



NSW Elections: No Vote to the ALP!

**Down With Racist
“Law and Order” Frenzy**

The New South Wales ALP government headed by Bob Carr is living proof that the Labor Party in power is a capitalist government. For almost four years

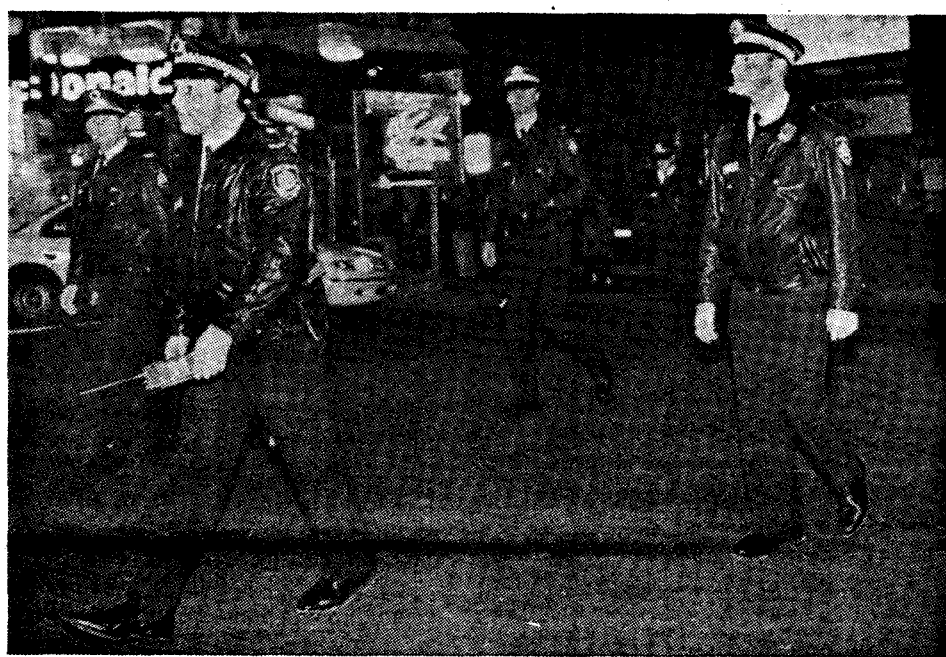
**Build a Revolutionary
Workers Party –
Tribune of the People!**

Carr & Co. have run Australia’s most populous state on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Relentlessly attacking Aborigines, immigrants and young people, the ALP has overseen continued attacks on jobs and living standards. Now working people in NSW are being asked to choose which of the competing gangs of thieves and liars will continue the capitalist onslaught. Between the open representatives of the capitalist class—Kerry Chikarovski’s opposition Liberals and the National Party—and the ruling social-democratic ALP, we Trotskyists

say there is no choice for workers and the oppressed in the 27 March elections.

Carr’s ALP came to office in 1995 on a vitriolic, racist law-and-order campaign. One of his first acts was an attempt to force skilled immigrants to live in isolated, horribly bigoted rural areas. Ever since, the ALP government has had immigrants in their crosshairs, crusading for a “war on drugs”—a code word, as it is throughout the capitalist world, for attacks on minorities. Last October Carr singled out the Lebanese community for racist abuse as he unleashed his cops in a reign of terror against the heavily immigrant Sydney suburb of Bankstown. In the last few months the cops’ “Strike Force Innsbruck” has made over 450 arrests in the area.

In mid-February as Kurdish leftists around the world were protesting the abduction of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, Sydney cops arrested and charged all 65 Kurdish protesters who had briefly occupied the Greek consulate. Inflaming
continued on page 2



John Grainger

Cops stalk Sydney’s streets. “Operation City Safe” targets youth, immigrants, Aborigines.

Independence for East Timor!

Under intense pressure from the United States and other imperialist powers, in February the Indonesian New Order regime of B.J. Habibie mooted possible “independence” for East Timor within months unless Timorese nationalist leaders accept a sham autonomy under the continued rule of Jakarta. In 1975 Indonesia invaded and then annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and for 24 years has imposed brutal military rule in which some 200,000 have died. Even as various “negotiations” are underway, the Indonesian military continues to carry out murderous operations while arming paramilitary thugs to further terrorise the population. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, stands for the immediate independence of East Timor, part of our struggle for workers revolution throughout the Indonesian prison-house of peoples.

Jakarta’s bloody reign in East Timor has been backed throughout by the U.S. and others, who have armed and trained the notorious Indonesian military killers. None have played a dirtier role than the Australian imperialists, especially under Labor Party governments. The murderous Suharto regime was a key Cold War ally against the



ASp photo

Spartacist contingent at 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship. Sign in Indonesian reads: “Independence for East Timor! For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! Down With Australian Imperialism!”

“spread of Communism” in Asia. But following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, today the imperialists are desperately seeking “stability” as millions of workers and peasants face starvation and utter destitution as the capitalists impose brutal austerity throughout Southeast Asia.

Now the Australian Labor Party, for example, proclaims support for East Timorese “self-determination,” and the

federal tory government has reluctantly swung into line. Fearing “a political, economic and strategic nightmare” (*Australian Financial Review*, 30-31 January), Australia’s rulers oppose independence, pushing instead for “a substantial period of autonomy” as a “transition.” To guarantee their “interests” and a neo-colonial “solution,” the imperialists are already preparing to occupy East Timor with “peacekeeping”

troops—especially from Australia—under a UN figleaf. The Australian workers movement has a particular responsibility to oppose the intervention of their “own” rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neo-colonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. We say: Australian imperialism keep your bloody hands off! No imperialist troops in East Timor!

What the imperialists have in store for the East Timorese is exemplified by the continued racist hysteria of the Australian rulers over the possible inflow of dark-skinned East Timorese refugees. For years both Labor and Liberal governments have vindictively denied permanent residency to some 1,650 East Timorese refugees in Australia and sought to expel them from the country. We say: Asylum for all East Timorese refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The imperialists have willing allies among the East Timorese petty-bourgeois nationalists. Imprisoned Fretilin guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao as well as the likes of Jose Ramos Horta have always sought to appeal to the imperialist powers and today are willing to act as local frontmen in the exploitation of their “own” people. Gusmao, now under “house arrest,” has pledged, for example, to keep the oil profits from the

continued on page 2

NSW Elections...

(continued from page 1)

the racist anti-Kurdish witchhunt, Carr denounced the demonstrations as "violent" and "not the Australian way." We say: Freedom for Öcalan! Drop the charges against Kurdish protesters!

Targeting those they perceive as most vulnerable, the capitalists seek to divide and therefore weaken the working class. Immigrant workers, for example those who courageously defended their picket line against the Australian Dyeing Co. and the cops in Melbourne, are key to class struggle. They as well form a living bridge between the workers and their struggles in this country and the class struggles of the proletariat throughout the region. It is in the direct interest of the workers movement to fight to smash the racist immigration laws and demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

Particularly targeting non-white youth, the ruling ALP has massively strengthened the powers of the police to go after anyone. Carr's "anti-knife" law gave the cops the green light to arbitrarily stop and search youth on the streets. Now the police can stop and search vehicles. Having declared any group of three young people a "gang," Carr is zeroing in on "truants": special police squads will conduct "Street Sweeps" to round up school-age young people who don't have a written "leave pass." Already downtown Sydney's George Street is under constant video "surveillance." Ominously, from the June 1997 gunning down of Ron Levi on Bondi Beach to the killing of Greg Nicholls, a 15-year-old Aboriginal youth just a few months ago, the cops are increasingly acting as judge, jury and executioner.

Social Regimentation and Capitalist Austerity

This is a country which permits child labour (in Victoria, for example, children between seven and 15 can be put to work). Yet in the guise of "protecting" children the NSW ALP has been at the centre of a hysterical, years-long anti-sex witchhunt aimed especially at homosexual men. People have been jailed for acts of consensual sex which took place decades ago. Teachers live in fear of false and malicious charges of child sexual abuse, and at least three so accused have committed suicide. At the same time, the ALP upholds the age of consent laws which target male homosexuals, for whom the age is 18, while it is 16 for everyone else. We oppose the reactionary age of consent laws and are for the principle of *effective*, that is, meaningful, consent. Full democratic rights for gays!

In the lead-up to the election, the NSW ALP is proposing that people facing trial be required to reveal their defence to the prosecution. This and other measures introduced by the government are an attack on the elementary bourgeois-democratic right of the presumption of innocence. It fits hand-in-glove with efforts to eliminate the requirement that a jury's guilty verdict be unanimous, including in murder trials.

What the ALP is doing in NSW is part

and parcel of a nationwide drive to increase the repressive powers of the capitalist state. In the Northern Territory a first conviction for even a trivial misdemeanour results in an automatic 14 day jail sentence, while in Queensland children as young as 11 have been jailed. In Western Australia so many people are being sentenced to prison that the government is buying cargo containers to lock them up in. And in NSW the government has re-opened jails that only a short while ago were condemned as unfit for human habitation. Disproportionately the victims of murderous police violence on the streets and in the jails, Aboriginal peoples are especially targeted. It is in this climate that One Nation and others are trying to bring back the death penalty.

The ruling class is well aware that their wholesale attacks on medical care, education, pensions combined with the onslaught against the most basic union rights are accumulating social tinder at the base of this country. In a society that offers little prospect of a future for hundreds of thousands of people, the rulers' answer is repression. From the cop mobilisations against the Maritime Union (MUA) waterside workers to miners in the Hunter Valley and Gordonstone in Queensland, the capitalists' message is: lie down and take it. A fearful and docile working class, a regimented population, is their aim.

Yet there has been resistance to the capitalists' attacks. Last July thousands of anti-racist youth hit the streets in high-school walk-outs. The 1998 MUA struggle electrified workers, and tens of thousands joined picket lines as unionists everywhere saw in the MUA struggle a way to fight back. The integrated working class, with its hands on all the levers of production and distribution of wealth, has the social power to destroy this racist system of capitalist exploitation, replacing it with an egalitarian socialist society. The key is a revolutionary workers party able to transform the present-day consciousness of the working class into *revolutionary* consciousness.

A class-struggle, that is, revolutionary leadership will be built in political combat against the ALP and trade-union misleaders who push the lie that there is a partnership between labour and capital. Preaching reliance on the capitalists' courts and the election of a Federal ALP government, the pro-capitalist union tops betrayed the MUA struggle. They touted the supposed virtues of "union-friendly" Labor-run NSW, but Bob Carr worked overtime to gut the battle against union-busting. Patrick Stevedores' now-soaring profits have been literally squeezed out of MUA members in the form of speed-up, longer hours and unsafe working conditions.

Despite the one-sided class war waged against the working class, strikes in NSW and Australia as a whole are at their lowest levels in years, an index of the union misleaders' prostration. Deeply committed to the continued existence of the capitalist system of exploitation, the trade-union bureaucracy has ensured "labour peace," channelling any desire to fight back into Arbitration and similar class-collaborationist traps that shackle

the working class to the capitalists and their state. Adamantly opposed to a class-struggle fight against the bosses, the union tops are beholden to and a constituent part of the ALP.

Break With Laborism!

The NSW ALP's strengthening the forces of capitalist state repression against the oppressed and working people is not an aberration. Tony Blair's "New Labour" in Britain, too, has carried out far-reaching attacks on immigrants, youth and the unions. So have their counterparts in France and Italy (and the just-elected Social Democrat/Green coalition in Germany is poised to do the same), just as the Hawke/Keating governments did in Australia. Thoroughly bourgeois in its program and leadership, the social democracy's role is precisely to bind its working-class base to the capitalist system, derailing and if necessary brutally beheading class struggle. Such bourgeois-workers parties in power are not partial steps to socialism nor "reformist" governments nor in any way representatives of the class interests of the proletariat. They necessarily rule on behalf of the bosses.

