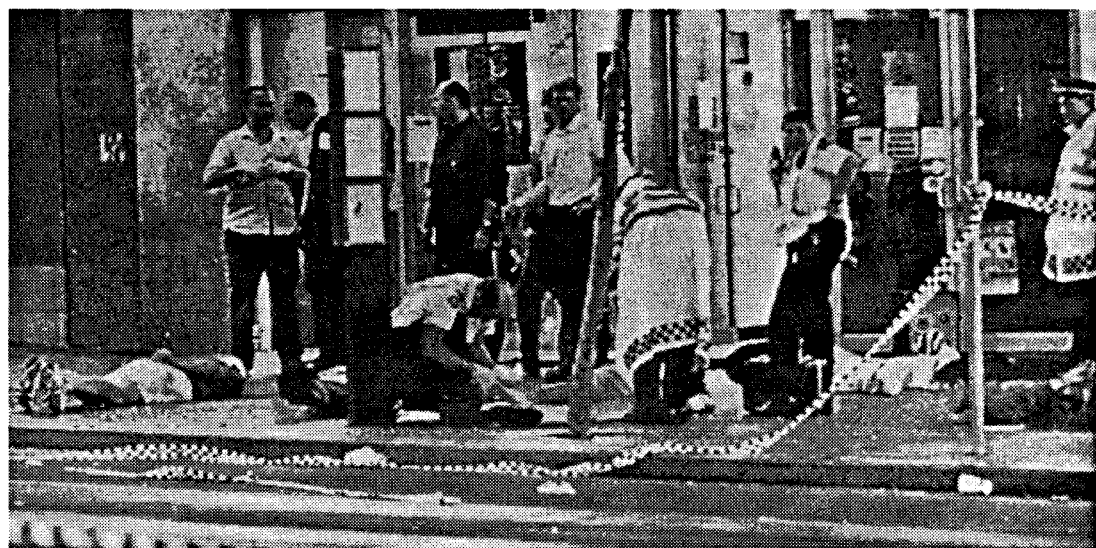
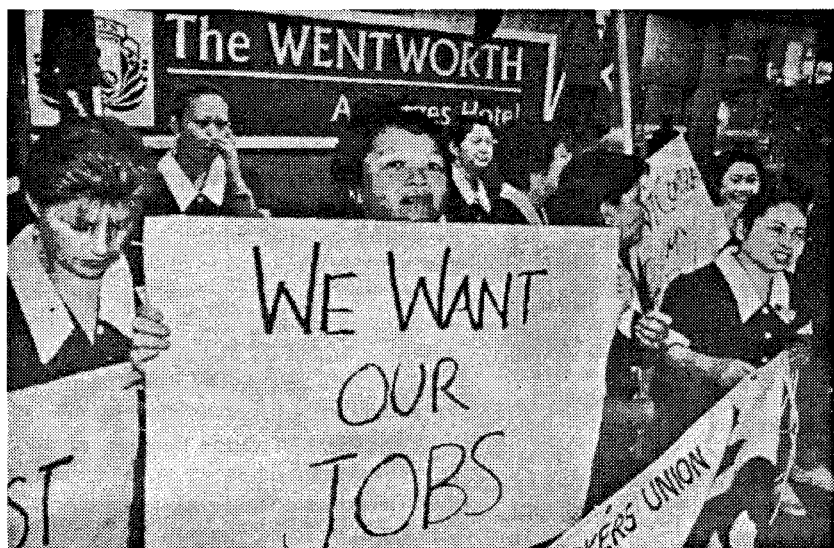




N.Y. SPARTACIST LEAGUE
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Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With Liberal/ALP Racist War on Immigrants!



Ben Rushton

Steve Lunam

Rights of workers, immigrants must go forward together or fall back separately. Left: Sydney unionists, including many immigrants, won reinstatement of sacked hotel workers in February. Right: Heavily armed cops stormed Sydney internet cafe, 10 February, terrorising Asian youth branded "gang" members.

The following article is based on a 3 February Sydney public talk by Oliver Stevens, editor of Australasian Spartacist.

According to the federal Liberal/National Coalition government, the Australian Labor Party and the capitalist media, there has been a tidal wave, a flood of immigrants and refugees who, in the words of immigration minister Philip Ruddock, are "assailing Australia's borders" which are "under attack." This language of war is backed by the use of war machines: fighter planes patrol the coasts as heavily armed ships intercept and seize boats on the high seas, forcibly removing the passengers who are then interned in hellhole concentration camps surrounded by razor wire and gun towers.

The prisoners—men and women, grandparents and babies—are subjected to constant racist brutality, referred to by number (which the government has not, yet, decreed must be tattooed on their arms), and put to work at slave "wages" while denied contact with the outside world. If they protest they are beaten, shackled, forcibly drugged and thrown into "isolation units." Many are deported. We revolutionary Marxists of the Spartacist League demand: Close the concentration camps! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Down with all the racist immigration laws!

The ALP, which ruled federally from 1983 through 1996, and now the John Howard Coalition government have been consciously and deliberately whipping up racist hysteria. According to the Department of Immigration, in the past eleven years there have been just 10,156 so-

called "unauthorised arrivals" by sea. That's an average of under 1,000 a year—in a population of 19 million.

The vicious war on refugees is part of a broader ruling-class assault on immigrants which aims to divide the working class, paralysing it in the face of the capitalists' attacks on jobs, unions and social conditions. As the anti-immigrant laws are ever more tightened, those who do make it here are targeted for state repression and racist violence. In ALP-run New South Wales, cops regularly stage terror raids in Chinatown and immigrant suburbs, as well as on job sites.

These attacks can be stopped. In 1998, union action in Perth saved a Somali man from being deported to death as the pilots refused to fly the plane and ground crew would not refuel it. This exemplary action gives a small taste of the power the working class can wield. We seek to mobilise the workers movement in defence of immigrant rights. This is crucial to the defence of the working class as a whole and key to waging a determined fight against the bosses' all-sided war on the working people.

Immigrant workers, far from helpless victims, form a strategic and militant part of the organised working class. The 1964 GM strike and the 1973 Ford Broadmeadows strike had at their core immigrant workers. In mid-February, hundreds of unionists, among them many immigrant women, besieged Sydney's Wentworth Hotel, winning reinstatement for 20 sacked workers. From Davids and Visy Board in Sydney to ATCO and Chef Email in Melbourne, immigrant workers have been in the forefront of many recent working-class battles. They are a vital

component of the forces capable of destroying this racist capitalist system. Our aim, making a reality of the famous conclusion to the *Communist Manifesto*, "Working men of all countries, unite!" is to lead the working class to victory through socialist revolution.

The capitalist economic system of private profit is irrational. Boom and bust cycles are inherent to the operation of the so-called "free market." The capitalists therefore generally regulate the flow of immigration depending on the needs of the capitalist economy. Immigrants are encouraged during economic "good times" when the need for labour is high. When the economy contracts, leading to increased unemployment, immigration is choked off and those already in the country are made scapegoats. The rulers enlist the pro-capitalist union misleaders and upper stratum of the workers—in this country the whitest and most skilled—to divert workers' outrage over their falling living conditions into racist anti-immigrant chauvinism. This aristocracy of labour has a material basis, bribed from the crumbs of the enormous superprofits which the imperialists extract from toilers the world over.

Imperialist depredation and superexploitation have driven tens of millions around the globe to flee their homelands. Many of those arriving in Australia are from Iraq which the bloody imperialists continue to terror bomb and starve. The capitalist economic crisis that devastated Asia three years ago has also driven workers from South Korea and elsewhere to migrate here hoping to find a livelihood.

Chinese migrants to Australia are fleeing the massive poverty and unemploy-

ment wrought by the dismantling of the planned economy by the Stalinist bureaucrats. They face intense racism and those who have arrived by boat are quickly deported. While the imperialists long to smash the gains of the 1949 Revolution and return China to the conditions of a huge sweatshop, competing intensely for the spoils, they bar entry to those fleeing the devastating effects of "market reforms." We Trotskyists call for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Proletarian political revolution is urgently needed to oust the sell-out Stalinists and stop the drive to capitalist restoration.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the resulting economic devastation has impelled large numbers of people to attempt to migrate to Western Europe. Counterrevolution has also led to heightened interimperialist rivalries and in all the imperialist countries the ruling classes are seeking to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers—longer hours, speed-up, two-tier wages, cutting pensions, attacks on the right to organise and be in a union. They are also trying to rip up the "welfare state" reforms which were initially directed at heading off working-class discontent while heightening the racist scapegoating of immigrants and minorities.

The social democrats, today in government in France, Germany and Britain, were in the forefront of the Cold War drive to destroy the Soviet Union. Now they lead the attacks on immigrants,

continued on page 2

No Deportations! Close the Concentration Camps!

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

many of whom were previously brought to these countries to perform essential work. As we said in the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"Modern capitalism, i.e., imperialism, reaching into all areas of the planet, in the course of the class struggle and as economic need demands, brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labor, principally immigrants from poorer and less-developed regions of the world—workers with few rights who are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. 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-labor 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 chauvinism and racism is thus a vital task for the proletarian vanguard."

Australian Capitalism, Laborism and Anti-Immigrant Racism

Founded as a colonial settler state, built on the mass murder and dispossession of the Aboriginal peoples, pogroms against Chinese people and a racist colour bar to keep out anyone not "Anglo-Celtic" enough, Australia was established as a white enclave in Asia. It began as an extension of the British empire, a base against Britain's powerful rivals and a "bastion" against the struggles of the peoples of Asia to throw off the yoke of foreign exploitation. Australia is no longer a lily-white enclave, but allied with the U.S., the most powerful enemy of the world's workers, it is a virulently racist jackal imperialist power with its own neocolonies in the region.

The bipartisan racist war against immigrants and refugees is a critical component of Australian nationalism, a central purpose of which is to instil in the proletariat the lie that those who are forced to sell their labour power to survive and those who grow fat appropriating the wealth produced by the workers have fundamental interests in common. This is eyewash, intended to blind the working class to the fact that there is an irreconcilable conflict, internationally, between capital and labour.

The prime purveyor of this class-collaborationist poison has been and is today the ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy. While based in the organised workers movement, the ALP is thoroughly bourgeois in its leadership, outlook and program. Like all social-democratic parties, this bourgeois workers party upholds and defends the capitalist system. Through the instrument of the Laborite trade-union misleaders, the "labour lieutenants of capital," the bourgeoisie's "values" are promulgated in the working class.

The ALP has backed every anti-immigrant measure of the Howard government, while complaining they are "not enough." ALP immigration spokesman Con Sciacca recently ranted that refugees who protest their barbaric treat-

ment should be deported. Indeed, the Hawke/Keating ALP federal governments launched racist attacks on immigrants and refugees which Howard continues with a vengeance. It was Labor which "upgraded" the detention centres for mass internment of refugees; Labor that locked up little children in these hell-holes for years and introduced "temporary residency status"; Labor which launched terror raids on factories looking for "illegals."

The fake left—the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Socialist Alternative (SA), Workers Liberty, Workers Power (WP), Socialist Party and more—trail in the wake of the Labor Party. Their holy writ is encapsulated in the commandment: Thou shalt vote Labor. Not coincidentally, these fake leftists marched in lockstep with the imperialist drive to destroy the former Soviet degenerated workers state and East European deformed workers states, cheering cap-

the part of the Communist Parties will expose the intentions of the capitalists and at the same time graphically demonstrate to the coloured workers that the international proletariat has no racial prejudice."

—Theses on the Eastern Question

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Nationalist Protectionism

Japan has long been Australia's largest trading partner and since at least the 1980s economic reality has driven important sections of the bourgeoisie to seek to "enmesh with Asia." For them, the overt racism of the on-going attacks on Aborigines, refugees and immigrants—in distilled form fomented by Pauline Hanson's fascist One Nation—is an embarrassment. One Nation's showing in recent state elections, following the media's declaration of its supposed death, has again raised alarm bells throughout Asia. Parts of the ruling class also want to clean up Australia's "image"

sustained industrial action taken by the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) tops has been to demand that BHP (which exploits workers not only in Australia but in Brazil, and throughout the Asian region) charge Japanese coal buyers higher prices!

