the extension of the revolution internationally. The fight for proletarian power in the Philippines must be linked to a perspective of international proletarian revolution, particularly in the imperialist centers of the U.S., Japan, Australia and West Europe. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers around the world provides a living bridge between the class struggle in the archipelago and those in the Near East, North America and elsewhere. The key to victory lies in the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, fights against every depredation of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, in Iraq and throughout the world. As part of our struggle against imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed around the globe, we stand for the unconditional military defense of social gains under the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. Join the ICL in the fight for new October revolutions, for the liberation of women and all the oppressed! ■

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Young Spartacus

From Labourite Reformism to Revolutionary Trotskyism

We reprint below an article from *Workers Hammer* No. 182 (Autumn 2002), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain. The article is an edited version of a talk given by comrade James Palmer at a public meeting of the SL/B held in London in July in conjunction with our internationalist intervention into the annual "Marxism" event of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The Australian affiliate of the international tendency founded by Tony Cliff and headed by the British SWP is the International Socialist Organisation. Comrade James was a leading member of the SWP's Oxford branch before being won to the revolutionary Trotskyism of the International Communist League.

WORKERS HAMMER

I was previously a member of the Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff. My purpose here today is to explain how it is that I came to understand that the SWP was not the sort of party that I had believed it was, and how I was won over to the Leninist/Trotskyist programme of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League, by learning the principled political differences in programme that draw the real line between revolutionaries and reformists.

Something that concerns many young members in the SWP is the lack of internal democracy within the organisation. The reasons for this flow from the contradictions between their professions to be revolutionary and their actual programme of pressuring the Labour Party. This is reflected in the composition of the membership, where you have many young members who stay for a year or so until they become disillusioned, but you also have a layer of permanent, mainly older, "cadre" who are cynical Labourites in the leadership using the youth to do the leg work in the SWP's many reformist campaigns.

How I Joined and Why I Left the SWP

At the end of 1999, I was amazed by news that the city of Seattle had been rocked by what were described as "anti-capitalist riots." I was fascinated by the idea that it was possible to build any organised resistance to capitalism. From the way it was reported, this seemed more like an insurrection than a political demonstration or the CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament] movement of the 1980s. So when I ran into some *Socialist Worker* sellers doing a petition of support, I signed it and bought the paper and also left my phone number. This was the first organised grouping on the left that I had met and it was not long before I was recruited by them. I had not read any communist literature at this point and was not able to tell the difference between reformist politics and revolutionary politics. I noticed that the SWP never said much about the former USSR or Cuba, merely classing them as "state capitalist." I didn't feel that this analysis did these states justice, but now that the Cold War

Why I Joined the Spartacist League/Britain

was over and it didn't seem to be the main issue, I said nothing.

Being a campaigning member of the SWP, however, brought me into contact with other left groups (despite the SWP's apologetic argument that other parties were all "tiny sectarian groups"). One of these groups was the Spartacist League, with the newspaper *Workers Hammer*. Trotskyist ideas had been denied to me in the SWP, none of his books were ever on sale at the SWP book stalls, but in *Workers Hammer* Trotsky's position on defending the former USSR was explained and hit me as being a thousand times more convincing than Tony Cliff's negative, defeatist concept of "state capitalism." If all the revolutions so far had become state capitalist beyond repair, then the prospects for the working class were very

is to split the working class politically from social democracy, historically, the Labour Party. Today, the Labour Party is so openly right-wing that it is hated by many working-class people and minorities. For a real Leninist revolutionary party, this presents an opportunity to win workers away from Labour and Labourite politics. The SWP acts as a barrier to this by offering the Socialist Alliance, a social-democratic grouping designed to play the same political role as the old Labour Party, that is to say, it is for reforming the capitalist state. One of the things that was said during the time I was onboard the campaign was: "There is a massive political vacuum where the Labour Party used to be!", i.e., the SWP intend the Socialist Alliance to fill that gap, rather than taking advantage of the



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

bleak indeed; there hardly seemed any point in being a revolutionary!

In addition to this, the idea of voting for the Labour Party in the local elections where there weren't any Socialist Alliance candidates didn't seem like the way to develop the sort of revolutionary working-class movement needed to bring down the entire capitalist system, and I wanted to be able to discuss this with people who had politics that were not in some way tied to the Labour Party. This is what led me to more serious political discussions with the Spartacist League.

According to Lenin, in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?*, the task of a revolutionary party is to build revolutionary consciousness in the working class from the outside as the basis for revolution. It doesn't come naturally, that's why Lenin talked of the need for a vanguard party. In Britain, the strategic goal

huge divide to split the working class from Labourism. The final discrediting of the Labour Party during recent years in power represented a direct opportunity to intervene and utilise this split from parliamentary politics; instead the SWP chose to repair the credibility of social democracy by founding the Socialist Alliance to plug the gap. Once it had become clear to me that the SWP was another barrier to achieving a revolution, I resigned.

Being Won to the Trotskyist Program

My point today is to explain the basic political differences and what they actually mean. Why did the SWP not defend the Soviet Union, what we Trotskyists understood to be a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam? And why do Trotskyists defend them? In

Trotsky's book *The Revolution Betrayed*, he explained that the Soviet Union, as the first workers state, was different not just because its government had been founded by workers councils called soviets and led by the Bolshevik Party, but because of the new property forms that this society was based on, property forms resulting from the 1917 Russian Revolution. This was a society where there were no privately owned factories, no one owned shares and bonds, there was no stock exchange, no capitalists could get rich off the workers' backs by playing the stock market or live off the interest and consequently there was no economic cycle of boom and bust to cause misery and impoverishment to workers. This was a system that could in no way be described as capitalist. It was based on a system of collectively owned means of production, a planned economy.

Stalin's bureaucracy first ascended to power in 1924 in the aftermath of the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution and Lenin's death. Some months later, Stalin would preach the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Originally a recipe for utopian economic autarky, "socialism in one country" would become the justification for sacrificing socialist revolution internationally in the illusory belief that the imperialists would, in exchange, cease their drive to recapture for the capitalist market the one-sixth of the globe ripped from them by the October Revolution. Trotsky fought this betrayal of the Bolsheviks' internationalism down the line, and fought as the staunchest defender of the gains of the Bolshevik-led October Revolution. He understood that Stalin & Co. eventually were able to consolidate a *political* counterrevolution, but not a *social* one. For this reason, Trotsky considered the planned economy and collectivisation to be a massively progressive feature of the new society and, although workers no longer had control of the political apparatus any more than they did in the West, he knew that those remaining gains for workers needed to be defended from a return to capitalism. The USSR, a formerly backward country, was able to modernise itself even during the epoch of imperialism. From being a backward, largely agricultural nation in 1917, the USSR's planned economy enabled it to industrialise, to mobilise the Red Army to smash Hitlerite fascism throughout Eastern Europe and, at the end of the Second World War, to emerge as one of two superpowers.