When a mass reformist workers party claims to represent the interests of the working class independently of and against the parties of the bourgeoisie, revolutionaries can consider extending critical electoral support in order to explode the contradiction between the party's bourgeois program and its working-class base. We seek thereby to break workers' illusions in the social-democratic misleaders and forge a revolutionary party which can lead the struggle for socialism. In the NSW elections, the ALP promises continued attacks on workers, immigrants and Aborigines, centrally through increasing the powers of the racist capitalist state. To call for a vote for the ALP is an act of treachery against the interests of the working class and all who suffer under capitalist depredations. As in the recent federal elections when the opposition ALP didn't offer even a sop to workers and the oppressed, we Marxists say: No vote to the ALP!

This Marxist understanding is anathema to those leftists who are comfortably mired in the Laborite swamp. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) buys into the "law and order" frenzy, whining "Yet there is absolutely no evidence which says that prison or longer sentences reduces crime" (*Socialist Worker*, 12 February). Their "argument" against capitalist state repression is that it doesn't work! This is not surprising coming from a group internationally infamous for supporting strikes by prison

guards and for declaring that cops cease to be "agents of the state" if they "rebel collectively." Indeed, the 22 January *Socialist Worker* featured an article glowingly recounting the 1923 Victorian police "strike"! Cops and screws are the front line of the bosses' apparatus of state repression—we say the class enemy must be driven out of the unions as an elementary act of self-defence.

The ISO is so beholden to the ALP they gratuitously offer advice to the ALP's NSW election campaign: "Instead of trying to outbid [the Coalition] on law and order which can only give ground to the conservatives' agenda, Carr should go on the offensive against the Liberals over issues like privatisation and union-bashing." The ISO knows that Carr—who was ready to sell off the state's electrical industry and who unleashed his cops against Davids warehouse strikers—won't do any such thing. But begging the leopard to change its spots is the program of the ISO whose idea of "socialism" is necessarily reduced to, at best, mere tinkering with the capitalist system.

Such crawling before the ALP and the capitalist class it serves is the stock-in-trade of the Australian left, from the misnamed Communist Party to Socialist Alternative, Militant, Workers Power and others. At bottom they all reject what Karl Marx insisted upon generations ago, which subsequent experience has only bitterly confirmed, that the working class cannot lay hold of the ready made state machinery, but must smash the capitalists' state and replace it with its own rule. The capitalists rule by naked force—the armed fist of the state. The police, prisons and courts are the violent defence of a consummately violent capitalist system in which the ruling class—the exploiters—squeeze immense wealth out of the blood and sweat of the working class.

Throughout this century Laborism has been the main obstacle to proletarian struggle in Australia. It is thus a strategic task for revolutionaries to split the working-class base from the chauvinist, pro-capitalist leadership centrally through the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions. As we wrote before the federal election ("No Vote to Labor!" *ASP* No. 165, Spring 1998):

"A revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed, a tribune of the people, can only be built in struggle against the current leadership of the working class, the 'labour lieutenants of capital,' who won't defend the unions' hard-won gains, let alone immigrants, Aborigines and women in this deeply racist and bigoted society. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building a party of the working class that seeks nothing other than international socialist revolution. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!" ■

East Timor...

(continued from page 1)

Timor Gap flowing to Australia's giant BHP conglomerate. We oppose the Timor Gap Treaty, which from the Australian side represents nothing less than imperialist theft over the bodies of the East Timorese.

Meanwhile, the Australian reformist left, which has always pushed illusions in the "democratic" credentials of Australian imperialism, runs point for the capitalist rulers. The International Socialist Organisation peddles calls demanding that Foreign Minister Downer "support an Independent East Timor." Even more grotesque is the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) which appeals to the Australian government to "train" desperate East Timorese refugees in Australia to "enable them to play a role in re-building East Timor" (*Green Left Weekly*, 10 February)! In this the DSP are quite literally frontmen for imperialism.

At the same time the DSP serves as publicity agent for the Indonesian PRD, an organisation, supposedly socialist,

which has looked to bourgeois opposition figures such as Megawati Sukarnoputri. At a mass rally of 100,000 in Jakarta on 15 February, this notorious Javanese chauvinist once again asserted her hostility to the rights of the East Timorese declaring East Timor to be nothing other than "similar to other provinces in our beloved country" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February).

The imperialists, the blood-drenched Indonesian regime, the "opposition," the various nationalist forces—all of them seek to continue the brutal exploitation of those who labour. The road to national and social justice for all of the peoples of what is today Indonesia lies only in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the destruction of capitalism through the seizure of state power by the proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed masses and the victory of workers' rule in the advanced capitalist countries. Genuine emancipation for all Asia's toilers and oppressed requires the forging of sections of an international Trotskyist party from Indonesia to Australia to Japan, committed to leading proletarian revolutions to smash capitalism and reconstruct Asia on a socialist basis. ■

Australasian

SPARTACIST

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

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

EDITOR: Oliver Stevens

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Chris Cunningham

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Phillipa Newman

Printed by trade-union labour.

Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001. E-mail address: ASP@att.net.au. Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7 airmail/\$5 surface.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville.

ISSN 0311-3264

No. 167, Autumn 1999

Date of issue: March 1999

Responsibility for election comment in this issue is taken by M. Benfield, 800 George St., Sydney NSW.

Sinister Cop Campaign Targets Jamal Supporters

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer, is urgently posed. Since the Pennsylvania

Young Spartacus

Supreme Court upheld Mumia's conviction and death sentence last October 30, a sinister and orchestrated police campaign has gone into high gear. The clear purpose is to intimidate Mumia's supporters into silence in order to push through the legal lynching of this courageous spokesman for the oppressed.

Police threats, denunciations by state officials and a rabid media campaign, however, failed to stop a capacity crowd of some 18,000 from packing the New Jersey Meadowlands arena for a 28 January concert benefiting the cause of Jamal. Area newspapers had run daily bloodcurdling diatribes while rock DJs called to boycott the event and ban the artists' records from their stations. Undaunted by the storm against the concert, the young, largely white fans cheered as the concert initiators, the popular leftist band Rage Against the Machine, led the chant "Free Mumia!" A statement by Mumia saluted those who "continue to stand up for the right to read what they want to read, say what they want to say, and support what they want to support."

In December, American ABC-TV's 20/20 portrayed Jamal as a depraved cop killer, retailing evidence manufactured by the prosecution and secured through police intimidation and terror. The many who have spoken out in his defence were depicted as simply a small band of "duped" Hollywood liberals and isolated radical crazies. With this lie once again punctured by the many defiant thousands at the sold-out Meadowlands concert, the media, cops and other forces of the capitalist state are in a frenzy. Two weeks after the concert cops invaded a New York City "Justice for Mumia" conference, and they threatened a counter-demonstration against a 26 February Town Hall meeting.

A supporter of the black MOVE

organisation and an eloquent journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal has been in the crosshairs of the racist rulers from the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, which was targeted for destruction by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation.

There must be no illusions that Mumia can get a fair trial in the capitalist courts, despite massive evidence of his innocence. From the sham trial in 1982 to the rigged appeal hearings in



Youth rally outside New Jersey Meadowlands arena as capacity crowd turns out for January 28 Mumia benefit concert.

1995-96, to the October 1998 decision upholding his conviction, Jamal's case has shown that the capitalist "justice" system, in the U.S. as in Australia, is racist and anti-working-class to the core.

This was brought home to high-school students in the heavily black city of Oakland, California in early January when a scheduled teach-in on Jamal's case was cancelled amid an outpouring of racist vitriol against "cop killers." The purpose of education under capitalism is to inculcate bourgeois values and discipline. The clamour against the proposed teach-in expressed the fear that exposing the black and Hispanic ghettoised poor in Oakland's public schools to the facts of Jamal's case would explode the myth of American "democracy."

The cops, courts and prison system which seek to kill Mumia are at the core of an apparatus of repression which protects the rule and profits of a tiny minority. The death penalty is at the pinnacle of this system of capitalist repression—the lynch rope made legal.

In 1995, it took a massive campaign of international protest, including by trade unions representing millions of workers from Italy to South Africa, to stay the hands of the executioners in the face of a warrant for Jamal's death that June.

While Jamal's attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defence, what is urgently needed right now are mass mobilisations particularly drawing on the power of the multiracial working class.

In Australia the backdrop to the struggle to free Jamal is a renewed drive to restore the death penalty, a form of racist barbarism particularly aimed at Aboriginal people. As Marxists, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs oppose the death penalty in principle: we do not accord to the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die. Today the state carries out de facto executions of Aborigines on the streets, and the number of Aboriginal deaths in police custody soars. In

Australia's Papua New Guinea neo-colony, the racist death penalty was restored in 1991, and was recently imposed by an Australian "hanging judge" on three PNG men.

Federal Coalition and ALP state governments have intensified their attacks on workers, immigrants and Aborigines. The racist face of White Australia capitalism was again revealed in all its barbarism when 19 Asian farm workers were tied up as though they were animals by immigration cops in late February raids in which 70 immigrant workers were arrested. Days earlier, Canberra cops attacked the Aboriginal "Tent Embassy" outside parliament which had been there for years.

The same forces, the cops and courts, who implement the capitalists' racist attacks, also enforce the laws which tighten the chairs around the trade unions. The bosses and their state hate and fear the integrated trade-union movement because there lies the power to fight the poison of racism, used to divide and weaken the working class. The social power to fight for Jamal's freedom is in the hands of the multiracial working class, but for this power to be unleashed, the working class must be independent of the pro-capitalist Labor Party and the capitalist state.

In Australia, the struggle to free Jamal could become the launching point for defence of Aborigines and immigrants, and a blow against the whole system of brutal racist exploitation. In political struggle against Laborism, we aim to infuse the working class with the consciousness of its historic interests: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia now! Those who labour must rule!

Funds for Mumia's Legal Defence Are Urgently Needed!

Mobilise your unions, student and community groups to join the fight to free Mumia now. Contact the Partisan Defence Committee in Sydney on (02) 9281 2181 or in Melbourne on (03) 9654 4315. Donate generously: make cheques or money orders out to "Partisan Defence Committee—Jamal Legal Defence," and send to P.O. Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230. The PDC will forward every penny to the New York-based Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Australasian Spartacist Subscription Drive

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 15

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

SPARTACIST

For New October Revolutions!

Third International Conference of the ICL

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

On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices

Organizational Rules and Guidelines
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Democrats Rally Round Welfare-Slasher Clinton

Clinton Impeachment and Racist Reaction

Break with the Democrats!
For a Workers Party that Fights for All the Exploited and Oppressed!

Australasian SPARTACIST

For a Revolutionary Workers Party—For a Workers Government!

Capitalist Decay, Racist Reaction

Break With Laborism!

There is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

4 March to 14 April

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

1999 Quotas
(in points)

Melbourne	100
Sydney	210
National Total	310

Workers Vanguard/Australasian Spartacist

Marxist working-class biweekly of the Spartacist League/U.S. and Marxist newspaper published quarterly by the Spartacist League of Australia (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* plus another Spartacist pamphlet)

\$20 for 22 issues WV and 4 issues ASP

Australasian Spartacist (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

\$5 for 4 issues Overseas rate: \$7 airmail \$5 surface

Workers Vanguard

(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)

\$15 for 22 issues

Name _____

Address _____

Suburb _____ State _____ Postcode _____

Country _____ Phone _____ E-mail _____

Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

167

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 703, 25 December 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

In a move undertaken to consolidate the party's political resources, the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee voted last year to suspend publication of *Women and Revolution*, the journal of its Commission for Work Among Women, for the immediate future. As mandated by the delegates at last winter's Third International Conference of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Spartacist*, the theoretical journal of the ICL's International Executive Committee, will now regularly publish articles under the *Women and Revolution* masthead on the woman question and related issues of special oppression. The first such article, "Women and Permanent Revolution in South Africa," appeared in *Spartacist* No. 54 (Spring 1998).

Women and Revolution was established in 1971 as a special journal seeking to intervene with a communist program into the women's movement developing out of the breakup of the New Left in the United States. While that movement dissipated years ago, the SL maintained *W&R* as the only Marxist journal in the United States dedicated to the question of the liberation of women, a question which intersects social struggle in every country. Because the woman question is so deeply rooted in culture and society, *W&R* became a natural vehicle for our Marxist party to treat a wide range of subjects such as art, religion and anthropology.