The capitalists are happy to whip workers in one country against workers in another, having them "compete" for who can produce the most for the lowest wages in the worst conditions. The trade-union misleaders of the car workers at Rover in Britain demand "British jobs for British workers," while the U.S. union tops yell "Buy American." Everywhere the lie that workers have a common "national interest" with "their" exploiters directly fuels anti-immigrant racism. In Australia, the Maritime Union (MUA) demands "Aussie crews for Aussie ships." Last year a vile Laborite, MUA-backed rally in Fremantle, WA against the use of "imported steel and foreign labour" resulted in twelve "guest workers" being thrown out of their construction jobs.

If one nationally based capitalist class can institute protectionist measures against its rivals, so can the latter. The result is not more jobs and better working conditions behind protectionist barriers but trade war—you attack my exports, I'll attack yours. And trade war, in this epoch of imperialism, inevitably leads to shooting wars, inter-imperialist wars between blocs of the most powerful capitalists to secure untrammelled access to raw materials and labour power. There have already been two such wars—at the cost of tens of millions of dead workers and untold misery for hundreds of millions on the planet. It is no accident that in both world wars, the Australian bourgeoisie entrusted the ALP with the task of leading the workers to slaughter.

In the face of union-busting, attacks on wages and slashing of social services, the Laborite union bureaucracy has refused to mobilise the power of the proletariat in class struggle against the bosses. Instead they have joined with the ruling class in attacking "illegal" immigrants and in rallying behind the Australian rulers' occupation of East Timor. However, the trade-union tops face a contradiction: in the "service sector," in transit and in many industries immigrant workers comprise key sections of the organised proletariat. These workers have been, for good reason, distrustful of the sell-out Laborite bureaucrats and also willing to engage in hard-fought class battles. The pro-capitalist trade-union tops want to ensure they can control this volatile section of the workers, and thus some have spoken out over the barbaric treatment of refugees.

Calling for "Closure of all Migrant Detention Centres" Leigh Hubbard, secretary of the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC), noted that "Union members—some of whom are former refugees—are appalled to learn of the horrific conditions at Maribyrnong and other detention centres." Hubbard even raised the

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Australian Spartacist contingent at protest against planned visit to Melbourne University of racist bigot Pauline Hanson, October, 1996.

italist counterrevolution. Nor do they stand for defence of the Chinese workers state today against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution (see article, page 4).


In sharp contrast, the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, fights to build a revolutionary, proletarian, internationalist party forged in struggle to break the political chains of Laborism that tie the working class to the class enemy. We look to the revolutionary internationalist tradition counterposed to the Laborite pro-capitalists. In 1922 the Fourth Congress of the Third (Communist) International, founded by Bolshevik leaders V.I. Lenin, L.D. Trotsky and others in the struggle against the social-democratic betrayers of socialism, directed that:

"The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct a vigorous campaign against restrictive immigration laws and must explain to the proletarian masses in these countries that such laws, by inflaming racial hatred, will rebound on them in the long run.... The capitalists' intention to take the offensive can be properly dealt with in only one way—the immigrant workers must join the ranks of the existing trade unions of white workers. Simultaneously, the demand must be raised that the coloured workers' pay should be brought up to the same level as the white workers' pay. Such a move on

in order to better cloak their looting of the region. Australia's occupation of East Timor has positioned them for a possible military intervention into Indonesia, again in the guise of "humanitarianism."

At the same time, some major capitalists worry that the current population is not enough of a base with which to compete against their rivals. For example, the *Australian Financial Review* has editorialised, the "Economy needs more migrants...it makes sense to import people of all skill levels" (21 December 1999). This was echoed in a *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial, "To prosper, populate" (8 March 2000).

To the nationalist trade-union bureaucracy, this is anathema. These pro-capitalist misleaders lie that "protecting" Australian industry means protecting workers' jobs. In fact, protectionism, today often pushed as anti-"globalisation," means "protecting" the bosses' profits through tariffs and other mechanisms to aid them against foreign rival capitalists. It is poison to class struggle. For example, miners are facing a concerted union-busting drive by Rio Tinto and BHP, including vicious cop assaults on picket lines. But the biggest and most

Australasian SPARTACIST 

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

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Spartacus Youth Club International Women's Day Forum

Women's Emancipation and the Struggle Against Imperialism

Thursday, 8 March, 7 p.m. **Sydney** Holme Building Sydney University
For room and more information: (02) 9281 2181

Spartacist Forum

Down With Liberal/ALP Racist War on Immigrants!

Saturday, 24 March, 2 p.m. **Melbourne** University Function Room, Level 2 Building 8, RMIT, Swanston Street
For more information: (03) 9654 4315

Our comrade Susan Adams died at home on the morning of February 6 after a two-year struggle with cancer. In her 30 years as a communist cadre, Susan served on many of the battle fronts of our international party. There is hardly a section of the International Communist League or an area of our work which did not benefit directly from her political counsel and from her exceptional talents as a teacher and trainer of a new generation of proletarian leaders. She continued to carry out vital work as a member of the leading committees of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the ICL until her death. We salute her memory and share in the pain and loss of her longtime companion and comrade, François, her family and her many comrades and friends around the world.

Like thousands of youth, Susan was propelled into political activism in the mid-1960s by the civil rights movement, the growing opposition to the Vietnam War and the near-revolutionary upheaval in France in May 1968. She vehemently rejected the mysticism and hypocritical moralism of her Catholic background and struggled against the internalized oppression that it caused. While at the University of California in San Diego, she joined Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and was drawn to the pro-working-class wing led by the left-Stalinist Progressive Labor Party. Susan was won to Trotskyism as she began working with the SL-led Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS in 1970 after moving to the State University of New York in Stony Brook. Having moved back to California, she became a member of the Spartacist League in December 1971. Within months, she was elected organizer of our rapidly growing Bay Area local committee, helping to integrate new recruits from a variety of political tendencies.

When we moved to set up a branch in the "Motor City," Detroit, in early 1973, Susan was chosen to lead it. She proudly described this center of the black industrial working class as the Vyborg of the American proletariat, in reference to the militant proletarian stronghold of Bolshevism in Petrograd on the eve of the Russian Revolution. She was aggressive in ensuring that our Trotskyist propaganda penetrated the combative proletariat in the auto plants, often taking a direct hand in writing, mimeographing and distributing our first leaflets. Susan saw to it that the local carried out a program of intensive Marxist internal education and that the industrial comrades, who were working 50 hours or more on swing shift on the assembly lines, got their share of polemical combat doing campus work.

After little more than a year in Detroit, Susan moved to New York to be the central leader of our national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League. As always, she took on this task with energy and political determination, frequently touring the locals, initiating or directing local and national SYL campaigns, overseeing the publication of a high-level monthly press, *Young Spartacus*, with an emphasis on Marxist education and polemics.

In 1976, as the Spartacist tendency began to gain small footholds in Europe, Susan took on another crucial area of party work, this time for our International Secretariat. Stationed mainly in Paris, she became the central leader of our work in Europe, and Paris became one of three main political centers of our International. Until 1992, Susan was the principal leader of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. She was centrally involved in the debates and discussions undertaken in the LTF and the International to hammer out our strategy and tactics in this international center of ostensible Trotskyism, particularly in response to the resurgence of the popular front in the form of the "Union of the Left" in the late 1970s and early '80s. Determined to implant the Cannonist understanding of party building and Bolshevik norms of functioning which were largely alien to European cadre, she worked closely with often inexperienced leaderships in the European sections, getting them to seize on opportunities for building the party, to carry through regroupments with leftward-moving elements of opponent organizations and to combat the incessant pressures of French parochialism, British Labourism, resurgent German nationalism and so on.

Susan Adams



1948-2001

In July 1994, helping to redirect the work of the ICL in a genuinely new and difficult period signaled by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Susan wrote a letter to the International Secretariat:

"The main task of the I.S. is the production of the appropriate, necessary and urgent literary propaganda, quadrilingually and in part pentalingually, i.e., also in Russian, mainly in the *Spartacists*.... Publishing propaganda presumably gives political direction; it creates the scaffolding inside which the sections construct their work, in the spirit that Lenin developed in *What Is To Be Done?*"

When the incipient proletarian political revolution erupted in East Germany in the fall of 1989, Susan of course threw herself into guiding and pushing forward our Trotskyist intervention, playing a major role in building the united-front mobilization we initiated to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial, which drew 250,000 people to East Berlin's Treptow Park on 3 January 1990.

In 1992, when the LTF leadership itself succumbed to the same pressures Susan had seen so clearly and fought so well elsewhere, there was a sharp political fight at an ICL conference. Susan sought to assimilate the political lessons of the fight and only a few months later accepted the difficult assignment of heading up our small ICL station in Moscow, taking up the work of our comrade Martha Phillips who had been murdered at her post there earlier that year. Working in a situation where there was little room for mistakes, our Moscow group

fought to reimplant Bolshevism in the face of the devastation of capitalist counterrevolution and of the retrograde Stalinist-derived chauvinists of the "red-brown" coalition.

Although foreign languages did not come easily, Susan embarked on learning Russian with the same discipline and resolution that she had applied to studying French. The combination of limited party resources and the overwhelmingly negative objective situation in the former Soviet Union ultimately forced us to abandon an organized presence in Moscow. To her last days, Susan would speak fondly of her "Moscow boys," as she called the young members from various countries, among them recent recruits from the former DDR, who had volunteered for this arduous and dangerous assignment and who received their shaping as Leninist cadre under Susan's tutelage.

After nearly 20 years of overseas assignments, Susan returned to the U.S. to work in the central party administration, directing her energies particularly on working with a new layer of youth recruits in New York and nationally. Seeking to capitalize on our very successful anti-Klan mobilization in October 1999, Susan addressed the New York Spartacist branch, of which she was political chairman:

"This demonstration really does put into context the last decade, when there wasn't very much going on. In the last couple of years, there have been many struggles in the party. We have sought to grind off the rust in the party and prepare ourselves for exactly the kind of situation that I think our party responded to very well this month. And now the question is the follow-up. In short, the whole point here is: this is what we live for, this is what we prepare for, and now we're in it and we must take advantage of it in the maximum political way."

During this period she also devoted much of her waning energy to preparing her public presentation on "Women and the French Revolution" and expanding it for publication. Even while homebound in her last few days, she was involved in helping select graphics for the layout. Several of her other projects remain to be completed, including an index for the first bound volume of French-language *Spartacist*.

Susan's beauty and graciousness struck all who met her. She solicited and listened intently to the opinions of the newest youth member no less than those of the most senior party cadre, arguing with them openly when she disagreed. Her intellectual curiosity was intense and many of us fondly remember sharing a book-shopping expedition, a novel, a Shostakovich symphony, an art exhibit or a play with Susan in whatever city of the world we found ourselves. Her critical-mindedness, integrity and revolutionary determination serve as an inspiration to us all as we go forward to realize the task to which she dedicated her life, the reforging of a Trotskyist Fourth International and the achievement of communism worldwide.

This tribute to comrade Susan is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 752, 16 February, which features her presentation "Women and the French Revolution." Memorial meetings are planned in Berlin, Paris and New York.



East Berlin, 14 January 1990: Susan (at left) with Spartakist contingent at demonstration honouring Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg during incipient political revolution.

Workers Power's LRCI Writes Off Gains of Chinese Revolution: New "Theories," Old Renegacy

The following is reprinted from *Workers Hammer* (No. 175, Winter 2000-2001), newspaper of the *Spartacist League/Britain*.

WORKERS HAMMER

The League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) has come up with yet another new "theory" on the class nature of the state and the counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. An article titled "Capitalist restoration and the state" (*Workers Power*, November 2000) announces that "after a sharp debate" a clear majority of the delegates at the LRCI's Fifth Congress concluded that their characterisation of the states issuing from "the collapse of Stalinism in the period 1989-91" as "moribund workers' states" was "radically false and misleading".

Indeed that is something of a benign description of the LRCI's previous "theory" which posited, in their own words, "that despite capitalist restorationist governments the state apparatus has a proletarian class character in countries where capitalist property relations have not been successfully restored". Cutting through this gobbledegook of a capitalist government ruling a proletarian state, one finds an unadulterated echo of the "old" Labour position which equated "socialism" with the nationalisation of the "commanding heights of the economy" under a capitalist parliamentary democracy. But even while it peddled the myth that following capitalist counter-revolution the former USSR and Eastern European countries continued to be workers states, the LRCI did not call for their defence against imperialist attack.

