



Australian Jackal Imperialists Back U.S. War Threats

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!



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David Sproule
Imperialists are laying basis for war against Chinese deformed workers state. Joint U.S., Australian Tandem Thrust military exercise in Queensland, May. U.S. spy plane downed on Hainan base after calculated imperialist provocation. Xinhua

MAY 26—The U.S. George Bush administration is laying the basis for a war against the People's Republic of China, a war that would be nuclear in scope. That was the import of Bush's 25 April statement that the U.S. would militarily intervene with "whatever it took" in an armed conflict between its Taiwanese client state and China and that "the Chinese must understand that." The Australian Howard government completely supported this provocative declaration which tore the veil off Washington's longstanding policy of "strategic ambiguity" toward the question of war with China over Taiwan and which came only a day after Beijing warned that the U.S. had crossed a "red line" by offering Taiwan an array of advanced weaponry. One week earlier three Australian warships provocatively sailed through the Taiwan Strait over China's strenuous objections. On 7 May the U.S. resumed spy flights off China's coast for the first time since the April EP-3E provocation in which Chinese pilot Wang Wei died defending his country.

Bush told the world to "rethink the unthinkable" as he announced on 1 May that the U.S. was planning to tear up the 29-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in order to proceed with a vast missile defence system. Beijing official Sha Zukang said, "Once the United States believes it has both a strong spear and a strong shield, it could lead them to conclude that nobody can harm the United States and they can harm anyone they like anywhere in the world" (*New York Times*, 29 April). No one believes Washington's flimsy claim that it is prepared to shell out \$100 billion or more to deal with a nonexistent threat from Iraq, North Korea or other "rogue states," i.e., small countries without nuclear weapons. The clear purpose of such an elaborate scheme—should the Pentagon ever get it to work—is to carry off a successful nuclear *first strike*. The *New York Times* (6 May) noted, China's "nuclear

deterrent—20 or so ICBM's—now stands at most risk of being negated."

New Pentagon war plans to be completed this year, according to a report at an April meeting of the Union of Concerned Scientists, *target hundreds of sites in China for nuclear attack*. And the *Washington Post* (27 April) reports: "Despite the facade of ambiguity, the U.S. military already has detailed plans for the defense of Taiwan. They are one of only two sets of war plans on the shelves of the U.S. Pacific Command; the other is for the defense of South Korea."

Already the U.S. has over 100,000 military personnel in the Asia-Pacific region, including 47,000 troops in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. Last year, the U.S. conducted more than 50 joint military exercises with Japan, Australia, South Korea, the Philippines and others, a number unequalled since the fall of the Soviet Union. The U.S. recently sealed a deal with Singapore for use of a deep-draft navy pier located at the mouth of the strategically important Malacca Strait, through which Persian Gulf oil shipments pass to Japan. And in May tens of thousands of U.S., Australian and

Canadian forces were engaged in Exercise Tandem Thrust in Queensland.

The Australian imperialists have been up to their necks in anti-China provocations. Australia has its own EP-3 spy planes—part of a fleet of some 21 Orion P3 "maritime patrol and reconnaissance" aircraft which spy on China, Indonesia and other countries. Highly integrated into the U.S. military intelligence operations (as are Japan's spy planes), they are routinely despatched to the South China Sea via the RAAF Butterworth base in Malaysia. As part of our defence of China we demand the Australian military get out of Malaysia.

Under Liberal and Labor governments alike the jackal Australian imperialists pursue their own interests while playing the role of deputy sheriff in the region. Enforcing neocolonial domination from Fiji to East Timor, they also serve as a regional anti-communist gendarme against China, North Korea and Vietnam. The U.S.-Australian military alliance was codified 50 years ago in the counter-revolutionary ANZUS treaty. Australia's response to the U.S.' missile defence system was so positive that it was singled out for praise by both the Pentagon and

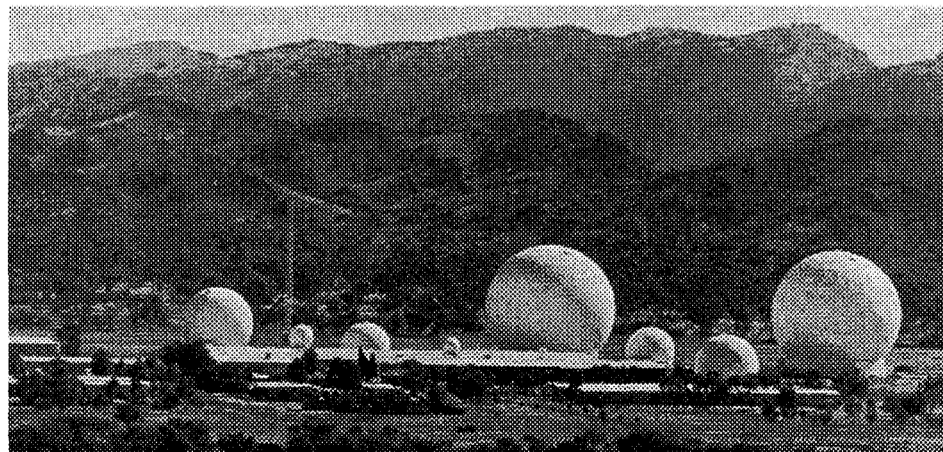
U.S. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld. The U.S.-Australian spy base at Pine Gap has long targeted the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states and will play a crucial role in the U.S. nuclear first strike plans against China.

The Reaganite Cold Warriors around Bush have made clear that they are abandoning former president Clinton's rhetoric of "strategic partnership" and now deem China a "strategic competitor." Significant sections of corporate America are concerned that the administration's more bellicose line will cause the Beijing regime to slow down the pace of pro-capitalist "market reforms" and interfere with existing and future U.S. investment in China. But U.S. capital investment in China and U.S. nuclear-armed warships in the South China Sea serve the *same purpose*: to recapture the country for imperialism. All wings of the American capitalist class and of its Australian junior partner are united around the strategic goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reconquering China and its vast population for direct imperialist exploitation.

With ever greater urgency, this poses the Trotskyist call for unconditional military defence of China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state, against imperialist attack and against the forces of internal capitalist counter-revolution. Defence of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution is integral to the task of mobilising the proletariat internationally for a socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist order, the only road to disarming the nuclear madmen in Washington along with their allies in Canberra.

China in the Cross Hairs

Though deformed from inception by the rule of a parasitic, nationalist bureaucratic caste, the 1949 Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)



Centralian Advocate
U.S./Australian Pine Gap spy base targets Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states, slated to play crucial role in U.S. nuclear first-strike plans.

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Close Pine Gap! Smash ANZUS!

Young Spartacus

What We Fight For

The Spartacus Youth Clubs intervene into social struggles as the student/youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League (SL), armed with a working-class program based on the politics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We look to the model of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 that smashed capitalism and erected a workers state. Today we fight for new October Revolutions!

The SYC struggles to break the political hold of the social-democratic ALP and its fake-left tails who paint the ALP as an ally and "lesser evil" rather than the betrayer of the interests of the working class. Against the illusion that a better life for workers and the oppressed can be won through parliamentary measures and the mere reform of aspects of capitalism, the SYC fights to win youth to a program of international workers revolution.

We have forthrightly opposed the Australian imperialist invasion of East Timor, holding speakouts on campuses demanding all Australian imperialist troops get

out and independence now for East Timor. We mobilised in solidarity with the year-long UNAM student strike in Mexico City and we have protested the brutal incarceration of refugees in Australia's concentration camps. Against the recent imperialist provocations against China, we Spartacists organised a campus speakout in Melbourne calling for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed workers state. At anti-"globalisation" protests like "S11" last year in Melbourne and the May Day 2001 protests, we emphasised the need to oppose racist Australian nationalism and protectionism.

