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Independence Now for East Timor!

Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!

Social-Chauvinist "Left" Pimps for Australian Imperialism

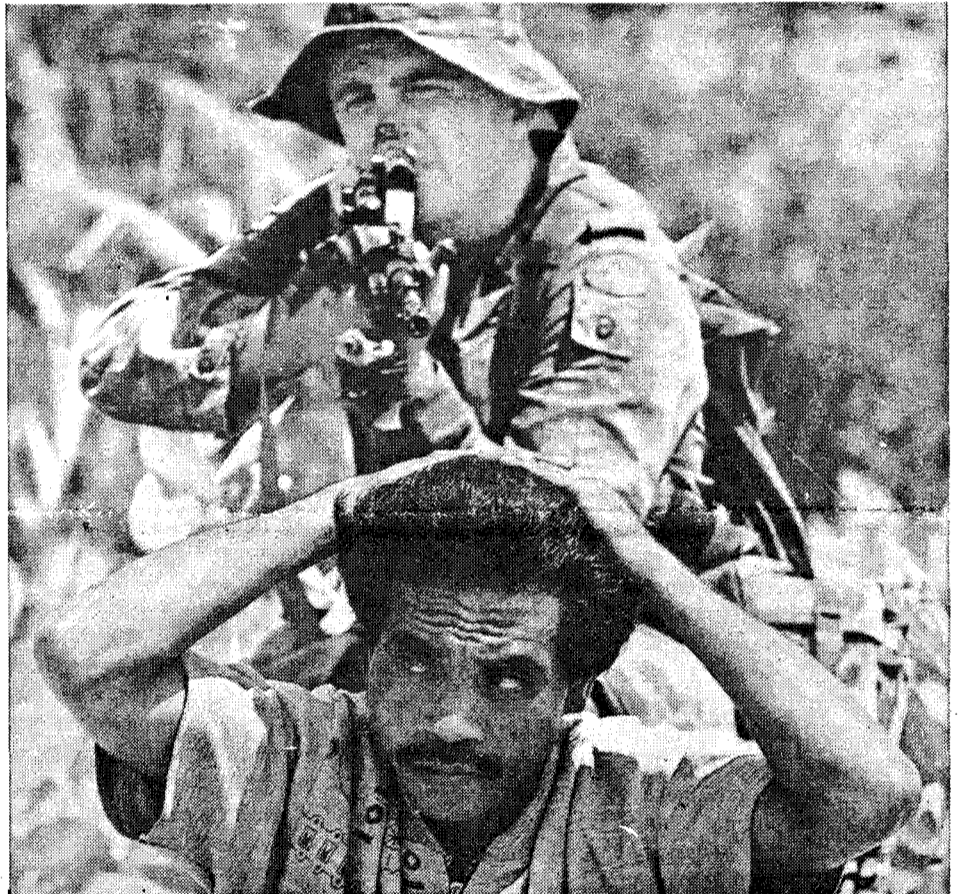
On 15 January Australian troops attacked 9,000 desperate job seekers in the East Timorese capital Dili. Having lined up for hours in hopes of getting one of the few jobs on offer (at the neo-colonial wage of \$5 a day), the crowd responded by throwing rocks at their self-proclaimed "liberators." A few days later the Australian-led occupation force fired upon a pro-independence group, while warning darkly about the need to suppress "riots." Meanwhile, the Australian troops are marauding about at night, terrorising women in their homes.

These recent events only underscore what we Marxists of the Spartacist League have said from the very beginning: the idea that Australian imperialism can bring independence and "freedom" for the East Timorese is a horrible lie. Against the chauvinist hysteria led by the social democrats of the ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy, supported by virtually the entire fake left, only the SL has campaigned in word and deed against the imperialist inter-

vention, demanding all Australian/UN imperialist troops out now!

The Australian imperialist rulers have long lusted to dominate and control the Indonesian archipelago, eyeing East Timor since at least the early 1930s. At the end of World War II Australia proclaimed its "responsibility" for the entire region stretching from Timor to New Guinea. Today the Australian capitalists want to grab the oil and gas fields of the Timor Gap while they reap superprofits from mines in Kalimantan, the Moluccas, West Papua and more. In East Timor, Australian companies and "entrepreneurs" are raking it in (while living in "whites-only" enclaves), while the Timorese, in the words of former army chief John Sanderson, will be relegated to "subsistence agriculture...for a long time to come."

Australia's leading role in the neo-colonial occupation of East Timor marks their aim to ensure "stability," that is, suppressing any attempt by the peoples
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Australian occupation forces impose reign of terror in East Timorese capital of Dili.

Forge a Trotskyist Party! For Workers Revolution!

Indonesia at the Flashpoint

FEBRUARY 10—Indonesia is a minefield on the verge of explosion. Two years ago the brutal 30-year military dictatorship of Suharto fell amid great social turmoil. Desperate to stabilise their rule, the bourgeoisie, under pressure from the imperialists, stage-managed an election last June. Five months later, after much horse trading, Abdurrahman Wahid, former leader of Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation Nahdatul Ulama, was installed as president. The Javanese chauvinist Megawati Sukarnoputri and Muslim leader Amien Rais, "opposition"

politicians who served as props for the military dictatorship, are now vice president and chairman of the "People's Consultative Assembly" respectively. Suharto is gone, but imperialist subjugation, the repressive bourgeoisie and their bloody military thugs remain.

On 31 January, with Wahid in Europe drumming up foreign aid, an official government inquiry announced its "discovery" of what has been known to all: the then-chief of the armed forces, Wiranto, along with other high-ranking officers, was responsible for "meticulously,

systematically and on a large scale" terrorising the people of East Timor. The Indonesian military and the capitalist class they serve are indeed drenched in the blood of countless victims, from the torture and murder of students, leftists and workers to repeated massacres in East Timor, Aceh and elsewhere.

From afar Wahid responded to the "finding" by demanding Wiranto resign from his "civilian" cabinet post as Coordinating Minister for Political Affairs and Security—in return for a pardon and "forgiveness." Ignoring Wahid's repeated

pleas, Wiranto has refused to step down. With the possibility of a coup in the air, the widespread belief that the military was loosening its grip on society is revealed for what it is, a fiction.

Indonesia is riven by national, religious and class divisions. The devastating 1997-98 economic crisis and brutal International Monetary Fund (IMF)-dictated austerity catapulted 100 million people into dire poverty. Under conditions of extreme impoverishment enforced by the yoke of imperialist exploitation, this prison house of peoples, artificially held together by military repression, threatens to fracture on the faultlines created by over three centuries of brutal Dutch colonialism and upheld by the domestic ruling class since independence. Fuelled by resentment of the Javanese-centred bourgeoisie, long-simmering struggles against national oppression are boiling over. In Aceh, at the northern tip of Sumatra, where the army has killed thousands in the last decade, one million demonstrated for independence last November. At the other end of the
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Troops Out!...

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of the region to free themselves from imperialist exploitation. As we said in our December special supplement, reprinted below, "The demand for the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops is the precondition for the fight for East Timorese independence. As proletarian internationalists, opposed above all to our 'own' ruling class, we call for the Australian workers movement to black ban arms and supplies to the Australian-led military forces."

The same capitalist class now aggressively asserting its "interests" in the region is pumping up its war on the unions, women, immigrants, Aborigines and youth in Australia. Standing on the basic Marxist principle that the main enemy is at home, demanding not a man, not a penny for the imperialist military, the SL, Australian section of the International Communist League, fights to build a revolutionary workers party that will sweep away the racist Australian ruling class through socialist revolution. Join us in the struggle for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

DECEMBER 3—Under the guise of a "humanitarian" mission, Australian imperialism now rules over the desperately poor people of East Timor in all but name, and they plan to continue for at least the next three years. In the largest Australian military operation since its participation in the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants three decades ago, Australian troops sweep through the streets as armoured vehicles rip up the roads and F-111 warplanes scream overhead. With brutal racist arrogance the Australian neocolonial occupiers enforce misery and squalor—lack of food, medical care and education—for the suffering people of East Timor while moving to disarm the independence fighters of Falintil.

This is what virtually every ostensibly socialist organisation in Australia called for as they lined up behind the racist Australian rulers. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Socialist Alternative (SA), Militant, Workers Power (WP) and especially the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) leapt into hailing, attending, and in some cases leading the September chauvinist demonstrations of "national unity" which were screaming for "Peacekeepers in!" The fake-left wildly cheered the racist anti-Indonesia actions led by the Laborite union bureaucrats which were explicitly designed to hurry Australian military intervention and were promptly called off as soon as the army went in. Hostile to any independent mobilisation of the proletariat in its own class interest and to the socialist principle of "not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military," these "socialist" groups unashamedly subordinated themselves to the pro-imperialist Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy who aggressively campaigned for troops.

Against these drumbeaters for white Australian imperialism, the Spartacist

League has from the beginning campaigned in both word and deed against Australian intervention into East Timor, demanding that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN and all their lackeys and camp followers get out of East Timor and stay out! The demand for the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops is the precondition for the fight for East Timorese independence. As proletarian internationalists, opposed above all to our "own" ruling class, we call for the Australian workers movement to black ban arms and supplies to the Australian-led military forces. Independence now for East Timor!

The idea that military intervention by Australian and U.S. imperialism can bring independence and "freedom" for the East Timorese is a horrible lie. These same imperialists backed Indonesia's annexation in 1975 and for 30 years supported and armed the bloody Indonesian regime. These are the imperialists who devastated tiny Serbia and who slaughtered millions in their losing effort to defeat the Vietnamese revolution. Whether under the fig leaf of the UN (a den of imperialist thieves and their victims) or otherwise, the imperialists are mass murderers who will stop at nothing to preserve their system of plunder and robbery.

As to the Australian rulers' credentials as opponents of genocide, one need only look at the barbarity they have meted out for the last 200 years to the Aboriginal peoples, who were nearly exterminated, their lands and even children stolen from them. During World War II the Libyan people knew the Australian troops as the most brutal racist marauders to march across that country. What the Australian capitalists have in mind for East Timor can be seen in Papua New Guinea and Fiji, neocolonies where the racist imperialist pigs lord it over the people who they brutally exploit while robbing the natural resources of these tiny countries. Australia out of PNG, Bougainville, Irian Jaya, Fiji! The main enemy is our "own" ruling class—for workers revolution!

Revolutionary Marxists understand, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, that imperialism is not a "policy" but the inevitable product of the capitalist system. The ruling class doesn't "choose" whether or not to be imperialist—the pursuit of profit ultimately compels the capitalists to wage war against small, dependent countries and against their imperialist rivals. The imperialist system of brutal exploitation and degradation cannot be reformed or pressured into serving the interests of the oppressed—it must be swept away through international proletarian revolution.

Despite the best efforts of the Laborite traitors and their left tails, the pro-imperialist rallies were overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois and white, and working-class support to the Australian imperialists' occupation of East Timor is shallow. Workers seething under union-busting attacks, minorities subjected to racist abuse, Aborigines denied even the most basic necessities of life, all have good reason to be distrustful of the Australian ruling class. So now the fake-lefts are desperately attempting to disappear their

treacherous cheerleading for Australian imperialism. The ISO for example, is running articles about "Anger at UN arrogance" and "Labor and Militarism," while WP says, if you look hard enough, "Australian and UN troops out now."

The fake-lefts' current attempts to paint themselves in "anti-imperialist" colours is just whitewash. Every one of them howled with the imperialist wolves, cheering capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This historic defeat for the international proletariat has meant horrific destitution for the working people, especially women, unleashed murderous communalist bloodletting, and intensified inter-imperialist rivalries. While the fake-left rallied behind "democratic" imperialism, we Trotskyists, revolutionary Marxists, fought for the unconditional military defence of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states in the USSR and East Europe against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. We fought for proletarian



Sydney Morning Herald

Australian-led neo-colonial occupation enforces degradation and poverty. Dill: Children forage in UN refuse dump.

political revolution to oust the conservative, nationalist Stalinist usurpers who undermined and ultimately strangled the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history.

Having supported the anti-Soviet Cold War drive of the imperialists and their social-democratic frontmen, the fake-left traitors in short order were openly embracing the war aims of the NATO imperialists in the Balkans. Fuelled by and in turn fuelling murderous nationalism, capitalist counterrevolution ripped apart the deformed workers state of Yugoslavia, leading to all-sided reactionary "ethnic cleansing." As the imperialist powers manoeuvred to extend their influence, self-proclaimed "socialists" consistently lined up behind whoever "their" imperialist rulers were backing. In 1999 most of the "left" took up the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo." Workers Power, for a grotesque example, marched in London alongside those calling for NATO bombing of Serbia (see "Social-Chauvinist

'Left' in NATO's Baggage Train," *ASp* No. 168, Winter 1999).