Now the LRCI opines, with heads seemingly held in shame:

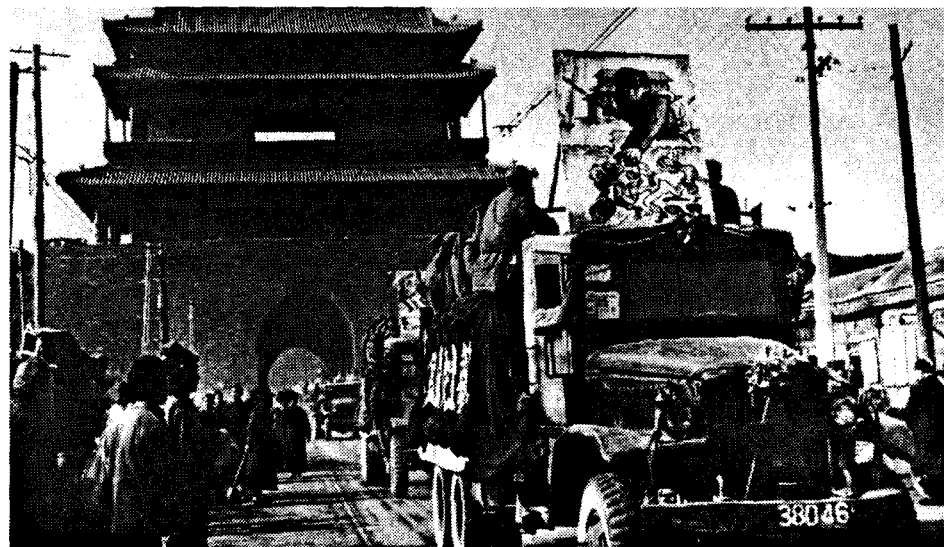
"If we stick with the moribund workers' state theory, we are left with a workers' state—an institution of our class—that we do not defend against the class enemy. This means one of two things: either that we are cowards and class traitors, or, as we should now openly admit, that we have introduced into the lexicon of Marxism a category that is devoid of meaning and without programmatic consequences."

To be sure the various "theories" that the LRCI and Workers Power (WP) have cooked up on the class nature of the state and capitalist restoration are more than

crackpot. But they are hardly "devoid of meaning and without programmatic consequences". Quite the contrary.

The LRCI and Workers Power are "cowards and traitors" who made common cause with imperialism against the defence of the interests of the proletariat, championing the forces of capitalist counterrevolution from Poland to East Germany to the Soviet Union. In the aftermath they tried to cover their tracks with the theory that these states remained workers states, albeit "moribund" (what-

Marxist category of a "bourgeois restorationist state" (a capitalist state in the process of becoming?) is a response to internal turmoil and disagreement. Thus, *Workers Power* notes that a "large minority of delegates" to the previous LRCI Congress had some trouble swallowing "the idea that there can be any proletarian institution that should not be defended from the bourgeoisie". Indeed! The punch line to the LRCI's laconic statement that its new theory "can render this non-defencist position coherent" can



People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, 1949, heralding overthrow of capitalist class rule.

ever that is supposed to mean). One hardly has to be an Einstein to recognise that this ignorant "theory" flies in the face of all empirical indices of the devastation that has been wrought by the restoration of capitalism in these countries—mass unemployment, desperate poverty, the resurgence of curable diseases and plummeting life expectancy.

Certainly some of the new recruits that the LRCI has made in Eastern Europe would hardly believe that they continue to live in any kind of workers state, being daily confronted with the constant and brutal depredations of capitalist counterrevolution. During the protests against the IMF and World Bank in Prague last September, a group of LRCI youth in the Czech Republic were frankly stunned when our comrades informed them of the LRCI's support to the forces of capitalist restoration.

By its own admission the LRCI's latest theoretical foray, which comes up with the equally ignorant and anti-

be found by simply turning the page of that issue of *Workers Power* to an article headlined "Capitalist restoration triumphs in China". Workers Power's new "theory" is to the purpose of writing off the defence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Such a position is indeed convenient and necessary if, as Workers Power does, you want to swim in the stream of the "anti-globalisation movement". While many youth are attracted to these protests out of opposition to the plunder of capitalist imperialism around the globe, the political shots are called by the social democrats and labour bureaucrats whose anti-Communist, protectionist tirades against the Chinese deformed workers state echo the interests of the imperialist rulers who have their sights set on reconquering China for capitalist exploitation. Workers Power calls on workers to implement such protectionist campaigns, demanding "Regimes which ban trade unions, or have fraudulent

'state unions' like China or repress workers in struggle should have workers' sanctions applied against them" (*Workers Power*, September 2000).

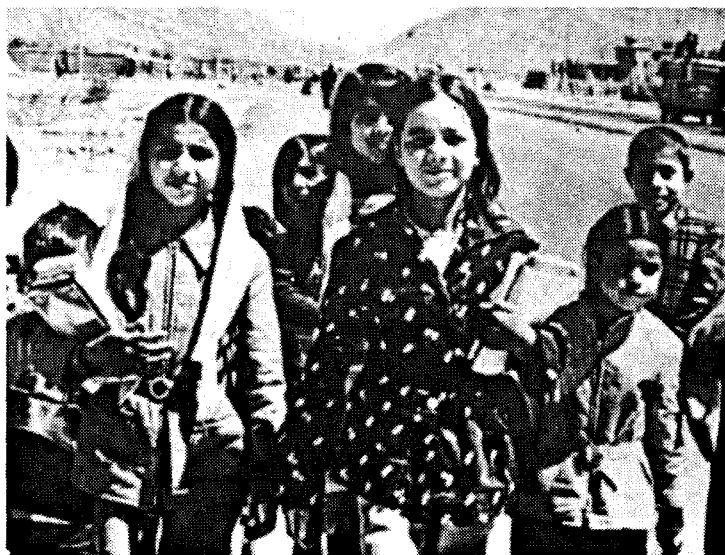
Our article "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories" (*Spartacist* no 55, Autumn 1999) explained that the various "theories" that renegades from Trotskyism have concocted to justify turning their back on the defence of the deformed workers states against world imperialism are designed "to conceal their real program of capitulation to anti-communist bourgeois public opinion and the renunciation of a proletarian revolutionary perspective". This is precisely what motivates WP's "theoretical" contortions. Trotsky warned that "Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its 'nonproletarian' character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism" ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State", October 1933). In Workers Power's case—as we have documented in our press, including our bulletin *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists* no 1, *Workers Power and the Irish Workers Group* (November 1990) and as we will show here—it hasn't been that passive.

Centrist Confusion, Conciliating Imperialism

Workers Power began as a left split from Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whose cowardly renunciation of Soviet defensism during the Korean War came wrapped in the "theory" that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist". Following the December 1979 Red Army intervention into Afghanistan, WP made a step further to the left, dumping Cliff's state capitalism and, at least formally, declaring that they had adopted a Trotskyist understanding of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state. But, in practice, they never applied the key *programmatic conclusion* of this position: unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialist attack and internal attempts at capitalist restoration. On the contrary, Workers Power went through massive contortions to avoid this conclusion, in the process giving a whole new meaning to Trotsky's description of centrism as "crystallised confusion".

Thus, while arguing that it would be "tactically wrong" to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan where they were fighting against CIA-funded and armed Islamic reaction, WP denounced the Red Army intervention as "counterrevolutionary". A decade later they would also denounce the withdrawal of Soviet troops as "counterrevolutionary". In 1981 they acknowledged that Solidarność in Poland was an openly counterrevolutionary movement backed by the pope, the CIA and Western bankers. But they supported it anyway, arguing it was necessary to be "with" the workers who had been driven into the arms of counterrevolution by decades of Stalinist betrayal...against the proletarian gains embodied in the Polish deformed workers state.

The centrist arguments that Workers Power came up with to try to dodge the bullet of Soviet defensism found a new, and virtually unfathomable, expression in its 1982 pamphlet *The Degenerated Revolution*. Here, while attempting to



Sobolev/TASS



Mian Khurshed

Soviet military intervention into Afghanistan in 1979 opened possibility of liberation from the veil and literacy for women. Victory of Taliban fundamentalists has plunged women back into hideous oppression.

explain how they had putatively come over to a Trotskyist understanding of the proletarian class character of the Stalinist-ruled workers states, WP argued that the destruction of capitalism in Eastern European countries under the post-World War II Soviet occupation was accomplished through "counterrevolutionary social overturns". (Some fifteen years later they would declare that workers states had been established in Eastern Europe without smashing the capitalist state!)

As the winds of Cold War II blew hotter and the question of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counter-revolution was starkly posed, WP's positions found more coherence as they moved increasingly to the right. This was given the clearest expression in their unmitigated support for Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary counter-coup in the Soviet Union in 1991. WP literally stood on the barricades in front of the Yeltsin White House—the rallying centre for the imperialist-backed counter-coup that ushered in the beginning of the end of the former Soviet degenerated workers state.

Today the *Workers Power* article on the LRCI's rejection of the theory of "moribund workers' states" asks, disingenuously, "how could a united front with the restorationist regime of Yeltsin defend proletarian property relations?" But, at the time, that is *exactly* what the LRCI called for. In November 1991, an LRCI statement argued: "it was *necessary* to form a common front of resistance, a military and class struggle bloc with those forces *and with their leaders*.... A part of this united front call would have been to fight alongside the 'democrats' and the Yeltsinites to defend all the centres of resistance to the coup including the RSFSR parliament (the 'White House')."

This statement was written in response to the LRCI's then-fraternal allies in the American Revolutionary Trotskyist Tendency (RTT) which, despite its own support for the forces of capitalist counter-revolution, was uncomfortable with just how far the LRCI was going. In that response the LRCI baldly asserted its elevation of bourgeois "democracy" (ie the dictatorship of the capitalist class) above the defence of the class rule of the proletariat, arguing "the LRCI considers it abstract and sectarian to counterpose a non-existent workers' democracy or soviets to existent democratic rights and to institutions created by their exercise".

Only those who have forsaken any proletarian revolutionary perspective could argue that the independent mobilisation of the working class in defence of its own class interests was a sectarian abstraction in the Soviet Union in 1991. We of the International Communist League (ICL, of which the Spartacist League is the British section) intervened, distributing tens of thousands of copies of a statement in Russian titled "Soviet workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush counter-revolution!" which urged just such a programme of struggle against capitalist restoration. We called for independent workers committees in the factories to take control of production and fight privatisation; for committees of soldiers and officers to resist the use of the Soviet army as an instrument against the working class; for workers militias to crush anti-Semitic pogromists and anti-Communist lynch mobs and to ward off communalist butchery by revanchist nationalists.

In the absence of proletarian resistance, reflecting the atomisation and demoralisation of the Soviet working class by decades of Stalinist misrule, the imperialist-backed Yeltsin counter-coup ushered in the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The "institutions" created by the exercise of the counterrevolutionaries' "democratic rights" so rabidly championed by Workers Power were those representing and defending the class rule of capital.

Workers Power has long echoed the views of the social-democratic hand-

maidens of world imperialism who attempted to provide an ideological cover for the destruction of the Soviet Union and deformed workers states. This view, typified by Cold War intellectual Hannah Arendt, holds that "Stalinist totalitarianism" guaranteed that the workers of these countries would never again wage any struggle in their interests. Thus WP appealed to the imperialist powers to intervene to enforce the "rights" and institutions of the "democratic" West.

In the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, WP has, if anything, come to even more closely embrace the imperialist rulers as the purveyors of "human rights" and "democracy". At the time of the NATO bombing of Serbia, the first major war in Europe since World War II, Workers Power joined pro-imperialist rallies in London dominated by placards reading "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never". An LRCI statement distributed at the time in March 1999 claimed to defend the Serbs against NATO attack—"though not in Kosovo which they have no right to occupy"! Meanwhile, in the next breath, WP urged the KLA—which had become a pawn of NATO imperialism—"to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces", adding: "If [Clinton and Blair's] primary concern were for the Kosovars they would recognise their statehood, and give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops."

As we said at the time, this was an unvarnished appeal to the NATO imperialists. In contrast to the cringing Labour-loving LRCI, we in the ICL



Glasgow/Seattle Post-Intelligence

Seattle, 30 November 1999: AFL-CIO tops spearhead anti-Communist crusade against China with chauvinist signs reading, "People First Not China First."

issued a 21 April 1999 Declaration in English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Polish and Spanish which demanded: Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! And long before the imperialists and their leftist apologists cynically took up the cause of the Kosovo Albanians we had championed the national rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo—a democratic question necessarily subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against NATO attack. For its part, WP was at least consistent. Thus, when imperialist ground troops landed in Kosovo, WP claimed that a revolutionary situation had been created; the "bought-in-the-USA" election of Vojislav Kostunica led *Workers Power* (November 2000) to declare that nothing less than a revolution had taken place "which road [sic] to power on the backs of the masses' heroism".