This is all part of our Marxist program of mobilising the working class in defence of all the oppressed. We fight to win youth to the perspective of building the multiracial, revolutionary workers party essential for the struggle for socialist revolution. If you agree with our program below and want to fight for a socialist future free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter, join the SYC!



ASp photos

Sydney campus speakouts: SYC calls for victory to maritime workers union against bosses' attacks, 1998; protests imperialist terror bombing of Iraq, February 2001.

Join the SYC!

1 Mobilise students behind the social power of the working class! Picket lines mean don't cross! One out—all out! For industrial unions, not the treacherous division of unions by craft. For union hiring halls! For the closed shop, where every worker is in the union! For union-run job recruitment and training programs to recruit those historically discriminated against—Aborigines, immigrants, women. Organise the unorganised! Down with slave-labour "work for the dole"! Down with "junior rates" of pay and multi-tier wages which pit younger and older workers against each other! Government, courts out of the unions—labour must clean its own house! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Down with Arbitration and the Industrial Relations Courts! Down with racist protectionism—whether in anti-"globalisation" or "fair trade" guise or otherwise—which pits workers in Australia against workers in other countries! Workers of the world unite!

2 Australia is a jackal imperialist power which attempts to lord it over Southeast Asia both as "deputy sheriff" for U.S. imperialism and to pursue the interests of the Australian capitalist class in the superexploitation of the oppressed masses in Asia. We stand opposed, first and foremost, to our "own" imperialist rulers—the main enemy is at home! Smash the ANZUS alliance! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their lackeys and victims! Beware the fraud of "humanitarian" imperialism. Not a person, not a cent to the imperialist military! All Australian imperialist troops get

out of East Timor, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Bougainville, Fiji! Hands off Indonesia! Defeat Australian imperialism through workers revolution!

3 Down with anti-communist China bashing! Defend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution which smashed the rule of the landlords and capitalists, threw off the yoke of imperialist exploitation and collectivised property! For unconditional military defence of the deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and attempts at internal capitalist counterrevolution! Close the U.S./Australia spy station at Pine Gap—dagger against China, North Korea and Vietnam! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish regimes of workers democracy based on the power of workers councils and revolutionary internationalism!

4 For women's liberation through socialist revolution! For free, quality 24-hour childcare! For free abortion on demand! For mass labour-backed mobilisations to defend abortion clinics against attack by religious bigots! Down with parental consent laws! Down with attacks on Medicare, public health services! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! Full democratic rights for gays! State out of the bedroom! Down with all laws against crimes without victims such as prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

5 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Close the hell-hole "detention

centres"! No deportations! Immigrant workers are key to class struggle—organise so-called "illegal" workers! For full union wages and conditions for all workers! Down with the racist "war on drugs" targeting in particular immigrant youth! Down with anti-immigrant, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry! Fascist terror is not a matter of free speech! Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK! No reliance on the capitalist state! For mass labour/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists and race-terrorists!

6 The capitalist state—the cops, courts, prisons and standing army—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organised violence by the capitalists against the working class and oppressed. The state is not neutral and cannot be reformed—it must be smashed through workers revolution! No illusions in police "reform" or royal commission whitewashes! Defend the victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! For mass labour protests against cop terror! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defence! Abolish the Senate and reactionary relics like the monarchy and governor-general! Down with anti-democratic compulsory voting and mandatory preferences! No support to the racist bourgeois "republicans"! For a workers republic, the dictatorship of the proletariat!

7 Australian capitalism was founded on the dispossession and attempted genocide of the Aboriginal peoples. We support any attempts by Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of the land which has been stolen from them, and to get whatever financial compensation they can from the tight-fisted, racist ruling class. We fight for complete legal equality; for jobs for all; and for massive health and education programs to address the oppression of Aboriginal people on the reserves, in the wretched "fringes" and inner cities. Down with racist state terror! For many Aborigines

prison is a death sentence—down with "mandatory sentencing" which is aimed at jailing Aborigines! "Reconciliation" is a racist hoax—for a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights! Only socialist revolution can end the deep-going oppression of the Aboriginal peoples, laying the material basis for a society not based on brutal exploitation and all-sided racism.

8 For free, quality education for all, including overseas students! No fees! Abolish HECS! For open admissions and a full, state-paid living stipend for all! Abolish the campus administration! For worker/staff/student control of the universities! Cops and security guards off campus! Drive army and ASIS/ASIO recruiters off campus!

9 For separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Down with state funding for private and religious schools! For a single, secular school system! Down with "religious education" in state schools!

10 The ALP is the historic party of "White Australia." Proudly pro-imperialist it has been trusted by the ruling class to run Australia during both inter-imperialist world wars. A bourgeois workers party, it upholds the rule of racist capitalism. Organically tied to the ALP, the trade-union bureaucracy acts as the agent of the capitalist class in the workers movement, spreading the lie of a common "national interest" between workers and their exploiters. Split the working class base from the pro-capitalist leadership of the ALP—break with Laborism! For a class-struggle leadership of the unions! For a multiracial, revolutionary workers party which opposes every manifestation of capitalist injustice and oppression in the fight for socialist revolution! Look to the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 tsarist Russia! For new October Revolutions! For an international centrally planned economy, under the rule of the working class! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Australasian SPARTACIST

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

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Spartacus Youth Club/Spartacist Classes

MELBOURNE

The October 1917 Russian Revolution, 3 p.m., Sunday, 24 June
Silver Bird Garden Restaurant, upstairs, 198 Little Bourke Street, City
For readings/information: (03) 9654 4315

SYDNEY

The Fight Against Imperialism, National and Racial Oppression
3 p.m., Saturday, 23 June. **Break With Laborism—We Need a Revolutionary Workers Party!** 3 p.m., Saturday, 7 July
Green Iguana Cafe, 6 King Street, Newtown
For readings/information: (02) 9281 2181

Spartacists Campaign for Scargill's SLP

Britain: No Vote to Blair's Anti-Working-Class Labour Party

With the Conservative (Tory) Party in disarray, the 7 June parliamentary elections resulted in another term for Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labour Party. Reflecting widespread discontent, voter turnout was the lowest since 1918. Four years of Labour government has meant union-busting privatisations, concentration camps for asylum-seekers, deadly crashes on the formerly nationalised railways, bigoted witchhunts against "sex offenders," unprecedented attacks on civil liberties and all-sided attacks on the working class and ethnic minorities. Under a draconian "Terrorism" Act enacted earlier this year, 21 Turkish, Kurdish, Tamil and other political organisations have already been banned and more are threatened. In the 1999 U.S.-led NATO war against Serbia, Blair was even more bellicose than his imperialist allies in Washington. In a 14 May statement (reprinted below), the Spartacist League/Britain called for critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) of Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, declaring, "Vote Socialist Labour Party, Against New Labour!"

On the opening day of Labour's election campaign in May, Blair was loudly berated by a woman denouncing his attacks on the National Health Service, which is also threatened with privatisation, and Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott got into a fist fight with egg-throwing farmers and fuel protesters. With contempt for Blair's "New Labour" extending to wide sectors of the population—as evidenced in the massive popularity of last year's fuel blockades by independent truckers and farmers—the perennially Labour-loyal fake left has banded together in the Socialist Alliance (SA) to posture as a "socialist challenge to the Labour Party." Dominated by the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP), SA also includes Workers Power, Sean Matgamna's Alliance for Workers Liberty, the United Secretariat's Socialist Outlook and Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party.

Socialist Alliance is being hailed as a model by kindred reformists and centrists from here in Australia to West Europe and the U.S. But as the SL/B's *Workers Hammer* (Spring 2001) said, "The Socialist Alliance are pimps for Tony Blair, seeking to channel the heartfelt anger of workers, youth and minorities back into the rotten mould of parliamentary politics and to refurbish Labour's image." With SA not running candidates in the vast majority of constituencies, the SWP explicitly urged, "Vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must" (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001). When a *Workers Hammer* reporter asked at a 1 March press conference if their brand of "socialism" can be achieved without a revolution, SA spokesman and Socialist Party chairman Dave Nellist sputtered that "it depends what you mean by revolution," citing "a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution!"