Against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky called for *proletarian political revolution*, that is for workers to retake political control of the state, and return the Soviet Union as a beacon of international proletarian revolution against capitalism throughout the globe. Trotsky was a scientific socialist, and his conclusions are based on Marxist science. Thus, he was quite clear that the bureaucrats were not a capitalist class, but a new type of parasitic ruling *caste*; their social existence was dependent upon the collectivised property established by the Russian Revolution and therefore—and this is very important—they were based on a

Young Spartacus

contradiction. That contradiction meant they were sometimes compelled to defend the Soviet Union against capitalism. Even though this ruling caste lived relatively privileged lives by comparison to the mass of the working people, even though they carried out often terrible repression—especially against the supporters of Trotsky's Left Opposition—to protect their existence, they had not destroyed the social basis of the Revolution.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1937, Trotsky explained:

"As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution. But a victorious revolution is fortunately not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations. To betray it is not enough. You have to overthrow it. The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overturned."

You can draw a very simple analogy: imagine a trade union run by rotten leaders that was involved in a strike. No socialist in his right mind would call for the union to be smashed just because the union tops were corrupt, or because the struggle caused hardship, because this would be a huge defeat for the workers, too. The very existence of the union is a gain to defend.

Trotsky went on to outline two possible outcomes to the class struggle with regard to the USSR. One was that the workers would struggle, the Revolution would spread to the citadels of imperialism internationally and in the USSR the workers would make a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinists, returning their state to the revolutionary internationalist perspective on which it was founded. The other was that counterrevolution would triumph, which was always a danger due to hostile imperialist encirclement of the world's first workers state, the bureaucratic and vacillating policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats both domestically and internationally, i.e., Stalin & Co.'s conciliation of imperialism at the expense of revolution internationally. Unfortunately, Trotsky was later proved correct in the negative. I should mention that we found workers in the former East Germany were amazed to read this book for the first time, and many could not believe that it had been written 50 years before.

"State Capitalism"— A Capitulation

So why was it that Cliff's Socialist Review Group (the SWP's forerunner) came into existence on the basis of abandoning Trotskyism and refusing to defend the Soviet Union, the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states during the Korean War? The SWP's leaders won't tell it to you. Under the fig-leaf of the United Nations, Britain (then ruled by a Labour government) and the U.S. were at war with North Korea, which was backed by China and the Soviet Union. Any support for the Communist forces meant coming head to head with the British ruling class and state at their most aggressive. This was unacceptable for the Cliff group, so they dropped it. They



YIVO Institute



Novosti

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 abolished capitalism and created the world's first workers state. Unlike British SWP, ISO, Trotskyists defended the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialist attack, domestic counterrevolution.

Above: Revolutionary soldiers march in Moscow under banner reading "Communism." Left: Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky with Red Army graduate commanders in 1924.

couldn't take the heat, so they got out of the kitchen, as they say. Rather than calling for unconditional military defence of China and North Korea, which meant calling for the military defeat of their "own" bourgeoisie, they refused to defend the workers states. In order to cover their capitulation, the Cliffites resorted to equating both sides as waging war for their own "imperialist" interests.

This line was also flavoured with a hefty dose of patriotism: "Why must our young lads fight and die in far-off Korea?" (*Socialist Review*, December 1952-January 1953). By reneging on revolutionary defensism and placing themselves in the so-called "Third Camp"—which was supposedly for neither Washington nor Moscow—in the reality of the international class struggle they had crossed a clear class line and put themselves firmly in the camp of their own bourgeoisie, together with the Labour Party. They were rightly expelled from the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky in 1938.

In order to provide a theoretical justification for not defending the USSR, China and North Korea, Cliff & Co. promoted the "theory" of state capitalism. Tony Cliff is generally credited with the invention of this theory, but it was in fact first used by the infamous revisionist and apologist for the crimes of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, long before. "State capitalism" is not a serious Marxist theory, rather it is a way of rationalising defection from the essential task of defending the dictatorship of the proletariat. I can give you a quote from some years later in a paper called *The Leveller* in September 1979 where Cliff is caught

in a moment of rare honesty. He says: "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength." I think that makes it about as clear as it is going to be.

So this was how the SWP came to take the side of British imperialism, but I want to give you some other examples of enthusiastic support for the aims of its "own" ruling class. This wasn't some one-off failure based on a theoretical departure from Trotskyism; it was and is a fundamental part of the SWP's programme of class collaboration.

From Northern Ireland...

In 1969 the Labour government sent British troops to occupy Northern Ireland, and assist in the repression of the Catholic minority there. Revolutionaries in Britain have a particular responsibility to oppose British imperialism's oppression in Ireland which, for a start, means calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops. Cliff, however, managed to find a rationale for supporting the British Army, encouraging faith in the supposedly democratic credentials of British imperialism. His argument was that it provided a "breathing space" needed for the Catholic population to avoid a pogrom. The pogrom did indeed occur: in Derry three years later when British paratroopers opened up into a crowd, killing 14 on "Bloody Sunday." This is the bloodsoaked reality of the SWP's unstinting support for the Labour Party.

...To Afghanistan and Counterrevolution in the USSR

Let's look at the restoration of capitalism in Russia in 1991-1992. The SWP actively supported this. It is totally clear that this was a disaster for hundreds of millions of workers. The remaining gains of the October Revolution were finally undone. But Chris Harman of the SWP characterised the return to capitalism as a "step sideways" from one form of capitalism to another. Unemployment, virtually unknown in the former USSR, now exists on a huge scale; life expectancy has plummeted and industrial productivity is down to about 50 per cent of what it was before. Reactionary forces are on the rise—Great Russian chauvinism, Islamic fundamentalism, anti-Semitism and appalling oppression for women. U.S. imperialism and its partners, such as Blair's Labour government, feel unrestrained in their military adventures abroad. These

are the concrete realities of Harman's "step sideways."

But the SWP grotesquely hailed Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary counter-coup as "The Russian Revolution of 1991," and the *Socialist Worker* of 31 August that year proclaimed: "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing." For our part, the ICL actively fought to defend the gains of October, including within the Soviet Union, where our Moscow group distributed tens of thousands of leaflets headlined "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution."