LRCI vs. Trotsky

As the consequences of Yeltsin's victory became clearer, Workers Power tried to weasel out of their call for a "united front" with the forces of counter-revolution arguing this was only their position for the first "three days" ie when it counted! Then WP devised their "moribund workers' state" theory to argue that nothing had fundamentally changed in the class nature of the Soviet Union. This



Basil Blackwell Inc.

Trotskyist Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. Banner on right (with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky) proclaims "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

strident revisionism was further amplified at the LRCI's Fourth Congress in 1997 where they argued that a capitalist state had been restored in the Soviet Union in 1927 and that the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe had been created without smashing the capitalist state. Alibiing their support for the forces of capitalist restoration they argued that the "smashing of the Stalinist state machine" was a "programmatic necessity" and took Trotsky to task for never raising this counterrevolutionary demand.

In fact, Trotsky fought tooth and nail against those who capitulated to the pressures of bourgeois anti-Sovietism and abandoned their revolutionary duty to unconditionally defend the first workers state

been a traitor to the British and American workers. Exactly the same thing applies to the USSR!"

— Trotsky, "No Compromise on the Russian Question", 11 November 1934

The last major factional battle of Trotsky's life was the 1939-40 fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman/Burnham in the US Socialist Workers Party in which Trotsky demolished the new-class "theories" which were nothing more than rationales for weak-kneed capitulation to imperialist machinations against the USSR and the accompanying hysteria which especially gripped petty-bourgeois circles.

Trotsky fought for the unconditional defence of the proletarian property forms and planned economy that were the product of the October Revolution *against* and *despite* the Stalinist bureaucratic caste which usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in 1923-24. He understood the bureaucracy as a parasitic ruling caste—not a possessing class but an excrescence upon the workers states and their institutions—whose dogma of "socialism in one country" undermined the most crucial defence of the Soviet Union, the extension of the gains of the October Revolution through international proletarian revolution. Trotsky knew that either a political revolution by the Soviet proletariat would overthrow the bureaucratic caste or the bureaucracy would eventually prepare the way for capitalist restoration as it sought to guarantee its privileges by converting itself into a new possessing class. But for Trotsky the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack or internal attempts at capitalist restoration was never contingent on the prior overthrow of the bureaucracy. Rather he understood the unconditional military defence of the gains of the October Revolution was the obligation of every class-conscious worker in order to defend and advance the interests of the proletariat internationally.

In response to the LRCI's previous declaration that a bourgeois state had existed in the Soviet Union since 1927 we wrote ("Death of Communism"

continued on page 8

in spite of its bureaucratic degeneration. Against those who falsely equated the parasitic *bureaucracy* with the Soviet *workers state* as a rationale for jettisoning Soviet defensism Trotsky insisted:

"The Mensheviks are the representatives of bourgeois restoration and we are for the defense of the workers' state by every means possible. Anyone who had proposed that we not support the British miners' strike of 1926 or the recent large-scale strikes in the United States with all available means on the ground that the leaders of the strikes were for the most part scoundrels, would have

<p>Spartacist No. 53 English Edition Summer 1997 \$2 (56 pages)</p>	<p>The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism: Permanent Revolution vs. the "Anti-Imperialist United Front" \$1.25 (24 pages)</p>
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Immigrants...

(continued from page 2)

"possibility of union bans on construction and other work associated with Maribyrnong" (VTHC media release, 25 January). Trade-union action—including political strikes—is needed, not only to free the refugees but to demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants. But what Hubbard wants is "a return to the previous policy of housing refugees in the community while they await the outcome of their cases" which he claims was the case "until the mid 1990s," i.e., under the ALP. This is a cover-up of the ALP's history of mandatory detention of refugees. Indeed, at a 25 February vigil Hubbard said he supported the need for some detention centres! On 12 September Hubbard was a key organiser of a protectionist "rally for Australian jobs" which featured vile anti-Chinese racism.

Similarly, Michele O'Neil, Victorian leader of the Textile, Clothing and Footwear Union (TCFUA) and Craig Johnston, Victorian leader of the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU), have endorsed refugee defence rallies, while O'Neil has been a prominent speaker at refugee events. The AMWU has been waging a reactionary, protectionist "Make it here or jobs disappear" campaign which pits workers in Australia against their class sisters and brothers overseas as well as fostering racist divisions within the working class at home as immigrant workers are identified as "fifth columnists" of "foreign producers." Meanwhile, the garment industry does "make it here"—exploiting some 300,000 "outworkers," mainly immigrant women, who are paid miserable piece-work wages. But far from mobilising a class-struggle fight to better the wages and conditions of these "outworkers," the TCFUA bureaucrats push chauvinist calls for higher tariffs and, under the cover of "human rights," call for boycotting certain foreign producers.

The misleaders of the CFMEU, also hailed as "progressive" by various pseudo-socialists, tout their relations with unions in Japan, Korea and elsewhere. The CFMEU construction branch in NSW publishes material in twelve languages in addition to English in its union magazine, reflecting the heavily immigrant component of its membership. But alongside this material, the December 2000 issue of *Unity* headlined "Liberals go soft on illegals," bragging about how the CFMEU has fingered "scores of illegal workers on Sydney building sites" with the result that "Many of these workers have been arrested, detained and deported." This is a racist crime against the working class!

The fake-left groups shore up support for the Laborite misleaders of the workers movement, hailing "left" union bureaucrats like O'Neil and Johnston as champions in the fight against racism. The ISO, for example, is shoulder to shoulder with the VTHC honchos in the Refugee Action Collective (RAC). Far from mobilising the social power of the unions in defence of immigrants and refugees, RAC's central aim is "to publish a Campaign Statement in major newspapers." In this they seek to appeal to that section of the exploiting class that believes that its interests would be better served by a more "humanitarian" face for racist Australian imperialism.

The unions can become powerful weapons in defence of the interests of the working class and all the oppressed, but for that to become a reality the unions must be independent of the bosses and their capitalist state. And that boils down to the need for revolutionary leadership. To forge a class-struggle leadership of the unions requires winking militant workers to the understanding that only by fighting in defence of all the oppressed—immigrants, women, Aborigines—can the working class forge the unity and consciousness necessary to successfully turn back the bosses' attacks. Transforming

the working class from a class in itself—the object of exploitation—into a class for itself, conscious of its historic needs and interests as the gravedigger of capitalism and the liberator of all humanity, cannot happen spontaneously. It requires a political struggle against the bosses' agents within the workers movement, a struggle that must be organised and led by a revolutionary party. Such a party, to paraphrase Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, must be a genuine tribune of the people fighting every manifestation of oppression and tyranny in an assault on the entire system of capitalist exploitation.

There can be no progressive immigration policy under capitalism where all laws in defence of the nationally based bourgeoisie's rule are necessarily racist and chauvinist. Unlike those phoney "socialists" who strengthen illusions in the ALP, we communists fight for the demand to smash all the racist immigration laws and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, "legal" or "illegal," including the right to belong to a union, health care, education and language instruction. Against those who preach "protectionism" in order to "save jobs" we demand a shorter work week with no cut in pay to spread the available work around. We stand for aggressive union drives to organise all the unorganised, not least the horribly exploited "outworkers." We fight for industrial unions, not narrow job-trusting unions divided by craft; for union programs to recruit those who have been historically discriminated against and for union hiring halls run on a first-come, first-served basis.

Australia's Concentration Camps

The brutal conditions in the six "detention centres" have sparked numerous desperate protests, hunger strikes and escape attempts, all of which have been viciously repressed. The media is barred; TV news, radio and newspapers are all *verboten*. Families are routinely split apart and people are threatened if they ask to speak with a lawyer. Along with constant racist abuse, beatings by sadistic guards are reportedly commonplace.



In Woomera, in the South Australia desert, there was a spectacular breakout last June by 500, mostly Afghans and Iranians, who walked the five kilometres into the town chanting "we want freedom!" On 28 August another protest was smashed by riot cops using powerful water cannon. In August and September two fighter planes made low-level passes over the camp, terrorising those inside.

Woomera is part of a vast military area whose past and present tie together many of the strands of what defines the vicious, racist imperialist rulers of this country. Not far away is Maralinga where in 1950 the Australian and British imperialists tested atomic bombs, irradiating the region and poisoning the



Immigrant workers, defying Laborite union sellouts, were core of explosive 1973 struggle against Ford Broadmeadows.

Aborigines who lived there. In the early 1960s the Pintupi people were taken from their land so the Woomera rocket testing range could be built.

Woomera was also the site of the joint U.S./Australia Nurrungar spy base which, with Pine Gap near Alice Springs, played a central role in the imperialists' military threats against the Soviet Union. Pine Gap is now slated to be part of the U.S.' National Missile Defense which targets especially China, North Korea and Vietnam. We stand for the unconditional defence of these bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution! We're for a class-struggle fight to shut down Pine Gap and all the joint military facilities, part of the struggle to overthrow the *Australian* imperialists.

The Nurrungar spy base was critical to the imperialists' 1991 mass slaughter of the Iraqi peoples, led by the U.S. and in which Australia, under the Hawke ALP government, enthusiastically participated. Today the imperialists' decade-long starvation blockade has meant the death of over 1.5 million Iraqi men, women and children. We in the International Communist League stood for the defeat of the imperialists and for defence of Iraq without an iota of political support

But not once is the ALP, *the* party of White Australia, mentioned!

For all the ISO's talk of "building a socialist alternative" and its much more rare self-description as "revolutionary," the ISO is part of the Laborite chain which binds workers to their capitalist exploiters. At recent demonstrations in defence of refugees in both Sydney and Melbourne the ISO tried to censor our speakers and drown out our chants when we told the truth about the Labor Party. Supposedly defenders of immigrants, in 1999 these fakers invited Labor MP Anthony Albanese—fresh from having voted for Howard's anti-immigrant legislation—to a *refugee* rally!

The ISO's "socialist alternative" means not a hard political fight against the Laborite cops for the bosses in the workers movement but blocking with and alibiing them. They (along with Workers Power in particular) cheered on the Laborite trade-union tops' chauvinist union bans against Indonesia which were explicitly designed to hurry the Australian troops into East Timor. Today those troops—shot through with neo-Nazis—enforce brutal poverty and destitution while lording it over the people with "white man's burden" colonial contempt. The Australian imperialists' aim to impose "stability" throughout the region—maintaining their flow of superprofits while choking off any attempts by their victims to seek a better life in Australia. The imperialist invasion and occupation of East Timor has intensified national chauvinism, resulting in increased anti-immigrant racism. From the start, we have campaigned to demand that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN and all their lackeys get out of East Timor and stay out! Independence now!

Rather than struggle to win workers away from the social democrats to a revolutionary workers party, the reformist ISO and groups like them create illusions that the racist, capitalist system and its oppressive state can be pressured to serve the interests of the oppressed. They see the world through the same lens as the trade-union tops and the Labor Party. This is exemplified in the ISO's support to cop and prison guard "unions" and "strikes."

Let's take a look at the concentration camp guards, employed by Australasian Correctional Management (ACM) which runs all six "privatised" detention centres. ACM is owned by the American Wackenhut Corporation whose board is full of former CIA, FBI and Pentagon officials. The company specialises not only in running detention camps and prisons, but union-busting and strike-breaking, including in Central America. These racist, sadistic ACM thugs drove Viliami Tanginoa to his death in the Melbourne Maribyrnong camp on 22 December. A 53-year-old Tongan man, Tanginoa had lived in Australia for 17 years. The government declared him an "illegal immigrant" and locked him up to await his deportation. Terrified and despondent, Viliami had climbed a basketball pole in a last-ditch effort to protest what was being done to him. For *eight hours* the guards taunted and

Port Hedland concentration camp, 1995: Hawke/Keating ALP federal governments' anti-immigrant racism paved way for Howard & Co.'s escalating attacks.

to Saddam Hussein. We demand an end to the blockade and all economic sanctions, and that Australian/U.S. imperialism get out of the Persian Gulf and Near East.

Laborite Fake Left vs. Proletarian Revolutionary Perspective

If you relied on the ISO's paper *Socialist Worker* you'd never know that Labor—in and out of power—is responsible for innumerable racist atrocities. Headline after headline is "Demolish Howard," "The Liberals have to go," "Throw the Liberals Out." They recently ran a full page article (19 January) which rightly declared "The real sentiment behind Federation—White Australia."

mocked him, spewing racist abuse, until, unable to bear it any more, Tanginoo jumped. He was left without medical attention and a Lankan refugee who tried to aid him was thrown in solitary. Eyewitnesses are being deported. Make no mistake, the screws killed Viliami Tanginoo, as surely as if they had pushed him.