Bringing up the rear of this reformist lash-up is the fraudulent International Bolshevik Tendency, whose absurd call for a vote to *both* the pro-Labour SA and the SLP—which are facing off against each other in some areas—is just a cover for backhanded support to Labour. They claim: "The larger the aggregate vote for the candidates of the left, the greater the impetus for sections of Labour's working-class base to move to the left!"

(1917 supplement, 14 May). This is the timeworn refrain of "make the Labour lefts fight," aimed at pressuring the thoroughly pro-capitalist Labour leadership.

Our aim in extending critical support to the SLP against the Labour Party is to help break Labour's stranglehold over the workers movement and to demonstrate that the aspirations and interests of the working class cannot be advanced through bourgeois parliamentarism. Illustrating this in practice, on 19 May

troops out of Northern Ireland. The SLP calls for a united Ireland. We oppose the forcible reunification of Ireland which would mean reversing the existing terms of oppression. The only just solution is one in which the rule of capital is overthrown on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea. We fight for an end to the oppression of the Catholic minority in the North and oppose the imperialist-brokered "peace" fraud which is necessarily at the expense



London, 8 April: Spartacists at Chinese community demonstration against racism in Blair's Britain.

the SL/B issued a supplementary statement (also reprinted below) opposing support to one SLP candidate who is a probation officer. Our call for critical support met with contradictory responses from the eclectic SLP, with the London Islington branch rejecting our offer to canvass for their candidate and the Manchester SLP welcoming assistance from our comrades in campaigning on 2 June.

Vote Socialist Labour Party, Against New Labour!

In the general election the Spartacist League says no vote to Labour, which promises only to carry out more of the same racist, anti-working-class policies they have dished out over the past four years, and we say no vote to the Socialist Alliance whose campaign is subordinate to getting Labour re-elected. We urge a vote for the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) which is running an independent working-class campaign that draws a class line, however crudely, *against* the Labour Party. Unlike the misnamed Socialist Alliance the SLP refuses to call for a vote to Labour and is willing to stand against so-called Labour "lefts" such as Jeremy Corbyn. Labour has whipped up a racist frenzy which is inciting deadly attacks on the minority population. Blair's brutal crackdown on the fuel protesters was a measure of his commitment to enforcing capitalist austerity. From the war on Serbia to the British Army siege of Catholic areas in Northern Ireland to the ongoing bombing of Iraq, the Labour government are imperialist butchers.

We refused to call for a vote to Ken Livingstone—a zealous supporter of the bombing of Serbia—when he ran for mayor of London; needless to say the Socialist Alliance backed him. This month Livingstone and Blair unleashed thousands of cops on May Day protesters in London. The Spartacist League says: Defend the May Day protesters! Drop all the charges!

In contrast to the Socialist Alliance, the SLP forthrightly calls for British

of the oppressed Catholic minority and won't do any good for working-class Protestants either. We say: Troops out now! For a workers republic in Ireland as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles!

The SLP raises some demands which we fully support, not least the call for the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords and the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales. They also call for free abortion on demand and for rebuilding health and public services, including re-nationalisation of rail and public utilities such as gas, water and electricity. These demands speak to the felt anger of working people against the crimes of the capitalist system.

The key question is what kind of party and programme does the working class need to represent its interests and those of all the oppressed—minorities, women, gays and youth—in the struggle against capitalism. We seek to build a party which is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist, modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the great October Revolution of 1917.

The SLP, which raises many supportable demands, at bottom is nothing but a party of nostalgia: "Clause IV socialists" looking to a Labourite past, not a socialist future. "Clause IV", which promised "common ownership", was written into Labour's constitution at a time when workers were electrified by the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution. The myths about "common ownership" were con-

cocted deliberately to dupe workers into believing that "socialism" could be achieved *without* a workers revolution, and through parliament. The SLP harks back to the supposed "good old days" of Clement Attlee's post-World War II Labour government which nationalised huge swathes of British industry in what amounted to an enormous capitalist bailout of failing enterprises. These companies were then subsidised by working people through high taxes and low wages while the former owners were given exorbitant rates of compensation. Attlee's Labour government were imperialist butchers who presided over the bloody partition of India and crushed the Communists in the Greek Civil War.

The Blair government's mania for privatisation exceeds even that of Thatcher—the air traffic control system and the London Tube are on the list. We oppose privatisations, which always mean attacks on unions, jobs and working conditions, throwing safety to the wind. But for revolutionaries, the answer is not a return to the bad old days of British Rail à la the SLP, or Ken Livingstone's bonds-plus-public ownership scheme, which again subordinates the operation of public transport to the overall dictates of the capitalist system. Livingstone has hired Bob Kiley, a notorious union-buster and former CIA operative to run the city transport system. Workers are currently engaged in one-day strikes over safety. Bob Crow, the chief rail union bureaucrat who was long a prominent SLP stalwart, has done his utmost to channel workers' anger into support for Livingstone/Kiley. Tube workers were infuriated when Crow called off a recent strike.

Our programme is for *expropriation* of transport without compensation to the capitalist bosses *as part of the struggle for a workers government and the establishment of a planned economy*. Expropriate private rail and bus—no compensation! Urban transportation ought to be free—rip out the ticket barriers! Such a programme is incompatible with the perspective of Scargill's SLP. We fight for a powerful industrial union embracing rail, Underground and bus workers. Workers must rely on their own strength and must be mobilised independent of the capitalists and their state. The unions need a class-struggle leadership, not sell-outs like Bob Crow. The only way to get a safe, reliable transport system that also meets the needs of the workers in the industry is by the overthrow of capitalism through the seizure of power by the proletariat.

The SLP's opposition to imports of coal and oil is protectionist poison which fuels national chauvinism and racism; it dovetails with calls to protect British industry at the expense of its rivals by nationalising British coal and manufacturing industry. Rivalry between imperialist powers has intensified in the wake of counterrevolution which destroyed the former Soviet Union; this rivalry leads to trade wars which lead to shooting wars. The logic of this kind of corrosive nationalism in the workers movement was shown at the April 2000 Rover demonstration organised by union bureaucrats in the car industry which was an outpouring

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No Vote to Gordon Potts! Cops Out of the Unions!

19 May—We learned today that the SLP is standing one Gordon Potts, a Probation Service tutor and activist in the National Association of Probation Officers cop "union", as candidate for Newcastle upon Tyne Central. Probation officers, like police and prison guards, are part of the capitalist state—the bosses' "bodies of armed men" for the preservation of capitalist property, exploitation and oppression. *They do not belong in the workers movement!* We say: *No vote to Gordon Potts!*

The SLP is running a supportable campaign drawing a class line against Blair's anti-working-class New Labour. The Spartacist League is giving critical support to the SLP. But at the same time, standing Mr Potts is a crystallised expression of the SLP's "Clause IV" parliamentary reformism, which is based on the deadly illusion that the capitalist state, its parliament, cops, probation officers, etc, are "neutral" and can be used by the working class to achieve socialism.

China...

(continued from page 1)

and People's Liberation Army (PLA) smashed the power of the landlords, overthrew capitalist property relations and broke the yoke of imperialist subjugation—exemplified by the Opium Wars and the carving up of China by the colonial powers—constructing a planned, collectivised economy which meant enormous social progress for the worker and peasant masses and especially for women. U.S. policy toward China has gone through very different phases since 1949. In the 1950-53 Korean War, U.S. imperialism, along with Britain, Australia, Canada and others, engaged in an all-out shooting war against Chinese and North Korean forces, killing up to four million people. In the 1970s and '80s, Washington (tailed by the Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke governments in Australia) entered into a strategic alliance with Beijing against the Soviet Union, the military and industrial powerhouse of the degenerated and deformed workers states and thus the chief obstacle to U.S. imperialist ambitions.