Workers Vanguard

Spartacist/PDC contingent at 1989 Washington, D.C. abortion rights rally. ICL campaigned for aid to embattled city of Jalalabad following Soviet leader Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan.

We are proud to offer the first bound volume of this unique journal, containing *W&R* Nos. 1 through 20 (May/June 1971 to Spring 1980), with an index of the articles. Most notably, this volume includes our articles on the history of early communist work among women. We look to the tradition of the Russian Bolsheviks, to the authority of their paper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) and to the Leninist principles of the early Communist International (CI), which established a women's section and an international women's journal. The Bolsheviks rejected the demeaning notion that the liberation of women was "women's work" and saw it as a task of the party as

a whole. Early issues of *Women and Revolution* printed "Methods of Work Among the Women of the Communist Party" from the CI's Third Congress in 1921, which advocated national and international women's sections of the party aimed at extending the influence of the party to layers of working-class and peasant women whose participation in the revolutionary movement was vital.

The active championing of the emancipation of women is crucial to the struggle to forge a vanguard party capable of overthrowing the capitalist order, the source of oppression and exploitation today. The oldest social division of labor was along sex lines. Later, when leaps in productivity generated social surplus, society became divided into classes, bringing with it the institution of the state as the executive committee of the ruling class. In *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Friedrich Engels explained that the monogamous patrilineal family arose "to make the man supreme in the family, and to propagate, as the future heirs to his wealth, children indisputably his own." Under capitalism, the institution of the family remains the central source of the oppression of women and is crucial in ensuring that the bourgeoisie's property is transmitted from one generation to the next through "legitimate" heirs. For the proletariat, the institutionalized family means the

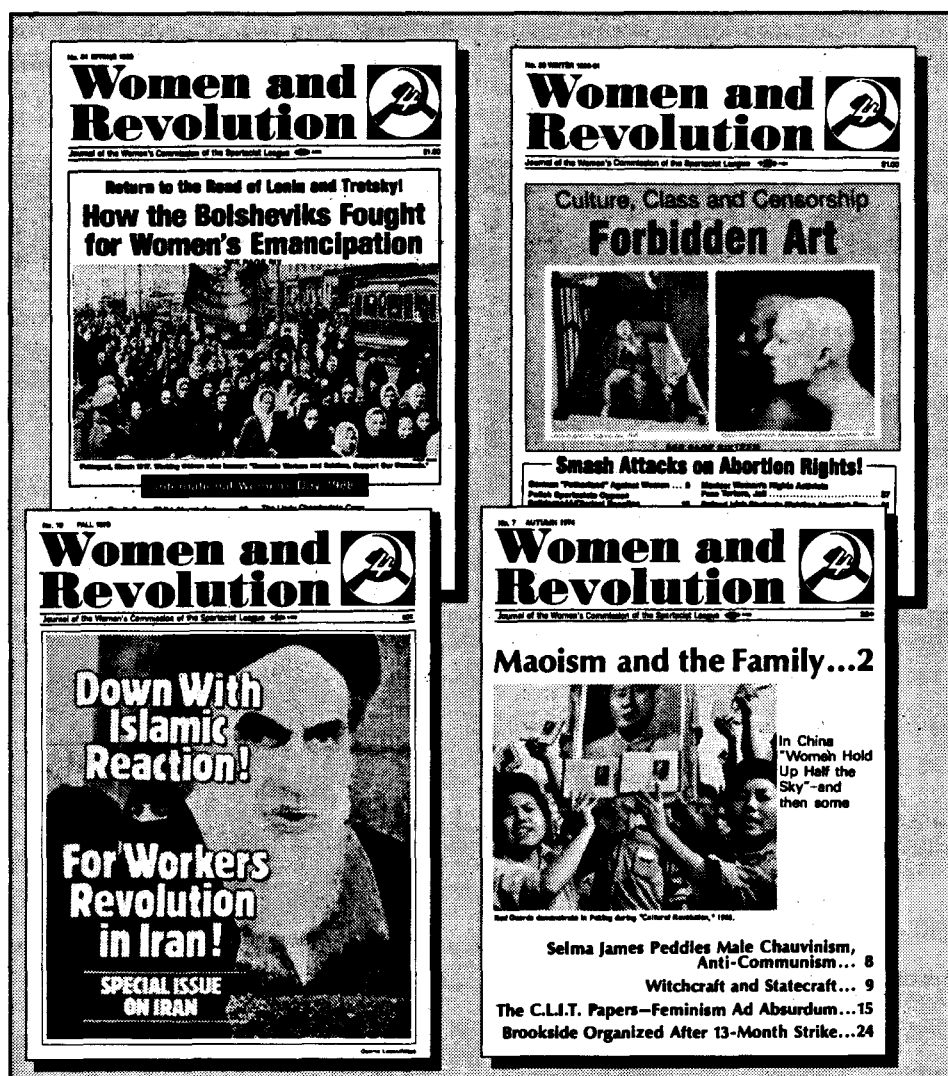
burden of raising the next generation of workers, caring for the sick and aged, and instilling bourgeois codes of "morality" and obedience to authority.

While each country has its own particular social reality, the family and the oppression of women are central to class society everywhere. Proletarian women, subjected to double oppression, play a key economic role as part of the reserve army of the unemployed, drawn into wage labor at boom time and fired at the next downturn. Today in imperialist-dominated countries such as Indonesia and Mexico, women workers are a vital component of a young, vibrant proletariat. As we emphasized in the ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" adopted at the Third International Conference (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"In countries of belated capitalist development, the acute oppression and degradation of women is deeply rooted in pre-capitalist 'tradition' and religious obscurantism. In these countries the fight against women's oppression is therefore a motor force of revolutionary struggle. The condition of women in the most advanced capitalist countries, while far different, shows the limits of freedom and social progress under capitalism; revolutionists are the most consistent champions of women's elementary democratic rights such as free legal abortion and 'equal pay for equal work'."

In seeking to forge a Leninist party as a tribune of the people, championing the rights of all the oppressed, we fight for the workers movement to take up the struggle for women's rights as an integral part of its battle against the capitalist system. At the same time, we expose bourgeois feminism, whose aim is the promotion of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women into the old boys' club of power and privilege, as an enemy of proletarian women. In this we stand in the tradition of Clara Zetkin and the revolutionary wing of the German Social Democracy before World War I, whose struggle for women's emancipation and against bourgeois feminism so effectively polarized the women's movement along class lines that with the ascension of the Third Reich the bourgeois feminists flocked to support the Nazis.

Partly as a result of our intervention for a revolutionary program linking the struggle against special oppression to the fight against the entire capitalist order, in 1977 the Spartacist League won over



In the tradition of the women's section of the early Communist International, *Women and Revolution* applied Marxist worldview to a range of issues, from sex and culture to class battles internationally.

Meet the Spartacus Youth Club

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Monday, 8 March 1 pm

Room 1001 (next door to the Guild),
Quadrangle Building,

University of New South Wales, SYDNEY

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

For more information contact the Spartacus Youth Club on (02) 9281 2181



Articles under *Women and Revolution* masthead appear in press of ICL sections in Italy, France, Poland, Germany, Japan and Mexico and in ICL theoretical journal, *Spartacist*.

and fused with the Red Flag Union (RFU), a collective which developed out of the gay liberation/Maoist/New Left milieu. The last issue of *Red Flag* appeared as a special fusion supplement to *Workers Vanguard*; *W&R* (No. 16, Winter 1977-78) reprinted the RFU document "Homosexual Oppression and the Communist Program."

As our organization extended its international roots, *Women and Revolution* increasingly reflected this change. While it formally remained the journal of the SL/U.S., *W&R* came to serve as a journal of the ICL as a whole, soliciting contributions from all ICL sections. We expanded *W&R*'s editorial board and initiated the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* pages in the presses of our non-English-language sections. *W&R* earned a modest but enthusiastic readership, particularly among immigrant and minority women, from London to Toronto to Sydney, Australia. Our article "80 Million Women Maimed: The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation" (*W&R* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992) was sold to many African women in Europe and was translated in the press of the ICL's French section. The same issue of *W&R* featured "Korean Women Expose 'Comfort Girl' Atrocities: Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women," which also appeared in *Spartacist Japan* No. 13 (September 1992) and intersected events in Japan organized by Japanese of Korean descent.

Meanwhile, in the United States the tumultuous social struggles of the civil rights and Vietnam antiwar movements in the 1960s and early '70s had ebbed. Concessions wrung from the capitalist rulers when they feared social unrest came under new attack. A vicious anti-sex witchhunt was part of the attempt to regiment the American population behind the global anti-Soviet war drive. As women's right to abortion came under increasing attack by the capitalist state and organized religion, bourgeois feminist groups like NOW attempted to channel protests into electoral support for the capitalist Democratic Party and appeals to the state to "protect" abortion clinics.

As our comrades joined in defense of the abortion clinics, *Women and Revolution* fought against feminist ideology and stressed that the struggle to defend and extend abortion rights necessarily meant a fight against state intervention in all areas of private life. Meanwhile, the feminists and their fake-left supporters entirely bought into the right-wing crusade to stamp out "deviant" sex. This has included hysteria over pornography, degrading fantasies of day-care "sexual abuse" leading to the victimization or imprisonment of hundreds, the "date rape" frenzy (which conflated the real crime of rape with unpleasant sexual experiences) and, most recently, the "sex predator" witchhunt. The "date rape" and anti-pornography furor is a reversion to the old double standard in which women are stereotyped as passive victims. Most ominously, the anti-sex witchhunt has led

to an enormous strengthening of the forces of bourgeois repression.

The relative lack of social struggle in the United States and the growing opportunities for our party around the world motivated the ICL's decision to put more of our too-scarce resources into international extension. As a result, the SL/U.S. now finds itself, for the time being, without sufficient resources to continue the regular publication of *Women and Revolution* as a separate journal. This decision was taken reluctantly, especially as the struggle for women's

which destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, as the profit system of capitalist "democracy" dismantled social gains like abortion rights, free education and plentiful day-care centers. While every other left tendency on the planet capitulated to the ideological pressure of imperialist anti-Communism, the ICL mobilized our entire international to intervene in the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 as part of our fight to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class.

"Trotsky's assertion in the 1938 Transitional Program that 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat' predates the present deep regression of proletarian consciousness. The reality of this post-Soviet period adds a new dimension to Trotsky's observation. The only way in which this regression can be overcome and the working class can become a class for itself, i.e., fighting for socialist revolution, is to reforge an international Leninist-Trotskyist party as the leadership of the working class. Marxism must once again win the allegiance of the proletariat."



Rabotnitsa (The Working Woman), Bolshevik women's journal. Communist cadres of Zhenotdel, Soviet commission for work among women, teach literacy in Soviet Central Asia, 1924.



Central Museum of the Revolution, Moscow

rights has continued to be a major political issue worldwide, particularly with the rise of Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship in Iran in 1979.

The status of women emerged as a vital issue in the renewed Cold War drive to destroy the Soviet Union launched by the imperialists when Soviet troops intervened in Afghanistan in late 1979. This was particularly clear in the case of the Afghan civil war, which pitted a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime against CIA-armed, tribalist *mujahedin* cutthroats. We raised the call: "Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" However degenerated by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the USSR remained a workers state. The fight to defend women's rights was integrally linked to the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution and of proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Kremlin's withdrawal of Soviet forces in 1989, foreshadowing capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself, led ultimately to the victory of the Taliban Islamic reactionaries who have driven women back to social seclusion and murderous subjugation. And in Poland, the rise of imperialist-sponsored Solidarność in 1980 marked the beginning of an ultimately successful crusade—using Pope Wojtyła's Catholic church as a battering ram—for capitalist restoration, which has driven women out of the workplace and eliminated the right to abortion.

Women have been among the biggest losers in the capitalist counterrevolution

In China today, where the very existence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Revolution hang in the balance, the Beijing regime's introduction of capitalist market "reforms" has already brought back not only massive unemployment throughout the country and untrammled exploitation in the so-called "special economic zones" but rampant prostitution and the buying and selling of women as "brides" (see "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women," *W&R* No. 45, Winter/Spring 1996). As the only road forward, the ICL calls for proletarian political revolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states—Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam—to oust the bureaucracy and establish workers democracy as part of the global struggle for socialist revolution.