We in the SL along with our comrades throughout the International Communist League fought against the NATO imperialist attack declaring: Defeat U.S./Australian imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! We gave not a shred of support to Milosevic & Co., a gang of capitalist, nationalist murderers. While the left hailed NATO's pawns in the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), we said that there was a just cause for self-determination for Kosovo but it had become subordinated to the NATO imperialists. Today, the imperialists and the UCK are now reversing the terms of oppression, beating, torturing and driving out Serbs and Roma (Gypsies). Against all the bloody nationalist regimes we fight for the proletarian internationalist perspective of a socialist federation of the Balkans. We say: U.S./UN/all imperialists out of the Balkans!

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

As a cover for their murderous war against the Serb people which destroyed factories, power plants, bridges, hospitals and schools, the imperialists raised a hue and cry that they had to "act" in the name of "humanitarianism" to save lives. Now even the *New York Times* (11 November 1999) admits that:

"the number of the dead found so far seems significantly lower than the estimate of 10,000 ethnic Albanians killed by Serbs, issued by Western officials, or the suggestion by American and allied officials during the war that up to 100,000 were being killed."

So too has it come out that the stories of tens of thousands killed in East Timor were untrue. The *London Financial Times* (2 December 1999) reports that foreign minister Alexander Downer "said it now appeared that somewhere between 500 and 1,000 people had been killed during the post-referendum violence...."

As we stated in our 1 October 1999 leaflet "East Timor Independence Now! All Indonesian and All UN Imperialist Troops Out Now!":

"The UN intervention has nothing to do with defending the East Timorese people and everything to do with defending the interests of the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. and its Australian junior partner. The UN mission's name—'Operation Stabilise'—captures its true intent: to enforce neocolonial stability in Australia's 'backyard' and prop up the Indonesian police-state regime in the face of massive social unrest."

We say that the real and only allies of the desperately poor people of East Timor are the international working class, from the multi-millioned proletariat of Indonesia to the workers of the imperialist countries in the region, Australia and Japan.

In Indonesia the road to overthrow the blood-drenched regime requires that the proletariat struggle to transcend the dominant Javanese chauvinism fostered by the bourgeoisie, championing the right of self-determination for all the oppressed peoples in the archipelago. This means a struggle against bourgeois forces like Megawati Sukarnoputri, a vicious chauvinist who supported the

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Australasian

SPARTACIST

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

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Spartacist Forums

Independence Now for East Timor!

Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!

Thursday, 9 March, 6:30 p.m.

University Function Room, Level 2, Bldg 8
RMIT, Swanston Street, City

For more information: (03) 9654 4315

MELBOURNE

Friday, 17 March, 7 p.m.

George Hunt Room, Trades Hall
4 Goulburn Street, City

For more information: (02) 9281 2181

SYDNEY

Labour/Black Mobilisation Rides KKK Out of New York City

New Yorkers came out in their thousands on 23 October 1999 determined to make sure the Ku Klux Klan didn't ride in their city. They were mobilised by the call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, "All Out to Stop the KKK on October 23!" Able to show their faces only under the protection of an army of cops, 17 Klansmen cowered outside the New York State Supreme Court, surrounded by at least 8,000 determined anti-Klan protesters. As these hooded and robed racists scurried back into the Courthouse under police escort barely midway through their scheduled rally, the trade unionists and others assembled under the PDC "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK!" banner broke into nonstop chanting: "We stopped the Klan! We stopped the Klan!"

"We gave a message to the city: This is not Klan country!" said a member of Social Service Employees Union Local 371, which came together with members of transit, postal, construction, civil service and many other unions to form the backbone of the mobilisation to stop the Klan. These unionists were above all what gave the mobilisation its disciplined and determined character.

The thousands who turned out saw this labour/black mobilisation as their own, and many had indeed helped build it. Workers at transit locations, hospitals and UPS depots, on buses and subways took stacks of leaflets to distribute and poster. Students from minority community colleges to elite universities endorsed and helped build the mobilisation. Unions internationally also endorsed—from the South African National Council of Trade Unions to the Mexican SUTIN nuclear workers and SME electrical workers unions.

In Australia unionists and others, in the face of escalating racist attacks against immigrants and Aborigines, the rise of One Nation and the growth of the terrorist KKK and National Action fascists, welcomed the opportunity to endorse the Partisan Defense Committee's call "All Out to Stop the KKK!" in New York. The South Coast Labour Council in NSW and the Shop Stewards Committee at GM Holden in Melbourne endorsed. Important support also came from the Aboriginal Education Program at UNSW, Hashomer Hatzair Australia and South Korea Human Rights Action Australia.

A Workers Party in Action

What was seen in New York on 23 October was exactly what the PDC had said was necessary to stop the Klan: a mobilisation of the social power of the multiracial working class, standing at the head of all those the Klan has lined up in its sights. It was a united-front mobilisation, which allowed for the expression of many diverse political viewpoints by all those who shared a commitment to the urgent necessity to stop the KKK. But it tapped into far more than that, intersecting accumulated anger among the city's working people, especially blacks and Hispanics, who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided war against workers and the poor.

Many of the thousands who mobilised were looking for the answer not only to stopping Klan terror but to fighting back against the entire system of racist capitalist exploitation and oppression. Many shouted, "That's right, that's right" when PDC labour coordinator Gene Hershey denounced both the Democratic and



Workers Vanguard

Mobilisation of the social power of the multiracial working class, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class, stopped the KKK in New York, 23 October 1999.

Republican parties as enemies of labour and the oppressed. Calls for the working people to build their own class party were met with applause.

What was seen on 23 October was a microcosm of a workers party in action, i.e., the working class mobilised in its own interests, acting independently of the government and parties of the capitalist class. The PDC—a class-struggle legal and social defence organisation whose purpose is in accordance with the views of the Marxist Spartacist League/U.S., sister organisation of the Spartacist League of Australia—initiated the call which brought to bear the social power of labour and its strong, militant component of black workers in defence of all the oppressed.

The successful labour/black mobilisation brought to life the connection between labour's fight and the fight for black freedom. Black oppression is the cornerstone of American capitalism. There is no road to eliminating the special oppression of black people other than the working-class conquest of power, and there will be no proletarian revolution to end class exploitation unless the working class actively takes up the fight for black rights.

The working class has the numbers, the organisation and the power to win all those things that the American ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership necessary to fight—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow down to the bosses' laws, parties and state agencies, a workers party that doesn't respect the property "rights" of the bourgeoisie. We need a workers party that fights for a workers government to rip the means of production from the capitalist class and institute a planned socialist economy that operates not for the profit of a few greedy exploiters but for the working people who produce the wealth of society. That is the kind of party that the communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build.

The Political Battle to Stop the Klan

Just as the mobilisation to stop the Klan gave a real taste of the social forces

and leadership required for socialist revolution in America, it also exposed starkly the enemies and obstacles to organising struggles of the working class in its own interests and of those at the bottom of society. These included the capitalist cops, courts, and the Republican city administration; the American Civil Liberties Union, which continued its decades-long defence of "constitutional rights" for the fascist terrorists; the Democratic Party, whose calls for a "demonstration of tolerance" were aimed at trying to demobilise the working people and others who wanted to stop the Klan.

From the day that the Klan's rally was publicly announced in a 13 October article in the *New York Post*, two counterposed class forces were in contention—those representing the interests of the capitalist ruling class and those representing the interests of the working class and its allies. The PDC's call for a labour/black mobilisation was issued immediately, and met with overwhelming support when it hit the streets. The city administration and police responded by trying to block this mobilisation. As it became clear that thousands of New Yorkers were rallying behind the PDC's call, an unholy cabal centred on the Democratic Party moved into high gear, announcing a "demonstration for tolerance"—which would share a sound permit with the KKK race-hate provocation!

The political purpose of the Democratic Party rally was underlined when black Democrat Al Sharpton filed a "friend of the court" legal brief along with the black establishment *Amsterdam News* defending "free speech" for the KKK. Many of those who came out on 23 October had personal experience with the burning cross, the lynch rope, the shotguns through which the Klan "speaks." They remembered the five leftists and union organisers shot in cold blood in Greensboro, North Carolina, 20 years ago; James Byrd Jr., a black man in Jasper, Texas, dragged from the back of a ute to his death; Matthew Sheppard, beaten and left for dead for being gay; Joseph Ileteo, a Filipino American postal worker in Los Angeles shot dead.

Except for some Democratic Party faithful and a token endorsement by the leadership of the New York Central Labor Council, the call for "tolerance"

fell on deaf ears. The *only* organisation to leap into the camp of the Democratic Party with energy and purpose was the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which did its level best to give a cover to the Democratic Party—and the Klan—against the organised working class.

The ISO endorsed a meeting called by various lawyers and liberals to organise behind the "demonstration for tolerance." When representatives of the PDC intervened to call for uniting all those who wanted to stop the Klan on 23 October, there were no takers. While shamelessly enlisting with the Democrats, the ISO tried to cover its despicable role by issuing a little-distributed leaflet under the heading "Stop the Klan!" Since their main purpose was *opposed* to stopping the KKK, this was pure cynicism. On 23 October, the ISO continued to try and deceive people who had mobilised in response to the PDC's call by steering them into the site of the Democrats' location, which was a police trap. When people discovered this deception, many who tried to leave found their way blocked by the cops.

While the anti-Klan demonstrators understood the role of the cops in protecting the night-riding KKK terrorists, an ISO speaker stood on the Democratic Party platform in front of a banner of the Latino police Officers' Association. Such behaviour is not unusual for the ISO and its international co-thinkers. Their Canadian group hailed a 1996 strike by Ontario prison guards and the ISO's British patron, the Socialist Workers Party, even ran an article titled "Are All Coppers Really Bastards?" which claims that when cops "rebel collectively" they would "cease to be agents of the state" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 8 February 1997). When cops "rebel collectively" it is to get more firepower and throw off any constraints. We say: cops are not workers but the armed fist of the bourgeois state!

With the ISO acting as the donkeys for the Democratic Party in trying to demobilise the mass labour-centred protest to stop the Klan, whatever pretences it had to the cause of "workers power" have been stripped bare. The ISO stand exposed as the servants of capital against

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Indonesia...

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sprawling archipelago, in West Papua (Irian Jaya)—annexed by Indonesia in 1963—pro-independence demonstrators who raise their flag have been shot by the army. At the same time savage communalist bloodletting has broken out in Ambon and other parts of the Moluccas.

The Australian-led military occupation of East Timor has strengthened the grip of imperialism in the region while greatly intensifying Javanese nationalism. We of the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, say "Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!" Opposing all imperialist intervention in East Timor, above all that of our "own" imperialist ruling class, we fight for internationalist unity of the proletarians of the region against the capitalist rulers. In Indonesia this means forging a Trotskyist party that combats the dominant Javanese chauvinism and the subjugation of all the national and religious minorities while opposing imperialist intervention. Independence now for East Timor!

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

Student activists in Indonesia call for "reformasi," i.e., for a parliamentary bourgeois democracy. But in economically backward, dependent countries saddled by imperialist exploitation and grinding poverty, this is a pipedream. In imperialist countries such as Australia or America bourgeois democracy is predicated on some of the plunder extracted from countries like Indonesia being used to bribe sections of the population, purchasing a degree of (temporary) class and social peace. As Leon Trotsky, a leader with V.I. Lenin of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, explained in *Marxism in Our Time* (1939): "In its expanded manifestation bourgeois democracy became, and continues to remain, a form of government accessible only to the most aristocratic and the most exploitive nations. Ancient democracy was based on slavery, imperialist democracy—on the spoliation of colonies."

But capitalism has created its potential gravedigger in the proletariat. The working class in Indonesia has grown explosively in recent decades. Starting in the mid-1980s huge factory zones were built—largely by foreign capital—transforming rural towns and small cities in East and West Java and northern Sumatra into massive concentrations of industrial production. In recent years these workers, including a vital component of militant women, have begun to flex their muscles. Waves of strikes marked Suharto's May 1998 ouster, as well as the June 1999 elections, often in the face of severe state repression. In December 8,000 workers at two Nike factories in Tangerang protested for larger holiday bonuses and the right to elect their own union leaders while 3,000



Jakarta, 2 February: Javanese chauvinist Megawati Sukarnoputri greets General Wiranto. Bloody Indonesian ruling class must be swept away through proletarian revolution.

garment workers in Semarang, East Java, demonstrated for higher wages.