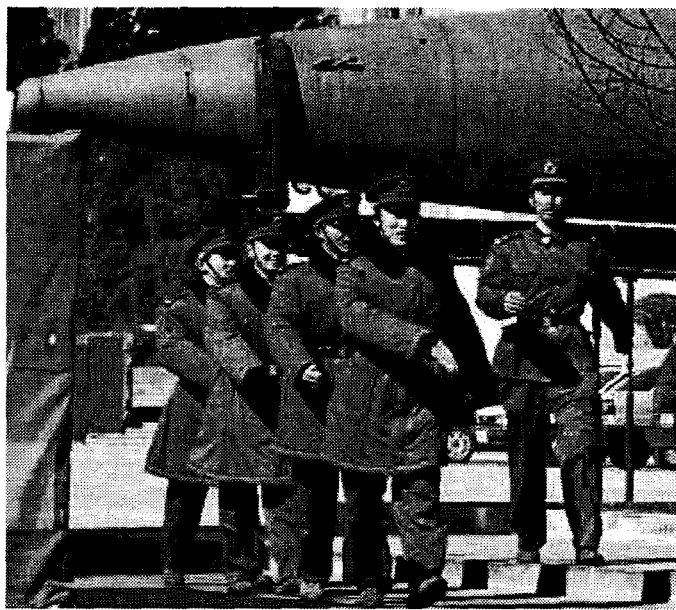
When the Soviet Union was destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92, the U.S. bourgeoisie expected that China would soon fall into its lap. America's rulers even hoped that capitalism would be restored without a major political upheaval, projecting that "reform-minded" elements of the Beijing regime would simply privatise or liquidate state-owned industry and integrate China into the world capitalist market. But developments have not exactly gone according to these projections. "Market reforms," especially the closure and privatisation of state-owned enterprises, have produced massive working-class resistance. As strikes and other protests against layoffs and corruption multiply, the deepening of market measures is constrained by the regime's fear of another 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into student protests posed the overthrow of the venal bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution.

At the same time, fear of an increasingly aggressive American imperialism has caused Beijing to beef up its military capacity. And Washington's provocations have generated widespread opposition to U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. spy plane landed on Hainan, university students there daubed a wall with the slogan: "Wipe Out Our National Humiliation, Severely Punish the American Military."

The present situation in China is deeply unstable. Undermining the foundations of China's socialised economy, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. But it 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 which places power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). That is the *only way* to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and open the road to a socialist future.

Interimperialist Tensions Intensify

The conservative and hardheaded London *Economist* (28 April) commented: "Talk of a new 'cold war' between China and America is starting to sound like an understatement." It is not only China but Washington's European and Japanese imperialist "allies" who are worried about the U.S. waving its nuclear big stick against Beijing. Japan and the European powers pursue their own interests in China, and, more generally, America's imperialist rivals are concerned that the U.S. is becoming increasingly brazen in asserting its self-declared role as the "world's only superpower." The leading German weekly *Der Spiegel* now talks of "the snarling, ugly Americans." What we can do to China, Bush is in effect saying to them, we can also do to you.



AP photos

China has increased military budget in response to escalating U.S. provocations. Right: Beijing newstand displays newspaper with caricature of Bush; headline reads, "China is Never Afraid of Threats."



In an article headlined "Colliding Interests," the London *Financial Times* (27 April) noted, "The collapse of the Soviet Union has destroyed the overwhelming rationale binding the US and Japan so closely together and perhaps created an opportunity for China to play on their differences." "There is a newly nationalist mood in Japan," says one diplomat quoted in the article. Japanese imperialism is increasingly assertive of its own regional interests. Epitomising this shift is Japan's new prime minister, Junichiro Koizumi, who is simultaneously pushing massive austerity attacks and layoffs to revitalise the Japanese economy and a heightened military posture abroad. Immediately after taking office, Koizumi declared that the constitution should be revised to unshackle the

tion of humanity. In the interim, the capitalist rulers use such tensions to foster national chauvinism and to divert the attention of the workers from growing unemployment and immiseration.

Recapturing China for capitalist exploitation is currently the big "prize" for the competing imperialist powers. This would be a historic defeat for the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world, and would trigger an even more furious scramble among the major capitalist powers to carve up the spoils. It was largely over the "right" to exploit China that the 1941-45 Pacific War between the U.S. and Japan was fought.

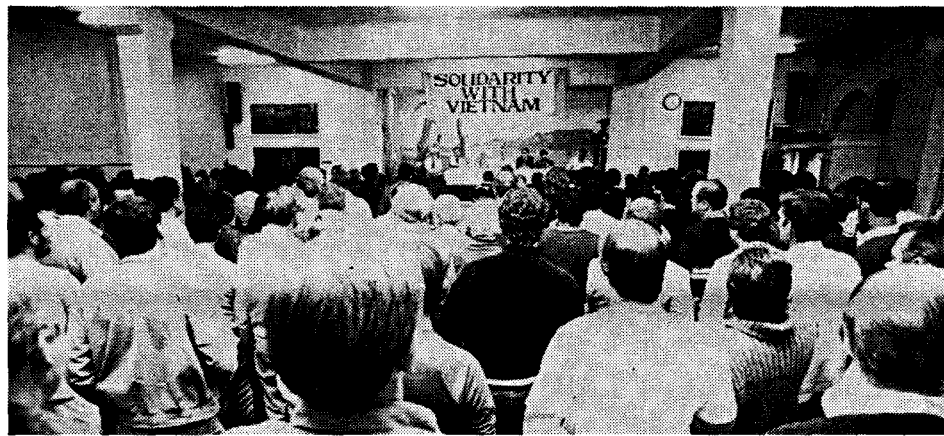
It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the capitalist rulers of the U.S., Europe,

of the workers movement. Determined to preserve the capitalist order, the ALP has backed every war and every dirty colonial adventure waged by Australian imperialism and was entrusted by the capitalists with running the country during both interimperialist world wars. One of its greatest crimes against the working class was its loyal service to the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. Today the ALP is equally committed to the capitalists' attempts to overturn the social gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. A 6 May ALP press release blared that the counterrevolutionary ANZUS alliance "is a bipartisan pillar of Australia's foreign and defence policies."

The ALP distanced themselves slightly from Howard's ravings in support of Bush with Foreign Affairs spokesman Laurie Brereton declaring, "Australia's national interest requires we be active in using all available avenues to encourage China, Taiwan and the United States to avoid unilateral actions which may have adverse security or economic consequences" (media statement, 26 April). In this the ALP reflects the concerns of a section of the Australian bourgeoisie that the U.S.'s sabre rattling may impede efforts at fomenting counterrevolution through economic pressure on China rather than a frontal military assault.

The ALP has made noises against the U.S. missile defence plans, but on the critical matter of the Pine Gap spy station leader Kim "Bomber" Beazley unambiguously declared, "We are very supportive of the joint facilities, they serve Australia's interests" (*Australian*, 18 May). Moreover, as one columnist noted, Beazley "committed a future Labor government to allowing the joint US-Australia satellite relay station at Pine Gap to participate fully in a US missile defence program." No wonder the *Australian* headlined, "US not worried by ALP missile stance" (12-13 May).

While the ALP is busy giving assurances to the U.S. imperialists, the Laborite misleaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) push anti-China poison. The ACTU's June 2000 congress featured U.S. union top AFL-CIO secretary/treasurer Richard



The Metalworker

Sydney, 1985: Waterfront unionists rally in solidarity with Vietnamese Revolution. Today, defence of Chinese workers state is integral to mobilising the proletariat in struggle against its "own" exploiters.

"Self-Defence Forces." As the *Financial Times* reported: "For the first time since the second world war, this would authorise the Japanese military to wage offensive operations—reviving fears among Japan's neighbours about the nation's militaristic history." Koizumi also talks of visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, which honours Japanese soldiers who died in World War II and is a rallying point for chauvinist revanchism.