The downfall of the Soviet degenerated workers state was a world-historic defeat. As we wrote in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"History speaks its verdicts loudly. The ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR is an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, decisively altering the political landscape on this planet...."

The fight for the emancipation of women is a powerful lever in the struggle for proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus it is particularly appropriate for *Women and Revolution* pages to be incorporated into *Spartacist*. Articles on the woman question will still be published under the *W&R* masthead in sectional presses of the ICL, and *Workers Vanguard* will continue to expose every manifestation of the oppression and inequality of women which the entrenched power of organized religion and the whole system of capitalist rule engender in the U.S. and abroad.

Only the overthrow of the capitalist system once and for all will secure our rights and lay the foundations for a new world in which the institution of the family will be replaced with collective childcare and housework. *Women and Revolution*, as part of *Spartacist*, is a valuable tool in the rebirth of an authentically communist Fourth International in the wake of the collapse of Stalinism. It remains one of the most effective vehicles for the International Communist League to champion the liberating goals of communism and the necessarily global struggle for a classless society. ■

Spartacist League of Australia

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

What Is the Democratic Socialist Party?

The leaflet printed below was widely distributed at the Democratic Socialist Party's national conference held in early January at the University of Western Sydney. Confirming the truth of what we say of them, conference organisers summoned security guards (behind whom stand the capitalist state's cops) to evict us from the campus in a vain attempt to shield their members from our Marxist politics. Appealing to the enemies of the working class and oppressed is indeed the stock-in-trade of these visceral anti-communists.

What kind of "socialist" organisation:

- defends notorious Croatian Ustasha fascists, World War II butchers too bloody even for the Nazis;
- hails the murder of the heroic Vietnamese Trotskyists who led the 1945 Saigon insurrection against French and British imperialism;
- supports reactionary, anti-woman "movements" from the "Iranian Revolution" of Ayatollah Khomeini to Polish Solidarność, counterrevolutionary instrument of the pope, the CIA and western bankers;
- upholds the jackal white racist Australian imperialist rulers as potential "friends" of the oppressed from Papua New Guinea to Irian Jaya to East Timor?

The polar opposite of revolutionary Marxism, the program for emancipation of the working class and all the oppressed, these are some of the hallmarks of the "socialism" preached by the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP).

From the very beginning of the Marxist movement, revolutionaries have had to wage unyielding political battle against self-proclaimed "socialist" and even "revolutionary" organisations whose fundamental political tenet is the inevitable and continued existence of capitalism. But even among the long line of such reformists, the DSP stands out for its truly boundless opportunist appetites. The DSP leadership has proven willing to adopt almost any political posture if they perceive the possibility of gaining "influence" as they have pursued "unity" with an endless array of organisations whose stated political positions are not

only at sharp variance from those of the DSP but with each other (from Stalinists to "Eurocommunists" to ostensible Trotskyists).

While openly declaring its opposition to Trotskyism, the DSP falsely claims to admire Marx, Engels and Lenin, and works overtime to distort them as purveyors of its own special brand of petty-bourgeois radicalism. In this, insofar as they have an impact among militant young proletarians and leftward-moving student youth, the DSP does yeoman's service for the Australian imperialists who fear above all socialist revolution in their "backyard." The Australian imperialists have time and again sought to drown the insurgent masses across Asia

1972 and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1976. Falsely claiming adherence to Trotskyism, early on they hooked up with the hardened, if eccentric, reformists of Jack Barnes' U.S. SWP, one wing of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). In 1982 Barnes explicitly repudiated Trotskyism and carried out a purge, targeting as well the Australian SWP leadership of Jim Percy who then broke off relations with the Barnesites denouncing them as a "sect." By July 1984 the Percytes declared they too had "repudiated" Trotskyism (and in 1985 split from the USec altogether). Having never in fact been revolutionary Trotskyists, this was the SWP's announcement that even

requires the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries.

The Russian Mensheviks asserted that the revolution would occur in distinct stages: first a bourgeois-democratic revolution under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie, and later a socialist revolution. Lenin's Bolsheviks were closer to Trotsky's view—they insisted that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of leading a democratic revolution. The Bolsheviks argued for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, culminating in the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry."

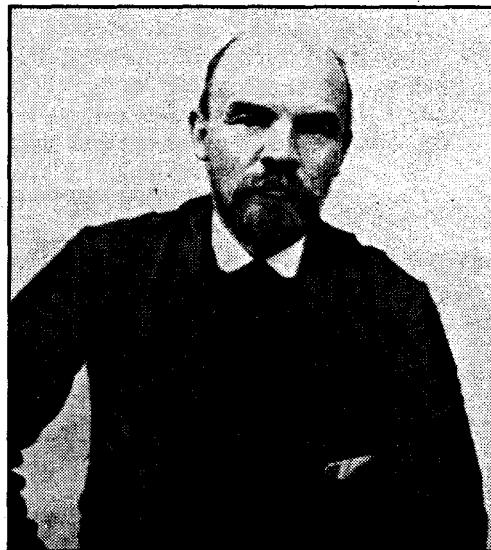
The victorious October Revolution of 1917 was the *permanent revolution in reality*. It completely refuted the Menshevik idea of the revolution as stagist and transcended the limitations of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." The agrarian-democratic revolution was realised, not as a stage before the proletarian seizure of power, but as a result of it. It was the Stalinists (who betrayed and ultimately strangled the Bolshevik Revolution) who resurrected the Menshevik two-stage strategy as a defeatist corollary to their nationalist schema of building "socialism in one country." Applying it to the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, the Comintern ordered the young Communist Party to liquidate into the Guomindang, party of the national bourgeoisie. The result was the defeat of the revolution. The Guomindang drowned the Chinese working class in blood (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front': The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* No. 53, Summer 1997).

Far from the essence of Leninism, as the DSP claims, the two-stage schema has brought terrible defeats for the proletariat, and the *physical destruction* of the communists. But for the DSP, the many bloody defeats that have flowed from this bankrupt program count as nothing. Falsifying Lenin, Trotsky and history in general, John Percy claimed in his 1992 *A History of the Democratic Socialist Party*:

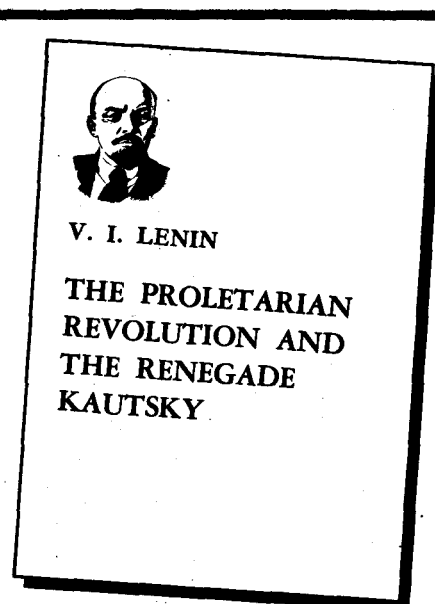
"Well, if any programmatic position has been thoroughly tested and been found correct in the light of the living experiences of the working-class movement, it must be Lenin's two-stage strategy of revolution in the industrially backward countries."

On the contrary, the October Revolution fully confirmed Trotsky's position. Lenin's slogan for the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" was flawed in any case as it projected the creation of a state defending the interests of two different classes, and in April 1917 he rejected it. In his "Letters on Tactics" Lenin stated: "The person who *now* speaks only of a 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is behind the times, consequently, he has in effect *gone over* to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; that person should be consigned to the archive of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionary antiques...." Thus Lenin fought against those (including Stalin) who wanted to support the *capitalist* government issuing out of the February Revolution, supposedly the "first stage" of the revolution.

The DSP occasionally revises the timing of the Menshevik/Stalinist version of two-stage revolution. Instead of the first stage being the February 1917 Revolution and the second stage the October Revolution, the DSP defines the "first stage" of the Bolshevik Revolution as "from November 1917 until June-July 1918." They say this was "a peasant-



P A Otsup



Bolshevik V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution, built Third International in political combat against "democratic socialist" anti-Communist renegades such as Karl Kautsky.

in blood: the drive to crush the Malayan Communist Party in the so-called "Emergency" of the 1950s; the Korean war; the 1958 CIA-backed "Outer Islands Rebellion" in Indonesia; the 1965 mass slaughter of Indonesian leftists and others. That the DSP includes among its leaders one Max Lane whose "foreign service" career included a posting as second secretary in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, speaks volumes.

What became the DSP grew out of the Sydney University Labor Club, becoming the Socialist Workers League (SWL) in

the faintest hint of an association with the Trotskyist program of international proletarian revolution was anathema.

To underscore the point, in 1989, as the Berlin Wall fell amidst unfolding capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe, the SWP changed its name to Democratic Socialist Party and renamed its newspaper *Green Left Weekly* (from *Direct Action*). It is entirely appropriate that this group adopted the name "democratic socialist," the banner under which pro-imperialist social democrats have long waged war against Marxist revolutionaries. Against the likes of the DSP, the International Communist League (ICL) proudly stands on the program and tradition of the Communist International under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky.

DSP Resurrects Menshevik/Stalinist Betrayals

The DSP's "repudiation" of Trotskyism is nothing other than a repudiation of the program for proletarian revolution. The first "major political error" of Trotskyism, according to the DSP, is the theory of permanent revolution, the cornerstone of proletarian revolutionary strategy in countries of belated capitalist development, which they denounce as "ultraleft" and "sectarian."

Developed prior to 1917 as a projection of the likely course of the Russian Revolution, the core of permanent revolution is that in the imperialist epoch, in countries where the national bourgeoisie is tied by a thousand strings to the imperialists, solving the most basic democratic tasks—national liberation and the agrarian question, for example—requires socialist revolution, the seizure of power by the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed. To open the road to socialism



Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter

DSP peddles lie that white Australian capitalism can play "progressive" role. Imperialism cannot be reformed, but must be overthrown through international proletarian revolution.

What is the DSP?

...science and cul...
endeavour. Indeed, it's partly because we're proud of the best in this tradition that we fight for Australia to have a progressive foreign policy—in solidarity with the rights of peoples and not with military dictators.

democratic revolution carried out under proletarian political leadership, which grew over, in its second stage from July through to October 1918, into a proletarian-socialist revolution" (*The Activist*, February 1996). They deliberately obscure that the agrarian-democratic revolution and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie were carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat following the seizure of state power in October 1917 by the proletariat supported by the peasantry.

The DSP is refuted by Lenin himself! Immediately after the seizure of power he proclaimed to the Congress of Soviets, "We shall now proceed to construct the socialist order." It is the dictatorship of the proletariat which the DSP opposes. The proof of their opposition is that in every country they unfailingly preach the Menshevik program of placing confidence in the imperialist-dependent bourgeoisie as the vehicle for liberation.

Permanent Revolution: Nicaragua

According to Percy, it was the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution that "toppled our Trotskyist theory that socialist revolutions were one stage affairs" (*A History*). This is, on the face of it, absurd. The Sandinista leaders truthfully denied that they had any intention of abolishing capitalism following the overthrow of the U.S.-backed tyrant Somoza by the Nicaraguan masses. The FSLN, agreeing with Cuba's Fidel Castro, refused to undertake a thorough-going social revolution, leading directly to the defeat of the revolution.

Against the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas' social pact with the "anti-Somoza" bourgeoisie in the name of "political pluralism," we stressed that defence of the Nicaraguan Revolution required that it be completed through expropriation of the capitalist fifth column and extended throughout the region. Far from confirming the "stagist" conception, the Nicaraguan Revolution tragically illustrates that short of the proletarian seizure of power, the most basic democratic tasks cannot be solved. As we wrote in 1990 when contra candidate Violetta Chamorro took office, "In the face of unremitting imperialist hostility, seeing no road to revolutionary victory and demoralised by the FSLN's increasingly pro-capitalist policies, the Nicaraguan masses sought a respite from their suffering by bringing in Washington's woman" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 501, 4 May 1990).