The combative, young Indonesian proletariat urgently needs a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, a party like the Bolsheviks, which can point the way forward to a victorious struggle for power. The International Communist League seeks to forge such a party, based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. In ex-colonial countries like Indonesia, all wings of the bourgeoisie are so totally dependent on imperialism and fearful of the impoverished masses that they can only maintain their rule by upholding imperialist domination and social reaction through sheer terror. In countries of "combined and uneven development"—the most modern industry alongside a countryside stamped in pre-capitalist times—only the dictatorship of the proletariat leaning on the peasantry can achieve the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions of Europe—national liberation, agrarian revolution, formal equality for women.

This is the program that was proven in flesh and blood by the Russian Revolution of 1917. As Trotsky wrote:

"Not a single one of the tasks of the 'bourgeois' revolution can be solved in these backward countries under the leadership of the 'national' bourgeoisie, because the latter emerges at once with foreign support as a class alien or hostile to the people....

"The regime of the proletarian dictatorship, by its very nature, however, could not limit itself to the framework of bourgeois property. The rule of the proletariat automatically placed on the agenda the socialist revolution...."

—"Revolution and War in China,"
January 1938

Further, if the revolution is not to be militarily or economically strangled it must be extended internationally, above all to the imperialist centres.

This *internationalist, proletarian-centred* program is counterposed to the perspective of all of the Indonesian "left," along with its cheerleaders in Australia, who offer only political subordination to one or another sector of the imperialist-dependent bourgeoisie. In the

absence of a proletarian revolutionary party the nationalists enlist the proletariat as the horse to pull the cart of one or another reactionary bourgeois ideology. This is the tragedy of 1965.

Preaching that the workers and oppressed must support a fictitious "progressive" wing of the domestic capitalist class (supposedly represented by the president, Sukarno), the leadership of the millions-strong Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) suppressed worker strikes and militant peasant struggles, and lulled the masses with the illusion that Sukarno would protect them. This fatal program of "two-stage" revolution politically disarmed and demoralised the working class, leading directly to their slaughter. The army and fanatical Islamic gangs, directly aided and abetted by the American CIA and the Australian ASIS security forces, massacred over *one million* Communists, workers, peasants, women's activists and ethnic Chinese (see "Lessons of Indonesia 1965," *Spartacist* No. 55, Autumn 1999). All other experiences of "two-stage" revolution, from China 1927 to Chile 1973, also prove that instead of the "first stage" opening the road to socialism it means the massacre of communists. There never is a "second" stage.

Imperialist Exploitation Fuels National Oppression

Draconian IMF and World Bank dictates, the imperialists' loans to "stabilise" Indonesia, the U.S.'s warnings to the generals against military coups, all underscore the dependent nature of the Indonesian ruling class. The fine words about "democracy" are meant to cover the fact that the imperialists want political stability so they can continue to rob the vast natural resources of Indonesia.

The brutal oppression of national minorities in Indonesia highlights the impossibility of satisfying the deeply felt needs of the masses within the framework of capitalist rule and imperialist subjugation. Out of the superprofits extracted by the imperialists, a pittance remains in Indonesia and of that pittance the Java-centred bourgeoisie has always taken the lion's share. Now, seeking to stave off further unrest in the outer provinces which produce great mineral wealth, such as West Kalimantan, Aceh and West Papua, Wahid & Co. are proposing to let local governments keep a slightly larger share, a policy opposed by the IMF/World Bank bloodsuckers. Under the rallying cry of "autonomy," local governments and chiefs also want to get their hands on some of the booty. The situation cries out for the revolutionary expropriation of the native bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters who are plundering Indonesia.

Resource-rich and strategic Aceh province is a particularly lucrative prize both for the imperialists and the domestic bourgeoisie. It took a bloody 30-year war before the Dutch managed to finally conquer Aceh, historically a Muslim stronghold. This was the one place in Indonesia the Dutch utterly failed to

reconquer even for a short time after World War II. In the early 1950s, shortly after the establishment of the Indonesian republic, Aceh went into a four-year armed rebellion against the central government.

Between 1989 and 1992, at least 2,000 Acehnese were killed by the Indonesian army with many more tortured, raped and abducted in a bid to crush the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The U.S. corporation Mobil Oil's role in these atrocities is well-documented. According to survivors of a death camp and other investigators, Mobil supplied the Indonesian army with heavy earth-moving equipment to dig mass graves (see "Mobil Oil and the Indonesian Death Camp," *Workers Vanguard* No. 705, 22 January 1999). As the grisly evidence of the Army's barbarism started to emerge in 1998 following Suharto's ouster, the drive to separation accelerated. With 6,000 troops stationed in Aceh, the army murders have continued while the military is calling for martial law. Indonesian army get out of Aceh!

The UN's referendum in East Timor has encouraged independence movements in both Aceh and West Papua to demand referendums too. Following the huge November pro-independence protests in Aceh, Wahid announced there might be such a vote but quickly backtracked in the face of vehement protest from Javanese-chauvinist politicians, the army and the police. Now his line is that independence for Aceh and West Papua is "non-negotiable."

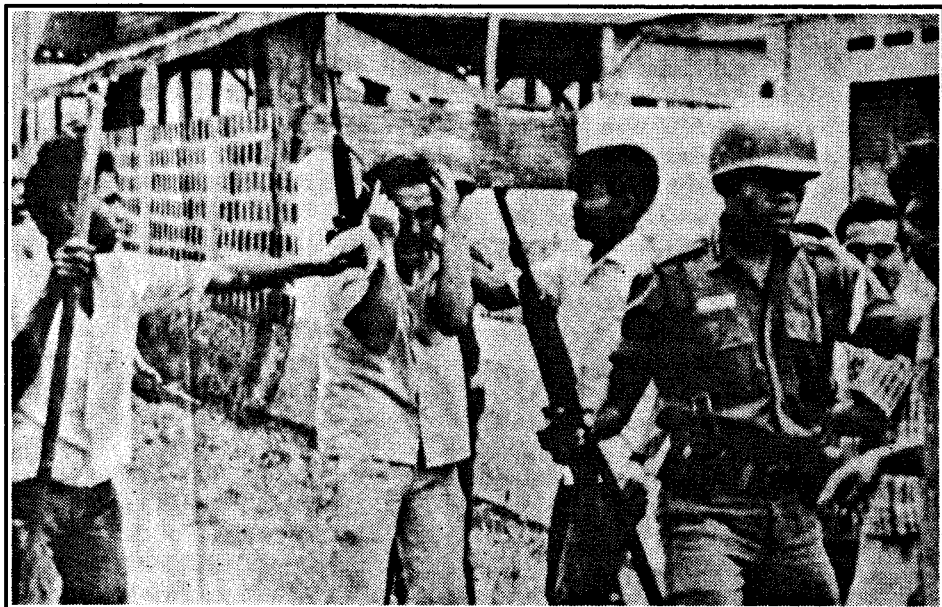
A Trotskyist party in Indonesia must intransigently struggle against the hold of Javanese chauvinism which obstructs and poisons proletarian unity. Concentrated in the factories and mines, the multinational proletariat has both the social power and a burning interest in transcending national and communal animosities. Proletarian revolutionaries in Indonesia must uphold the right of self-determination for oppressed nations. Only the perspective of proletarian revolution can bring liberation to the myriad oppressed nationalities of the Indonesian archipelago. This was the program of the Bolsheviks whose fight against Great Russian chauvinism won to their banner workers of all nationalities.

Religious Fundamentalism and Communal Bloodletting

Now the government is proposing a vote in Aceh on a proposal to give Islamic law even greater official power than it presently has. This is an attempt to assuage the GAM and other Islamic fundamentalists who already impose their reactionary writ on the streets. Recently two men and two women, allegedly thieves and prostitutes, were humiliated and paraded through the province's capital, Banda Aceh, by one of Aceh's increasingly powerful Islamic groups, the "Student Movement Against Immorality." Some of the pro-independence forces call themselves "Taliban" after the savage anti-woman fanatics that rule Afghanistan with an iron hand.

The rise of religious fundamentalism as a mass movement in countries like Indonesia is a reactionary reflection of both the absence of a communist alternative and the manifest bankruptcy of nationalism. Feeding off despair and frustration fuelled by the 1997-98 economic crisis, a multitude of Islamic parties have formed seeking to head off the anger and struggles of the workers. The nationalism pushed by the Java-centred Indonesian bourgeoisie is heavily intertwined with Islamic reaction which particularly targets women and the largely Christian Chinese minority. Two years ago horrific anti-Chinese pogroms swept the country, often instigated by the bloody imperialist-trained armed forces and fuelled by the rising tide of political Islam. As we wrote then:

"The growth of political Islam, in all its variants, poses a particularly deadly threat to the multiethnic proletariat, to the deeply oppressed women, to the besieged Chinese minority and all the national and religious



Sydney Morning Herald

A million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese were massacred in 1965 bloodbath which ushered in the rule of Suharto.

International Protest Against Mass Arrests in Mexico

Free All the Arrested UNAM Strikers! Defend Public Education!

In defence of student strikers at the National Autonomous University (UNAM) in Mexico City, sections of the International Communist League held demonstrations in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, Berlin, Paris, Milan, London, Toronto and Sydney. For many months, the UNAM strikers have been combating the imposition of tuition fees which would deny access to higher education for poor and working-class youth. We print below the ICL's call for urgent international protest.

FEBRUARY 6—At dawn this morning, an army of thousands of the notoriously brutal Mexican Federal police stormed the Mexico City UNAM campus and arrested up to 700 students and strike supporters in the meeting of the General Strike Council (CGH). The bourgeoisie's lying claims of the "autonomy" of the largest university in the Americas have been flattened under the iron heel of a military occupation of the campus. Parents and strike supporters bravely put their bodies on the line to block the buses hauling students away to dangerous police custody, but they were overwhelmed by military force. Many hundreds are now in custody in the Federal Police Headquarters in Mexico City's Plaza de la República.

Our comrades in Mexico City in the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM)



ASP photo

Sydney, 4 February: Spartacist League protest at Mexican consulate.

and Juventud Espartaquista (JE) are fighting now for an urgent mass labor-centered demonstration to demand: **Drop All Charges! Free the UNAM Strikers! Defend Public Education!** Internationally the workers movement and the left must take action to demonstrate that the victimized UNAM strikers do not stand alone. The workers movement everywhere has a stake in this fight against class privilege and state terror in Mexico. International protest and exposure is urgently necessary to fight state repression of the left, the labor movement and the students in Mexico!

This morning's police raid was preceded last week by the cops and hired thugs

storming a striking high school affiliated with the UNAM. High school students and UNAM strikers were savagely beaten, hundreds were jailed and face serious felony charges of "rioting" and "terrorism" that could incarcerate them for decades. From the beginning of the UNAM strike, the GEM and JE have insisted that the police, including the campus police ("Auxilio UNAM"), are the hired thugs of the capitalist class and do not belong in the labor movement. These bloody police attacks add urgency to our call: **"Cops out of the unions! Military/Police Off Campus!"**

The attempts to restrict access to higher education for thousands of working-

class youth—and the unleashing of brutal state repression, from the campus to the Zapatistas and peasants in Chiapas—is part of the intensification of the exploitation of the Mexican working class and oppressed by the Mexican bourgeoisie in line with the dictates of its U.S. imperialist masters through the IMF and NAFTA. As the GEM/JE wrote in a 4 February leaflet distributed at a 20,000-strong protest march to the Zócalo:

"Currently facing a wave of calls for strikes, the bourgeois regime wants to smash the UNAM strike so that it doesn't intersect the struggles of the working class, especially in this election year where the different bourgeois parties (PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], PRI [Institutional Party of the Revolution], PAN [Party of National Action]) want to prove to their imperialist masters that they are capable of maintaining capitalist 'law and order,' even if the cost is the blood of workers and students... While the popularity of this party [the PRD] has decreased among sectors of workers and students as a result of the continuous attacks that its riot police have perpetrated against the strikers, it is necessary to give this disillusionment in the PRD a class character: the PRD is a bourgeois party, and its nationalism and democratic pretensions reflect nothing other than its bourgeois interests. The fragile Mexican bourgeois regime cannot offer workers and the oppressed anything other than hunger and repression."

The government has bloodied and repressed the students because they think they can get away with it. The student strike has held out for many months and the students have fought valiantly. But student protest on its own is insufficient. To go beyond verbal protest and change society, students and all those seeking social justice must be anchored in the social and economic realities of the country and must mobilize the tremendous social power of the proletariat against the Mexican rulers and their imperialist overlords. We say: No New 1968 Massacres! Mobilize the Power of the Working Class! Forge a Revolutionary Trotskyist Party! ■

minorities which make up this prison house of peoples.

"It is urgently necessary that the proletariat as a class enter the arena of struggle fighting for its own historic interests and as champion of all the oppressed."