Germany, which manufactures some of the parts for the diesel submarines being sold to Taiwan, announced that it would not supply these parts for the U.S. arms package. Meanwhile, France and several other European states joined with China, Cuba and other countries in voting the U.S. off the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the first time in the UN's history. Citing Washington's longstanding use of "human rights" as a club against China, the *Xinhua* (4 May) news service noted, "The human rights issue is actually only a 'big stick' for the U.S. to use on other countries for its own hegemonic purposes."

The mounting tensions between the U.S. and its imperialist rivals highlight the inherent competition for control of the world's markets, sources of raw material and cheap labour among the imperialist powers. These tensions will only be accentuated as the world economic recession deepens. As was demonstrated in World Wars I and II, such competition can ultimately only be resolved through war, in this case one that would threaten the nuclear annihila-

Japan, Australia. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the U.S. bourgeoisie and imperialists internationally, not least in Australia, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home.

ALP: Labour Frontmen for Australian Imperialism

Our aim is to forge a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the proletariat to power. Such a party will be built in political struggle against the social-democratic Australian Labor Party misleaders

Spartacist  Forums

Australian Jackal Imperialists Back U.S. War Threats

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

Friday, 13 July, 7 p.m.

Sydney

George Hunt Room, Trades Hall
4 Goulburn Street, City
For more information: (02) 9281 2181

Thursday, 26 July, 6.30 p.m.

Melbourne

Meeting Room C & D, Level 3
Building 8, RMIT
Swanston Street, City
For more information: (03) 9654 4315

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Spartacist Speakout:

Down With Australian Imperialism! Defend China!

In response to the escalating war threats against China, Spartacist supporters organised a spirited speakout at RMIT university campus in Melbourne on 3 May. Demanding "Down With Imperialist Military/Spy Provocations! Defend China!" this was the only such protest, to our knowledge, in Australia.

We held this action in defiance of the capitalist state's auxiliaries at the university, the campus security guards, who gave an inkling of the sort of democracy defended by Australian imperialism—they tried to close the speakout down, saying that this is a free country but we couldn't demonstrate! For their part, the Laborite left on campus—such as the International Socialist Organisation, Workers Power, Democratic Socialist Party/Resistance—who have all declared China to be a capitalist state, of course stayed far away from our demonstration of elementary international working-class solidarity.

Among our chants were "Defend China and Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam!" and "Workers must defend China! Defend the deformed workers states!" Speakers pointed to the actions taken by maritime workers during the Vietnam War when they slapped bans on war material intended for Australian troops fighting against the North Vietnamese deformed workers state and South Vietnamese communist guerillas. Based on the Trotskyist understanding that defence of the deformed workers states means class struggle against the capitalist state at home our speakout concluded with the chant "1,2,3,4, Defend the Chinese workers state! 5,6,7,8, Smash the Australian capitalist state!"

We print below edited excerpts of comrade Mary Bruce's speech.

The overt and calculated escalation of U.S. and Australian military pressure against the People's Republic of China is aimed at smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reimposing the yoke of imperialist exploitation on China's working masses. As proletarian internationalists, we Spartacists declare our class solidarity with the Chinese workers state,

however bureaucratically deformed. We salute Wang Wei, the Chinese pilot who died defending China against imperialist espionage and provocation. Hail Wang Wei!

The downed U.S. spy plane is an intelligence bonanza that should be inspected very carefully and the information shared with the Vietnamese, Cuban and North Korean deformed workers states. We defend China's right to build and test nuclear weapons, which are necessary for self-defence against the nuclear-armed imperialists. It was only the Soviet Union's nuclear arms which prevented the U.S. from using its nuclear bombs against China, North Korea and Vietnam.

Australia's imperialist military and spies have always played their role defending Australian imperialism's "right" to plunder and exploit the region: mobilising against China and North Korea in the Korean War, against the Communist insurgency in Malaysia, against the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 and against the heroic Vietnamese social revolution in the 1960s and '70s. We say Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. and Australian imperialism! The joint U.S./Australian Pine Gap spy base was Australia's contribution to the anti-Soviet Cold War drive and today is a dagger against the Chinese, North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states. Down with Pine Gap! For unconditional military defence of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

Defence of the Chinese Revolution requires the conscious mobilisation of the Chinese working class against "market reforms," against all efforts to restore capitalism, against imperialist attack. What's necessary is a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Here at home defence of the deformed workers states means we fight against Australian capitalism. Not one person, not one penny to the Australian imperialist military! Down with the imperialist anti-



ASp photo

Melbourne, 3 May: Spartacist campus speakout in defence of China at RMIT.

communist ANZUS alliance! The Australian imperialist state is organised to defend Australian capitalist exploitation at home and abroad—it must be smashed through workers revolution.

It is in the interests of the working class here in Australia to bring down "our" racist, capitalist exploiters through socialist revolution. Only that can guarantee a future without exploitation and wars for profit. But the workers here are misled by the pro-capitalist ALP, who delude them with myths that capitalism is eternal, that capitalist parliamentarism is the only political system possible and that the workers' interests are the same as the Australian capitalists' interests. That's reformism and nationalism—it means that the oppressed must accept a future of continued murderous racism, vicious austerity and war. All of those things are endemic and necessary to the capitalist profit system. Break with Laborism! Build a revolutionary workers party!

As the world's imperialists compete for more neocolonies and rivalries heat up, workers here will be told to fight and die in defence of their "Aussie" exploiters' "right" to plunder at home and abroad; to fight and die trying to smash the workers states in order for the capitalists to exploit those countries. The Australian working class must defend themselves and their brothers and sisters abroad against Australian imperialism—the main enemy is at home! Down with racism, protectionism, nationalism and capitalism! Workers of the world unite! For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Trumka's vitriol against China. The ACTU's racist protectionism, China-bashing and anti-communism directly fuel the bourgeoisie's racist war on immigrants. The Australian union bureaucrats are quite willing to bray about "human rights" in China as a cover for the push towards capitalist restoration, including in support of the CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" movement.

"Left" Joins Anti-China Crusade

Tailing behind the ALP are the reformist and centrist pretenders to socialism in Australia who, like their counterparts internationally, bow ever more openly to the dictates of their respective bourgeoisies. These groups moved sharply to the right in the tow of the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the subsequent ideological offensive over the "death of communism." Much of the Australian left responded to the U.S. imperialists' anti-China threats with knee-jerk anti-Americanism. Far from defending the gains of the Chinese Revolution—the duty of all Marxists—at bottom this expresses Australian nationalism.

Thus the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) says National Missile Defense (NMD) is about "asserting American power and is directed very clearly at states like China" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 April). But they cover up both the Australian rulers' backing for their senior U.S. partners and the ALP's own loyalty oaths to the imperialist order. The ISO's hallmark has always been anti-Communist hostility toward China and the Soviet Union, when it existed. These

overt social democrats supported every imperialist-backed reactionary force against the Soviet degenerated workers state, from the Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan to clerical-nationalist Polish Solidarność and Russia's Boris Yeltsin. Today the ISO equates the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state with rapacious U.S. imperialism. Says *Socialist Worker*, "When powerful states compete with each other, it can have a catastrophic impact.... But it is precisely that competition—for profits, for markets and for military hegemony—that can cause tensions like those between the US and China to explode" (20 April).

The absurd "theory" that China is an imperialist power has always been a rationale for the ISO to line up behind "democratic" imperialism in the drive to destroy the deformed workers states. In 1996, when the U.S. Clinton administration sent a carrier battle group to waters around Taiwan, the ISO's British parent group, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), declared: "We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996).

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Australia managed to issue a 20-page pamphlet for May Day ("The Socialist Solution to Market Madness") which doesn't even mention China, much less call for its defence against imperialism. Their British parent group, apparently rather less reticent, wrote: "We have no truck with the Beijing bureaucrats who restored capitalism to China.... But we should stand with China against US imperialism's attempt to dominate Asia" (*Workers Power*, April).