Incredibly, at a 5 January rally at the Villawood camp to protest this atrocity, a leading ISOer started by making an appeal to the ACM screws! Whining that the guards also suffered at the hands of ACM, he asked them to remember where ACM's profits came from, i.e., from their "labour." To the ISO, the ACM racist thugs—"members" of the Liquor and Hospitality union—are no different than ordinary workers. It is ABC for Marxists that cops and prison guards, no matter who signs their blood-drenched pay cheques, are not part of the workers movement but are part of the armed fist of the capitalist state. Cops, prison and security guards, out of the unions!

Since our origins in Australia almost 30 years ago, the Spartacist League has demanded full citizenship rights for all immigrants. Fairly recently a number of ostensibly socialist groups, such as Workers Power and Socialist Alternative, have also raised, now and again, a similar demand. At the same time, however, they (and the Taaffeite Socialist Party) demand "Open the borders." For example, WP writes it is necessary to "insist on the full and free movement of peoples all over the globe.... Open the borders, free movement of people not capital" (*Workers Power*, May-July 2000). The ISO's British co-thinkers recently argued (*Socialist Worker*, 3 February) that "Socialists are for people having the same rights of free movement that are presently enjoyed only by money and goods" and called to "abolish passports."

At its heart the call to "open the borders" is a liberal utopian slogan, tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism. And if you're calling to get rid of borders under capitalism, why not call to abolish the cops and army too? After all, policing its borders is just as vital to the existence of the Australian capitalist state as having a police force to break strikes and terrorise Aborigines and immigrants.

Proponents of the "open borders" slogan know that no bourgeois state could allow unrestricted immigration, and on some level recognise that this call means giving the imperialists free rein to buy up everything in their neocolonies. Over 25 years ago, we pointed out that an "open" U.S./Mexico border "would also lead to well-financed American 'colonists' buying up Mexican enterprises and real estate" ("The Leninist Policy Toward Immigration/Emigration," *Workers Vanguard* No. 36, 18 January 1974). We cited the example of Israel, where unlimited, massive immigration wiped out the national existence of the native population, the Palestinian Arabs. This was in large part the result of the Nazi Holocaust and the contemptuous refusal of the Western powers to provide asylum to Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler. As we wrote, "To have called for 'open borders' in Palestine during the period from 1918 to 1948 meant to endorse the destruction of the Palestinian Arab nation by Zionism and to guarantee the local ascendancy of bourgeois nationalism over proletarian socialism in the Near East for several generations...."

The "open borders" slogan is entirely appropriate for the Labor-loyal leftists who promote the false belief that a reformed capitalism (especially run by social-democratic governments) can provide freedom and economic well-being for everyone. The Socialist Party is so deep in the Laborite swamp that they have the gall to lecture desperate refugees protesting the hideous conditions of their incarceration that the SP "does not condone violence as a means of getting a message across" (*Voice*, February 2001)!

Against the precursors of today's "open the borders" leftists who want to wish away the capitalist state in order to



no credit
Eastern Department at Comintern Fourth Congress, Moscow 1922: Tan Malaka of Indonesia; M.N. Roy of India; Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam; Eizo Kondo and Sen Katayama, founders of Japanese communism; Jock Garden, W.P. Earsman and Tom Payne of Australia.

avoid the struggle to replace it with a workers state, Lenin wrote:

"What does the 'method' of socialist revolution under the slogan 'Down with frontiers' mean? We maintain that the state is necessary, and a state presupposes frontiers. The state, of course, may hold a bourgeois government, but we need the Soviets. But even Soviets are confronted with the question of frontiers.... Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, and not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan."

—"Speech on the National Question," April 1917

The victorious revolution led by the Bolsheviks that destroyed capitalist rule in the Russian tsarist empire welcomed and gave full rights to everyone who supported the rule of the working class.

Racist "White Australia" Nationalism: Pillar of ALP

The history of immigration in Australia underscores how the capitalists, aided by the pro-capitalist aristocracy of labour, have used and abused foreign-born workers to meet their need for profit while keeping the working class divided against itself. This has been key to the ability of the tiny minority that owns the means of production to maintain their rule.

In 1850 the non-Aboriginal population in Australia was a mere 405,000. Before then Indians, Melanesians and about 3,000 Chinese people were brought to Australia as indentured servants, primarily to replace convicts employed on the sheep runs. In the ten years following the start of the gold rush in 1851, the population more than doubled. Over 230,000 immigrants received financial assistance while 372,000 paid their own way. Perhaps 50,000, less than 10 percent, were

Chinese. As Australian nationalist mythology tells it, the "diggers" on the gold fields stood for equality and democracy, exemplified by the Eureka Stockade revolt of 1854. What rot. Throughout this period there was a wave of anti-Chinese pogroms: Hanging Rock (1852), Bendigo (1854), Rocky River (1856), Adelong and Buckland River (1857), Tambaroora (1858) and Lambing Flat (1861).

Anti-Chinese racism was pushed by the fledgling union bureaucrats who preached that "White Australia" would be a "Working Man's Paradise." Thus the Prospectus of the Miners' Protective League at Lambing Flat railed against the Chinese as "this abominable race." An 1888 racist screed reported:

"Discontent, consequent on reduction of wages, the increase of working hours, and the incursion of the Chinese on the domain of labour, awoke again a vigorous spirit of organisation amongst the men, many of whom remembered 'Eureka', and in February, 1872, the Bendigo Miners' Association was formed."

—quoted in Brian McKinlay, *Australian Labor History in Documents*, 1990

In 1863, the same year that Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation against slavery in the U.S., the Queensland-based sugar bosses started what was to be almost 40 years of slavery in Australia. About 62,000 people from throughout the South Sea Islands worked in the cane fields, most of them "black-birded," that is kidnapped and forced into indentured servitude. In 1891 these forced labourers made up under 2 percent of the population but accounted for 45 percent of the state's executions. These legal lynchings were hailed by the Australian Workers Union's *Worker*, which also greeted the victory of a Labor

Party candidate in an 1892 by-election with the headline "Bundaberg Goes White." The Labor Party did not oppose the racist death penalty until after most of the Islanders were deported by 1907.

Just as it was the bedrock of the Australian capitalists' Federation, "White Australia" was also Labor's founding core principle over a century ago. At the time a well-known slogan was "Racial unity is essential for national unity." Labor Party leader J.C. Watson railed against "mixing of coloured people with the white people of Australia" because of "the possibility and probability of racial contamination." A few years later William Hughes, who had been a federal Labor prime minister, declared: "If the White Australia Policy is to be a permanence in this country, there must be behind it a sufficient force of white Australians ready, if necessary, to make good their claim."

Against such filth, which would not be out of place in the mouths of the Ku Klux Klan race terrorists, the International Workers of the World (IWW), the Wobblies, declared in 1911: "The I.W.W. knows no distinction of race, creed, or colour. Its policy is one of international working-class solidarity." The ALP, by supporting the White Australia policy, was, the IWW said, "keeping the workers of one country at the throats of the workers of another country, and by appealing to racial prejudices kept them divided" (quoted in Verity Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia*, 1995).

To this day Queensland is a hotbed of racist reaction. In Mackay, a centre of the sugar industry built by dark-skinned peoples, neo-Nazi skinheads have been rampaging. Recently, however, they were taught a lesson at the hands of a determined group of people descended from the South Sea "kanakas." We salute those who have organised against the fascists' deadly threat! The racist anti-immigrant hysteria fuels the likes of National Action and the fascistic One Nation. We fight for labour/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists from organising for their demented program of genocide and the destruction of all workers organisations. Trade unionists, black people, students and socialists scored a big victory in Gary, Indiana on 20 January joining the U.S. Partisan Defense Committee in a mobilisation which stopped the fascist KKK from holding a hate rally there on Martin Luther King's birthday (see back page).

"White Australia" and Anti-Communism

It was the demand for labour and vicious anti-Communism, not some kind

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LRCI...

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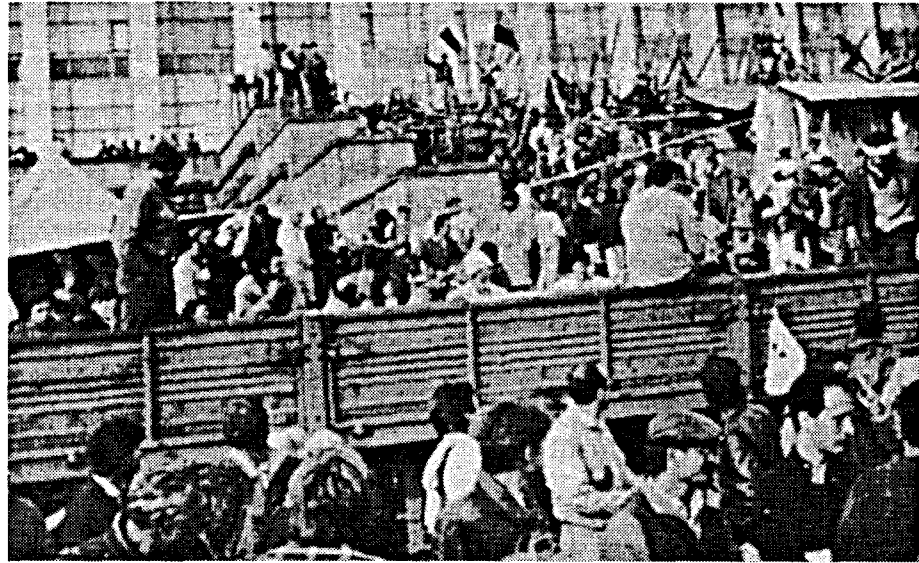
Centrists", *Workers Hammer* no 161, March-April 1998):

"With their 'new' theory on the class character of the Soviet state, Workers Power is part of a stampede of pseudo-Trotskyists who have joined the imperialists in trying to bury the legacy of the Russian Revolution and with it the 'spectre' of the dictatorship of the proletariat.... They stridently call to 'smash the Stalinist state' while on the home front operating as the most cringing, servile apologists for the maintenance of capitalist rule in its social-democratic face."

If its "moribund workers' state" theory derived from the Labourite view of equating nationalisations with socialism, the LRCI's current theory reduces the class character of the state to a category which is purely determined by the subjective intent of those in power regardless of what property forms exist. Deriving from the social-democratic view that "socialism" can be achieved through the ballot box, this "theory" is a complete repudiation of the most elementary Marxist understanding of the bourgeois state as the machinery for the

part of a regime, to a factor capable of altering the class character of the state." They then proceed to do exactly that, arguing that the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has transformed itself wholesale into a capitalist ruling class. The notion that a capitalist state defended proletarian property forms served as the theoretical justification for lining up behind the forces that smashed the Soviet degenerated workers state. Now the equally absurd view that the class character of the state has no relation to property forms serves the same purpose for the LRCI in writing off any defence of the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Counterposed to Trotsky's understanding of the *contradictory* nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which balances between a state based on collectivised proletarian property forms and world imperialism, Workers Power's arguments owe much to Cliff's "state capitalism" and Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivism", investing the bureaucracy with a profound solidity and the power to single-handedly transform the class nature of the state. As we wrote in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories": *"If the final undoing of the October Revolution*



Spartacist

Workers Power stood with yuppies, speculators, fascists and priests on Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades, 1991. ICL statement distributed in Soviet Union called: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

repression of one class, the proletariat, by another, the capitalist class. For the proletariat to come to power it must smash the bourgeois state and institute its own class rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

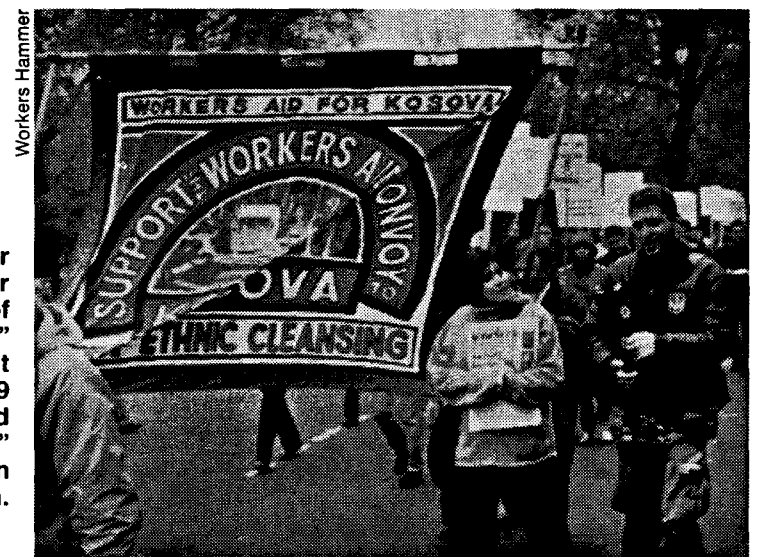
Defend China Against Imperialism, Capitalist Restoration!