—Workers Vanguard No. 692,
5 June 1998

Religious fundamentalism has also been consciously promoted by the imperialists as an anti-Communist bulwark. The slaughter of the PKI in 1965-66 was spearheaded by Islamic fanatics including from Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah in alliance with the army and with the aid of the imperialists. To this day, Megawati and Wahid, until recently the head of NU, have staunchly refused to criticise this horrific massacre. Their silence underscores that above all they fear the insurgent proletariat and will use whatever means necessary to suppress their struggle.

In Ambon and the other islands of Maluku province the bloody legacy of Dutch colonialism is all too evident. Communalist bloodshed between Christians and Muslims (each about one-half the population) has seen several thousand killed in the last year. The Moluccas were the first part of the Indonesian archipelago to be conquered by the Dutch who expelled the Portuguese in the early 1600s. Indigenous Ambonese became nominally Christian, made members of the Dutch Reformed Church by decree. In the late 1800s the Dutch began recruiting Ambonese to fight their colonial battles elsewhere in the Netherlands East Indies. One of the most serious Dutch-backed regional rebellions against the new Indonesia republic was the proclamation of the "Republic of the South Moluccas" in April 1950.

Today, the Indonesian army reportedly sides with Muslims while the police tend to take the part of the Christians. Meanwhile Islamic clerics have kept the communalist flames at white heat ranting that the very existence of Muslims in Indonesia, who comprise 90 percent of

the population, is in danger. A huge demonstration in Jakarta on 7 January heard foaming-at-the-mouth clerics vowing to send shock troops into Ambon while calling for *Jihad* against Christians. Amien Rais, former leader of Muhammadiyah (Indonesia's second largest Islamic organisation) and well-known for his anti-Chinese, anti-Christian bigotry, joined the frenzy, threatening, "Religious law teaches a life for a life, an ear for an ear, an eye for an eye.... Ethnic and religious cleansing by our Christian friends will surely draw a reaction." For their part, Ambonese Christian groups are calling for the imperialist powers, including the former Dutch colonial masters, to intervene!

No to Class Collaboration! For Working-Class Independencel

In Indonesia, the militants of the Peoples Democratic Party (PRD) have fought with courage under conditions of severe repression. However, the PRD are petty-bourgeois nationalists whose program begins and ends with "reformasi total," i.e., a "reformed" capitalism. Thus they have always tailed sections of the bourgeoisie while hoping to pressure them to be more democratic. In the June 1999 elections the PRD sought

"a united front with other parties against the common enemies...to generate the strongest possible movement against the regime and force the major opposition parties—the National Mandate Party of Amien Rais, the National Awakening Party of Abdurrahman Wahid and [Megawati's] PDI-Struggle—to take a more consistent stand for reformasi total."

—Green Left Weekly, 2 June 1999

Now that the very forces they backed have formed the government, the PRD hopes merely "to force Gus Dur [Wahid] to prove himself to the people" (*Green Left Weekly*, 8 December 1999).

The PRD has consistently supported Megawati Sukarnoputri even calling to "distribute Mega's pictures or writings" (*Free Indonesia*, No. 1, 1998). A vicious

Javanese chauvinist, Megawati upheld the bloody 1975 annexation of East Timor, calling for East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia as the 27th province. Today, like Wahid, she stands for the continued subjugation of Aceh and West Papua.

The PRD, on the other hand, says they support East Timor's independence. But this is false: they support the imperialist occupation! For years they have demanded that the imperialist powers, the brutal oppressors of billions the world over, carry out "multinational peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN" in East Timor.

Javanese chauvinism and pro-imperialism are death to any possibility of uniting the proletariat in struggle against capitalism. Presenting Megawati as some kind of "lesser evil" and hailing the imperia-

lists in East Timor as does the PRD, tailed by virtually the entire Australian fake left, proves that these forces are enemies of the liberation of the masses from the chauvinist, communalist Javanese-centred Indonesian rulers and their imperialist overlords.

Laborite Opponents of Proletarian Revolution

Indeed, virtually all the Australian fake left led, organised and cheered on the chauvinist mobilisations and union bans last September whose purpose was to demand the racist Australian state send troops to East Timor. In the tow of the pro-imperialist Labor Party and union bureaucracy, these "leftists" aid the strengthening of imperialist domination in the region, above all in Indonesia.

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SPARTACIST 4
ENGLISH EDITION
AUTUMN 1999

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Forge a Trotskyist Party! For Workers Revolution!
Lessons of Indonesia 1965

SPARTACIST 4
Deklarasi Prinsip-Prinsip dan Beberapa Elemen dari Program Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Kampas)

1. Revolusi Sosialisme Dunia dan Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Kampas)
2. Kritis Kapitalisme Kelas Proletar
3. Kami Adalah Partai Revolusi Rasis
4. Dasar Teoritis dan Sejarah Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Kampas)
5. Silah Internasional Revolusi Sosialisme
6. Pemasukan Kelas Buruh sebagai Pelopor dalam Membentuk Kelas Tertindas
7. Dasar Berjasa dari Revolusi Sosialisme
8. Perjuangan Melawan Perang Imperialisme
9. Menolak Tindakan dan Perilaku Negara Ujilat Masyarakatan Neofeudisme
10. Revolusi Kultural, Revolusi Pergerakan dan "Jalan Gerilya"
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12. Program, Organisasi dan Disiplin Partai Revolusioner
13. Keadilan Sosial dan Anti Ujilat Masyarakat

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Bahasa Indonesia - \$1.25 (16 pages)

Troops Out!...

(continued from page 2)

annexation of East Timor and to whom much of the fake-left has given backhanded support. As the new government of Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati and Amien Rais demonstrates, all wings of the bourgeoisie in countries of belated capitalist development are so tied to imperialism and fearful of the proletariat that they are incapable of fulfilling the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Achieving these tasks and putting an end to the brutal exploitation of the masses requires the proletarian seizure of power—the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. To this end the working class must forge a revolutionary leadership—a Leninist-Trotskyist party. If it is not to be strangled by economic and social backwardness and imperialist intervention, the struggle for proletarian revolution in Indonesia must be linked to the fight for workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries not least Australia, Japan and the U.S.

The imperialist occupation of East Timor is also a dagger aimed at the bureaucratically deformed workers state in China, where the Stalinist bureaucracy is driving headlong toward capitalist restoration. Their seeking to join the World Trade Organization is their latest move in a series of attacks which threaten the gains of the 1949 overthrow of capitalist barbarism. For the imperialists, the “magic of the market” means driving fully one-third of all workers in China’s state industries out into the streets. We stand for the unconditional military defence of China—as well as of North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. We fight to mobilise the proletariat of China and the other deformed workers states to prevent capitalist counterrevolution through a political revolution which ousts the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Australian-led occupation of East Timor underscores that Southeast Asia is a hotbed of inter-imperialist rivalries. As our comrades in the Spartacist Group Japan wrote on 20 October 1999, “the Japanese ruling class is bankrolling this imperialist military operation while simultaneously using it as a pretext to further expand and strengthen its imperialist military.” There are 200 Japanese soldiers now in Surabaya and West Timor. Meanwhile the Australian imperialists’ armed forces are now much closer to resource-rich Aceh where agitation for independence from Indonesia is growing. Reportedly Indonesian radar has detected Australian military aircraft “intrusions” around Aceh—most likely from the Butterworth airbase in Malaysia. Aceh sits directly astride the Straits of Malacca, a strategic waterway through which most of Japan’s oil passes, including its major operations in Aceh itself. While having their own particular interests in the region, the Australian jackal imperialists very much act as Washington’s “deputy sheriff” in Asia.

Down with the Bipartisan War on Immigrants!

Anti-Asian racism is the bedrock of Australian capitalist imperialism. Even as the Australian rulers posture as “defenders” of the East Timorese, they have launched a campaign of racist hysteria against refugees from Asia and Iraq—victims of continued bombing and a starvation blockade by “human rights” imperialism. Screeching about “a national emergency” immigration minister Philip Ruddock has tried to outdo the fascistic One Nation party of Pauline Hanson in targeting nonwhite people. The government fully supported by Kim Beazley’s ALP has all but abolished the right of asylum while mandating Australian interception of foreign ships in international waters! Recently arrived East Timorese refugees are being pressured to return—with only a blanket and



AFP

a sack of rice. Against this bi-partisan war on immigrants we say: Down with the racist immigration laws! No deportations! Immigrant workers, a bridge to the toilers throughout Asia, are a vital component of the forces capable of destroying this racist capitalist system. The multiracial working class, suffering under the profit-gouging bosses, has a special duty to take up the struggle to defend refugees and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Meanwhile ALP/Liberal unity extends to Howard’s new tax—an increase in the Medicare levy for those earning more than \$50,000 to fund the imperialist occupation of East Timor and increase the size of the armed forces. Raising money for imperialist murder in the name of “health” is truly Orwellian. But even this is not enough for Beazley: he wants the bosses to grant leave for workers to join the Army Reserve and stand alongside the gun-toting Australian army thugs in oppressing the East Timorese! Down with Howard/Beazley’s war tax!

From its very origins the ALP has been even more aggressive than the outright bourgeois Liberals in pushing Australian imperialist military interventions in the name of the “national interest.” Preaching the lie that there is a “partnership” between the working class, forced to sell its labour power as its sole means of existence, and the tiny minority of capitalist exploiters, the social democrats are *defenders* of the capitalist order. Thoroughly bourgeois in its program, outlook and leadership while based on the trade unions, the ALP is a bourgeois workers party, representing not the class interests of the proletariat, but the material privileges of an “aristocracy of labour,” bribed by crumbs from the profits the imperialists reap from exploiting and oppressing millions of people around the world.

Fully imbibing the “values” of the capitalist rulers of this white imperialist enclave in Asia, the ALP has been in the forefront of racist anti-immigrant, anti-Asian hysteria, from the founding “principle” of “White Australia” to today targeting desperate refugees. Ruling for the bosses, the federal ALP in power oversaw a hideous escalation of the murder of Aboriginal people and laid the basis for the Howard government’s vicious union-busting and slashing of social services. Opposing and demobilising any concerted fight against the capitalists’

ASP photo



Der Spiegel

Yeltsin’s August 1991 counterrevolutionary coup, supported by fake left internationally, ushered in misery, hunger for working people of former Soviet Union.

one sided class-war, the social-democratic traitors found energy, purpose and drive in whipping up support for Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor. And right behind them came the pseudo-left.

Little Drummer People for Imperialism

In the vanguard of the reactionary chauvinist mobilisations demanding Australian imperialist troops “liberate” East Timor were the Democratic Socialist Party and its youth group Resistance. A hallmark of the DSP and its predecessors has been to appeal to the racist Australian imperialists to adopt “a progressive foreign policy” while welcoming Australian military adventures under the guise of providing “humanitarian” assistance from Somalia to Cambodia to Irian Jaya. Sneering that opposition to their grotesque support to Australian imperialism was “left-wing” dogmatism, the DSP bragged that they “forced” the imperialists to act, declaring the occupation of Timor a “victory.”

Now they want to claim that championing “Australian/UN troops in Now!” in order to “save” the East Timorese was, in Lenin’s words, “a compromise enforced by objective conditions...which in no way minimises the revolutionary devotion and readiness to carry on the struggle.” This is an obscene and breathtaking falsification of everything Lenin and the Bolsheviks stood for. Lenin *split* the Second International and demanded a complete break with those who supported their “own” imperialist rulers in World War I. The Third, Communist International was founded in battle against the self-same social chauvinism which the DSP peddles today.

The Militant Socialist Organisation (MSO), supporters of the British Taaffe group, repeatedly hailed the chauvinist rallies and union bans as “the magnificent response of the Australian people” to East Timor. Like the DSP they claim “If it wasn’t for the pressure of the Australian people, Canberra and ‘our’ armed forces would be once again putting the ‘national interest’ (i.e. protecting the interests of Australian bosses in Indonesia) before the massacres of the people of East Timor” (*Militant*, October 1999). So according to these Laborites, Australian imperialism is actually acting against itself by occupying East Timor!

Refusing to take a stand against their “own” rulers, the MSO writes of “UN

forces” and “Western forces,” barely mentioning the *Australian* forces. Even so, while the MSO goes on about how “UN interventions (with Australian involvement at times) in the past” have been “to defend the interests of imperialism” their demand isn’t that the imperialists get out, but only “No trust in the UN!” Even bourgeois liberals can, and do, agree with that.