Less than a year ago, WP echoed the imperialist "human rights" chorus, demanding "workers' sanctions" against China (*Workers Power*, September 2000).

In the face of growing imperialist hostility toward China, WP abandoned even its lip service to unconditional military defence of the deformed workers state, declaring "Capitalist Restoration Triumphs in China" (see "New 'Theories,' Old Renegacy," *ASp* No. 174, Autumn). But it is rather cheap for Labourite leftists in Britain (and Australia) to "stand with" virtually anybody against American domination. More to the point, during the Balkans War two years ago WP stood with the imperialist Blair Labour government (and the Australian imperial-

ists) in railing against Milosevic's Serbia in supposed defence of the Kosovo Albanians. In late 1999 WP in Australia was joining marches and cheering trade-union bans against Indonesia which demanded, as did the ALP, that Australian imperialism send troops to East Timor.

The Democratic Socialist Party's (DSP) response to the recent attacks on China was unvarnished anti-Americanism. "Bush waves big stick," they blared, while keeping silent on Australia's dirty deeds. This accords with their promotion of rapacious Australian imperialism as a force for human good. Thus the DSP "little Aussie" nationalists mobilised for troops to invade East Timor in 1999 and

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Imperialism...

(continued from page 12)

capital cities across Australia organised by the M1 Alliance—a coalition dominated by ostensible socialist groups and leftist student bureaucrats. While distancing themselves from the planned blockade, the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) has voted to join the protests in Melbourne in an “Anti-Corporate Unity March.” Reportedly construction sites will be closed across Melbourne during the march and cleaners of the stock exchange will also down tools.

Workers and radical youth have reason to be angry. From the U.S. to Germany, Japan and Australia, the capitalists are attacking workers’ jobs and conditions, slashing social services and viciously scapegoating minorities, especially asylum seekers and undocumented workers. While jacking up the rate of exploitation at home, the imperialists are intensifying neocolonial superexploitation abroad to better compete with their rivals. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has led to an escalation of interimperialist rivalries and to “regional” wars such as in the Balkans, which point to future imperialist world war.

Those who want to fight this system of inequality, racism, unemployment and war should look to the working class. The working class makes the wheels of capitalist profit turn and uniquely has the power to take on the capitalist rulers...and win! The expected strike of thousands of workers on May 1 will give a small taste of the social power of the organised working class. From the courageous plant occupations by South Korean Daewoo auto workers in February and Toyota strikers in Indonesia to widespread strikes in France, the working class shows plenty of combativity. In Australia, iron ore miners in the Pilbara and immigrant workers at Davids, Visy Board and Sydney’s Wentworth Hotel have sought to beat back the bosses’ attacks. But everywhere the proletariat’s power is shackled by its pro-capitalist misleadership. In this country the Labor-loyal trade-union bureaucracy has betrayed one struggle after another, including joining the Bracks Victorian ALP government in opposing the popular “wildcat” strike by Latrobe Valley power workers in November.

In political struggle against these Laborite misleaders a class-struggle leadership of the unions, linked to a revolutionary party, must be forged. Through actively intervening in the class struggle, such a party will fight to win the working class to the understanding that it is necessary to lead all the oppressed in the overthrow of the capitalist system. Having no interest in the maintenance of private ownership of the factories, mines and industry, the proletariat in power will create a society—initially a workers state—based on collectivised property and a rational, planned international economy. This will pave the way to a classless communist society, free of racial and



December 2000: Combative South Korean workers rally in Seoul. Only international workers revolution can end imperialist exploitation.

sexual oppression, national oppression and war.

Defend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

While M1 is primarily being built as a vague protest against “corporate greed,” the more leftist activists see themselves as opponents of the looting of the “global South” and fighters against capitalism itself. As Spartacist speakers at M1 meetings have insisted, those who oppose capitalism must also stand for the defence of the social gains of the 1949 anti-capitalist revolution in China. While bureaucratically deformed from its inception, the revolution liberated the Chinese masses from capitalist exploitation and brutal colonial subjugation by Western and Japanese imperialism, and led to huge advances in the position of women.

Yet the ostensible socialist groups prominent in the M1 Alliance—the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), Socialist Alternative and Workers Power (WP)—line up with their own bourgeoisie against the Chinese Revolution, pushing the fantasy that China remained, or is now, capitalist. But the imperialist rulers certainly know that China is not capitalist! From relentless attempts at imperialist economic penetration to sponsoring anti-Communist “dissidents” and pro-capitalist “free trade unions” to blatant military pressure—highlighted by the recent U.S. spy-plane provocation—the imperialists aim to destroy the Chinese deformed workers state.

In reality the “theories” that China is capitalist are merely an excuse for the opportunist left to accommodate to the anti-Communist ALP parliamentary and trade-union leaders. In a 5 April media release, Australian Council of Trade Unions president Sharan Burrow protested rail wagons being manufactured in China because of “the absence of decent working conditions and low wages. Free trade unions are not permitted to operate in China,” she said, “Australian com-

panies should make them here in Australia so that our community benefits.” In Seattle in 1999 union bureaucrats dumped Chinese steel into Puget Sound.

In a vile show of anti-China hostility, the Laborite organisers of this year’s International Women’s Day rally in Sydney, centrally the DSP, embraced the participation of both the “free Tibet” friends of the Dalai Lama, high priest of counterrevolution, and a large contingent of the Falun Gong sect, also a spearhead for counterrevolution and imperialist machinations. Lining up against China, the fake left in fact support the bourgeoisie’s drive to return China to what it was before 1949, a giant impoverished sweatshop of the imperialist powers, like Indonesia or Thailand today.

We Trotskyists hail the pilot Wang Wei, who died defending China from imperialist provocation. Down with the U.S./Australia spy station at Pine Gap—dagger against China and North Korea! For unconditional military defence of the deformed workers states of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution! At the same time, we fight for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic, nationalist Stalinists whose “market reforms” are paving the way for bloody capitalist restoration.

The State and Revolution

In building for the May Day actions the M1 Alliance has outlined some of the crimes of capitalist corporations like BHP and Telstra, complete with “corporate scumbag tours.” But what M1 doesn’t want to talk about is the role of the capitalist *state* which exists to defend the profits of these rapacious exploiters. Consisting at its core of the police, army, prisons and courts, the state enforces the rule of the racist, capitalist exploiters no matter whether the government administering it consists of an openly bourgeois party like the Liberals or a bourgeois workers party like the ALP or the German Social Democrats. It is the cops of Carr’s NSW Labor government that terrorise Aborigines in Redfern and run amok against Asian and Arabic youth in working-class suburbs like Bankstown and Cabramatta. And it was the Victorian ALP government that ordered the brutal cop riot against S11 anti-World Economic Forum (WEF) protesters. On 5 April Bracks’ cops were at it again, arresting 68 students who had occupied the administration building of Melbourne University in protest against cuts to public education. Drop the charges now!

In imperialist countries such as Australia, the U.S. and Japan, the state plays an additional role. In these countries, the capitalist rulers not only exploit the proletariat at home but make massive profits from plundering the natural resources and superexploiting workers in the neocolonies. The imperialists use the armed might of their state to violently enforce this trampling of the “Third World.” For example, the Australian/UN military occupation of East Timor upholds the

impoverishment of the Timorese people while ensuring Australian imperialism’s continued theft of Timor’s offshore oil and gas fields. The invasion of East Timor is also aimed against the combative Indonesian working class to ensure “stability” for the massive profits the Australian imperialists reap there. We demand: Australian/UN/all imperialist troops out of East Timor now! Independence now! Australia bloody hands off Indonesia! Get out of Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Bougainville and the Solomon Islands!