One of the crucial events leading to the destruction of the USSR was the withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan. The SWP denounced the Soviet presence as Russian "imperialism." Against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* forces waging bloody civil war against even modest improvement in the condition of women in Afghanistan—the reduction of the bride price, the lifting of the veil and education of girls and women—we Spartacists recognised the progressive role played by the Red Army forces in Afghanistan. Our slogan was: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Workers in the West needed to be called on to stand against the sending of arms and money to the *mujahedin*, just as trade unions were mobilised to stop supplies of arms to the counterrevolutionary White forces during the Russian Civil War that followed the 1917 Revolution. We offered to recruit volunteers to fight for the Kabul government after the Kremlin had decided to withdraw. While our offer was refused, we took up the suggestion of the Afghan government to raise funds for the besieged fighters at Jalalabad and in fact were able to raise thousands of pounds internationally on their behalf.

As for the SWP, one of its leaders, Paul Foot, actually attacked Margaret Thatcher (who, along with the U.S. rulers, was in the forefront of backing the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan) from the right in his column in the *Daily Mirror* (25 June 1980), complaining that exports of EU [European Union] meat ("our beef") may have been used in rations for the Red Army. When the Red Army was finally withdrawn, *Socialist Worker* (4 February 1989) said: "The repercussions of this defeat will echo way beyond the borders of Afghanistan. All socialists should welcome it." I think this makes pretty clear the side which the SWP had taken in the wider struggle.

The SWP and Labourism

How can we explain these betrayals of the international working class by the SWP? They are based on a split from

continued on page 11



Thousands of courageous Afghan women took up arms alongside Soviet Red Army in struggle to the death against Islamic fundamentalists. Cliffites sided with CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats, cheered Soviet withdrawal.

Socialist Worker AT the CO

Socialist Worker, 31 August 1991 (British SWP)

Communism has collapsed—

NOW FIGHT FOR REAL SOCIALISM

Socialist, September 1991 (Australian ISO)

"Communism is dead", our newspapers and TV declare. It's a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing. The papers and politicians are trying to give the impression that the smashing of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union means

British SWP, ISO hailed Yeltsin counterrevolution in Soviet Union which brought misery and hunger to workers, national and ethnic minorities.

Iraq...

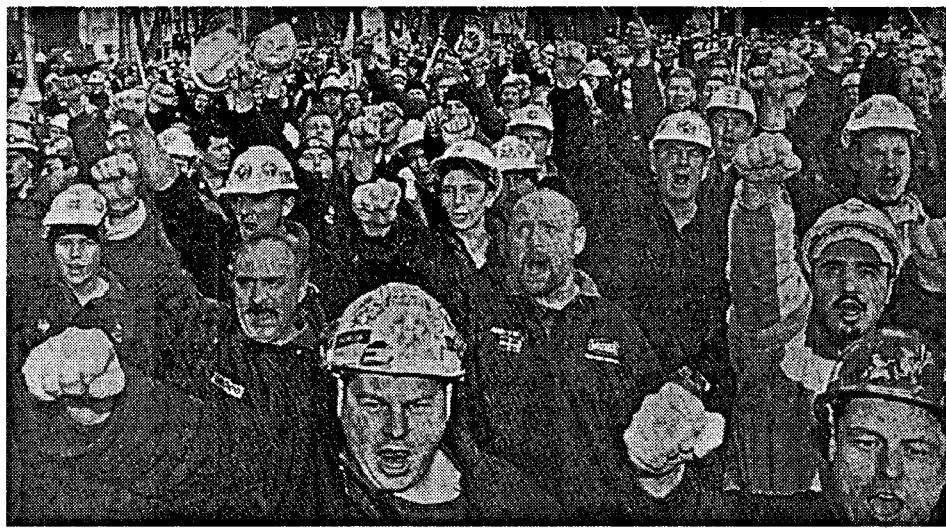
(continued from page 2)

United Nations often served as the "humanitarian" fig leaf for the terror and destruction of U.S. imperialism worldwide, from the 1950-53 Korean War to the starvation blockade of Iraq.

Complaints by European social democrats and fake leftists about American "unilateralism" do not represent any class opposition to U.S. imperialism, merely the squeals of less powerful states and their apologists who want a bigger cut of the take and would prefer to be treated less rudely. Their maneuvers in the UN are essentially power plays to squeeze the U.S. a bit for their own rival national interests. Lenin called the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations, a "den of thieves," and the UN serves that purpose today: regulating global disputes within the framework determined by the most powerful imperialist powers, covering all its maneuvers as "peace" missions. Now the U.S. feels confident to drop this mask and snarl an overt "Roll over, or you could be next." And they do roll over, acquiescing to exempting the American military from international war crimes tribunals and to U.S. appeals to Iraqis to assassinate their head of state!

The White House policy change is not merely semantic nor an absence of diplomatic niceties. This is the shape of the "new world order" emerging from the demise of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was the homeland of the October Revolution of 1917, the world's first and, to date, only victorious workers revolution. The exploitative capitalist system was overthrown and replaced by a planned, collectivized economy. Yet in the absence of socialist revolutions in Germany and other advanced industrial countries, the young workers state remained impoverished and encircled by hostile imperialist powers, and the Soviet workers themselves were politically expropriated by a conservative bureaucratic caste, akin to the labor bureaucracy which sits atop the trade unions in capitalist countries. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution, fought the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and struggled to return the Soviet Union to the road of revolutionary internationalism. In 1933, Trotsky called for a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy, while continuing to insist that it was the duty of the proletariat internationally to militarily defend the world's first workers state from internal or external attempts at capitalist restoration.

Despite Stalinist deformation, the Soviet Union represented the industrial and military powerhouse for every state that overthrew capitalist rule, from Vietnam to Cuba. Without Soviet military might to stay its hand, U.S. imperialism has been riding roughshod over and expanding its military presence on every continent and on every sea. Interimperialist rivalries that were usually subordi-



Joe Castro

Melbourne, August 2002: Building workers protest government union busting. Workers and semicolonial Iraqi masses have common enemy in the imperialist rulers.

nated to the common cause of destroying the Soviet Union have now come to the fore. The re-election of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder on the basis of his anti-American stance in the Iraq conflict, the first time since the end of World War II that capitalist Germany has expressed overt opposition to a major American military-strategic policy, is one indication of the widening rift in the imperialist camp. Japan's wooing of North Korea in September in defiance of Bush's aim to starve and quarantine that "rogue state" is another. Mexican president Fox, who wants to be Bush's man in Latin America, can't even get a diplomatic crumb tossed from Washington's table for his services rendered. During the 1991 Gulf War, Germany and Japan alone paid over 25 percent of the cost of the war, with other U.S. allies (like Saudi Arabia) covering almost all of the rest. Yet Schröder vows not to pay a pfennig this time, and Japan has made clear it does not intend to contribute either. The deepening world economic recession is exacerbating tensions between the West Europeans, the United States and Japan. Economic trade wars between and within the rival blocs for larger shares of the world market will ultimately lead to military conflicts.