ISO/SA: Imperialism with a “Labour” Gloss

The International Socialist Organisation repeatedly joined the “Send in the Troops” crowds, describing one such rally as “fantastic,” and *endorsed* two “Peacekeepers In” demonstrations in Melbourne on 8 and 10 September. Now they want to cover their tracks over East Timor. So *Socialist Worker* has had numerous articles warning against any “reliance” on the UN, detailing the bloody nature of UN interventions over the years, and even a few criticisms of the ALP’s “gung-ho support for Australian militarism” (22 October 1999).

The ISO might write about bloody UN interventions, but there is one they say nothing about: the Korean War in which millions were slaughtered. That’s for good reason—their organisation was born in their leader Tony Cliff’s refusal in 1950 to defend North Korea, China and the USSR against the U.S. imperialist-led “police action” in Korea under the cover of the UN. At the time nestled in the British Labour Party which was prosecuting the war in Korea, Cliff was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International for this despicable siding with “democratic” imperialism against the deformed workers states.

It was the union bans against Indonesia carried out by the pro-imperialist Laborite union bureaucracy which the ISO cheered most of all, as they marched in the chauvinist rallies with “trade union bans now” banners. To this day the ISO wants the bans not only reinstated, but increased. The very grotesqueness of the “union bans” was shown by the fact that the MUA banned *wheat* shipments to Indonesia, where workers are facing starvation due to the Asian capitalist economic crisis.

When challenged by SL supporters some ISOers said they didn’t endorse the Melbourne pro-imperialist marches—only to later admit they did, claiming the demands were changed without their knowledge. In Sydney, ISOers have de-

Social chauvinism vs. Trotskyism: In leadup to military occupation of East Timor, DSP/Resistance openly called for Australian troops and Socialist Worker (ISO) endorsed Melbourne demo demanding imperialist “peacekeepers.” Spartacist League forthrightly opposed chauvinist mobilisation.



ASP photo

clared that their "Melbourne comrades" were wrong and/or must have made a mistake. ISOers have told our comrades they "personally" were for Australian troops, while others claimed the ISO opposed them.

In fact not only does the ISO refuse to call for the Australian/UN troops to get out of East Timor, their actual position was that there weren't enough troops! Under the headline "Troops no answer to Timor's agony" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 September 1999), the ISO laments:

"The 7000 troops of the 'peace-keeping' force are not a serious attempt to deal with the East Timor's [sic] crisis.

"According to the government's own military analysts, it would take 4000 just to monitor the border between East and West Timor."

Just days earlier a Socialist Workers Party speaker (the ISO's British parent group) at a "Freedom for East Timor" meeting in London criticised Tony Blair's Labour government for doing too little too late in East Timor and complained that Britain had contributed only "a few Gurkhas"!

The Socialist Alternative group, a split from the Cliffites, shares the ISO's politics—and draws out the pro-imperialist conclusions. They too declare that "peacekeepers are not the answer" because, "For a start, there will only be about 8,000 UN troops. The Indonesian army has 25,000 troops in East Timor" (*Socialist Alternative*, September 1999). They too wanted the bans "extended"—by the imperialists! "If the US, Japan and Australia had immediately announced stiff economic sanctions," they wrote, "the atrocities could well have been brought to a halt before the devastation was so complete." These "socialists" openly side with the imperialists against Indonesia whose millions and millions of toilers suffer daily the yoke of imperialist exploitation.

Workers Power: Laborite Charlatans

The Workers Power group attempts to distinguish themselves from their co-inhabitants in the pro-imperialist, "socialist" swamp. Their pamphlet "Independence for East Timor, For a working class solution" states that the DSP's "troops in" line "is scandalous, it is wrong, and it is in contradiction with all Marxist principles." Indeed. But this applies equally to WP themselves, who enthusiastically participated in the "Peacekeepers IN!" mobilisations, including the Melbourne 8 and 10 September rallies! Furthermore they wildly hailed the pro-imperialist "solidarity campaign," grieved that "The momentum of the campaign, however, has slowed now that the INTERFET forces are in East Timor" and cheered the anti-Indonesian trade-union bans that egged on the Australian troops as "excellent demonstrations of working class solidarity" (*Workers Power*, November 1999-January 2000).

So how then are WP any different to the DSP? Only in the fact that as cynical centrists, they attempt to cover their deeds in support of Australian troops with words critical of imperialist intervention. Stung by Spartacist comrades' interventions at a recent WP forum, WPs absurdly claimed that because they handed out leaflets against "illusions" in the UN, joining the grotesquely chauvinist "troops in now" marches was really an act against imperialist intervention! You will find somewhere in their material, if you look hard enough, the call for Australian and UN troops to get out of East Timor. But this is linked with the ludicrous plea for the racist neocolonial invaders, who have begun forcibly disarming Falintil, to "hand over your weapons to the East Timorese so that they can defend themselves!" Sure, and perhaps General Cosgrove should lead a workers insurrection? This appeal to the imperialists to arm the East Timorese highlights that in common with the DSP and ISO, WP upholds the Laborite, nationalist lie that white "democratic" Australian imperialism can serve the interests of the working class and the oppressed.

WP's main call upon the Australian working class is, like the ISO and SA, to "Maintain and extend the workers' boycotts of Indonesian companies." As a cover they add "and complicit Australian and other multi-national companies!" This is not opposition to the Australian capitalist class but a Laborite call for imperialist sanctions against Indonesia. It serves to line up the Australian working class behind their "own" exploiters on the basis of anti-Indonesian chauvinism and fuels support for Australian "human rights" imperialist intervention in East Timor and beyond.

In thrall to the chauvinist ALP and union tops at home, WP then has the gall to call upon the tiny *East Timorese* population to "pick up the gun." Just as they did last May when NATO occupied Kosovo, WP call for the adoption of a "revolutionary programme" by those people being trampled by direct imperialist military rule (in which WP was complicit)! WP claims to be for socialism in East Timor, but not one of the 13 slogans listed in their pamphlet is for socialist revolution in Australia. In short what these left-Laborites have to say to the East Timorese is: you should fight for revolutionary action to the last drop of your blood, under the bayonets of the imperialist butchers, while we armchair "radicals" here will keep on marching for imperialist troops and campaigning for a "Bomber" Beazley ALP government.

Bizarre Reformists and Political Bandits

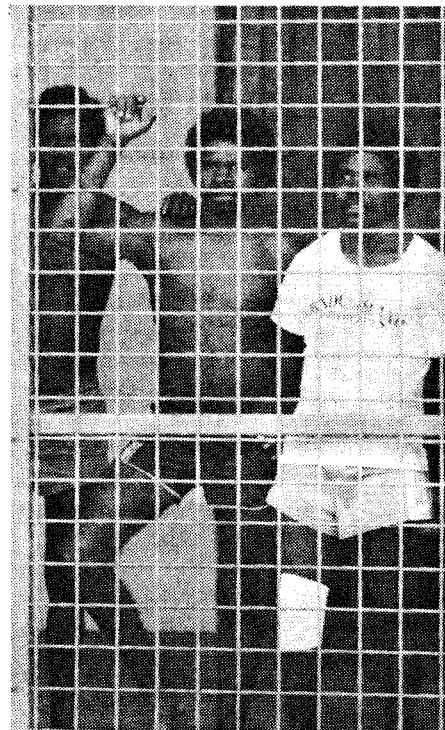
Posturing to the left are the quirky reformists of the Communist League (CL), affiliated with the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. They condemned the pro-war mobilisations and unions bans and demand "Australian, U.S. troops out of East Timor now!" (*Militant*, 4 October 1999). But the CL is hardly a political opponent of the pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy. Only a year ago they, with the rest of the left, hailed the sell-out of the waterfront struggle as a victory, alibiing the very same Maritime Union leaders who organised the chauvinist anti-Indonesian bans.

Long ago the SWP/CL explicitly repudiated the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution in order better to tail all manner of "progressive" forces (among which they include the reactionary Iranian ayatollahs!). Under headlines such as "Deepening struggles by working people mark discussion on Indonesian elections" (2 August 1999) the *Militant* is full of reportage uncritically featuring people lauding "reformasi," i.e., reforming Indonesian capitalism. Opposed to the fight for proletarian revolution, their be all and end all is extolling the virtues of opening up "political space." It was under the banner of widening "political space" that the Barnesites sided with imperialism in cheering the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe. While proclaiming themselves "Fidelistas," they supported and pushed the very forces intent on strangling the Cuban Revolution. Hailing Boris Yeltsin's American-backed power grab, their front-page headline said "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (6 September 1991).

Incredibly, the SWP/CL blandly declared "World capitalism has suffered an historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." Even today in a world of heightening inter-imperialist rivalries and increased imperialist military attacks on the peoples of the world, the Barnesites assert "It was imperialism which lost the Cold War" (6 December 1999). That must certainly come as news to the people of the former Soviet Union where capitalist counterrevolution brought mass unemployment, hideous impoverishment, and plummeting life expectancy. One does have to ask, what planet does the SWP/CL live on? The SWP/CL's support to capitalist counterrevolution and their bizarre contortions ought to repel anyone looking for a revolutionary

Marxist program of struggle to overthrow capitalism.

And then there is the Socialist Equality Party (SEP) of David North and Nick Beams. Sometimes capable of putting some orthodox-sounding lines on paper, the SEP are, to use Lenin's term, "political bandits"—that is political pirates who will say and do anything to serve their grotesque opportunist appetites. Their "World Socialist Web Site" (into which they have liquidated all their newspapers) carried an item dated 17 September which states "its opposition to a military intervention in East Timor." They even write that "the Australian political and military elite owe a major debt of gratitude to the protest leaders" of the "troops in" demonstrations. At the same



David May

Palm Island, Queensland. White Australia racism means savage oppression of Aboriginal peoples.

time, they deliberately cover up the anti-Indonesian racism that was the hallmark of the chauvinist mobilisations and portray the participants as people who merely wanted "to express outrage at the Indonesian military-organised carnage in East Timor." The SEP knows full-well otherwise because they were there, handing out leaflets from tables to people yelling "Peacekeepers in now"!

Meanwhile the SEP hid the fact that they oppose independence for East Timor. When the demand for national self-determination served as a "democratic" fig leaf for imperialist attacks on the Soviet degenerated workers state, North/Beams were unswerving in their support to "national rights." But now that the USSR is no more, they reject the right of self-determination for nations. The SEP denies the rights of East Timorese, Tamils, Québécois, Chechens and other oppressed nationalities. Thus they cover for the chauvinism of the oppressor nations.

Having for years demanded the trade-union bureaucracy and "left" wing of the ALP kick out the "right" and form a "workers government," today the SEP preaches that the unions are totally bourgeois institutions and that union struggles against the bosses' attacks are useless. The "politics" of these sewer "socialists" are based on opposition to almost all struggles of the oppressed.


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

However much they would like to disguise the fact, the Australian "left" today openly embraces the "national interest" of their "own" capitalist exploiters. Their backing of the "human rights" credentials of the Australian imperialist state has directly assisted the attempts of the bourgeoisie to overcome Australia's own "Vietnam syndrome": the bourgeoisie's humiliating memory of Australia and the U.S.' defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. The result is increased racist reaction and militarist buildup.

Yet the same capitalist class, whether represented by the Liberals or ALP, that yearns to enslave the East Timorese is attacking the unions, women's rights, Aboriginal peoples, immigrant workers and youth. Many people want to fight back, and there have been a series of popular, defensive strikes. But under the leadership of the Laborite, pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucrats these struggles have been demobilised, channelled into parliamentarist lobbying, electoral campaigns for the ALP, and the bosses' arbitration courts.

Our aim is to build a proletarian, revolutionary internationalist party, a tribune of the people, that seeks to transform the consciousness of the working class—to understand its social power and unique historical interest—in order to lead a socialist revolution to destroy the entire system of capitalist imperialism. This requires a fight to split the working-class base of the ALP away from its pro-capitalist tops, not least through forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions that opposes the ruling class all down the line.

In this country solidarity with the Indonesian and East Timorese masses means above all the struggle to overthrow the Australian ruling class through workers revolution. The complete social and national liberation of the East Timorese and myriad other oppressed peoples of the region requires the smashing of imperialism and the construction of a socialist Asia, from Indonesia to Korea, from Australia to Japan. It is to this task that the International Communist League is dedicated. Independence now for East Timor! Australian imperialists get out! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

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China...

(continued from page 12)

ten million more peasants into the already huge army of migrant labourers.

But this outcome is not at all predetermined by the WTO agreement. Rather, **what is urgently posed is struggle by the Chinese proletariat to defend the already greatly attenuated gains of the 1949 Revolution.**

Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post* (1 December 1999) wrote that in the space of one week shortly after the WTO agreement, "sit-ins, demonstrations, and disruptions to railway lines have been reported in cities including Xian, Chongqing, Hengyang, Beijing, and Changsha." Even retired army officers have been protesting, demanding the jobs they were supposed to get after leaving the army.