In its article "Capitalist restoration and the state", Workers Power allows that: "Some could argue that this position leads us to a dangerous idealism—that we are elevating a subjective change, maybe even a change of policy on the

confirms Trotsky's analysis and program only in the negative, it at least exposes as threadbare all notions of Stalinism as a stable system."

WP's own notions are derived as well from a profound pessimism in the revolutionary capacity of the working class. Just as Workers Power argued that any struggle to mobilise the Soviet proletariat against Yeltsin's counterrevolution was "abstract" and "sectarian", its current declarations that capitalist restoration has "triumphed" in China mean writing off the Chinese proletariat as a contender in the battle against capitalist counterrevolution. While having something of a kaleidoscopic view of just exactly when capitalism was restored in China—1989? 1992? 1996?—Workers Power argues that the "crushing of working class political opposition in the aftermath of the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square had removed the most important social obstacle to capitalism's return". Yet the LRCI Congress which concluded that capitalism had been restored in China took place only two months after Workers Power itself had run an article headlined "Workers resist the drive to capitalism" (*Workers Power*, May 2000) reporting on the massive strikes, demonstrations and other protests which took place in China in 1999!

What changed in the intervening two months to make the LRCI decide that the proletariat had been decisively crushed more than a decade earlier during the incipient political revolution in Tiananmen Square? The answer lies not in any quelling of the mounting resistance of the Chinese proletariat to further encroachments of capitalist imperialism. Rather, the LRCI's declaration that capitalism has been restored in China emanates from the same source as its "theories" on the class nature of the ex-



Workers Power march for war aims of "human rights" imperialism at 10 April 1999 "Workers Aid for Kosova" demonstration in London.

Soviet Union and the former deformed workers states in Eastern Europe: capitulation to the pressure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois public opinion. Specifically it reflects WP's political prostration before the British Labour Party with the added mix of its current enthusing over the "anti-globalisation" movement.

On the home front, this translated recently into WP's refusal to support the protests against extortionate fuel prices

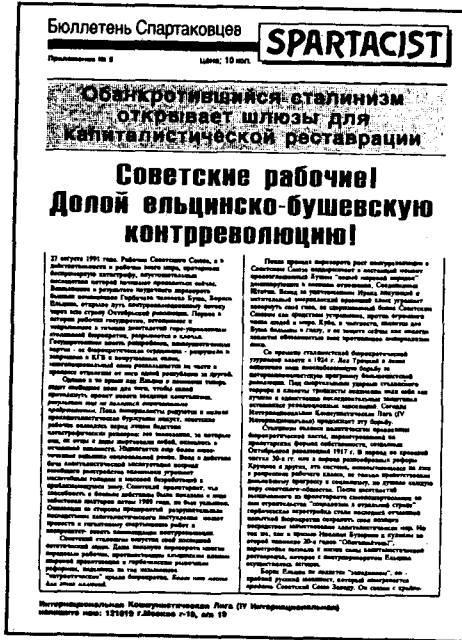
revolution triumphant in China. Cosying up to the forces hostile to China within the "anti-globalisation" milieu, the *Workers Power* article announcing this discovery barely gives a nod to the 1949 Revolution. Insofar as it does make a mention, WP apes the language of propagandists for "Radio Free Europe", arguing that what happened in 1949 in China was the institution of "the Soviet model of bureaucratic command planning".

The 1949 Chinese Revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned, collectivised economy which guaranteed workers lifetime employment and social benefits—what was called the "iron rice bowl". The Revolution expropriated the landlords, sent the capitalist class packing and opened up the possibility of women entering social and economic life for the first time, making huge inroads into improving their previous slave-like status. At the same time, the 1949 Revolution was carried out by Mao's largely peasant army and was bureaucratically deformed from its outset. Modelled after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the Chinese bureaucracy based itself on the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" and excluded the proletariat from political power.

As Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Programme*, the founding document of the Fourth International, with the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union the state apparatus was "transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country's economy". Like the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Chinese bureaucracy has no other response to the hostile pressures of world imperialism than to introduce "market reforms" to replace central planning and management as the means to increase economic efficiency. Let us recall, as well, that the destruction of the former USSR—for which WP did its own small bit—has greatly encouraged those who would return China to the days of capitalist slavery and imperialist subjugation.

Many of the social gains of the Chinese Revolution are being obliterated as unemployment reaches massive proportions while state-owned industries are being closed or privatised. The Chinese bureaucracy is itself a major participant in joint ventures with foreign capitalists in the "Special Economic Zones" while it continues to invite overseas Chinese capital into the country, opening up entire areas to capitalist exploitation. But China does not have a capitalist economy; state-owned industry still dominates. Nor has there been a counterrevolution which smashed the existing state and replaced it with a new state committed to the defence of capitalist property forms.

Furthermore, to premise one's conclusions on the class character of the Chinese deformed workers state exclusively on the actions of the bureaucracy, as WP does, relegates the working class to merely a passive object of either the bureaucracy or imperialism. In either



in Britain last autumn which were aimed against Tony Blair's Labour government. Blair & Co responded to these massively popular protests by threatening the use of the army and unleashing the largest mobilisation of state repression since the Poll Tax upheavals in 1990. Fearful that the fuel protests could touch off another "winter of discontent"—a wave of strikes and protests, of extraparliamentary working-class struggle which could bring the country to a halt—the trade union bureaucracy came to the rescue of the widely despised Labour government. These protests were clearly aimed at the Blair government and indeed the central demand was supportable from a proletarian standpoint. We explained:

"A revolutionary leadership of the workers movement must seek to take the lead of protests such as this in order to direct them clearly against the real culprit: capitalism and the Labour government which administers it."

— "Fuel blockade rocks Blair's Britain", *Workers Hammer* no 174, Autumn 2000

Labour-loyal to the end, Workers Power brought up the rear as "left" apologists for the bureaucrats.

This did not go unnoticed by readers of Workers Power's press. A letter published in the November 2000 issue read: "The trade union bureaucracy joined the Blair government to defeat the anti-fuel tax movement. This was to be expected. What is more surprising is that Workers Power should have joined in." Another reader, noting WP's focus on work in the "anti-capitalist" milieu, asked: "Can it be mere coincidence that the Anti-capitalist movement...is also near unanimously opposed to the fuel tax protests throughout Europe?"

It is no more a coincidence than WP's sudden "discovery" of capitalist counter-

SPARTACIST

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COLLAPSE OF STALINISM

The Bankruptcy of "New Class" Theories

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case what is eliminated is a proletarian revolutionary perspective and the role of consciousness ie the need for a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat.

As Trotsky argued in *The Revolution Betrayed* the bureaucracy "continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat". What has stayed the hand of the Chinese bureaucracy is the massive wave of workers strikes and protests against the effects of capitalist "market reforms". As we wrote in an article on the uprising of laid-off Chinese miners last February (see "Chinese workers revolt against 'market reforms'", *Workers Hammer* no 173, Summer 2000):

"The bureaucracy which is paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion—not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the parasitic ruling oligarchy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). The urgent task facing the Chinese proletariat is to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International, to prepare and lead this political revolution, standing at the head of the masses and directing the spontaneous and localised workers' struggles towards the seizure of political power."

How convenient (and Shachtmanite!) for WP to simply declare capitalist restoration to be victorious in China. Real Trotskyists would be more than a little self-critical at having let this historic defeat occur without fighting against it—or even noticing it! Not so the left Labourites of Workers Power for whom the internationalist duty to defend the gains of the Chinese working masses is less than a trifle.

For New October Revolutions!

The ultimate responsibility for the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet



January 3, 1990: ICL spokesman Renate Dalhaus (at microphone) addresses demonstration of 250,000 protesting fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial in East Berlin. Spartakist

Union and Eastern Europe lies at the doorstep of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Preaching the lie of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism abroad, it politically disarmed the working class which was atomised through repression and whose consciousness was poisoned by Stalinist nationalism, destroying the only possible long-term basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat, a class-conscious working class fighting in its historic interests.

The ICL fought to the limit of its resources and ability to defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. Where Workers Power wrote off the proletariat of the deformed workers states, in the course of our intervention into the incipient political revolution in the DDR in 1989-90 we sparked a 250,000-strong mobilisation on 3 Janu-

ary 1990 against the fascist desecration of a memorial to the Red Army in Treptow Park, Berlin. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, what was seen in the Treptow mobilisation was a political struggle between the Trotskyist programme of political revolution and the Stalinist programme of capitulation and counterrevolution. Ten years later this was recognised by former Soviet leader Gorbachev in an interview where he stated: "We changed our point of view on the process of unification of Germany under the impact of events that unfolded in the DDR. And an especially critical situation came about in January [1990]. In essence, a breakdown of structures took place. A threat arose—a threat of disorganization, of a big destabilization. This began on January 3 and [went] further almost every day."

We did not prevail in our fight to

mobilise the proletariat against the capitalist *Anschluss* of the DDR. But for us it was not an "abstract" question, we *fought* to defend the gains of the working class and for proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy which had brought the DDR to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. We *fought* against Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution. Today we fight for the unconditional military defence of the remaining workers states: China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. Our defence of these states derives from our irreconcilable opposition to world imperialism and our fight for new October Revolutions. The LRCI's repudiation of the Trotskyist programme of defensism derives from their accommodation to the bourgeois order.

The differences between the ICL and the LRCI can be reduced to one word: the *state*. All of our party's activity is directed to organising, training and steeling the international proletarian vanguard party necessary for the seizure of state power. In contrast, the politics of the reformists and centrists like Workers Power are defined by the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the limits of capitalist society. As Trotsky wrote in *In Defense of Marxism*, a codification of his fight against Shachtman/Burnham: "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones." Behind all of the LRCI's crackpot "theories" on the class nature of the state lies nothing more than an alibi for ducking the elementary duty of authentic Trotskyists to oppose the designs of "our" imperialism to reconquer China for capitalist exploitation and a repudiation of the fight for proletarian state power. ■

Immigrants...

(continued from page 7)

of moral awakening, that led to the formal end of the White Australia policy in 1973. Following World War II, the white rulers, desperately needing more workers, declared the necessity to "Populate or Perish," a racist campaign directed against the Japanese in particular and Asians in general. The "Bring Out A Briton" scheme meant a family could be nominated by a total stranger, have their fare paid and be found a house. Not enough "Britons" could be enticed, so more and more "non-Anglos," i.e., people from Eastern and South Europe, were now declared to be "white enough" to qualify. But their fares weren't paid and they had to agree to work at low wages and be separated from their families for many years. In the late 1940s and early 1950s many of these workers, who had to live in camps, staged protests and demonstrations.

The post-war Labor government decreed that Jewish refugees could comprise no more than 25 percent of each shipload of immigrants. But, with anti-Communism the overwhelming criteria, the welcome mat was laid out for East European fascist war criminals, including the likes of Konrad Kalejs, a Latvian Nazi butcher, and followers of the Croatian Ustasha, the fascist outfit whose sadism

and brutality made even some members of the Nazi SS blanch.

The Chifley ALP government, deeply wedded to "White Australia," was determined to deport all of the people from Asia who had ended up in Australia during the war. But following the 1949 Chinese Revolution which destroyed landlord/capitalist rule and drove out the imperialists, an exception was made in the name of anti-Communism. There would be no deportations to "Red China." In the 1950s the fanatical clerical reactionaries led by B.A. Santamaria began pushing for more immigration not least with the aim of forging anti-Communist alliances with the capitalist rulers throughout the region. Many of these rulers pointedly noted that if they were good enough to be "allies," why were their children barred from Australia?

It wasn't until 1965 that the ALP removed the words "White Australia" from its program while *rejecting* an amendment that immigration should be "regardless of race, color or creed." This was after the Liberals, the Country Party and even the reactionary Returned Servicemen's League had dropped the words "White Australia." In 1966, Gough Whitlam, to be ALP prime minister in a few years, argued that he merely wanted to "remove as far as possible any racial aspects" of the immigration laws. "White Australia" was finally formally dropped only in 1973 by the Whitlam government.