Today the U.S. has its sights set on holding and grabbing more of the oil wealth of the Near East, but the ultimate prize it wants is China. Emboldened by capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, the U.S. is mounting military pressure on China—from the expansion of U.S. bases in the Philippines to new bases on the Afghan border. At the same time, the U.S. and other imperialists, as well as overseas Chinese capitalists, promote incursions of the capitalist market in "Special Economic Zones" for free-market exploitation in the heart of the Chinese deformed workers state. China is one of seven potential targets in the cross hairs of U.S. plans for a *nuclear first strike*, as laid out in the "Nuclear Posture Review" issued by the Pentagon earlier this year. Nonetheless, the miserable Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy endorsed the U.S. "war on terror" in Afghanistan. As well, elements of the bureaucracy seek

to become a new capitalist ruling class, assisting the economic penetration of China by the imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie. The terrible reversal of human progress by every measure, from infant mortality to life expectancy to literacy, since capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and East Europe is a warning to the Chinese working masses that a sellout to the "free world" means a free fall into capitalist exploitation and misery—and so much the more so for China, with its vast expanses of economic backwardness. The gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which lifted China from the yoke of imperialist domination, ended the enslavement of women and vastly improved the conditions of life of the worker and peasant masses through the creation of a planned, collectivized economy, are at risk. We Trotskyists fight for the *unconditional military defense* of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies which undermine the workers states.

The ICL threw every resource at its disposal into the fight to stop capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, and earlier in East Germany. We sought to reimplant the authentic communism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, and to bring to the working class Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the contradictory character of the deformed workers states, in order to build revolutionary internationalist parties as the instrument to defend the old gains and conquer new ones. We did not succeed, but the bitter result of capitalism's victory—a far more dangerous world of unbridled imperialist exploitation and war—makes the struggles at hand all the more urgent and steels our resolve. In contrast, virtually the entire "left" howled along with the imperialist wolves in backing the forces of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. In so doing they expressed their rapprochement with their national bourgeoisies. Thus it is not surprising that, reflecting growing differences among the major capitalist powers, these "leftists" went on to act as "human rights" drummer boys for their imperialist rulers against Serbia in 1999 and today adopt an "antiwar" posture which is nothing but pink window-dressing on the national interests of their own capitalist ruling classes.

Fake Left Marches to the Beat of Their Own Capitalist Rulers

It is correct to oppose American imperialism, but to promote the idea that the European imperialists are more benevolent and progressive than their American rival is nothing but vile social-chauvinism. Yet this is precisely the counterfeit currency of the European "left." Thus the Italian *Rifondazione Comunista* (RC), the French *Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire* (LCR) and the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power (WP), among a raft of others, signed a call "To All Citizens

of Europe and to All Their Representatives" which proclaims:

"Those who show solidarity with the people of Iraq have no hearing in the White House. But we do have the chance to influence European governments—many of whom have opposed the war. We call on all the European heads of state to publicly stand against this war, whether it has UN backing or not, and to demand that George Bush abandon his war plans."

What a poignant appeal to the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, to the French imperialists who soaked Algeria in blood, to the British who pillaged the Indian subcontinent and carved up the Near East and whose imperialist troops enforce brutal repression of the Catholics in Northern Ireland! How about today's minor players, like the Belgians, whose colonial occupation of the Congo was unrivaled in brutality, or the Dutch, who subjugated Indonesia and also engaged in an inter-continental slave trade? Let's not forget it was the Italian bourgeoisie which set up concentration camps in Libya and which used poison gas against the Ethiopian population. Moreover, this bloody colonial past paved the way for the murderous repression of dark-skinned immigrants by West Europe's rulers today, from the racist *Rasterfahndung* (a computerized system for racial profiling of mainly Muslim immigrants) in Germany to the institutionalized racist cop terror of France's "Vigipirate" campaign, Italy's drowning of boatloads of Albanian refugees, Britain's deportations of asylum-seekers, and on and on.

Perhaps the "leftist" signatories of the above-quoted statement feel their imperialist masters "owe" them one. After all, they *did* help install the reactionary governments in place across Europe. The British SWP declared itself "over the moon" when Bush's poodle Tony Blair first became prime minister. The French LCR vigorously campaigned "in the streets and at the polling booths" to "stop Le Pen" and install the right-wing Gaullist Jacques Chirac. The German Clifite group Linksruck helped put Schröder, who seized on the Balkans War to become the first man to roll Bundeswehr tanks out of Germany since Adolf Hitler, back in office as an anti-American "peace" candidate. Italian RC leader Bertinotti talks out of the left side of his mouth about a "European general strike for peace" (conspicuously excluding the American workers), while simultaneously appealing to the European heads of state, including the right-wing, fascist-allied Berlusconi, to oppose the war. In effect, Bertinotti calls for a "strike for peace" by capitalist governments. *Proposta* and Falcemartello (the Italian offshoot of the British Grantites), nestled inside RC, refuse to take a side to *defend Iraq* and promote mobilizations against U.S. military bases in Italy without addressing Italian imperialism. Indeed, *Proposta* supported the previous RC/"Ulivo" government which invaded Albania in 1997. In cyberspace, Workers Power and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) calls to "defend Iraq," but on the streets of Britain they campaigned for Tony Blair, who wages war on Iraq. Workers Power openly campaigned for the defeat of Serbia by the Kosovo Liberation Army—tool of NATO imperialism in the Balkans War—and turned up at a London demonstration which featured the call "Good luck NATO!" WP also issued the demented proclamation that "in the aftermath of NATO's victory in Kosova, a pre-revolutionary situation is maturing" ("The Fight to Overthrow Milosevic in Serbia," 11 August 1999 LRCI statement).

In Britain, the Clifite SWP froths mightily against "Bush's war," yet it supported the entry of British imperialist troops into Northern Ireland in 1969 and still can't bring itself to call for their immediate unconditional withdrawal! While occasionally denouncing the United Nations in their newspapers, various international affiliates of the Clifite tendency make up the right wing of the antiwar movement and criminally build

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Bali...

(continued from page 12)

of "terrorism." Already plans are under way for Australia to resume training the Indonesian Kopassus special force killers, while in the face of Indonesian opposition the Australian government continues to push for a full-time ASIO office...in Jakarta! **Australian military, cops and ASIO out of Indonesia now! Australian imperialism hands off Indonesia! U.S. troops out of the Philippines!**

The ultimate target of the imperialists' "war on terror"—especially their proclaimed "second front" in East Asia—is China. The imperialists seek, through military pressure and threats (today most openly against North Korea) combined with economic penetration, to destroy the remaining deformed workers states and reconquer those countries for neocolonial superexploitation. We stand for the unconditional military defence of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration while fighting for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic misleaders who undermine the defence of these states.