Opposing permanent revolution, a strategy for proletarian power, the DSP has no need of a proletarian revolutionary party—any petty-bourgeois nationalists will do. The DSP was so enamoured of the Sandinistas that they denounced the U.S. SWP, who were and are hardly shy about tailing anti-proletarian forces, for not going far enough in lauding the Sandinistas as revolutionaries. They also one-upped the Barnesites claiming that "the Castro leadership were revolutionary Marxists even before taking power in Cuba" (*A History*).



L.A. Times



Reuters

Reformist DSP promotes illusions in Third World bourgeois nationalism, from Cory Aquino's U.S.-backed "people power" movement in the Philippines in 1986 (left) to Javanese-chauvinist Megawati in Indonesia today.

The ICL fundamentally opposes the doctrine proclaimed by Maoists and others which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism. As we wrote in our ICL "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* No. 54, Spring 1998):

"In Cuba, a petty-bourgeois movement under exceptional circumstances—the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, the flight of the national bourgeoisie and hostile imperialist encirclement, and a lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union—did overthrow the old Batista dictatorship and eventually smash capitalist property relations. But Castroism (or other peasant-based guerrilla movements) cannot bring the working class to political power.

"Under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable, the petty-bourgeois peasantry was only capable of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, that is, a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counterrevolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, an anti-working-class regime which blocked the possibilities to extend social revolution into Latin America and North America, and suppressed Cuba's further development in the direction of socialism. To place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development requires a supplemental political revolution led by a Trotskyist party. With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening in which petty-bourgeois forces were able to overturn local capitalist rule has been closed, underscoring the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution."

Permanent Revolution: Vietnam

The SWP's condemnation of permanent revolution led them in short order to embrace bloody Stalinist terror in the service of imperialism. In 1945 at the end of World War II the Vietnamese Trotskyists led an insurrection in Saigon to oppose the reinvasion of Vietnam by the British and French imperialists. Under the banner of the Fourth International, they fought for slogans such as: Down with Imperialism! Long Live World Revolution! Long Live the Workers and Peasants Front! People's

Committees Everywhere! Long Live the Arming of the People! Land to the Peasants! Nationalisation of the Factories under Workers Control! Toward the Workers and Peasants Government! The Vietnamese Stalinists, in line with the Soviet bureaucracy's appeasement of the "democratic" imperialist Allies, "welcomed" the colonialists' return. They crushed the Saigon uprising, murdering hundreds of Trotskyists, including Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau.

The SWP, in a 1984 pamphlet by Allen Myers (*The Vietnamese Revolution and Its Leadership*) grotesquely praised this slaughter of communists, retailing deadly Stalinist Moscow Trials-type slanders:

"It was at this time that leaders of the Trotskyists and of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed....

"The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative."

Fighting for the Marxist program of permanent revolution, the heroic Vietnamese Trotskyists had significant roots in the proletariat and led tens of thousands of workers in the Saigon insurrection. The Stalinists, bowing before the French imperialists, destroyed the most class-conscious militants, paving the way for 30 years of imperialist war against the Vietnamese. Infamous for their "peaceful, legal" kowtowing before the Australian ruling class, safe at home the DSP, red in tooth and claw, stands with Stalinist murderers of revolutionary internationalists.

Indonesia, Philippines: More Betrayals

The "stagist" program peddled by the likes of the DSP was the program of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Basing itself on the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution—which amounts to mobilising the workers to bring the bourgeois nationalists to power in the first "stage" and ends in the massacre of workers and Communists—the PKI opposed the fight for proletarian revolution. They preached "national

unity" with the bourgeois-nationalist rulers led by Sukarno, banned strikes, suppressed peasant protests and preached confidence in Sukarno and his generals.

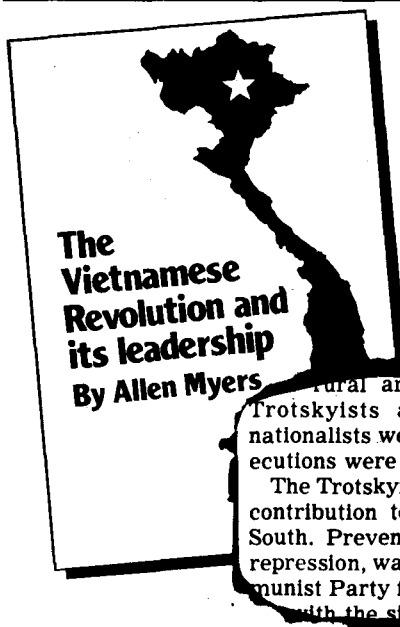
Politically and militarily disarming the Indonesian working class, the PKI opened the road to the bloody defeat of 1965-66 in Indonesia. Suharto came to power through an anti-Communist massacre of over 500,000, carried out by the military and reactionary Islamic gangs, with the direct involvement of the American CIA and its Australian jackals. This horrendous slaughter, in which the PKI, the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world, was crushed, was a bitter lesson in the deadly danger of class collaboration.

Today the DSP act as press agents for the petty-bourgeois Indonesian Peoples Democratic Party (PRD) which has openly pushed alliances with bourgeois politicians like Megawati Sukarnoputri and Islamic leader Amien Rais. Demonstrating the truth of Trotsky's understanding that the bourgeoisies in countries such as Indonesia are incapable of winning even bourgeois democracy, Megawati is a Javanese chauvinist who is for the incorporation of East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia.

Far from opposing the bourgeoisie, the PRD turns to their imperialist masters. They demand that the UN, that imperialist den of thieves and their victims "be given full authority to resolve the issue of East Timor" (PRD "Resolution on East Timor," 22 July 1996). The DSP goes even further with its calls for "freedom" for East Timor under the auspices of "democratic" Australian imperialism, demanding that these imperialists "Withdraw recognition of Indonesia's take-over of East Timor" ("People Before Profits," 1996). These are the very forces which have armed and trained the Indonesia army of occupation. Against these calls on "democratic" imperialism, we say independence for East Timor now!

In the Philippines, the DSP are promoting a new reformist outfit, the Sosyalistang Partido ng Paggawa (Socialist Party of Labour—SPP) whose program

continued on page 8



SWP 1984 pamphlet (left) hails Stalinists' 1945 counter-revolutionary slaughter of heroic Vietnamese Trotskyists (right), including leader Ta Thu Thau (inset).

...ural areas. It was at this time that leaders of Trotskyists and of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists were executed. According to most sources, the executions were ordered by Tran Van Glau.

The Trotskyists and their nationalist allies had made a major contribution to the near-destruction of the revolution in the South. Preventing further damage, if necessary by physical repression, was imperative. It appears, however, that the Communist Party felt that Glau had used excessive violence in coping with the situation. Huynh reports:



no credit



Quatrième Internationale

DSP...

(continued from page 7)

states they are for "The principle of uninterrupted revolution, from national-democratic to socialism" (*Green Left Weekly*, 9 December 1998). But "uninterrupted" is just a cover for an explicitly stagist program as made clear by Sonny Melencio, a leading light of the new party, who openly defended class collaboration in a speech to a 1997 DSP conference. Raising the question of "whether or not to include the bourgeois liberal forces in a broad front, form an electoral bloc with them and support them in elections," he falsely claimed that Lenin argued "precisely for such a tactic" in "Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder (*Links* No. 8, July-October 1997).

It was not Lenin's Bolsheviks, but the Mensheviks who promoted political blocs with the bourgeoisie, and Lenin opposed them down the line. As we wrote in "How Philippine Fake Leftists Falsify Lenin" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 703, 25 December 1998):

"In polemicizing against ultraleftists who rejected temporary tactical alliances with reformists or bourgeois liberals on principle, Lenin noted, 'Prior to the downfall of tsarism, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats made repeated use of the services of the bourgeois liberals.' He referred parenthetically to the fact that around 1907, in areas where the Bolsheviks were a minority to the Mensheviks in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, they had agreed to the Menshevik policy of according votes to the Cadets (bourgeois liberals) 'during second rounds of elections.' Where the Bolsheviks had a majority, Lenin held that they should either vote for socialist candidates or, if given no other choice, abstain....

"Lenin fought for the *political independence of the proletariat*. At the time, however, Lenin considered the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to be two factions within a common party. Lenin's view on the party question evolved over time. After the Bolsheviks formed a distinct party in 1912, they never supported bourgeois formations politically."

In 1986 the Filipino left liquidated into a *bourgeois* movement against the Marcos dictatorship. Following suit, the then-SWP tailed the "people power" movement of wealthy landowner Corazon ("Cory") Aquino, serving as local promoters for the reformist Bayan group which praised Aquino's policies as "very progressive and promising" (*Direct Action*, 12 March 1986). Such "leftists" foisted on workers and peasants dangerous illusions that bourgeois liberals were their allies, and that capitalism could be reformed. The upshot, as always, was that a mass plebeian uprising was deflected into bourgeois political movements aiming to put a prettier face on the continued rule of the bloody bonapartist, capitalist dictatorships. The proof is the Philippines today.

Against this deadly class collaboration, in the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia, it is necessary to forge Leninist vanguard parties rooted in proletarian internationalism and armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Socialist revolution in the Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people

in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the region—and would act as a powerful impetus for proletarian political revolution in China and for socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse.

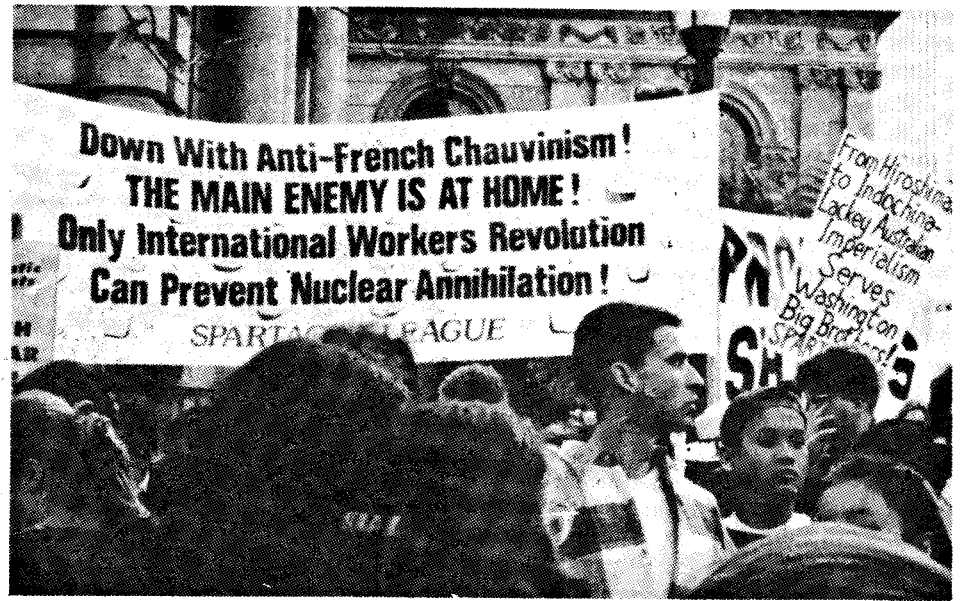
Little Aussie Nationalists

The *Communist Manifesto* declared, "The working men have no country.... Workers of all countries, unite!" If there is a consistent thread in the DSP's political history, it is precisely rejection of this ABC of communism.

This was graphically illustrated in 1995 when the Australian imperialists whipped up a chauvinist frenzy against their French rivals in the South Pacific under the guise of opposition to France's testing of nuclear weapons. Fully backing this vile Australian nationalist campaign, which included protests targeting French restaurants and individual French-descended residents, the DSP urged "all unions to place industrial bans on all French goods and services," and demanded the Australian government ban trade with France (*Green Left Weekly*, 26 July 1995). Enthusing over the anti-French Bastille Day "national unity" mobilisations, the DSP was silent about the disgusting, racist calls to "nuke the frogs" which were a feature of these actions.