In May-June 1989, working people rebelled against the effects of Deng Xiaoping's "market socialism," transforming the student protests at Tiananmen Square into an incipient proletarian political revolution against the Beijing bureaucracy. Ten years later, the choices for China are increasingly stark: **proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution.** The raw social material for a proletarian political revolution certainly exists. What does not now exist and must be built is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to direct spontaneous and localised labour strikes and protests toward the overthrow of the Stalinist regime and its replacement by a government of democratically elected workers, soldiers and peasant councils.

In their own way, the imperialist bourgeoisie and their spokesmen understand that restoring capitalism in China would first require **breaking the resistance of the Chinese working class.** Shawn Xu, head of research at a joint venture between the China Construction Bank and the Wall Street giant Morgan Stanley, calls China's entry into the WTO "the most significant move since the start of economic reforms themselves 20 years ago." But the celebratory mood among international financiers and their Chinese agents is tempered by fears of social, especially labour, unrest. In a *New York Times* piece a few days after the trade deal was announced, a worker in a Beijing textile factory stated bitterly that now "even more workers will be laid off." "Such fears and angers, shared by millions across the country," warns the *Times*, "add up to one of China's greatest challenges."

Meanwhile in the U.S., the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO labour bureaucracy joins with right-wing bourgeois politicians in railing that Clinton "betrayed" American interests with the China/WTO deal. A focal point of the anti-WTO protests in Seattle was the AFL-CIO



Beijing, 1999: Rural migrants pour into cities and towns seeking work as pro-capitalist "market reforms" throw tens of millions into desperate poverty.

tops' anti-Communist campaign against China, as the chauvinist United Steelworkers leadership staged a "dumping" of Chinese steel in the harbour while Teamsters chief Jimmy Hoffa Jr. shared a platform with CIA-sponsored Chinese "dissident" Wei Jingsheng.

Washington promotes anti-Communist dissidents like Wei and Hong Kong-based "labour organiser" Han Dongfang while brandishing American military might against China, most recently through the proposed Asian "theatre missile defence" system in which Australia is slated to play a key role and which may include capitalist Taiwan. This is in no way counterposed to the policy of "engagement" with the CCP regime. All wings of the American capitalist class are united, as are the Australian rulers, around their goal for China: to overturn the 1949 Revolution and recapture the "right" of untrammelled exploitation of the country's working masses.

The Chinese Revolution was a world-historic event, destroying the rule of the murderous warlords and bloodsucking moneylenders, the rapacious landlords and wretched bourgeoisie. Hundreds of millions of peasants rose up and seized the land on which their forebears had been cruelly exploited since time immemorial. Barbaric practices rooted in the old Confucian order, such as the binding of women's feet, were wiped out. A nation which had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. Landlord/capitalist rule was replaced by a centrally planned, collectivised economy. It is the duty of the proletariat internationally to stand for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

However, the People's Republic of China was from the outset a **bureaucratically deformed workers state.** Issuing out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based People's Liberation Army

(PLA), the 1949 Revolution resulted in the rule of a materially privileged bureaucratic caste which modelled its regime on the Soviet Union under Stalin, governing the country with an iron hand and completely depriving the proletariat of political power. Pursuing the reactionary Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Maoist bureaucracy paid lip service to "Marxism-Leninism" while selling out revolutionary struggles internationally and promoting the nationalist project of transforming China into a great world power on a par with the U.S. Chasing the same nationalist chimera, Mao's bureaucratic heirs continue to deepen capitalist "market reforms" initiated more than 20 years ago, bringing the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Adding to the pressure exerted by foreign imperialist capital is the existence of a powerful offshore Chinese bourgeoisie, centred in Hong Kong and Taiwan but present throughout Southeast Asia. Where the Russian bourgeoisie was destroyed as a class by the October Revolution of 1917, the Chinese capitalists were able to flee the mainland in the late 1940s, maintaining their cohesion as a class and retaining kinship links inside China. The Chinese bourgeoisie has a powerful bastion in Hong Kong, which provides a conduit for CCP officials and their "princeling" offspring to enrich themselves, often linking up with Hong Kong tycoons. Meanwhile, capitalist Taiwan remains a dagger aimed at the Chinese deformed workers state, serving as a base for imperialist military pressure and a principal source for the massive incursion of Chinese capital into the mainland.

To defeat the powerful forces of capitalist counterrevolution now threatening the Chinese working class, it is necessary to adhere to the principles of **proletarian internationalism** which governed the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and the early Chinese Communist Party, born out of the May Fourth Movement protests against the degradation of China before Japanese and Western imperialism. A political revolution in China must be linked to the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the U.S., Japan, Australia and other imperialist centres. Only through socialist revolution in these countries will the threat of capitalist enslavement and imperialist subjugation be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

"Market Reform" Misery

After the crushing of the 1989 working-class revolt, the Beijing regime put its market-based "reforms" on hold for several years. But the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe spurred the Beijing bureaucracy to plunge even deeper into the "free market" sea while maintaining an iron grip on the working people and impoverished peasantry. Recommencing in 1992, moves toward capitalist restoration have now greatly accelerated with China's imminent entry

into the WTO. After 1997, key state industries have been converted to shareholding companies, with a majority stake held by the government. Now, the regime is allowing government shareholders to sell part of their stakes to private interests. And the *South China Morning Post* (24 November 1999) notes that "Beijing is about to introduce a stiff inheritance tax partly with a view to containing the economic—and political—influence of the rising class of private entrepreneurs." The imposition of an inheritance tax is an expression of just how far down the road the capitalist "reforms" have gone.

CCP head Jiang's son is one of China's most successful capitalist entrepreneurs, while Zhu's son is an executive of a Morgan Stanley joint-venture investment bank. The Chinese Stalinists hope to place themselves and their offspring among China's new exploiters. This development was analysed by Leon Trotsky in his decisive 1936 analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, *The Revolution Betrayed*:

"Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class. On the other hand,



Beijing Stalinist regime's "open door" means increasing massive imperialist encroachments. Shanghai Volkswagen plant.

the victory of the proletariat over the bureaucracy would insure a revival of the socialist revolution."

Trotsky posed the stark choice for Soviet society—and this applies with immediacy to China today: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Soviet proletariat, whose consciousness had been poisoned by decades of Stalinist nationalism, betrayals and lies, failed to act to stop the counterrevolution unleashed by Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 seizure of power, which culminated over the following year in the final undoing of the October Revolution.

Despite the Chinese bureaucracy's stated intention to impose a full-fledged market economy, the state-owned sector still accounts for over 40 percent of China's economy. Writing shortly before the trade deal with the U.S., the Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* (7 October 1999) explained: "It's precisely because state-owned enterprises have traditionally performed such critical employment and social-welfare roles that Beijing is reluctant to dismantle the system too quickly.... It fears that throwing millions of people out of work could

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result in political and social instability." As Trotsky wrote of Stalin's regime, the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat."

Certainly, the Beijing Stalinists have gone much further toward capitalist restoration than had the Soviet bureaucracy in the late 1980s, condemning increasing sections of Chinese society to abject poverty. Tens of millions of peasants who have gone bankrupt and rural youth deprived of a livelihood in the countryside have flooded into the cities looking for work. But with urban jobs hard to find, many of these migrants—an estimated two million in Beijing alone—are homeless, forced to become beggars and prostitutes to survive. Even official Chinese sources project that by 2006, those without jobs or "not fully employed" will be nearly 20 percent of the working-age population, while some estimate that effective unemployment has already reached 20 percent. With the loss of a job goes the housing, medical, education and retirement benefits tied to employment in state-owned industries.

Among those hardest hit by the attacks on the "iron rice bowl" are women and the aged. Nearly two-thirds of those laid off from state firms are women, who as a result end up with smaller pensions. Today in the impoverished countryside, rural families who can't afford tuition commonly keep their daughters out of school; with the return to family farming and its attendant reactionary social attitudes, girls are deemed worthless to educate. Meanwhile, the pre-revolutionary scourge of the kidnapping of women to be sold as "wives" has revived. Older workers are in increasingly desperate straits as their formerly guaranteed retirement and health benefits are torn up.

A Chinese Trotskyist party would undertake special measures to organise the superexploited migrant workers, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the vast peasant interior. It would advance the rights of women, from defending their jobs to fighting their re-enslavement by bride-procurers and household tyrants.

Union Tops Spearhead Anti-China Campaign

Successor to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the WTO is a pillar of the post-Soviet "New World Order," prescribing "neoliberal" policies designed for the untrammelled exploitation of Third World countries by American, West European and Japanese industrialists and financiers. Right-wing proponents of economic nationalism in the U.S., and even more so various leftists, often view the WTO and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as all-powerful global agencies laying down the law to member states. In reality, the WTO, IMF, World Bank, et al. are based on agreements between the American, West European and Japanese imperialist states and represent a series of compromises between their divergent national interests. And such agreements are broken when those national interests so dictate, as the imperialist powers compete for spheres of exploitation, among which a capitalist China ranks as the golden fleece. Counterrevolution in China would not lead to a flowering of economic development courtesy of imperialist investment, but would rather turn the country into a battleground for cutthroat rivalries among the major capitalist powers.

While the imperialists aim at a "cold" capitalist restoration from above carried out by leading elements of the Beijing bureaucracy, sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are pushing for a combination of economic warfare and military pressure, replicating the Cold War II offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The main advocates of a Cold War offensive against China today include both the pro-Democratic Party labour bureaucracy and the Republican right.

AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney says that the Clinton administration "pros-

trates itself for a deal with China that treats human rights as a disposable nuisance." The AFL-CIO bureaucracy combines anti-Communist hostility to China with flag-waving trade protectionism about "saving American jobs." Agitation against imports from China (or Japan) invariably has a strong undertone of "yellow peril" racism. The anti-Asian hysteria fanned by the United Auto Workers tops during their campaign against Japanese cars in the 1970s led directly to the heinous murder of Chinese American Vincent Chin outside a Detroit nightclub in 1982 by two racists, one of them a Chrysler foreman. Today, the labour tops' anti-Communist, protectionist tirades against China feed straight into the vicious anti-Chinese racism stirred up by the witchhunt of Taiwanese-born Los Alamos scientist Wen Ho Lee, framed up earlier this year over absurd charges of spying for China (see "Chinese Spy" Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism," *Workers Vanguard* No. 719, 17 September 1999).

Every bit as anti-Communist, protectionist and chauvinist is the ACTU Australian trade-union bureaucracy and the ALP to which it is organically tied. Objecting to a Hong Kong-based company leasing South Australian power assets because it supposedly has financial dealings with the Chinese PLA, state Labor Opposition leader Mike Rann ranted that this, "could perhaps see the Red Guard rejoicing each time South Australians turn on their power"! Fulsome supporters of White Australia capitalism, the Australian union bureaucrats are quite willing to bray about "human rights" in China as a cover for the push towards capitalist restoration, including in support of the CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" movement. But when it comes to



Maritime Workers' Journal
Union tops push poisonous protectionism, demand "Australian jobs for Australian workers" blaming workers in Asia and elsewhere for job losses.

Chinese (and other non-"white") immigration to this country the same bureaucrats vie in leading the racist outcry and support the incarceration and expulsion of "illegal" immigrants, with ALP leader Beazley now calling for the formation of a coast guard to hunt down refugees. Meanwhile, the ACTU leaders do *nothing* to help organise those immigrants who toil in non-union sweatshops.

In the 1980s and early '90s the Hawke and Keating Labor governments played a critical role in promoting capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the ex-USSR, not least through military pressure as in the joint U.S./Australian spy/military bases such as Pine Gap which targeted the former Soviet Union with nuclear annihilation. Meanwhile they helped prop up key Australian allies such as the blood-drenched anti-Communist regime of Indonesia's General Suharto. The ALP/ACTU officialdom supported Australia's part in the counterrevolutionary wars in Korea in the early 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s-early '70s. Last year they were in the forefront in campaigning for Australian imperialist troops to occupy East Timor.

The ALP/ACTU tops don't give a damn about the rights and interests of workers in China or elsewhere. The Laborite leaders serve to chain Australian workers to their capitalist class enemy. We fight to forge a class-struggle



Ki Ho Park/Klisonne

South Korean Hyundai workers during 1998 strike. Struggle for proletarian political revolution in China must be linked to fight for a socialist Asia.

opposition within the unions to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. We fight for a new leadership of labour based on the understanding that the interests of the working class are irreconcilably counterposed to those of the capitalist class enemy and that workers in all countries must be united in class-struggle solidarity. We fight to break the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership and to forge an authentic revolutionary workers party as the necessary instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution against the entire system of racist capitalism.