If the imperialists are victorious in their impending predatory war against oil-rich, semicolonial Iraq they will be emboldened in their drive to destroy the deformed workers states, further subjugate the neocolonial masses and attack the working class at home. It is in the direct interests of the working class to **defend Iraq against U.S./Australia imperialist attack** while giving no political support to Saddam Hussein, the butcher of communists and Kurds. **Down with the UN starvation blockade! U.S./Australian, all imperialist troops out of the Near East and Central Asia!**

Howard has attempted to use the Kuta bombing to build support for war on Iraq. His Liberals believe that protecting Australian imperialist tyranny in the Asia-Pacific region is best served by being the loyal henchmen of its U.S. Big Brother allies and fully supporting George W. Bush's crusade against Iraq. But there is a popular view that Australia's slavish loyalty to Bush's military adventures has made it a target. This has melded with existing widespread opposition to the anti-Iraq crusade. On the afternoon following the Bali attack,

40,000 people rallied in Melbourne against war on Iraq.

Anti-war sentiments and working-class disgruntlement with the union-busting attacks and racist reaction overseen by state ALP governments is being capitalised on by the bourgeois Greens. Winning a by-election in the heavily proletarian electorate of Cunningham, they recently gained a federal lower-house seat for the first time ever. The Greens are among those within Australian ruling circles who disfavour joining a far-off war on Iraq only because they worry that unless the bourgeoisie pursues a "foreign policy" more independent of the U.S., they will lose trade and exploitation opportunities by breeding resentment in Asia.

They calculate too that with the Australian military already deployed from East Timor, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands to the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan, overextended military resources should be more highly concentrated on protecting Australian imperialist plunder in their "own backyard." This view was sharply expressed by Greens leader, Bob Brown, who stated that the attacks in Bali underscore "the need for Australia to have a policy of regional defence and engagement rather than global stratagems at the behest of Washington" (*Australian Financial Review*, 14 October). Grotesquely, these "regional" pro-imperialists are being promoted by the reformist left. From the Socialist Party (SP) to the Socialist Alliance, which includes the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP), these reformists and centrists call for a vote to the bourgeois Greens.

Fittingly, the social-democratic Labor Party—the traditional party of White Australia—has noisily pushed for a more aggressive military deployment within the region. Simon Crean arrogantly declared: "It is our region. Australia needs to take a leading role" (*AFR*, 15 October). Today, responding to real dissatisfaction from their working-class base, some "left" Laborites and their fake-left Marxist tails posture as being some kind of alternative to the ALP leadership. Yet they remain firmly wedded to Laborite politics which teaches that the capitalist state, especially with an ALP government, can be pressured into playing a progressive role. Indeed, the reformist



Sydney University, 21 August: Spartacist-initiated protest demands: Racist Australian/UN Troops Out of East Timor!

and centrist left in Australia have always, in one way or another, pushed for "democratic" Australian imperialism to bring "human rights" to Indonesia.

In September 1999, tailing the Laborite misleaders, the fake-socialist groups from the DSP, to the SP, ISO and Socialist Alternative (SA), all marched in the demonstrations that screamed for Australian "peacekeepers" to take over East Timor. WP did the same while in words claiming to be opposed to Australian/UN intervention! Today, as the scale of Australia's neocolonial plunder of East Timor's oil and gas resources becomes apparent, the ISO and SA seek to hide where they stood in 1999 while still refusing to call in their respective papers for Australian troops out.

In contrast, from the very start we Spartacists forthrightly opposed the Australian imperialist invasion of East Timor and warned that it would provide a political and military platform for more direct imperialist intervention in Indonesia. In the wake of the Bali tragedy this is posed ever more sharply. As a 21 August united-front demonstration, initiated by the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League, at Sydney University declared: it is urgently necessary to demand **Australian/UN troops out of East Timor!**

Today the DSP's Action in Solidarity with Asia and the Pacific (ASAP) grotesquely calls for the reactionary Australian government to act by "genuinely pursuing the perpetrators of the act of terror in Bali, relying on real facts and evidence and not religious profiling" (ASAP statement, 15 October). But the Australian rulers' only "genuine pursuit" in Southeast Asia has been to suppress through counterrevolutionary terror any threat to their super-profits. In Indonesia in 1965-66, it was ASIO's overseas arm, ASIS, that along with the CIA helped direct the slaughter of one million communist sympathisers, trade unionists and ethnic Chinese by the Indonesian military and Islamic fundamentalist mobs. Among those slaughtered were tens of thousands of Balinese.

While the reformist left are opposed to Australian involvement in a U.S.-led war on Iraq, groups like the DSP and ISO refuse to call for the military defence of semicolonial Iraq against imperialist attack. Socialist Alternative does claim to support "the Iraqi people's struggle" against imperialism. But, like the DSP, they are affiliated to the Victorian Peace Network (VPN) class-collaborationist anti-war confab, which includes the Greens, proponents of "in our own backyard" imperialism. The VPN states that "UN resolutions on disarmament and human rights will only work if they are applied equally, without fear or favour. All the nuclear powers and all Middle East states must abolish their stocks of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons." This is an openly pro-imperialist call for the **disarmament of Iraq** in the face of impending U.S./Australia attack. Clinging to the coattails of the bourgeois liberals like the Greens, Socialist Alternative is thus incapable of class-struggle opposition to the war on Iraq.

In contrast we fight for a consistent and principled opposition to imperialism as part of the political preparation for a revolutionary struggle against the barbaric

capitalist system. In calling for the defence of Iraq against U.S./Australia imperialist attack, our revolutionary internationalist contingent at the 26 October Sydney anti-war rally also raised slogans such as "Australian imperialist military get out of the Persian Gulf, East Timor, Afghanistan! Harids off Indonesia!" and "For class struggle against the racist Australian capitalist rulers!"

Several unions have stated opposition to the impending war on Iraq. This must be put into action, for example, through political strikes and black bans of war materiel slated for the Australian imperialist military in the Near East. However pushing the lie that the working class and their capitalist exploiters share a common national interest, the Labor Party parliamentary and trade-union leaders are an obstacle to mobilising class struggle against the rapacious, imperialist rulers. A 29 October Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) statement called for a crackdown on Flag of Convenience (FOC) shipping in the wake of the Bali bombings. Railing that FOC ships are "a security risk" and "steal Australian jobs," the ACTU bureaucrats spread White Australia chauvinism which poisons the potential for joint class struggle between Australian workers and the horribly exploited workers on these "coffin ships." A class-struggle leadership would demand full union wages, conditions and protection for **all** seamen working Australian ports and shipping and fight to organise any unorganised workers into the unions.