In a joint statement, the Spartacist League of Australia and the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, proclaimed:

"The orgy of chauvinism in Australia and France touched off by the dispute over renewed French nuclear testing in the Pacific underlines how capitalism in its



Amidst 1995 chauvinist anti-French frenzy, SL/A stood for revolutionary internationalism. DSP backed vile Australian nationalist campaign against imperialist rival France.

history. For nearly three decades they have peddled the dangerous lie that white Australian capitalism can be pressured into playing a "progressive" role, especially when the Australian Labor Party (ALP) social democrats rule on behalf of the bosses. When the Vietnamese workers and peasants were handing a humiliating military defeat to U.S. imperialism and its lackey allies, including Australia, in the early 1970s, the DSP's predecessor, the SWL, opined, "Australia and likewise New Zealand can play an extremely important role in opposing the United States and its warmaking efforts"

of a set of policies that the capitalist rulers could embrace or reject. In his book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin exposed Kautsky's line as open capitulation to his own bourgeoisie. For communists, the imperialists' drive to put all the world under their yoke through war, starvation and terror is not the result of moral failings or a bad choice of "foreign policy" but the inevitable outcome of the capitalist system in its death agony that can only be ended with victorious international proletarian revolution.

The DSP leadership tells its members that we Spartacists are "too extreme on foreign policy." The DSP has consistently supported racist Australian imperialism's military adventures under the guise of providing "humanitarian" assistance from Somalia to Cambodia. Scandalously, the DSP said Australian military intervention in Irian Jaya was "welcome" (*Green Left Weekly*, 13 May 1998), even while admitting it would directly benefit the murderous Indonesian military!

The DSP so deeply believes in the reformability of capitalism that its 1996 election platform calling "For a democratic foreign policy" offers heart-felt advice to the imperialists that they should "renegotiate" the debt that draws the lifeblood out of the peoples of the world and they should "restructure" international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund whose brutal hand has driven millions to the brink of starvation.

We inscribe on our banner: Not one man, not one penny for imperialism! The main enemy is at home! The heroic German Communist Karl Liebknecht (later murdered with Rosa Luxemburg at the behest of the social democrats) was tried for treason in 1916 for his anti-militarism and opposition to the German ruling class amid the carnage of World War I. At his court martial he proclaimed:

"He who does not attack the enemy, imperialism, face to face, but instead attacks those far away, those outside his shooting range...is no Socialist, but a miserable lackey of the ruling class."

"Democratic" Anti-Communism

From the moment the working class took power in Russia in October 1917, the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic frontmen railed against the Bolsheviks, denouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat as "totalitarian." In the words of Kautsky, the contrast between the Bolsheviks and the non-Bolsheviks is "the contrast between two radically different methods: the *dictatorial* and the *democratic*." For our part, we stand with the Bolsheviks who fought to defend the proletarian state power against counter-revolution at all costs.

Firmly in the camp of Kautsky and the rest of the pro-capitalist social democrats who have proclaimed themselves "democratic socialists," the DSP breathes not a word about the necessity for proletarian *revolution* to overthrow capitalism. Wrapping themselves in bourgeois liberalism they declare the "DSP stands for

1927 Shanghai massacre, marking bloody defeat of 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, was prepared by Stalinists' support to bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang.



epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably through trade war to world war, unless the problem is destroyed at its root by socialist revolution. The enemy of the workers and oppressed is not 'the French' or 'the Australians' but the rapacious capitalist ruling classes which dream of plundering the whole world while turning the screws on their 'own' workers in the interests of profit. The real and terrible danger of war will only be ended by the workers of all countries joining together, rejecting all the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands.... The main enemy is at home!"

—*Australasian Spartacist* No. 157, Summer 1995-96

The DSP's crawling before the Australian imperialist rulers has a long

("U.S. Out Now!", undated leaflet).

During the mid-1980s they were at it again, demanding "the Australian government should encourage a peaceful solution to the Central American crisis." This was at the height of the U.S. imperialists' efforts (under Ronald Reagan) to drown in blood the leftist rebels of El Salvador, a key component of the drive to roll back the Cuban Revolution, part and parcel of Cold War II against the Soviet Union. In line with the petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrillas' pro-capitalist leadership, the SWP denounced class-struggle opposition to imperialism in the name of pressuring various capitalist countries to pressure the U.S. Thus they sought to mobilise impotent peace crawls crafted to attract churchmen, pacifists and anti-Communist liberals. They spilled gallons of ink attacking our efforts to build "Anti-Imperialist Contingents" that drew the class line in Central America and defended the USSR. In an anti-Soviet frenzy, they carried out a vicious, premeditated physical assault on our contingent in Sydney in 1981. For these self-proclaimed socialists, calling the cops against communists was "perfectly justified" ("Sectarians Try to Disrupt Sydney El Salvador March," undated leaflet).

In its pamphlet *What is the DSP?* these little Aussie nationalists declare: "we fight for Australia to have a progressive foreign policy." It was the anti-Marxist renegade Karl Kautsky, enemy of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, who decreed that imperialism consisted merely

Program of the Spartacist League
Australian Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
Includes: "The Spartacist League and the Left"

\$2

Order from/make cheques payable to:
 Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
 GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

A Spartacist Pamphlet 22

For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!

Program of the Spartacist League
 Australian Section of the International Communist League
 (Fourth Internationalist)

- I. The Spartacist League of Australia
- II. Break with Labour! For a Revolutionary Leadership of the Working Class
- III. Australian Imperialism!
- IV. Organize Workers—Day to Class Struggle
- V. Open the Road to the Workers and the Youth!
- VI. Let's Make Our Own History!
- VII. The State and Revolution
- VIII. Unshakeable Solidarity to Stop the Fascists
- IX. For Science and Militarism!
- X. The Organ of the Spartacist League
- XI. For New Outdoor Revolutions!

The Spartacist League and the Left

the universal application of the principle of democracy." For them "socialism" means "extending the principle of democracy to all spheres of life" (*What is the DSP?*).

Lenin's *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918) directly addressed this "democratic" claptrap:

"We, the revolutionary Marxists, never made speeches to the people that the Kautskyites of all nations love to make, cringing before the bourgeoisie, adapting themselves to the bourgeois parliamentary system, keeping silent about the bourgeois character of modern democracy and demanding only its extension, only that it be carried to its logical conclusion.

"We' said to the bourgeoisie: You, exploiters and hypocrites, talk about democracy, while at every step you erect thousands of barriers to prevent the oppressed people from taking part in politics. We take you at your word and, in the interests of these people, demand the extension of your bourgeois democracy in order to prepare the people for revolution for the purpose of overthrowing you, the exploiters. And if you exploiters attempt to offer resistance to our proletarian revolution we shall ruthlessly suppress you; we shall deprive you of all rights; more than that, we shall not give you any bread, for in our proletarian republic the exploiters will have no rights, they will be deprived of fire and water, for we are socialists in real earnest, and not in the Scheidemann or Kautsky fashion."

Deep in the grip of "democratic" imperialism, in the 1980s the then-SWP was notorious for its embrace of Polish Solidarność, agency of the Catholic Church, CIA and imperialist bankers for counterrevolution against the bureaucratically deformed Polish workers state. In December 1981 they marched side by side with fanatical anti-Communist East European nationalists—the sinister "Captive Nations" gang—at the Polish consulate in Sydney. Proclaiming themselves "the most closely aligned to Solidarity in Australia" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 January 1982) the SWP put out wall posters featuring a quotation from and picture of the anti-woman, anti-Semitic, capitalist tool Lech Walesa. No doubt to the SWP's chagrin, they were in no position to compete with the real "Solidarity with Solidarność" forces—the clerical-reactionaries led by the now-dead B.A. Santamaria who in the 1950s ran a sinister operation to purge the union movement of any hint of Communism.

Despite the economic devastation, clerical reaction, anti-Semitism and the crackdown on abortion wreaked by Solidarność' capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, in 1992 the DSP was still touting its grotesque "solidarity actions" with anti-Communist scum. In "defending democratic rights in the Stalinised states" they were happy to march "with anyone," including, as they fatuously put it, people "who didn't understand the need to defend the Polish socialist state against imperialism" (*A History*).

The "Russian question" has been the defining political question of the 20th century: the October 1917 Russian Revolution took the Marxist doctrine out of the realm of theory and gave it reality, creating a society where those who laboured ruled through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The pressure of imperialist encirclement, the devastation of



Novosti

Russian Revolution inspired workers around the world. ICL fights for new October Revolutions; DSP pushes Menshevik/Stalinist class-collaboration.

the Russian working class in the Civil War and the isolation of the Russian Revolution enabled a bureaucratic layer headed by J.V. Stalin to usurp political power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. The Trotskyists alone upheld Lenin's program of proletarian internationalism—the understanding that the survival of the October Revolution depended on its extension through working-class revolution. In the Soviet degenerated workers state, and in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, we Trotskyists stood for unconditional military defence of these states against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic castes and place the working class in political power and open the road to socialist development.

We thus opposed Solidarność' drive to capitalist restoration in Poland. Proclaiming "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" we said that this threat must be crushed at all costs and by any means necessary. We fought for Polish Trotskyism, for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which at every turn undermined the defence of the planned, socialised economy and the consciousness of the Polish proletariat. The DSP was on the other side of the barricades.

It was precisely under the pressure of anti-Soviet Cold War II that the SWP in July 1984 junked what had always been its empty pretence to Trotskyism. Proving, as Stalin said, that paper will take anything written on it, the SWP pronounced that the other "major political error" of Trotskyism was "an overestimation of the place, within the tasks confronting the workers states and within the world revolution, occupied by political revolution against the ruling castes in the bureaucratized socialist states" (*A History*).

What the SWP was really on about was removing any perceived obstacle to sucking up to various nationalist formations around the world who claimed inspiration from the Cuban and Vietnamese Revolutions. They "distinguish

between these governments, who, they falsely claim, "act in the working people's interests" (*What is the DSP?*) and China and North Korea—which are rather less "popular" and, more to the point, particularly targeted by the Australian imperialists.

The SWP's selective "Stalinophilia" also allowed them to be as one with the social democrats and liberals infatuated with the emergence of Russian-leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Proclaiming "market socialism," he began to dismantle the centrally planned Soviet economy as he openly capitulated to imperialism from pulling out of Afghanistan to handing over East Germany.

When in August 1991 Boris Yeltsin staged his countercoup against the impotent "Gang of Eight" who had moved against Gorbachev, the DSP rallied with the rest of the traitorous left to cheer on capitalist counterrevolution. On 28 August 1991 *Green Left Weekly* editorialised: "The defeat of last week's disastrous attempt by the Stalinist old guard to turn back the clock opens a new political phase in the USSR. In particular, it marks the first big victory for mass political action over the repressive bureaucracy...."

DSP leader Renfrey Clarke was on Yeltsin's barricades, joining those imbued, in his own words, with "vehement anti-Communism" (*Green Left Weekly*, 4 September 1991). He also spent a night inside the "White House" trying to help a Scottish Labour MP deliver a letter of solidarity to Yeltsin from British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, infamous for knifing the heroic British miners strike of 1984-85. This abject service to social-democratic anti-communism exactly sums up the political essence of the DSP.

Today the DSP vociferously denies they supported the Yeltsinite "democrats." But the DSP's hailing of capitalist counterrevolution as a "lesser evil" to Stalinism is unambiguous: "our central conclusion is that the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR and of the political influence of Stalinism in the West represents an

enormous step forward for the struggle for socialism" (*The Collapse of 'Communism' in the USSR*, 1992).

Far from the anti-communist fictions of the DSP, the ascendancy of counterrevolution in the former USSR was an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world. As our ICL "Declaration of Principles" states: "We Trotskyists stayed at our posts and fought to preserve and extend the revolutionary gains of the working class while every other tendency on the planet capitulated to the ideological pressure of imperialist anti-communism. Above all our defense of the USSR was expressed in our fight for new October Revolutions around the world."

We continue to stand, as we did with the USSR and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, for unconditional military defence of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the narrow, nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies whose continued misrule threatens further defeats for the international working class.