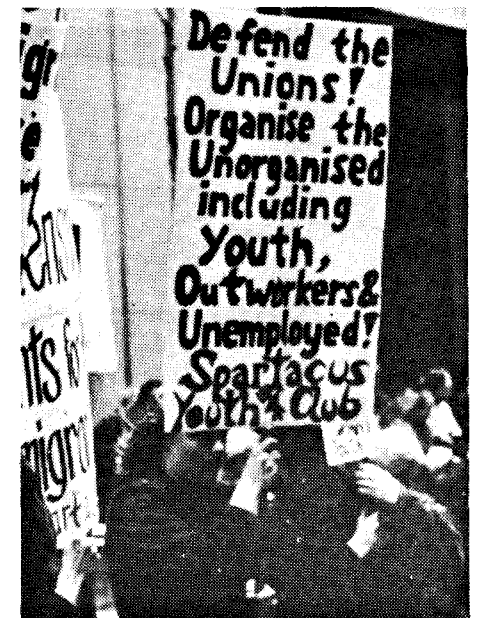
Two years later Whitlam cut the immigration quota in half.

Following the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its Australian allies at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, under intense pressure from the U.S., Australia grudgingly took in about 100,000 Vietnamese people, many of whom had been connected with the South Vietnamese puppet regime supported by the imperialists. The Vietnamese were nevertheless subjected to vile racist abuse, as are their children today.

But the Vietnamese Revolution also cracked the hard anti-Communist chauvinism and attendant all-sided regimentation of Australian society. Youth marched bearing the flag of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front; wharfies and seamen initiated strikes and bans in defence of Vietnam. This class polarisation opened opportunities for building a revolutionary party with a perspective of winning the working class from Laborite chauvinism to internationalist solidarity with social revolution in Asia.

In 1947 the seamen's union took up the defence of 14 Malay seamen, all of whom were married to Australians, against the ALP government's attempt to deport them. The Trotskyists of the day joined in this campaign and vociferously opposed the White Australia policy. We know too that workers in this country have engaged in acts of international solidarity, including staging protest strikes against the 1991 imperialist bombing of Iraq. In Canberra in 1996, workers stormed Parliament House in defence of Aboriginal marchers attacked by the cops.

We know also that immigrant workers have often been at the forefront of class struggle in this country and have fought bitterly against the sellouts perpetrated by the Laborite union misleaders. Today, not only are immigrant workers strategic to working-class struggle here, they also form a living bridge to the class struggles of the proletariat through the region.



Sydney, 1996: Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilise in defence of unions and all oppressed. ASP photo

It will take workers revolution in all the imperialist countries to overcome the desperate poverty of the majority of the world's peoples through an internationally planned economy which alone can qualitatively raise the productive forces of all countries and provide a decent life for everyone, no matter where they are born. Only then can there be a world without borders. The Russian Revolution of October 1917, despite its subsequent betrayal and ultimate strangling by Stalinism, proved that the working class can become a class for itself, a conscious revolutionary force overcoming all attempts to divide it along national, racial and sexual lines. The indispensable instrument for victory is a Leninist revolutionary international proletarian party. In Australia, in the U.S., in South Africa, in Japan, in Mexico, Germany and elsewhere this is the task that the International Communist League is dedicated to. *For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!* ■

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Gary...

(continued from page 12)

president Alex Wheeler Jr. issued his own leaflet calling on union members to turn out at the PDC rally site. In the upshot, Wheeler himself did not turn up at the rally. But his statement lending Local 1014's authority to the anti-Klan demonstrators, as well as the protests by union officials, made it clear to King that he could not carry out his threats with impunity. This was a powerful and principled demonstration of the united front in action in defense of workers' interests. Despite political differences, opponents of KKK terror and opponents of the Democratic Party mayor and his lackeys' diversionary love fest took united action to stop the KKK from rearing its head in Gary.

Gary: A Company Town

Gary is a vivid statement of the decay of capitalism, its main street largely boarded up, with a pawn shop, bail bondsman and blood bank that offers immediate payment for donations virtually the only going concerns. Named after Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel and field marshal to robber baron J. Pierpont Morgan, Gary was built in 1906 as a company town to service the burgeoning steel industry. In the 1960s, Gary was among the first cities to elect a black mayor, Democrat Richard Hatcher, who presided over the "rust belt" devastation of the city as mass layoffs and closures followed one after another.

The PDC's call to stop the KKK struck a real chord in this strong union town whose population is 85 percent black, and among blacks and Hispanics in Chicago's South Side and suburbs. A measure of the impact was a front-page article headlined "Stop KKK March in Gary" in the black establishment *Chicago Defender* (17 January), which only a few weeks earlier had scurrilously denounced anti-Klan protesters in Skokie as no better than the fascists. Thousands of PDC leaflets were distributed at factory gates, campuses and black and Hispanic neighborhoods, and endorsements ranged from Chicago and Gary ATU and USWA local officials to Chicago's Arab American Action Network. The Spartacus Youth Club heavily built for the demonstration on many Chicago area campuses. Buses brought students especially from the University of Chicago and also from heavily black Chicago State, Northeastern and other campuses. Carloads of youth came from as far away as Minneapolis and Richmond, Virginia.

As support for the anti-Klan mobilization grew, the dirty campaign of legal repression, disinformation and diversion by those hell-bent on heading off an independent mobilization of the working class took shape as well. The efforts to ban our mobilization by the city administration

and federal courts provided a vivid picture of a nasty company town ruled with an iron fist on behalf of the steel bosses.

While the PDC fought for our legal right of freedom of speech and assembly, we also understand that the only rights that the working people have in this society are those that they *fight* to win and defend against the capitalist state. The city rulers sought to criminalize the intended victims of the KKK and create a leaderless and chaotic situation, a setup

which was simply stamped "denied," stated: "In fact there is every connection between the struggle of working people and minorities and the struggle against the lynch mob terror of the Klan. Consider the situation of a downtrodden black garment worker in the open shop South who faces Klan cross burnings at his factory gates during a union organizing drive. Similarly, United Steelworkers of America members at the U.S. Steel Gary Works who are faced with the prospect of a Ku Klux Klan rally four blocks from their plant can well see the connection between the struggle against KKK terror and the defense of their union."

ica is business." The bosses, the Republican and Democratic parties that represent their interests and the fascist paramilitary gangs like the KKK want to roll things back to those days.

Democratic Party: Enemy of Labour, Blacks

The Rev. Jesse Jackson and local black preachers acted as auxiliaries to the Gary Democratic Party administration. The preachers railed against



Workers Vanguard

Anti-Klan protesters defy threat of mass arrests by Democratic Party mayor of Gary.

for police violence. This was directly counterposed to our purpose, which was to provide a militant, determined and disciplined expression of outrage against the Klan. After being served with a citation for violating the city's laws against parading without a permit at the anti-Klan rally, LBSL spokesman Quirk said, "Permits be damned!"

Mayor King cynically claimed to be defending the rights of black and working people. But this is belied by the Democrat's whole term in office. When hospital workers in Service Employees (SEIU) Local 73 tried to rally to demand a decent contract six months ago, King outrageously compared this integrated workforce with the KKK, saying he had denied the Klan a permit in 1999 and would do the same to the SEIU! And the cops showed whose interests they "protect and serve" when they waded into a strike support rally, with one pulling out a gun and arresting a union organizer.

When PDC spokesmen and union leaders held a press conference on January 16 to announce the anti-Klan mobilization, they were driven off the steps of City Hall by one of King's cops because they did not have a permit. The next day, the city administration formally denied the PDC's request for a rally permit. King then issued his own diktat requiring a 45-day waiting period for any rally permit, put-

radicals out to disrupt the supposed "brotherhood" of the people of Gary with Mayor King. The "reconciliation and love" rally organized by the Baptist Ministers Conference and Interfaith Clergy Council—the only rally sanctioned by the capitalist state that day—drew barely a few dozen people, but its purpose from the start was to get Gary's black residents to stay home and ignore the Klan. In this, they played the role described by one black preacher in the Jim Crow South: "We are the policemen of the Negroes.... If we did not keep down their ambitions and divert them into religion, there would be upheaval in the South" (quoted in George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945*).

Speaking at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on January 15, Jackson stated that the main danger isn't the Klan but John Ashcroft, George W. Bush's appointee for attorney general. Ashcroft is an open apologist for the Confederate slavocracy. Doubtless part of the Klan's intention in trying to rally on January 20 was to celebrate Bush's inauguration that day. But Jackson's purpose is to channel the increasing anger of workers, black people, immigrants and others back into the shell game of Democratic Party electoral politics. As LBSL spokesman Bernard Branche said:

Moody underlined his viciously anti-labor stance by citing a 1921 ruling backing the steel bosses which declared, "The name 'picket' indicated a militant purpose, inconsistent with peaceable persuasion." That ruling—laid down the same year a black neighborhood in Tulsa, Oklahoma was razed to the ground and hundreds murdered by white racists—demonstrated the iron link between the defense of organized labor and the fight against the KKK. In the 1920s, the Klan had millions of members. Lynchings were virtually a daily occurrence. The unions were decimated. The robber barons rode high in the saddle under the presidency of Calvin Coolidge, who declared that the "only business of Amer-

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

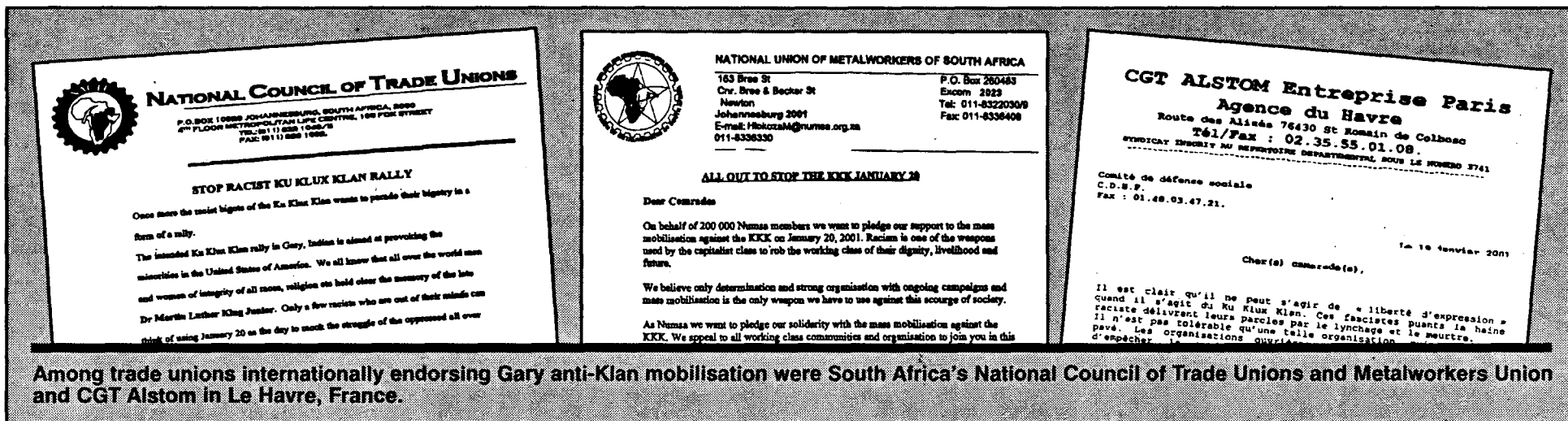
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For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

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Among trade unions internationally endorsing Gary anti-Klan mobilisation were South Africa's National Council of Trade Unions and Metalworkers Union and CGT Alstom in Le Havre, France.

"What has voting Democrat achieved? The Clinton administration abolished welfare, escalated the racist 'war on drugs' that has imprisoned millions of black and Hispanic youth and has inflicted even more desperate conditions of poverty, union-busting and destitution, which nourish the KKK. The Republicans would rather openly repress us while the Democrats would rather lie. We don't want to be lied to or repressed. Illusions in the Democratic Party stand in the way of freedom for labor, blacks and all those at the bottom of this society because they reinforce the rule of our exploiters and oppressors."

Jackson's injunction that the biggest threat is Ashcroft and not the Klan ignores the bitter history of black people in this country, especially in Indiana. At the height of the Klan's influence in the 1920s, it was in Indiana that it "reached the zenith of its power," as Wyn Craig Wade writes in *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (1987). "It was the only state where Klaverns were chartered in every one of its ninety-two counties. It was the only state where the Klan elected the governor and both U.S. senators."