The Laborite misleaders are the prime purveyors into the workers movement of White Australia racism and loyalty to the capitalist state. We fight to win the working class to the understanding that only if it mobilises its social power in defence of minorities can it defeat the bosses' attempts to divide its ranks with racism and acquire the unity and strength to push back the capitalists' all-sided attacks. **For union/minority action in defence of**

Drop All Charges Against Anti-WTO Protesters!

The Partisan Defence Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League, faxed the following protest letter to R. Debus, the NSW Attorney-General on 20 November. We have since been told that Karli Munn may not have been a legal observer, as stated below.

We denounce the brutal police violence against young anti-WTO protesters in Sydney on 14-15 November. Your government unleashed a massive 1,000-strong force including mounted police, three Polair helicopters and attack dogs, combined with the resources of the federal police and ASIO secret police. In the weeks before the anti-WTO protests NSW Police Minister Michael Costa and the capitalist media whipped up a climate of repression branding the demonstrators as "violent." Police even refused permits for demonstrations in the Sydney central business district, effectively outlawing the right to protest.

On 14 November, frenzied mounted and foot police attacked protesters in downtown Sydney near the offices of Australasian Correctional Management, the hated company that runs

Australia's notorious hellhole detention camps for refugees. Australian newspaper reporter Patricia Karvelas was trampled under a police horse and hospitalised with torn ligaments, severe bruising and concussion. Among the many injured were protest legal observer Karli Munn who was punched in the face by police while attempting to videotape this cop riot and 20-year-old university student Daniel Stewart who suffered facial injuries and concussion after cops grabbed him and repeatedly slammed his head into the ground before arresting him. Over the three days of demonstrations, 55 protesters were arrested and charged with up to 70 offences.

The vicious police riot against young anti-WTO protesters, including those defending refugees and opposing the impending U.S./Australia war on Iraq, combined with the battery of "anti-terror" legislation that your government is currently trying to ram through parliament is designed to cow and prevent any opposition to the grinding anti-working-class capitalist austerity and racist reaction over which the NSW state Labor government presides. **We demand: Drop all the charges against the anti-WTO protesters!**

SPARTACIST

Deklarasi Prinsip-Prinsip dan Beberapa Elemen dari Program Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat)

1. Revolusi Sosialis Dunia dan Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat)
2. Kritis Kapitalisme dan Proletariat
3. Kami Adhuk Partai Revolusi Dunia
4. Dasar Teoritis dan Sejarah Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat)
5. Sifat Internasional Revolusi Sosialis
6. Peranan Kelas Buruh sebagai Pelopor dalam Membela Kemanusiaan
7. Dasar Berjelas dari Revolusi
8. Perjuangan Melawan Perang Imperialis
9. Menentang Nasionalisme dan Hak Seseorang Mengambil Mementakan Kelas Sosialis
10. Revolusi Kolonial, Revolusi Peranan dan "Jalan Gerilya"
11. Front Rakyat Bukan sebuah Tahik Melainkan Kajibatas Terbesar
12. Program, Organisasi dan Disiplin Partai Revolusioner
13. Kami Akan Ikut Andil Untuk Merubah Sejarah!

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
Published October 1999

John Brown ... \$1
Liam ... \$1
Karl ... \$1

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Bahasa Indonesia
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immigrants and refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Even in the teeth of a hysterical nationalist campaign by the government and media, thousands of young workers and student activists have continued to protest against the racist war on refugees and the impending war on Iraq. And on 24 October, some ten thousand workers in Melbourne stopped work and rallied in defence of construction union head, Martin Kingham, who faces jail for refusing to turn in the names of union activists to Howard's union-busting Cole Royal Commission. On 15 November, the firefighters union in NSW, one of the few unions that has disaffiliated recently from the ALP, sent a letter of "full and unqualified support" for the crucial struggle of the Fire Brigades Union in Britain. The letter sharply stated that the NSW Labor government has "already adopted much of the 'Blairist' approach attempting to malign and marginalise the Union whilst labelling its leadership as radicals and ratbags."

Class-conscious workers and radicalised youth must be won to the fight to build a revolutionary party. Such a party would struggle to break workers from the poisonous nationalism of Laborism and forge a fighting anti-capitalist unity with the proletariat of Indonesia, Japan and elsewhere. Leninists understand that the capitalist state is, at its core, an instrument of organised violence that protects the interests of the filthy rich capitalists against the workers who produce society's wealth. Any strengthening of repressive legislation—like the sinister laws proposed to increase ASIO's "anti-terror" powers—or beefing up of the capitalist military or police forces will ultimately be used against the working class at home and their class sisters and brothers abroad. In Victoria, the Bracks Labor government threatens to throw 17 manufacturing union militants in jail for protest actions against a scab outfit and union-

busting company. **Down with all Liberal/ALP anti-union and racist "anti-terror" laws! Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!**

For International Socialist Revolution!

While today the U.S. and Australian imperialists label the likes of Islamic fundamentalist cleric, Abu Bakar Bashir, as their public enemy number one in Asia, it was precisely such reactionary Islamic forces that they promoted and unleashed to carry out the 1965 anti-communist slaughter in Indonesia. Bashir, along with the alleged mastermind of the Bali bombing, Imam Samudra, fought with the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats in the 1980s against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. In their reactionary war to destroy the Soviet workers state, the U.S., Australia and other imperialist powers funneled billions of dollars, plus advanced weaponry, to the *mujahedin* (out of which the Taliban arose). Indeed all-purpose public enemy number one, Osama bin Laden, was the creature of the American imperialist rulers who bought and paid for his services in this Islamic "holy war" against the Soviet Red Army.

Invited in by the modernising PDPA regime in Kabul, the 1979 Red Army intervention acted to defend the PDPA's progressive social reforms—including education for women—against the barbaric fundamentalist forces who wanted to enslave women in the head-to-toe veil (*burka*). We Trotskyists hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, noting this offered the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule, to the Afghan peoples, especially the hideously oppressed women. When Gorbachev pulled out the Red Army in 1989 in a treacherous attempt to placate the imperialists, we denounced this as a betrayal of the Afghan peoples that would

serve to embolden counterrevolutionary forces in the USSR itself. But the ISO (out of which its political clone Socialist Alternative later emerged) criminally lined up behind Australian imperialism in supporting the *mujahedin* reactionaries in Afghanistan against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The existence of the USSR somewhat stayed the hand of the imperialist bloodsuckers. Its counterrevolutionary destruction in 1991-92 has led to heightened neocolonial superexploitation of the "Third World" and ever more brazen predatory imperialist adventures from Iraq to East Timor. The manifest bankruptcy of nationalism and the absence of viable, genuine communist parties in the neocolonial world has led to the rise of political Islam in many countries as a consolation and illusory opposition to grinding poverty and imperialist deprivations. This has spelt reactionary assaults on the rights of women and bloody communalist terror.