For International Proletarian Revolution!

What capitalist restoration has meant for working people in the former Soviet bloc was powerfully described by a Bulgarian writer, Blagovesta Doncheva. In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (11 November 1999) titled "In Bulgaria, 10 Years of Misery," she writes:

"The International Monetary Fund and World Bank are successfully devouring Bulgarian industry. They have insisted on

Korean War—the Cliffites have been defined by the rejection of the perspective of workers revolution and embrace of imperialist "democracy." Writing off the Chinese deformed workers state from its origins as a "state capitalist regime," the Cliffites refuse to defend China against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution.

This conclusion is shared by the journal *October Review*, based in Hong Kong and published by Chinese supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. The *October Review* group supports all manner of pro-imperialist "dissidents" and limits its program for China to the call for (bourgeois) democracy.

Unlike the workers of East Europe and the USSR before counterrevolution, many Chinese workers have already seen the brutal effects of the capitalist market. This development necessarily affects the dynamics of social struggle within China and the political consciousness of its working class. Widespread labour strikes will in part target foreign-owned firms and joint ventures. This is not to say that Chinese workers are immune from illusions in Western-style "democracy." But they have far fewer illusions in "free market" capitalism and the supposed benefits of integrating into the imperialist-dominated global economy. In the 1980s, Lech Walesa's Solidarność demanded that Poland join the IMF, whereas virtually all reports indicate that Chinese workers are fearful toward entry into the WTO. Even those who sacrifice a lifetime's savings to be smuggled into "free world" America or Australia find themselves, if they manage to evade racist immigration prison hellholes, consigned to decades of servitude, toiling in sweatshops or as outworkers.

The danger that China will be thrown back into capitalist slavery is ever more acute. It is urgently necessary to mobilise the Chinese proletariat to defend the collectivised economy and other social gains of the Chinese Revolution. But this struggle can only be brought to victory with the program and perspective of international proletarian revolution. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

"A proletarian political revolution in China would immediately face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. It would also send shock waves around the world and decisively encourage the international proletariat which has been politically and economically *thrown back* by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called 'death of communism' since the 1991 capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union...."

"To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, Chinese workers must look to the international class struggle. It is by linking their fight for political revolution with the struggle to smash capitalist rule from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan and the U.S. that the Chinese proletariat will form the bridge to a socialist future. Above all, China's workers must be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!"

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 725, 10 December 1999

Indonesia...

(continued from page 5)

Social-chauvinist pimps for the Australian imperialists, these people have the gall to claim they represent Marxism.

The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) ranted the loudest and longest for the Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor. Now their front group ASIET (Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor) is an official United Nations-registered non-governmental organisation (NGO) there. The UN—a den of imperialist thieves and their victims—has been deliberately fostering the growth of NGOs as a hedge against socialist revolution.

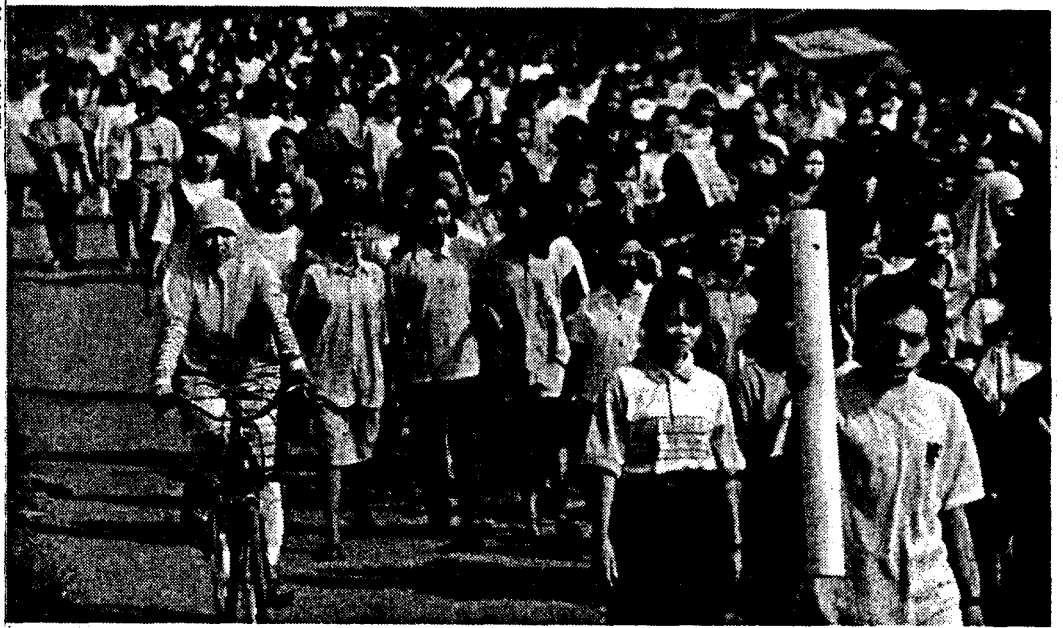
Putting on a “left” face as sucker bait, the DSP has run a series of articles in which they criticised the Indonesian PKI for having “subordinated itself to the bourgeois nationalists” (*Green Left Weekly*, 3 November 1999). What chutzpah! The DSP subordinates itself to White Australia imperialism. Cheering the Australian imperialists and promoting the PRD’s petty-bourgeois class-collaborationist nationalism in Indonesia is precisely the logic of the DSP’s explicit repudiation of the revolutionary Trotskyist program of permanent revolution.

The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) endorsed “troops in” marches and was especially ecstatic over the social-democratic trade-union tops’ anti-Indonesian actions. Whatever their occasional rhetoric about “revolution”—usually directed to places far away—at home they call for votes to the Labor Party, subordinating themselves to the anti-immigrant, pro-imperialist social democracy whose fundamental loyalty to “democratic” capitalism they share. When it comes to Indonesia, however, they feel the need to sound a bit more “leftist” so they write about the need to “give the democratic struggle the dynamic of ‘permanent revolution’” (*Socialist Worker Review*, November 1999). Far from advocating the dictatorship of the proletariat, by this the ISO merely means adopting demands like “Cut the arms budget, feed the starving” in order to “take liberal slogans and give them a socialist twist.”

Like the PRD, the ISO promoted deadly illusions in the “opposition”

Workers at Nike plant. Indonesian women workers will be in the forefront of the fight against capitalist exploitation and semifeudal enslavement.

Mydans/NY Times



forces, claiming that Rais and Megawati could lead a “rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below” (*Socialist Worker*, 6 March 1998). At the same time they retrospectively embraced the anti-Communist, Islamic mobs that spearheaded the 1965 slaughter lauding 1998 protests “at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, where students once played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime!” The ISO and their international cothinkers have long portrayed Islamic reaction as an “anti-imperialist” and “revolutionary” alternative. As we warned years ago, the ISO’s “policy is suicidal for themselves and any workers, youth or women unfortunate enough to be influenced by them” (“Third Camp” Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 613, 30 December 1994).

The right-centrist Workers Power (WP) likes to keep a tiny step to the left of the ISO. They quote Trotsky on “permanent revolution” and criticise the PRD for advocating, in WP’s words, “first democracy and then later the overthrow of capitalism” (*Workers Power*, November 99-January 2000). Two years ago they even said “Only a revolutionary Workers and Peasants government... could really dismantle the New Order and guarantee the masses both democratic and social rights” (*Workers Power*, February-April 1998). But WP’s claim to uphold the anti-imperialist program of permanent revolution is *repudiated in action* by their support to the chauvinist

anti-Indonesia union bans and their joining “troops in” demonstrations.

Marching alongside pro-imperialist forces in Australia (while claiming to oppose them), for countries such as Indonesia WP peddles the class-collaborationist program of the “anti-imperialist united front” (League for a Revolutionary Communist International, *Trotskyist Manifesto*, 1989). Flatly counterposed to the program of permanent revolution which insists above all on the political independence of the working class, the “anti-imperialist united front” ties the workers to their domestic capitalist class enemy. This is exactly what led to the horrible slaughter of 1965. Like the PRD, WP aims to pressure the bourgeoisie, calling “to turn Wahid’s words about raising living standards into action.” WP fatuously writes that the Wahid regime “needs to appear reformist to demobilise the masses through parliamentary means” and is “not a precursor to another dictatorship” (*Workers Power*, November 99-January 2000). Such faith in the blood-drenched Indonesian capitalists and the imperialists is criminal.

Towards the Indonesian Revolution!

Support to “democratic” imperialism has long been the hallmark of all these pseudo-socialists. They worked as the ideological foot soldiers in the imperialists’ drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and hope to do the same in China today. We Trotskyists oppose our “own” ruling class and seek its overthrow through workers socialist revolution, and we have *always* defended those states where capitalism has been overthrown. Unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution is a cornerstone of revolutionary struggle. Today China is on the brink as the Stalinist bureaucracy is rushing headlong to capitalist restoration. Proletarian revolution in Indonesia would powerfully aid the

fight to mobilise the Chinese workers in a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist traitors. Defeating the drive to restore capitalism in China is in turn vital to the proletariat of Asia.

The necessity of a proletarian, international program and party is highlighted by the ever more intense rivalries of the imperialist powers. No longer bound by common anti-Soviet hostility, the U.S., Germany and Japan, along with Australia, Britain and others, are all striving to assert their “interests,” including in and around Indonesia. Twice in the last 100 years the imperialists have plunged humanity into world wars slaughtering untold millions for the “right” to extract fabulous profits in the dependent countries and for a redivision of the plunder between them. As Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained, imperialism is the epoch of capitalism in its death agony—interimperialist war is inevitable until and unless the proletariat seizes power.

The fate of the Indonesian proletariat—and of all humanity—hinges on one overriding factor, the need for revolutionary leadership. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist vanguard parties around the world from Indonesia, the Philippines and China to the U.S., Germany, Japan and Australia as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International. As we concluded in “Forge a Trotskyist Party! For Workers Revolution! Lessons of Indonesia 1965”:

“The Indonesian military and their imperialist backers sought to bury communism in 1965. But the ineradicable contradictions of imperialist capitalism draw new generations of workers and youth into struggle. Out of these layers must be cohered the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party, fusing declassed revolutionary intellectuals with class-conscious workers. Such a party, based on an internationalist program and taking as its starting point the historically based understanding that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have no class interests in common, must finally break the chains of dependent capitalism by leading the proletariat to power at the head of all the oppressed.”

—*Spartacist* No. 55, Autumn 1999 ■

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Immigrants...

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escape to? And how? Through the surrounding nuclear test sites?" (20-21 November 1999).

Amid the racist anti-immigrant hysteria, one arrival, Latvian Nazi Konrads Kalejs, got the red carpet when he arrived on 7 January after being deported from Britain. An SS butcher who was in the guard of one of the Nazi's Latvian death camps (Salaspils), Kalejs also commanded a unit of the notorious Arajs Kommando, responsible for the murder of at least 30,000 Jews, gypsies and Communists in World War II. Kalejs was granted Australian citizenship in 1957. Having kept out desperate Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler's Holocaust, after the war Australia, like Canada, Britain and the U.S., was a haven for blood-drenched fascists like Kalejs recruited by the imperialists in the service of Cold War anti-Sovietism. While the government literally "welcomed" him back, angry demonstrators including the Spartacist League protested at Melbourne Airport.