The capitalist state began and is maintained for the very purpose of ensuring capitalist class rule—it is an organ for the oppression of the working class by the capitalists. It follows that the state cannot play, nor be pressured to play, any other role than the enforcer of capitalist exploitation. In the words of Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin: in leading the fight to overthrow capitalism and with it the imperialist subjugation of the neocolonies, the proletariat “cannot simply win state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands, but must smash this apparatus, must break it and replace it by a new one” (*The State and Revolution*). That is what we Marxists mean by socialist revolution. Only a couple of months after Lenin wrote those words, the Bolsheviks



Age “Human rights” imperialism: Australian-led occupation of East Timor enforces poverty, degradation. Australian troops out now!

led the 1917 October Revolution, where the Russian working class overthrew capitalism in the greatest victory for the toilers and downtrodden of this planet to date.

To the extent that the M1 Alliance even mentions the capitalist state, it pushes the illusion that the state can be pressured to be more humane and progressive. So their stated aim for the May Day protests is to “say to this world’s forces in power ‘human need not corporate greed.’” But this is hardly surprising given the fact that the ostensibly socialist groups dominant in the M1 Alliance, despite spouting occasional words about revolution, are firmly based on a bankrupt reformist program. For years the ISO, Socialist Alternative and WP ritually campaigned to elect “lesser evil” ALP governments to administer capitalism, while the DSP have even supported the openly bourgeois, anti-union Democrats and Greens.

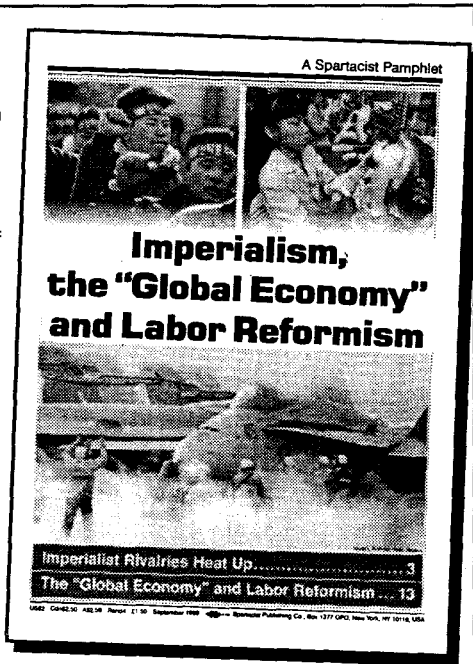
Now, with the Carr and Bracks ALP governments despised by workers and leftist youth and Beazley’s ALP promising little different to Howard, these fake-socialists along with Freedom Socialist Party, Worker-Communist Party of Iraq and others have formed an electoral vehicle called Socialist Alliance (SA). SA seeks to tap into growing discontent with the ALP by claiming “to offer an alternative that Labor is not.” But don’t be fooled! The platform of this lash-up clearly states that it is “for the election of a Labor government” (*Green Left Weekly*, 21 March). SA wants to corral

This pamphlet assesses recent changes in the world economy in a historical perspective, from the origins of modern imperialism in the late 19th century through the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former USSR and its aftermath. Reformist ideologues of “globalisation” seek to obscure the role of the capitalist nation-state and the danger of interimperialist war inherent in capitalism, while amnestying the refusal of the labour bureaucracies to wage class struggle against their respective bourgeoisies.

Exploitation, poverty and social degradation can be eliminated only through proletarian revolutions in the imperialist centres as well as the neocolonial countries, laying the basis for an international planned socialist economy.

\$2.50 (32 pages)

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workers and youth disillusioned with the ALP into supporting it via the back door. We say: No vote to Labor! We fight to win militant youth and workers away from the pro-capitalist ALP, and to join in the construction of a multiracial revolutionary workers party.

The standard excuse of the fake left for supporting the ALP is that it is "just a tactic." But a look at SA's program reveals the real reason: the pseudo-socialist groups in essence present a slightly more "left" version of the ALP's program, pushing illusions in a better life for the working class through parliamentary measures in a capitalist "democratic Republic." So while SA raises some demands in the interest of working people like "Free tertiary education" and "Free quality childcare," not once do they call for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state necessary to guarantee such measures. Consistent with its fundamental loyalty to the ALP frontmen for imperialism, SA accepts the imperialist military, calling only to "slash the defence budget" and to "Stop Howard's military expansion." In contrast, we revolutionary internationalists say: Not one person, not one cent for the imperialist military!

Most dangerously, the SA program calls for the existing capitalist state—the one that attacks the pickets of striking workers, kills Aborigines, brutally bashed S11 demonstrators and is to be deployed in force against May Day protesters—to "Promote peace and international co-operation." This is a call for imperialist military adventures, which from the bombing and starvation blockade of Iraq, to the NATO terror bombing of Serbia, to the colonial invasion of East Timor are invariably justified as measures to promote "human rights" and "peace." Indeed in September 1999, the fake-socialist groups making up SA all joined their ALP masters in building, marching in and hailing demonstrations screaming for Australian imperialist troops to East Timor in the name of



Maritime Workers' Journal
Maritime Union bureaucracy pushes racist protectionist poison, divides workers in Australia from class brothers and sisters in Asia.

and 'democracy' into abstract ideals, disappearing the class basis of all such notions. This leads them to deny the need for the victorious working class to organise its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend its freedom, its democracy, its rights against reaction. Opposition to the state 'in general' has put the anarchist movement repeatedly on the wrong side in conflicts between world imperialism and the workers states. At the height of the civil war which followed the Bolshevik seizure of power, some anarchists hailed the 1921 Kronstadt uprising, a stab in the back of the Russian Revolution engineered by counterrevolutionary 'White' emigres. Kronstadt remains an anti-communist touchstone for anarchists today."

—Spartacist Canada No. 128, Spring 2001

The world won't be transformed in the interests of the oppressed and exploited through militant action at any number of big protests. Anarchist and other youth who hate capitalism need to choose between joining the fight for an international party of socialist revolution, or maintaining (at best) an empty posture of moral outrage. Capitalist oppression is rooted in exploitative property relations defended by armed state power for the benefit of the dominant class. To fundamentally alter the lot of the overwhelming majority of humanity requires proletarian revolution to abolish private property and liquidate the bourgeoisie as a class. The working class must become the ruling class!

The Main Enemy is at Home!

Reformist acceptance of the capitalist state fits the world view of anti-"globalisation"—the ideology inspiring M1 and earlier protests in Seattle, Prague and Melbourne—according to which the nation-state has diminishing importance. While the Laborite left claim that anti-"globalisation" is synonymous with anti-capitalism, the idea that capitalism is increasingly dominated by "global corporations" and "global institutions" like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organization (WTO), which stand above and dictate to the nation-state, is simply wrong. In fact, world capitalism is dominated by industrial monopolies and big banks based on individual nation-states. This is the global system of imperialism that Lenin identified nearly a century ago as the "highest stage of capitalism." As we stated in the issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (No. 172, Spring 2000) widely distributed at the S11 protests:

"Though sometimes colluding with one another on a temporary basis, the nationally based capitalists are impelled to compete ruthlessly with each other for spheres of exploitation, markets and raw materials, and ultimately wage new wars to redivide the spoils."

This is highlighted by the massive military expansion announced late last year by the Australian government and similar expansions in the U.S., Germany and Japan, all of which reflect the reality that the bourgeoisie remains a nationally organised class which relies on its own military forces to protect its property internationally.

Consistent with anti-"globalisation," a central slogan of the M1 protests is "Abolish IMF, WTO, WEF & World Bank." Institutions like the IMF do dictate brutal austerity measures to

neocolonial countries, like the Philippines and Indonesia. But they do so in the service of the competing imperialist powers. As such the IMF & Co. are rightly hated by the colonial masses and those leftists in imperialist countries who solidarise with them. But the IMF, WTO, etc. have no independent power and can only act as brutal debt collection agencies in the "Third World" because of the use or threatened use of the military might of the imperialist powers. Merely to call for abolishing these bodies (especially without opposing the imperialist military) is to fuel nationalism, diverting the necessary struggle against the capitalist state at home to a "global," i.e., foreign, target.