It is to such reactionary forces that the Workers Power group makes a concession in its 13 October article "I've been to Bali too." While describing the attack as "horrid," WP grotesquely alibies the fundamentalists' hatred of anything that smacks of secular culture or defies the "holy" seclusion and segregation of women by intoning that "the Sari nightclub is not simply a random target. It would be a hated symbol of Western imperialism for many—no matter what the age of the 'revellers' inside." This is a vicariously bloodthirsty equation of the working masses in the "West" (many of whom like to holiday in Bali), with their imperialist rulers. Such whitewashing of bloody, right-wing forces in the neocolonial countries is but a camouflage for the fact that WP are at bottom proponents of a more "humane" imperialism. During the height of the Asian economic collapse, WP legitimised future imperia-

list interventions by promoting the illusion that it is possible to "force" the bloodsucking imperialist G8 governments to "send massive aid, without strings, to the workers and peasants of Indonesia" (*Trotskyist International*, June-December 1998).

To put an end to brutal imperialist subjugation, alleviate the suffering of the masses and liberate the deeply oppressed women, Trotskyist parties must be built—from Indonesia, to the Philippines to Mexico—that fight to lead the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed, in the revolutionary seizure of state power. Such a perspective must be linked to the fight for the working class in the imperialist centres to oppose the predatory adventures of its "own" bourgeoisie as part of the struggle for its own liberation. Indeed, the neocolonial pillaging in the South Pacific by the likes of BHP, Rio Tinto and Woodside only serves to strengthen these rapacious exploiters in their racist terror and union-busting campaigns at home.

The capitalist rulers hypocritically use tragedies such as the Bali bombing to whip up support for their decaying and bloody imperialist system, which starves the masses of the so-called "Third World" and props up social backwardness and reactionary forces of every kind. In its frenzied competition for global markets, capitalism has twice plunged humanity into world war and only promises today's working-class youth a future as cannon fodder in imperialist wars. The barbaric imperialist order must be overturned through international socialist revolution. The indispensable instrument to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class is a Leninist cadre party. Standing against the tide of nationalism and chauvinism, such an internationalist proletarian party will lead the struggle to sweep away this rotting imperialist system once and for all. ■

Trotskyism...

(continued from page 7)

Trotskyism to join the camp of Labour, the party that serves to tie the working class to British imperialism. This is why they will not oppose them in elections. This has always been true, long before the SWP's turn towards electoralism via the Socialist Alliance. The politics of the Socialist Alliance, meanwhile, are even to the right of the politics of "Old Labour." Subordinated to the goal of getting New Labour re-elected, it is nothing more than a pressure group on Blair & Co. This was made clear when the SWP announced in the last general election: "Our approach in the coming election should be vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism* No. 90, Spring 2001).

The historic role of the Labour Party in Britain can be seen in regard to the Russian Revolution. Labour vehemently opposed it. In the years immediately

after the Russian Revolution, workers in the West knew that something historic had been achieved for their class, and they wanted it here, too. What they didn't know was how to get it. To head off revolutionary explosions, Labour adopted measures like Clause IV in its constitution, which called for collective ownership of the means of production. At the time, the Labour Party had never been in power, and Lenin advocated tactics, such as critical electoral support, in order to expose its real purpose—to rule for the bourgeoisie—and thus to effect a split by the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops of what Lenin called a bourgeois workers party. I think it is quite clear that this is a tactic which does not apply today to Blair's "New Labour." In the last general elections, we did apply the tactic of critical support for Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP). The SLP are based on Old Labour "Clause IV" socialism, and there is no way they can lead workers to revolution. Our critical support was based on their refusal to support Labour in any way and the fact that, unlike the Socialist Alliance, they advanced basic demands in the interest of the working class, including the demand for British troops out of Northern Ireland.

The SWP's Labour-loyalism is the total antithesis to the whole concept of building revolutionary consciousness, serving to tie workers to illusions in the "mother of parliaments," as Labour leaders obsequiously worship institutions such as the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches. And this is what the SWP has always done: at each election the SWP says, "Vote Labour with no illusions," and then four years later, "Vote Labour with no illusions," ad nauseam. Today, there are a lot of youth and workers who are a million miles to the left of Tony Blair and would rather cut their own throats than vote for him. The huge gap between New Labour and workers and youth today is an opening we seek to utilise in order to build a revolutionary Leninist/Trotskyist party. The SWP,

Korea's largest city, Seoul, in ruins. Tony Cliff broke from Trotskyist Fourth International over his refusal to defend North Korean deformed workers state under attack by U.S., British and Australian imperialists during Korean War.



Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives

through its various coalitions, alliances and electoral campaigns, seek on the contrary to rope radical youth and advanced workers back into the Labourite fold.

The "Third Camp" vs. Revolutionary Internationalism

The position taken by the SWP over the Russian Question is not some irrelevant piece of history. It is their political credentials. It mattered then and it matters now because capitalism has not yet been restored in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. There have been major battles fought by millions of workers against the introduction of "market reforms" being introduced in China and elsewhere. How can you seriously fight against capitalism if you don't fight against its return to these states where capitalism has been overthrown by mass insurgencies? Should, for instance, the proponents of capitalist counterrevolution prevail in China, another billion workers to exploit in China will only strengthen huge corporations and weaken the position of workers everywhere. This is not an abstract argument for internationalists.

There is no, and can be no, third camp because the third camp is merely the camp of imperialism. The Labourism inherent in the politics of the SWP reflects the basic capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie codified by its abandonment of the Trotskyist programme for unconditional military defence of all those states

where capitalism had been overthrown, not least in the homeland of the October Revolution.

Comrades of the Spartacist League fight for the international, proletarian and revolutionary communism of Lenin and Trotsky, for new Octobers. The SWP denounce us as "sectarians" for this. We are proud to do the groundwork needed to build a revolutionary party here in Britain, carrying out the necessary fights against social democracy and its hangers-on, fighting to win serious revolutionaries to the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Join us! ■

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Australian Imperialism Hands Off Indonesia!