Not so the DSP, which upholds the Cuban Stalinist regime as a model. This is pretty rich given that the capitalist counterrevolutions that ravaged Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have left the Cuban Revolution economically prostrate and at the mercy of the imperialist powers. As the Castro regime undermines the very foundations of the revolution by introducing the dollar economy and foreign capital investment while welcoming the pope of counterrevolution, the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution is more urgently posed than ever.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialists have set their sights on China and have found powerful allies in the Stalinist bureaucracy, sections of which seek to become the new capitalist exploiters, looking to the wholesale dismantling of what remains of the planned economy of the deformed workers state. The extreme nationalist ideology pushed by the Stalinist bureaucrats is a direct bridge to capitalist restoration. China stands on the brink of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. The DSP champions the likes of Han Dongfang, editor of the *China Labour Bulletin* which advocates "independent" trade unions in China. He is regularly featured on *Radio Free Asia*, an official anti-communist mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism. We urgently seek to intervene as the subjective factor which will make the difference in the Chinese proletariat becoming a class for itself by bringing revolutionary internationalist class consciousness to the working masses in China and in the large Chinese diaspora.

Anti-Communists For Hire

The DSP hasn't hesitated to stir up the bloody brew of nationalism and anti-communism in Australia, too. In the early 1980s the SWP worked intimately with the sinister Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP). This outfit openly

continued on page 10

Der Spiegel



Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność, counterrevolutionary instrument of CIA and Vatican. Banner of Australian SWP, predecessor of DSP, was prominent at December 1981 pro-Solidarność rally of anti-Communist reactionaries.

ASp photo



DSP...

(continued from page 9)

proclaimed its goal of dismembering the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state as they lauded some of the most bloodthirsty of the Ustasha butchers whose bestiality in World War II in murdering Serbs, Jews, Roma and many Croats gave even the Nazis pause. The SWP produced a special four-page supplement to its newspaper (July 1983) to declare "the Ustasha was *not* a fascist movement" while alibiing the mass murderer Ante Pavelic who ran the Nazi satellite state of Croatia.

This is the kind of trash that usually comes from the mouths of Nazi apologists who claim the Holocaust never happened. Youth in Australia attracted to the DSP's loudly proclaimed "anti-racism" might ask themselves how it would feel to join arm in arm with the likes of the HDP. And all the DSP's quotations from Trotsky about "defence of the workers states" will not and cannot cover up their obscene hailing of the 1971 murder of a Yugoslav diplomat by a fascist terrorist as an "act of struggle against national oppression" (see *Australasian Spartacist* No. 103, August/September 1983).

The DSP proclaims itself for women's rights, for gay rights, but this is evidently a program for Australians only. From Iran to Poland they have backed forces of reaction that have trampled mercilessly on the rights of women and gays. In 1979, the SWP, with most of the left, tried to paint the Iranian mullahs who decreed death to "adulterous" women, homosexuals and national minorities as "anti-imperialists." A short time later, even as the mullahs in Khomeini's Iran were torturing their own erstwhile comrades, the SWP upheld "the Iranian revolution," and denounced our proletarian opposition to the Islamic fanatics as "counterrevolutionary."

The imperialists have long cultivated Islamic fundamentalism as a weapon against communism. In 1950 John Foster Dulles, who later became U.S. secretary of state, pointed to a "common bond" with the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual belief cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism." This view was chillingly echoed by SWPer Andrew Jamieson who, in a signed statement dated 27 June 1979, declared:

"We would support the Muslim masses in so far as they were against the Stalinist practices of the PKI in Indonesia in 1965."

Indonesian and other leftists take heed—the DSP has had no compunction about supporting the darkest forces of reaction if they are "popular."

Anti-Proletarian, Anti-Leninist, Anti-Trotskyist

The DSP outright rejects the elementary working-class principle of not voting

for the parties of the class enemy. These charlatans claim to have learned this class treason from Lenin, who, they write, "of course, never held that it was impermissible for socialists to call for a vote in a parliamentary election for a bourgeois party" (*A History*). Their "evidence"? In 1920 Lenin called for a vote to the British Labour Party! Anyone the least familiar with Lenin's "*Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder*" knows this tactic, of support "in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man," was explicitly a call for a *class* vote "*for the Labour candidate and against the bourgeois candidate.*" Not for the DSP—they incredibly claim that for Lenin the BLP was a bourgeois party!

For Lenin, the BLP was contradictory. It was "a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who quite

Aborigines, immigrants and youth. We said, "No vote to Labor"—the tactic of critical support was not applicable, as it has not been for many years.

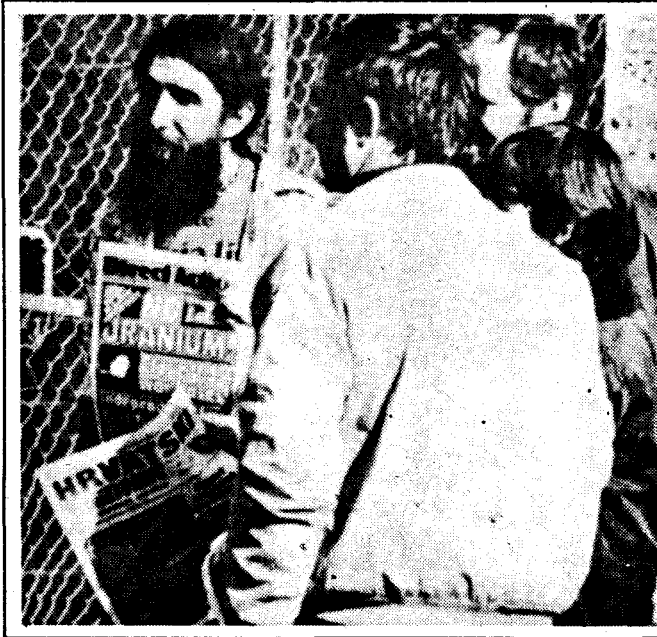
In 1984 the SWP blithely declared that the ALP, of which they had been practically an organic component, was and had been since its inception an outright capitalist party. Not born of leftist impulses, this crass revision of the class character of the social democracy was a ploy to advocate support to the *bourgeois* Nuclear Disarmament Party in 1984—into which the SWP threw itself "wholeheartedly." As they put it themselves: "Once we had broken with Trotskyism, and once we had corrected our analysis of the ALP, the way was open for our party to contemplate a much wider range of political options. The possibilities emerged for seeking different types of regroupments with other political forces, and for having a much more flexible tactical

international workers movement paid for through bitter experience. As the program of the Spartacist League states:

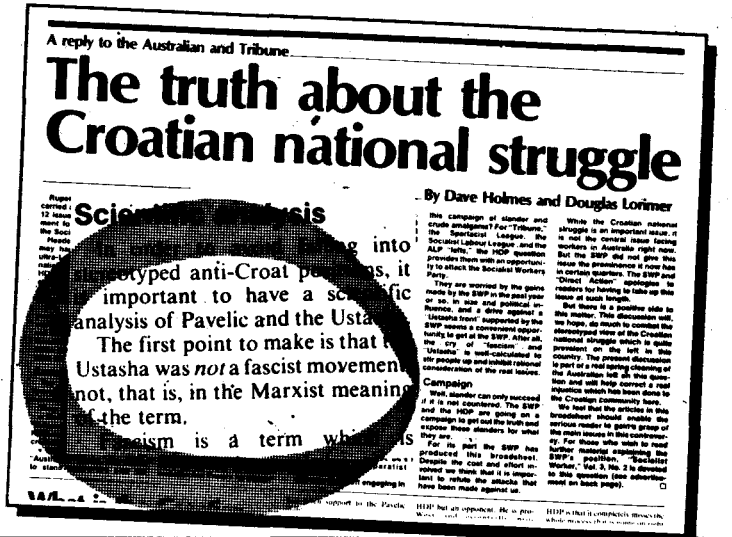
"We seek to bring the ICL's powerful revolutionary Marxist program into the working class, infusing the class with the necessary understanding of its historic task: the seizure of state power in a thorough-going workers revolution. Ardently championing the rights of the terribly oppressed Aboriginal peoples, of women, youth, and homosexuals, of immigrants and all the other exploited and oppressed, the working class will be transformed from merely a class in itself, to a class *for* itself, and in the process will utterly smash this racist, misogynist and violent capitalist system and open the door to the future international socialist society."

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

What is the DSP? "Made-in-Australia" opportunists of the most unbridled variety lacking even the most rudimentary



In 1980s, SWP whitewashed Croatian Ustasha fascists (below), worked closely with sinister HDP (left).



act in the spirit of the bourgeoisie." On the other hand these leaders "are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement." Lenin termed the BLP "a special kind of labour organisation of four million members, which is half trade union and half political and is headed by bourgeois leaders" ("Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party," August 1920). The task of communists was and is to win the masses of workers away from the pro-capitalist leaders, that is to split such a "bourgeois-workers party."

We affirm Lenin's position that critical support to a social-democratic party, such as the BLP or the Australian Labor Party is to be used as a tactical weapon, affording a revolutionary party an opportunity to exploit the contradictions between that party's bourgeois program and working-class base. Against the bulk of the fake left, however, we oppose the view that it is the duty of revolutionaries to invariably support the social democracy, critically or not. In the 1998 federal election, the ALP pledged continued attacks on the working class, women,

approach towards parliamentary elections" (*A History*). For the DSP, their brand of reformism does not depend on the ALP as its agent, and they have repeatedly supported capitalist parties in Australia such as the anti-immigrant Greens and the Democrats, whom the DSP claimed were no different from the ALP for whom they continued to vote.

The DSP *opposes* the struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their maximum demand is that "the main assets of society must be publicly owned and democratically managed" (*Resist!*, 28 August 1998) and they openly say that a "revolutionary government" in this country "will require a multiclass alliance" (*The ALP and the Fight for Socialism*, 1985). Their "red and green" petty-bourgeois "community" and sectoralist politics are manifestly anti-proletarian in orientation.

In contrast to these opportunists, we Trotskyists—revolutionary Marxists—are guided by political principle and programmatic constancy, the precious theoretical and strategic acquisitions of the

loyalty to the cause of the working class. Their scouring the world for co-thinkers and bloc partners can only be described, in Oscar Wilde's words, as "the unspeakable in pursuit of the inedible."

It is thus entirely appropriate that they despise Trotsky's Fourth International, describing it as "a farce, a centralised world organisation built on nothing but small propaganda groups united around a written program" (*A History*). With the sneer of the arrogant petty-bourgeois they mock Trotsky's statement in 1938 that "today there is not another revolutionary current on the face of the planet worthy of the name."

This was simply a true statement: against the social democrats and Stalinists, against all varieties of centrism, Trotsky's Fourth International alone carried forward the program of the Bolsheviks and the Communist International, the fight for international proletarian revolution. That is the struggle carried on today by the International Communist League who fight for a reformed Fourth International, indispensable world party of socialist revolution. ■

Available in Chinese

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

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

\$1.25 (20 pages)

Make cheques payable/mail to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.,
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 53 ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 1997

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

**China on the Brink
Workers Political Revolution
or Capitalist Enslavement?**

Permanent Revolution vs. the "Anti-Imperialist United Front"
The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism

Original Documents Published from Soviet Archives
Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinist Betrayal of Bolshevik Revolution

Revolutionary Regroupment or Centrist Alchemy?

No. 53, Summer 1997, \$2.00 (56 pages)

Make cheques payable/mail to
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 54 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 1998

For New October Revolutions!

Third International Conference of the ICL

Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

On the Origins and Development of Leninist Organizational Practices

Organizational Rules and Guidelines

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

No. 54, Spring 1998, \$2.50 (48 pages)

Make cheques payable/mail to
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

Balkans...

(continued from page 12)

cover for support to imperialist intervention.

We also defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. In contrast, liberals and the reformist left, who divide the world into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples, dismiss with a wave of the hand the rights of the Serbs. In fact, the Serbian minority in Croatia has already been almost entirely driven out through "ethnic cleansing" there. The Serbs in Kosovo, like the Jews of pre-World War II Poland, make up some 10 percent of the population. With the Albanian Kosovars about to become the pawns of the imperialist occupation force, the stage is set for reversing the terms of oppression.

The Kosovo "peace" process being brokered by Washington is modeled on the NATO-imposed Dayton accords, signed following imperialist air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995 and policed by an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia. As we warned at the time: "The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (*WV* No. 634, 1 December 1995). Today, with hardline Serbian nationalists viscerally opposed to autonomy for the Albanian Kosovars and the UCK equally opposed to any solution short of independence, imperialist intervention can only lay the basis for further bloodshed.