USWA district director Jack Parton and other labor bureaucrats played their role as lieutenants for the capitalist Democratic Party. Parton launched a nasty campaign to defame the PDC as violent "outside agitators," telling the *Gary Post-Tribune* (19 January): "I told them we have enough violence in Gary and we don't need them in here with that." In tandem, the local newspapers carried some lame red-baiting articles, with the *Hammond Times* (17 January) reporting that "the Partisan Defense Committee's plans are being broadcast on a Web site of the International Communist League." PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson responded, "These articles point to the PDC's affiliation with the Marxist Spartacist League of which we are open and proud."

For their part, the labor tops purport to act as representatives of the workers while serving the interests of the bosses. Parton's "outside agitator" line is a time-worn weapon of the racists and union-busters. The bosses and their press in the 1930s screamed about "outside agitators" and reds when the industrial unions were being organized. Civil rights protesters were brutally attacked by Bull Connor's

cops in Alabama as "outside agitators." Parton's violence-baiting and red-baiting demonstrate how the pro-capitalist labor tops act as enforcers for the steel magnates who rule this company town. In 1998, for example, Parton opposed the idea of a strike for health benefits by cleaners at the Gary Works.

Bending to the pressure from the top, one USWA official shamefacedly blamed his endorsement of the PDC-initiated action on his secretary, who he had asked to sign on for him. But as evidenced by the leaflet issued by Wheeler, the labor

with the KKK for a "demonstration for tolerance." But they didn't succeed, as the labor/black mobilization rode the Klan off the streets.

In New York, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) acted as the most energetic builders for the Democrats' rally for tolerance for the KKK in New York. In the face of the KKK's threat in Gary, the ISO once again turned its back on any fight to defend labor, blacks and all the intended victims of fascist terror. Instead, their efforts were devoted to boosting the

Revolutionary Party spoke at the Gary demonstration. Not a single other fake-left group turned out.

The political battle waged to build a labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Gary on January 20 demonstrated that the capitalist state is not "neutral" but rather the instrument for organized violence to ensure the rule of one class—the capitalists—over another class, the proletariat. It showed that the Democratic Party, far from being the "friend" of labor and blacks, represents the interests of the class rule of the few who profit by the exploitation of the many. It underlined the role played by the labor bureaucracy as the instrument for chaining the working people to a system based on their exploitation and oppression. In summing up the lessons of the mobilization, Spartacist League spokesman Ed Kartsen said: "In Washington, the Republican Bush government, with its Confederate sympathizers, is being inaugurated. But let the role played by Gary's Democratic Party mayor be a lesson. As King demonstrated, what they fear and loathe above all is the independent mobilization of labor/black power."

Our mobilization was built on the understanding that for labor to win it must be mobilized independent of the parties and agencies of the class enemy. As a new member of the Spartacus Youth Club said at a Chicago SL forum on the Gary mobilization on January 27: "Not only did we see the social power of labor in building this mobilization, but we also saw the raising in the level of consciousness of these workers. We made the necessity of a proletarian revolution and what is required to realize it that much clearer to them: the building of a revolutionary workers party linking the cause of black freedom to the struggle against all exploitation and oppression to overthrow the existing capitalist order through socialist revolution." ■

Workers Vanguard
SYC mobilised campus youth for Gary anti-Klan rally.



officialdom also had to contend with pressure from the base, as thousands of PDC mobilizing leaflets were distributed at the Gary Works and posted inside the plant by workers.

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Earlier in the week, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) had put out a leaflet calling to "organize thousands of people to come out to oppose the Ku Klux Klan," arguing: "If the KKK is having a rally, we should be prepared to prevent them from getting their message out.... If the KKK does not come we should have a multiracial rally, celebrating the unity of all working-class people." But PL's rejection of the trade unions as the mass organizations of the working class makes it incapable of mobilizing labor's power, leaving it no recourse but hot-air bravado or occasional substitutionist confrontations with the Klan. And given its sectarian hostility to the communist Spartacist League, it is not surprising that PL did not show up at all.

The same KKK outfit that threatened to rally in Gary tried to stage a race-hate provocation in New York City in October 1999. In a statement of solidarity to the Gary labor/black mobilization, the National Council of Trade Unions in South Africa noted, "Let us remember that they were stopped in New York last year and they can and must be stopped in Gary." In New York, more than 8,000 people—unionists, blacks, Hispanics, Jews, student organizations—came out in response to the PDC's call to stop the Klan. The Democratic Party politicians, from black preacher Al Sharpton to the top layers of the state party machine, tried to stop this anti-Klan protest, going so far as to offer to share a sound system

fortunes of the capitalist Democratic Party by mobilizing for the "counter-inaugural" rallies against Bush that day. Taking the line of the Gary mayor, black liberals and the Klan, ISO members boarding buses in Chicago for the anti-Bush protest in Washington, D.C. told our comrades that the KKK would not rally without a permit and denounced us for not uniting with the preachers' "reconciliation and love" diversion. A representative from the League for the

Gary Labour/Black Mobilisation Cost \$\$\$

Working people, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, youth and all opponents of racist terror had a big stake in the labour/black mobilisation to stop the KKK in Gary, Indiana. We need your help now. Leaflets, posters, buses, communications and equipment and the legal battle against the government's effort to deny the right of working people to mobilise against the Klan cost thousands. Get your union, community group, student club and friends to help defray these costs. Contributions should be made payable to the Partisan Defence Committee and earmarked "Stop the KKK." Send cheques to: Partisan Defence Committee, P.O. Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230.

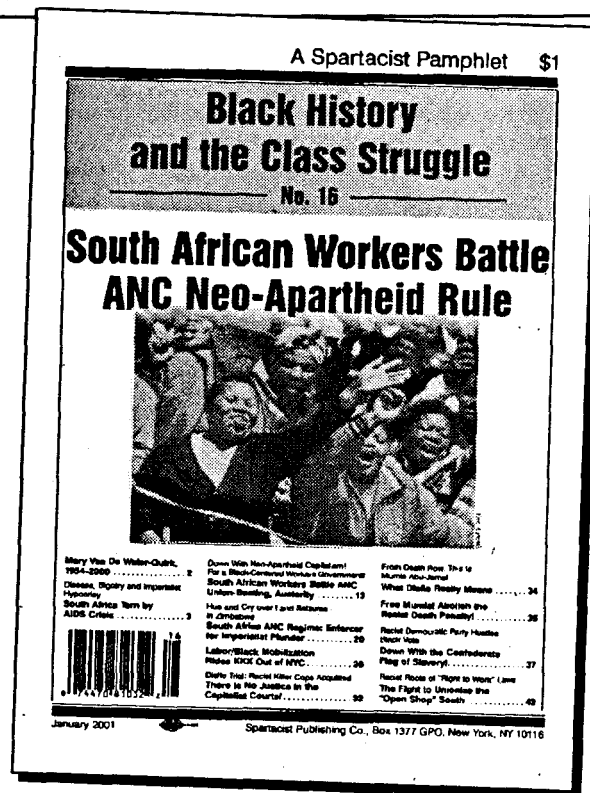
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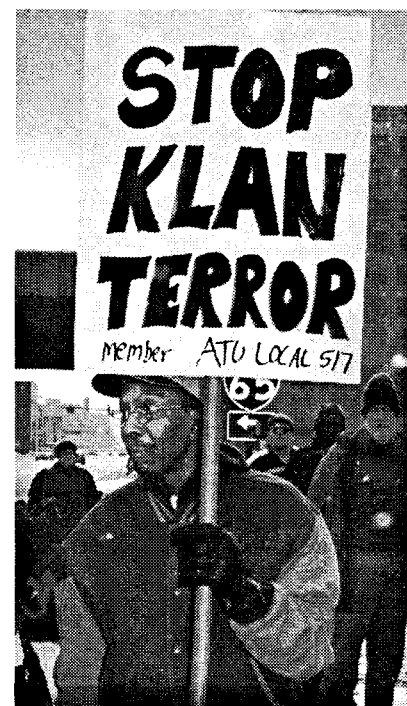
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Defying Democratic Party Mayor's Threat of Mass Arrests

Gary, Indiana: Labour/Black Mobilisation Keeps Klan Out



Workers Vanguard photos

January 20: PDC-initiated anti-Klan rally brought out solid contingents of ATU transit workers and others in defiance of city administration, courts and their labour bureaucrat and black preacher allies.

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 751, 2 February), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Ku Klux Klan said they would rally in Gary, Indiana on January 20. These hooded lynchers said they would celebrate the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and the birthday of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. But the Klan did not show its face in Gary that day. Instead, some 150 protesters—including a solid contingent of members of Chicago's powerful Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), as well as other unionists, blacks, students and socialists—marched at the site of the intended Klan provocation in front of the Lake County Courthouse chanting "KKK, no way! You didn't march today!"

Gary's Democratic Party mayor, Scott King, had threatened to arrest any and all who came out in response to the Partisan Defense Committee united-front call, "All Out to Stop the KKK!" Serving as King's front men, black ministers tried to divert outrage against the Klan into a rally for "reconciliation and love" for the racist terrorists. The local capitalist media, aided by the United Steelworkers (USWA) district director and a couple of flunkies, tried to spike the mobilization with a redbaiting campaign against "outside agitators."

The mayor, preachers and press also tried to lull people into thinking there was no danger of a Klan rally because they were denied a permit. They were aided by the Indiana Civil Liberties Union, acting as legal counsel for the KKK, which announced that the fascist Klan promised not to march without a permit. But as PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein

said in a January 15 press statement: "Did the KKK get a permit for the 1963 Birmingham church bombing which killed four young black girls? Did the white-supremacists in Indiana who murdered 19-year-old Sasezley Richardson as part of their 'initiation' into the fascist Aryan Brotherhood get a permit?"

The hardcore forces who came out on January 20 made sure that the KKK did not ride in Gary that day and gave these race-hate terrorists a message of the labor/black power that can and must be mobilized to crush the fascist scum. Chicago Labor Black Struggle League spokesman Kevin Quirk, a member of ATU Local 241, summed it up best at the victory celebration at the USWA Local 5544 union hall in South Chicago later that day:

"We stood in defiance of the KKK. We stood in defiance of the efforts of the powers that be, their cops and courts who wanted to stop us. We stood in defiance of efforts by the preachers to divert us into a revolting rally for 'love and tolerance' for the KKK. Although our numbers were diminished by the forces who tried to stop us, we prevailed today because we fought on the basis of mobilizing the power that lies in the hands of the working people who built this country against all the parties and agencies of the enemy class. Through our efforts, we stopped the fascist stormtroopers whose aim is a 'white-only' America where trade unions don't exist."

The hand of the mayor was stayed by the wide array of union endorsements for the PDC-initiated mobilization—from ATU Local 241 and Gary ATU Local 517 to USWA Local 1014 at the huge U.S. Steel (USX) Gary Works—as well as protests by union leaders from around the area and the country against the threatened arrests. Writing from Charleston, South Carolina the day before the rally,

International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422 president Kenneth Riley notified King: "It would be a drastic mistake to have the rest of the country witness a mass arrest of mainstream citizens protesting a Klan rally. I fully support the anti-Klan (hate) rally and will be watching to see what happens." This sentiment was echoed by California East Bay Area APWU postal workers president Stephen Lysaght, who wrote: "With all other persons of conscience, I will be watching how the city of Gary handles this situation."

Among those who sent a protest to King was ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge, who also spoke at the rally, telling the crowd, "I am proud to be here and proud to see so many people show up here today to stand up against racist terror. The KKK is an organization that must be crushed by any means necessary." ATU Local 241 executive board member Marcellus Barnes, president of the ATU Black Caucus, recalled that M. L. King was assassinated in Memphis amid an organizing struggle by sanitation workers and added, "We didn't know what we were going to be faced with this afternoon, but we all came out. I say to all of you, whenever we're called on, we must respond to fight against organizations like the KKK." William Draine, vice president of ATU Local 517, told the press at the rally, "Labor is a lot stronger than any person could imagine. We know what the KKK's about. I knew for sure that they wouldn't be here today."

While the PDC's call had been widely distributed and discussed among USWA members at Gary Steel Works, on the eve of the demonstration Local 1014

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Workers Vanguard

Gary anti-Klan protesters commemorate Ricky Byrdsong, murdered by fascist in 1999 rampage.