The Bomb Attack in Bali

NOVEMBER 22—The bombs that ripped through crowded nightclubs in the tourist centre of Kuta on the Indonesian island of Bali on 12 October incinerated almost two hundred people. The victims were Indonesians and tourists of several nationalities, including many Australians. Those who perpetrated this act of criminal terror embrace the same mentality as the racist Australian ruling class—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters. This atrocity has provided a pretext for the bourgeoisie to ram through new “counter-terror” measures shredding the democratic rights of everyone. The Kuta attack is also being used by the capitalist ruling class to try and line up the working people—who they exploit—behind them on the basis of “national unity” patriotism. This is particularly convenient as they currently face opposition, including from trade unions, to their plans to join a U.S.-led war on Iraq, spirited youthful protests against their racist war on refugees and working-class actions against attacks on the unions.

Like the horrific attack on the World Trade Center (WTC), the Kuta bombing could only have been aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many people as possible of all races. Even when directed at institutions of state repression—which these vile attacks manifestly were not—Marxists oppose terrorism as a strategy, because it is counterposed to proletarian class struggle and the consciousness the working class needs to lead all the oppressed in the overthrow of the barbaric capitalist system.

U.S. president, George Bush, backed by British and Australian prime ministers, Tony Blair and John Howard, seized on the WTC attack to create an all-purpose enemy in the form of “Islamic

Down With Racist State Terror Against Indonesian and Arab Immigrants!

pan-Islamic state” (Age, 29 October). The rabid nationalist jingoism and the anti-immigrant state repression have fanned racist terror on the streets. Islamic women in

veils have been assaulted and spat at and Islamic schools and mosques have been attacked. **Down with the racist anti-Indonesian, anti-Arab, anti-Muslim crusade!**

Down With Racist Australian Imperialism!

The U.S. and Australian imperialists have seized on the Bali attack to justify more aggressively intervening in East Asia. The imperialists make terrific profits from the superexploitation of workers and the pillage of natural resources in the Asia-Pacific region. But they fear these profits are threatened by the seething discontents of the desperate masses in a region still reeling from the 1998 economic meltdown. This year saw the reintroduction of U.S. troops to their Philippine neocolony and stepped up murderous state repression against the Communist Party there (see page 5). Not least, the bourgeoisie here are nervous about instability within Australia’s own horribly oppressed neocolonies like Papua New Guinea and East Timor and the growing opposition within them to Australian imperialist subjugation. In August, thousands of East Timorese staged angry protests denouncing the Australian/UN occupation.

The Australian and U.S. rulers have used the Bali atrocity to pressure the unstable Indonesian government to crack down on any dissent. The Megawati regime obliged by enacting a sinister decree legalising detention without trial and the death penalty for those convicted

continued on page 10



David Crosling

Melbourne: heavily armed anti-“terror” squad. Federal Liberal and state ALP governments have beefed up forces of state repression after Bali bombings.

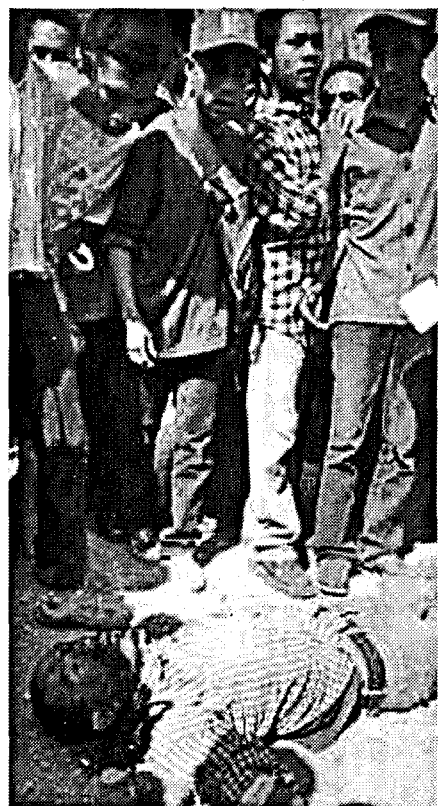
terrorism” and to declare a war “without end and without borders.” The murderous Australian ruling class that carried out the near genocide of the indigenous Aboriginal population is now also using the Kuta tragedy to further target non-white minorities as “terrorists.” It has also jumped at the chance for increased imperialist intervention abroad, especially in crisis-wracked Indonesia.

Without any evidence as to who committed the Bali bombings, the Australian government was quick to target the Indonesian-based Islamic fundamentalists of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). In late October, balaclava-clad Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) and federal police storm-troopers, armed with sledgehammers and submachine guns, terrorised local Indonesian families and their neighbours during raids on homes in

Perth, Melbourne and Sydney. The raids, mounted without a shred of evidence connecting individuals to the Bali bombings, have provoked outrage both here and in Asia and intensified strains in Australia’s relations with its northern neighbours. Malaysian prime minister, Mahathir, denounced Australia as an unsafe place for Muslims. But the Howard government arrogantly defended the draconian racist raids, while Labor “opposition” leader, Simon Crean, rushed to declare his enthusiastic support and state Labor premiers, Bob Carr and Steve Bracks, quickly established paramilitary-style “anti-terror” squads.

Meanwhile the bourgeois media churned up capitalist White Australia’s deep-seated racist fear of the Indonesian masses with claims that JI “plot to annex parts of northern Australia to a

East Timor Erupts as Cops, Imperialist Gendarmes Gun Down Protesters



Photos: Lirio Da Fonseca/Reuters

Left: East Timorese youth with body of protester shot dead during protest in Dili on 4 December. Above: Riot police attack protesters on the streets of Dili.

DECEMBER 7—Three days ago in East Timor’s capital, Dili, combined forces of the occupying UN/Australian police force and the UN-trained East Timorese police opened fire on unarmed high-school students protesting against cop violence. Imperialist “peacekeeping” troops were also deployed against the protesters. Eighteen demonstrators were shot with at least five fatally wounded according to a journalist report. Among those killed was 14-year-old Honorio Ximenes. The fake-socialist groups who in 1999 marched for Australian forces to be sent to “save” the Timorese have their share of responsibility for this murderous terror.

After police tried to seize the body of the first student killed, angry protesters attacked parliament and UN offices and destroyed UN and cop vehicles. The

prime minister’s residence was later burnt. Thousands vented their fury in a plebeian outpouring of rage. Unfortunately and ominously a mosque was also attacked and homes within its grounds were torched. Australian/UN cops arrested at least 74 people. The impoverished masses are seething with discontent at racist state terror, neocolonial subjugation and an unemployment rate up to 90 percent in urban areas. Australia’s imperialist rulers plunder Timor’s oil and gas—the Greater Sunrise royalties alone will amount to more than 90 times East Timor’s annual gross national income! Such neocolonial looting is enforced by the occupying gendarmes. **The working class in Australia must be mobilised in actions to demand: Bloody Australian/UN military, cops out now!**

Australian/UN Military, Cops Out of East Timor!