The machinations in the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating inter-imperialist rivalries, whose logic ultimately points toward a nuclear third world war. Despite the conjunctural show of unity among the Western powers, all are pursuing their own interests in the region. Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both world wars and are trying to restore influence in the region. Bonn's drive to restore its pre-World War I sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is aimed at the region's wealth of minerals which have strategic importance to German industry. As a recent study pointed out, Kosovo "contains the greatest concentration of mineral wealth in the whole of south-eastern Europe." During Hitler's occupation of Yugoslavia, Kosovo's mines produced massive amounts of lead, zinc, nickel and other strategic minerals for the Third Reich's war industries (Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* [1998]).

While the U.S. has no such strategic stake in the Balkans, it seeks to wield the military power of NATO, which it dominates, as a means of furthering Washington's global interests. With inter-imperialist rivalry increasingly coming to the fore following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. fears that the European powers may conduct independent military operations, bypassing NATO. Today, there are more than 25,000 U.S.-commanded troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia. Two thousand more soldiers occupy Macedonia, including 350 Americans who help police the border with Kosovo.

Washington also worries that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to Macedonia, where ethnic Albanians constitute over 25 percent of the population. The breakup of Macedonia could well trigger a war involving Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were mainly fought to determine which Balkan states would get Macedonia and Kosovo as the Ottoman Empire fell apart, were the prelude to the First World War.

The endless cycle of ethnic slaughter in the Balkans underscores the fact that a democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in that region can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in



Workers Vanguard

December 1995 Spartacist demonstration outside UN headquarters in New York City protests imperialist occupation of Bosnia.

pursuing and exacerbating national claims. This was demonstrated by the 1917 Russian Revolution which laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been under the boot of the tsarist empire to achieve self-determination. The Bolshevik Revolution opened the road to genuine national equality by expropriating the capitalists and landlords and fighting to extend proletarian power internationally.

Left Face of Imperialist Warmongering

It is striking that the most virulent anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries often comes not from the right wing of the political spectrum but from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left." In the U.S., rad-lib notables like Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens were prominent in calling for bombing Serbian forces in Bosnia, while the liberal *Nation* (30 March 1998) has called for a "U.S. military reaction" against the Serbs in Kosovo. In Europe, fake-Trotskyist groups like Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism in Britain and the West European-centered United Secretariat (USec), tailing the mass social-democratic parties, call for Western governments to act against Serbian "aggression."

The left's support for bloody imperialist terror cloaked in "humanitarian" garb goes back to the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Iraq. At that time, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, called for defeat of the U.S.-led onslaught and defense of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi proletariat to lead the Kurds and other oppressed peoples in the overthrow of the despot Saddam Hussein. But many liberals and leftists, echoing the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait," donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing.

By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types were among the most belligerent advocates of imperialist intervention. The most active agency on the left promoting imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs was the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by the Slaughterites and the USec. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multiethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid was in reality a pressure group on the imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Britain, one of the boosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, scandalously refused to defend the Serbs in the face of imperialist attack. In a 5 September 1995 statement, WP declared that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary," repudiating the Leninist position of military defense of small nations and semicolonial peoples against imperialist aggression. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or

another "strategic goal" but a *system* of domination over the vast masses of the world's people by a handful of powerful capitalist classes.

That WP, the USec et al. genuflect before the imperialists' "democratic" pretensions harks back to their support to the Cold War campaign against the Soviet Union. As Trotskyists, the ICL stood for unconditional military defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of East Europe against capitalist counter-revolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Groups like WP and the USec, on the other hand, bought into the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the name of abstract "democracy," supporting Polish Solidarność, the fake "union" backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers, and hailing the forces on Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution. From Yugoslavia to the former Soviet Union, capitalist counterrevolution has meant mass privation, continual nationalist bloodletting and social disintegration. However limited their influence, those "leftists" who championed the forces of capitalist restoration bear their share of responsibility for these horrors.

Imperialist War Moves Abroad, Escalating Repression at Home

The imperialist military intervention in the Balkans and the Near East is carried out by the same racist American ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that brutally oppresses blacks, Hispanics and immigrants, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare and other social services. Seeking to contain the explosive contradictions between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bottom, the parties of capital—Democrats and Republicans—join in ratcheting up capitalist repression. This has translated into an explosion of the prison population, mounting racist

cop terror in the ghettos and barrios, and the grisly speedup on death row.

Most recently, in an interview with the *New York Times* (22 January), Clinton revealed a Pentagon proposal to appoint a high-level military commander for defense of the continental U.S. against "terrorists" using chemical or biological weapons. Veiled as a means of ensuring transport of medical supplies and such, this plan would significantly augment the repressive powers of the capitalist state. The plan met with immediate opposition from a range of civil libertarians. In response, one Pentagon official claimed that the measure would avoid such "overreactions" as the locking up of some 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. Yet concentration camps have been an integral part of the repressive apparatus in the U.S. as elsewhere, especially during war time.

During and immediately after World War I, thousands of German Americans, antiwar socialists and anarchists were rounded up and imprisoned, while foreign-born radicals were deported. Currently empowered to carry out such mass roundups of "undesirables" is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Originally charged with overseeing disaster relief, FEMA was transformed by Republican president Reagan into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection. A top-secret master plan, Rex 84, called for the detention of up to 100,000 political dissidents and immigrants in several concentration camps in the event of "social unrest."

Liberals have opposed Clinton's proposal on the basis of the Posse Comitatus law, which bars the U.S. military from engaging in domestic police activity. But this law, enacted in 1878 to prevent Union soldiers from enforcing the right of blacks to vote in the post-Civil War South, has repeatedly been ignored by the government. The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, which resulted in the Marines gunning down a Hispanic youth in Texas two years ago, was made possible by an exception to the Posse Comitatus law allowing troops to be used in the racist "war on drugs." And according to the *New York Times* (28 January), a "little-noticed" bill passed by Congress some years back already "gives the Pentagon power to step in domestically in the event of chemical and germ attacks."

As Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we seek to mobilize the multi-racial proletariat against the rapacious, bloodsoaked capitalist rulers. This requires a political struggle inside the labor movement against the class-collaborationist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and embraces the aims of the imperialist rulers. In opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of war and racism, we fight to build a revolutionary workers party as the essential instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of exploitation and imperialist oppression. ■

Spartacist Forums

The Fight for a Revolutionary Trotskyist Party For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!

Introducing the Program of the Spartacist League of Australia

Saturday, 20 March 3.30 pm

MELBOURNE

University Function Room,
Level 2 Building 8, RMIT (City)

For more information: (03) 9654 4315

China on the Brink

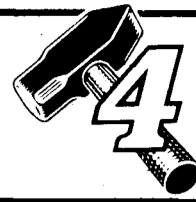
For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Enslavement!
For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Friday, 30 April 7 pm

SYDNEY

George Hunt Room, Trades Hall,
4 Goulburn Street

For more information: (02) 9281 2181



Imperialists Mobilise for Occupation of Kosovo

**U.S./UN/NATO
Hands Off the Balkans!**

FEBRUARY 25—Since the article below was published in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 706, 5 February), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., the NATO imperialists have both escalated their military threats against Serbia and extended their “ultimatum” to mid-March. Over 400 warplanes are already in the region and the imperialist British Labour government of Tony Blair has 8,000 troops on alert. Air strikes and/or an invasion by ground troops could still begin at any time.

The jackal Australian imperialist ruling class has announced its unequivocal support to NATO’s war moves. While at present it is not directly militarily involved, since 1991 Australia has been up to its neck in every bloody military attack against the Iraqi people. It is no accident that an Australian, Richard Butler, headed up the UN “weapons inspection” team which directly aided the U.S. imperialists’ December terror-bombing. The Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, demands: Australian imperialism—hands off Iraq!

JANUARY 31—The United States and other imperialist powers threatened yesterday to launch massive air strikes against the Serbs if the Yugoslav government does not accord “substantial autonomy” to that country’s Albanian-majority province of Kosovo. Hundreds of planes, mainly American, and dozens of ships under NATO command are poised for attacks against Serbia. The U.S.-imposed diktat requires that both Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo send representatives to a “peace” conference in France later this week. The imperialists threaten terror bombing of Serbia if the negotiations are not “satisfactory.” The rebels in landlocked Kosovo would also be “punished” by the blockading of Albanian ports in order to cut off their arms supplies.

The imperialists are also planning to send a U.S./NATO force of some 30,000 ground troops to Kosovo to enforce any “peace” agreement. The Clinton administration is promising to contribute some 5,000 ground troops. The German Fourth Reich under Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder also wants to be part of any NATO occupation force in Kosovo. German imperialism has hitherto been restrained by the memory, seared into the consciousness of the Balkan peoples, of the orgy of mass murder carried out under the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Whether or not the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance carries out its threats, the Spartacist League forthrightly declares: All imperialist forces out of the Balkans!



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Clinton threatens Serbia with NATO air strikes to impose imperialist diktat over Kosovo.



Gamma

The same day the imperialists delivered their diktat to Milosevic, waves of American warplanes attacked Iraqi installations near the northern city of Mosul in the largest air offensive against that country since the U.S. and Britain launched a four-day missile assault in December. Such attacks have become an almost daily occurrence in recent weeks, including the bombardment of a residential quarter of Basra last week that left at least eleven civilians dead. Tens of thousands were slaughtered in 1991 by U.S.-led forces acting under a United Nations fig leaf. Today, the blood of the Iraqi people is still being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to America’s imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan. Over a million children and hundreds of thousands of other Iraqis have died from malnutrition and disease resulting from the imperialist embargo. Down with U.S. imperialist terror bombing! Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!

For years, Washington denied Iraqi accusations that UN “weapons inspectors” were part of an American spy operation. But last month it was revealed that the search for supposed “weapons of mass destruction” provided U.S. intelligence with information used to plan the “Desert Fox” December bombing. The *Washington Post* (17 January) specified: “The heart of the Desert Fox list (49 of the 100 targets) is the Iraqi regime itself: a half-dozen palace strongholds and their supporting cast of secret police, guard and transport organizations.” As with Clinton’s terror bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan last August, the continued

death and devastation being inflicted on Iraq—and the threats of renewed bombing against the Serbs—underline that imperialism is not merely a “policy” carried out by a particular wing of the bourgeoisie. Imperialism is, in the words of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, the “highest stage of capitalism,” a rapacious system based on the exploitation and oppression of the workers and semicolonial masses.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the rulers of U.S. imperialism feel they have a free hand to carry out invasions or launch terror-bombing campaigns against semicolonial countries from Haiti to Somalia to Iraq. These repeated acts of terror by U.S. imperialism are aimed at enforcing the subjugation of the semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrating to its capitalist rivals that the American bourgeoisie remains top dog. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the long, losing war against the heroic Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is the main force of oppression in the world. This system cannot be “reformed” or pressured into becoming more “humane” but must be overthrown through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League fights to forge an internationalist proletarian vanguard party modeled on Lenin’s Bolshevik party, which led the workers to power in the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Imperialist Hypocrisy and Military Terror

As usual, the imperialists couch their threats of military terror against the Serbs in the name of “humanitarian” concerns—in this instance, the murder-

ous oppression of Kosovo’s Albanian majority by Milosevic’s security forces, which are trying to crush a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). But this is the most abject cynicism. No less than their West European counterparts, the U.S. rulers are categorically *opposed* to self-determination for Kosovo’s Albanian population because they fear that further break-up of the Balkan states along national lines could ignite a conflagration throughout the whole region. This is fully understood in Belgrade. As Serbian government officials indicated to the *New York Times* (31 January), “Kosovo is a political and financial drain for Belgrade, and if NATO is willing to take responsibility for restraining the rebels and keeping Kosovo from independence for three years, Mr. Milosevic may see that as an advantage.” If so, it is a highly dangerous gambit. The U.S. is fully prepared to unleash untold destruction on any semicolonial country whose leaders are not 100 percent under their thumb, as the Iraqi people can attest.

When the U.S. threatened air strikes against Serbia last summer, we wrote: “We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determination—that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo, the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces” (*WV* No. 693, 3 July 1998). This is precisely what has come to pass. Today, to call for self-determination for the Kosovar Albanians can only be a

continued on page 11