Protecting the likes of Kalejs, the vindictively racist government has not hesitated to deport people facing almost certain death or torture. In January alone, an Iranian woman was ordered deported to Iran where a death sentence hangs over her and an Ethiopian man with AIDS was also ordered deported. Without drugs and medical care, he too faces almost certain death. **Down with all the government's racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Asylum for all refugees from right-wing terror! Close the immigration concentration camps now! No deportations!**

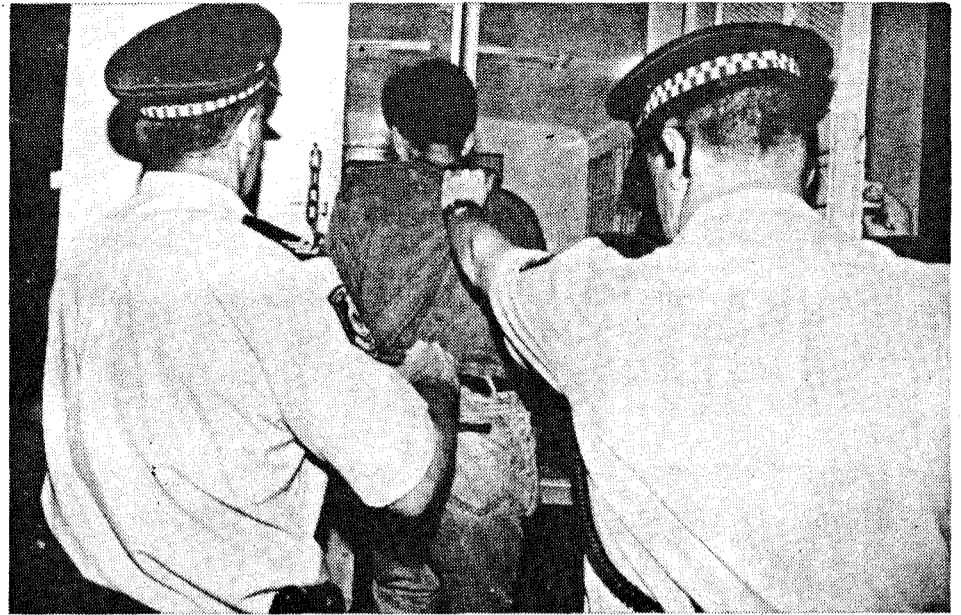
Immigrant Workers—Key to Class Struggle

Here, as in the U.S. and Canada, Chinese migrants are the target of intense racist hysteria. In the Sydney suburb of Auburn informers routinely

turn in "illegal" Chinese immigrants while the cops stage terror raids on their homes. Almost all Chinese migrants who arrive here by boat are quickly deported. Large numbers of Chinese migrants, mostly from Fujian province, are fleeing China under dangerous conditions, often packed in cargo holds without food, water or sanitation.

Behind this desperate migration is the dismantling of the planned economy by the Stalinist bureaucrats, which is leading to massive poverty and unemployment. The imperialists intensely compete for the spoils they hope to reopen for capitalist exploitation in China while they bar entry to desperate workers and peasants fleeing this immiseration. We Trotskyists call for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. A proletarian political revolution is urgently needed to oust the sellout Stalinists and stop the drive to capitalist restoration.

The brutal January cop attack on BHP iron ore picketers fighting for the right to even have a union, not far from the Port Hedland concentration camp, illuminates that the same capitalist state power which is ripping up the unions is also waging war on immigrants. The main purpose of capitalist immigration laws is to control the supply of labour. When the capitalists need labour, they import it, for example to construct the Snowy Mountains hydroelectric project in the 1950s. When the demand for labour shrinks, the rulers stop the flow of immigrants and expel those already in the country. Thus capitalism in ongoing fashion creates different strata among the workers, while simultaneously amalgamating the workers of many different lands. Everywhere, the capitalists, abetted by aristocracy-of-labour opportunists, try to poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. The struggle for the unity and integrity of the working class against



Helen Nezdropa

Sydney, 12 February: Gestapo-style midnight cop attack in Chinatown targets "illegal" workers, one of 3,500 anti-immigrant raids in past year.

chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard.

ALP—Party of "White Australia" Racism

To mobilise the workers movement to take up the struggle for immigrant rights requires a fight within the trade unions against the racist, chauvinist ACTU union bureaucracy and the ALP to which they are joined at the hip. The ALP is a bourgeois workers party. While based in the working class its leadership and program uphold the capitalist system. As such it serves as a transmission belt to the working class for bourgeois reaction. "White Australia" racism has been a pillar of the ALP from its inception. The exclusion of "cheap" Asian labour was the basis for the myth that the ALP's white Australian working-class base would prosper. Today, while the ALP whips up anti-immigrant racism, the ACTU tops push that other pillar of Australian social democracy, protectionism. Calling for "Australian jobs for Australian workers," they say the enemy of the working class is not the capitalist bosses but the workers in other countries. Against the lie that there is a "partnership" between workers and their capitalist exploiters, we fight for international working-class solidarity based on shared objective interests, for anti-capitalist struggle against the global system of imperialism.

DSP, ISO in Tow of Laborite Anti-Immigration Drive

The reformists of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), far from mobilising the proletariat against the bourgeoisie's racist poison, pander to it. The DSP may talk about the "world's harshest refugee laws" and call to "reject Liberal-Labor racism," but their obscene headline, "How to stop the refugee flow" (*Green Left Weekly*, 1 December 1999) is a nauseating appeal to Laborite social backwardness. Echoing the White Australia values of "their" ruling class, the DSP invoked the historic racist bogey which underpins the quarantine policy when they "explained" that coming to Australia

by "regular passenger plane or boat service" would "stop the possibility of the introduction of exotic diseases or pests" (*Green Left Weekly*, 21 April 1999). This same obsession with "disease" was voiced by stone cold racist Liberal senator Ross Lightfoot who denounced refugees as "possible carriers of communicable diseases" (*Herald Sun*, 12 January).

Deeply beholden to the Labor Party, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) wants to focus solely on the bourgeois Liberals' racist attacks. They *alibi* the ALP, whining "Labor Leaders Cave In." The ALP's 100 percent backing of Howard's racist legislation is delicately termed putting "political expediency over principle" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 December 1999). Thus at their 11 December "Rally for refugees' rights" the ISO gave a platform to ALP Federal member of parliament Anthony Albanese, fresh from voting with his Labor Party "mates" for the racist anti-immigrant legislation! Deeply believing that the social-democracy in power is something other than a capitalist government and can be pressured to serve the interests of the oppressed, the ISO's fundamental loyalty is to the racist, pro-imperialist ALP, and thereby to the capitalist system they defend.

In 1996 we headlined "Racist ALP Tops Paved the Way for Howard's Anti-Immigrant Assaults" (*ASp* No. 159), writing:

"In contrast to these fake leftists, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) of which the Spartacist League of Australia is a section, has fought uncompromisingly against the New World Order attacks on minorities from Europe, to Japan to Australia. What is needed is to forge an authentic communist party through recruiting the most class-conscious workers, immigrants, women and youth to the Trotskyist program. Such a party will lead the working class and behind them all the oppressed masses in a revolutionary fight to overthrow this racist, capitalist system and establish a workers state. Building a planned, collectivised economy, a workers government would ensure jobs, quality social services and decent working conditions for all, laying the basis for a socialist society free from racial and sexual discrimination. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!" ■

KKK Out...

(continued from page 3)

the interests of the working class, black people and all the oppressed.

The Fight for a Workers America

Today the Klan is a lowlife, terrorist bunch held in reserve by the American capitalist ruling class. But this ruling class, a tiny minority which expropriates all the real wealth of society, needs the homegrown Nazis of the KKK to be deployed to crush the organisations of the working class when the masses can no longer be lulled by the lie that their interests are represented by capitalist "democracy."

The political battle required to build the labour/black mobilisation which stopped the Klan from riding in NYC contains important lessons for all those who want to struggle against union-busting, racism, poverty, homelessness, war and all the other hideous expressions of a system rooted in exploitation and racial oppression. Central is that the capitalist state is not neutral. It is the instrument for organised violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capital-

ists—over another class, the proletariat. As Marxists, we know that the bourgeois state at its core consists of special bodies of armed men—the cops, the military, the prisons and the whole "justice system"—whose job is to protect the profits and rule of the capitalists and to repress the workers. All historical experience has shown that the working class cannot reform the state and use it in its own interests but must create its own state, a workers state. The revolutionary fight for proletarian state power is the only road to black freedom and the emancipation of all the oppressed.

What is needed to realise these aspirations is a workers party, which can bring the consciousness to the working class of its social power and historic interests in fighting the rule of capital and every manifestation of the barbarity of this system. A workers revolution will break the power of the few and liberate the many—the working people and their allies—who will employ the wealth created by their labour for the benefit of the majority both in America and around the globe. On 23 October, thousands of New York's working people and minorities got a small taste of that workers power.

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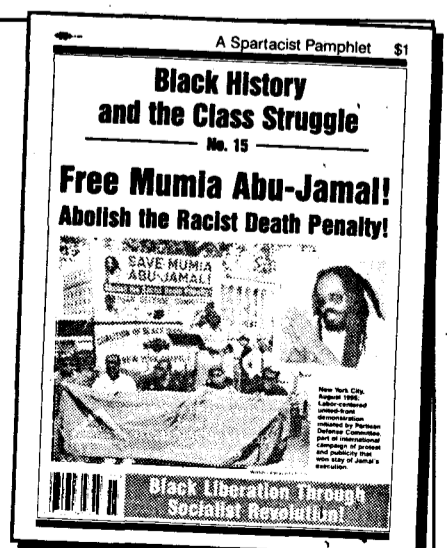
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China: WTO Entry Means Mass Unemployment, Imperialist Plunder

In the lead-up to the Seattle summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the U.S. and China signed an agreement in November, capping 13 years of diplomatic jockeying, which paves the way for China's entry into the WTO. U.S. president Clinton proclaimed this one of his greatest foreign policy achievements. In China and internationally, the deal is seen as a major political victory for the "pro-reform" wing of the Beijing regime led by President and Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji.

China's entry into the WTO would mean eliminating what remains of the state monopoly of foreign trade, a key component of the collectivised economy created by the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The WTO deal follows on a 1997 decision by the CCP to sell off the bulk of state-owned industry, as Jiang, Zhu & Co. aim to utilise the pressure of intensified foreign competition to ram through widespread privatisation. Foreign firms would be permitted to own up to 50 percent of such strategic sectors of the economy as telecommunications. Tariffs now protecting state-owned industrial enterprises would be drastically cut, leading to the loss of an estimated half million jobs in auto and fully one-third of all jobs in steel as "uncompetitive" enterprises are shut down. Lower agricultural tariffs could throw as many as

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Defend Chinese Deformed Workers State Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Chinese premier Zhu Rongji with Clinton during April 1999 U.S. visit. Migrant labourers at Shanghai construction site. Chinese proletariat must wage fight for political power to defeat threat of capitalist enslavement.



Co De Kruijff

Young Spartacus

Liberals/ALP Whip Up Racist Hysteria Full Citizenship Rights For All Immigrants!

The arrival of some mainly small boatloads of refugees from the Middle East and Asia over the past months has sparked a hysterical racist furor aimed at denying any rights to refugees and immigrants, speeding their deportation often to torture or death. Marauding Australian Navy patrol boats and Coastwatch airplanes along with Customs officials have "detected" and seized at least 55 boatloads of immigrants in the last seven months, often thousands of kilometres from Australia. Nearly all of the more than 3,100 refugees seized by immigration authorities in this period have been incarcerated in concentration camps where conditions are so atrocious that asylum seekers have had to go on

desperate hunger strike. Ranting about an "invasion," the racist Australian imperialist rulers, emboldened by their occupation of tiny impoverished East Timor, are scapegoating immigrants while intensifying their attacks on unions, women and Aborigines.

As the capitalist media fanned the flames of anti-immigrant racism, Liberal and ALP politicians joined in a xenophobic chorus for even harsher laws to "crack down" on immigrants. While Liberal immigration minister Philip Ruddock raved that 10,000 "illegal" immigrants were "packing up" for Australia, ALP deputy leader Simon Crean vowed to back the government "to the hilt." Labor's Immigration spokesman Con

Sciaccia declared, in language reminiscent of the anti-Japanese racism rampant at the height of World War II, "This is not a political issue but an issue of national security and the protection of our borders" (*Age*, 14 October 1999).

The Border Protection Legislation Amendment Bill 1999, passed with full support of the ALP and Democrats in late November, bans "unauthorised arrivals" from getting permanent residence. Those deemed "authorised" get a three-year temporary visa. Condemned to poverty and isolation, they cannot sponsor family members to come here nor leave the country on new travel documents. Immigrants can be subjected to sinister police-state measures such as fingerprint-

ing, DNA testing, face, palm or retinal recognition and voice testing.

With racist imperialist arrogance the Navy, Coastwatch and Customs are now mandated to board in *international* waters any boats "suspected" of carrying undocumented immigrants. This is not enough for ALP leader Kim Beazley who announced that a Labor government would set up a Coast Guard—"a maritime cop on the beat"—to target desperate refugees and immigrants. Even before the new law was passed, so many Indonesian fisherman have been jailed in Darwin for "illegal fishing" and "people smuggling" that to make room for them, Aborigines, routinely locked up in the racist Deep North, are reportedly being dragged 1,500 kilometres south to Alice Springs!

Most of the refugees are interned in the infamous Port Hedland hellhole and a "tent city" at RAAF Curtin air base in Western Australia's far north. More are being dumped behind barbed-wire fences at Woomera, South Australia, an army camp in a vast "restricted area" which includes Maralinga, irradiated in atomic bomb testing for the British imperialists in the 1950s. As the *Australian's* chief political correspondent commented, "The very idea of a fence at Woomera is almost cruelly surreal. Where are these refugees going to

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