The anti-"globalisation" left pushes the absurd claim that the IMF dictates to, not serves, the imperialist bourgeoisies like those of Australia. At a 31 March Global Action Conference in Melbourne, ISO leader David Glanz railed that the IMF was dictating pension cuts to Australia. A Spartacist speaker replied, if the Australian capitalists cut pensions it's not because the IMF "forces" them to, but because they want to!

Claims that Australia is being swamped and dictated to by "global" corporations and institutions sound eerily similar to those pushed by the racist far-right, such as Pauline Hanson's fascist One Nation Party. The political logic—that the Australian imperialists' nation and institutions must be defended against "global" takeover—is fundamentally reactionary. In fact a big part of S11 was the 12 September trade-union rally organised by the VTHC on a program of protecting "Australian" jobs through increased tariffs and trade restrictions. Though sometimes masked with concern for superexploitation of labour abroad, by blaming overseas workers for unemployment protectionism divides the working class from their true allies, the workers of the world. It also fuels racist divisions within the working class at home, as immigrants are inevitably identified as "fifth columnists" of "foreign producers."

Like all forms of nationalism, protectionism uses the lie of a common "national interest" to line up workers behind their exploiters at home. This is death to the class struggle needed to fight the all-sided attacks of the capitalist rulers. We say: Down with racist protec-

tionism! Workers of the world unite! Fight unemployment through shortening the work week with no loss in pay! This requires hard class struggle against the greedy, job-slashing bosses, backed up by international trade-union solidarity action, as part of the struggle for workers revolution.

At the Melbourne S11 protests we headlined, "The Main Enemy is the Capitalist Class at Home!" Partly because of the impact of our internationalist intervention, the anti-"globalisation" left groups have since sought to give themselves a more radical cover. While S11 Alliance propaganda contained no slogans directed against the ruling class at home, M1 Alliance leaflets building for the May Day actions call to "take a stand against the corporate criminals in our own backyard" and feature supportable slogans like "Close the detention centres" and "Abolish anti-union laws." But as May Day approaches, the Laborite left are increasingly pushing garden variety



V. Deni and M. Chremnykh
Soviet cartoon after 1917 Bolshevik Revolution shows Lenin sweeping away kings, priests, capitalists.

nationalist anti-"globalisation" in a bid to appeal for support to the protectionist union bureaucracy. So while WP claimed last year to oppose "economic nationalism" in the anti-"globalisation" milieu they've now dropped even verbal opposition to protectionism. Socialist Alliance is silent on protectionism and uncritically promotes the arch-protectionist "left" leader of the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union, Craig Johnston, boasting of his endorsement of their alliance. While claiming to be "internationalist," Johnston pushes the AMWU's vile chauvinist "make it here or jobs disappear" campaign.

Break from Laborism! Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Barely distinguishable at meetings and rallies from the rest of the Laborite swamp, WP on paper tries to posture to

continued on page 8



Socialist Alliance: Electoral lash-up of centrist and reformist left, stooges for pro-imperialist ALP.

"humanitarianism." But now as reports filter back of Australian troops torturing people, terrorising women, attacking anti-UN protesters and guarding luxury whites-only enclaves, M1 meetings—purportedly against subjugation of the "Third World"—have seen the farcical spectacle of shamefaced "left" groups doing their best to avoid, or even censor, any mention of East Timor!

Given the Laborite toadyism of these phoney leftists, it is no surprise that some youth are attracted to anarchist ideas. Many are genuinely repelled by the whole capitalist system, and from Prague and Melbourne last September to Quebec City in late April with others they have bravely stood their ground in the face of massive state violence. Yet the underlying premise of the many variants of anarchism is a form of radical democratic idealism that is incapable of triumphing against the system of capitalist exploitation. Thus, while calling for "resistance to Capitalism," the central May Day demand of the Autonomous Web of Liberation (AWOL) is a utopian call to "Liberate the Streets."

Addressing the protests against the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste wrote:

"While many anarchists claim to oppose imperialism, they transform 'freedom'

SUSAN ADAMS MEMORIAL COLLECTION

The Prometheus Research Library, central reference archive of the Spartacist League of the U.S., is honouring our comrade Susan Adams by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Comrade Susan died on 6 February after a two-year struggle with cancer. She served on many of the battle fronts of our international party and there is hardly a section of the International Communist League which did not benefit directly from her political counsel and her exceptional talents. For a fuller appreciation of her life we refer our readers to *Workers Vanguard* No. 755, 30 March.

The PRL is seeking contributions to expand its holdings of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects. This special memorial collection will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists. Those who wish to contribute may make cheques payable to Spartacist, earmarked "Susan Adams Memorial Fund." Mail to: GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW 2001.

China...

(continued from page 5)

to this day uphold Australia's neocolonial occupation.

The DSP says "Despite major steps to restore capitalism, the principal gains of the 1949 revolution have not been completely eroded. A decisive overturning of such gains is the US's key goal..." (*Green Left Weekly*, 25 April). But these gains are irrelevant to the DSP—they do not defend them, but *solidarise* with China's open enemies. The DSP are long-time fans of Han Dongfang who is often featured on *Radio Free Asia*, an official anti-communist mouthpiece for U.S. imperialism. On International Women's Day in Sydney they and others welcomed the "free Tibet" friends of the Dalai Lama and the Falun Gong sect, spearheads for counterrevolution and imperialist machinations. No wonder they cosily share the sheets in "Socialist Alliance" with the ISO, WP, and the likes of *Workers Liberty* who screech: "China is not only one of the most brutal regimes in the world with its treatment of its own workers...but also an imperialist power" (May).

CPA Pushes Australian Nationalism

At some remove from the DSP, ISO, et al., the remnants of the Stalinist Communist Party of Australia (CPA—formerly Socialist Party of Australia) praised "the calm and principled response of the Chinese side" to the U.S. spy plane provocation and noted that "One of the main aims of the Bush administration's drive to develop NMD is US imperialism's plans to defeat the People's Republic of China, by military force if necessary" (*Guardian*, 25 April). The CPA's *Maritime Bulletin* (16 May), in language rarely if ever found in the *Guardian*, refers to China's "socialist system," noting, "Since the counter-revolution in the USSR the U.S. have needed to construct new enemies and threats to the 'free world' (free for the capitalists). China is a prime target."

This is pretty rich coming from the CPA which did not fight against the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR. In fact, they supported every twist and turn of the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped political power in Russia in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Putting forward the anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinists transformed the foreign Communist parties into bargaining chips in an illusory search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. That program led to the strangulation and ultimately the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92.

This program also led the CPA and its predecessors to make peace with Australian capitalism. For decades they have essentially acted as an auxiliary to the nationalist Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, pushing chauvinist demands like "Australian crews for Australian ships" and hailing the Australian military occupation of East Timor. In 1997 when the Maritime Union tops were organising the defeat of the MUA battle, the CPA's press sang their praises, demanding "unity"—i.e., backing the bureaucracy's treachery.

The *Guardian* claims that "Australia has yet to win its true independence" (16 May). The *Maritime Bulletin* fleshes out this nationalist logic: "It is time for Australia to break away from the warmongers and carry out a foreign policy that treats its neighbours and the rest of the world with some respect." So for the CPA, the problem is not the *system* of imperialist exploitation but merely a question of pressuring the Australian imperialist rulers to carry out a different "foreign policy." This nationalist tripe will no more defend China against capitalist counterrevolution than it did the Soviet Union. It is *counterposed* to mobilising the working class to defend China, and instead binds them to the capitalist exploiters.

For Proletarian Political Revolution in China

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), which looks to the Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy, is even more blatantly nationalist than the CPA, claiming, "US imperialism has control over and exploits Australia" (*Vanguard*, 18 April) while screeching "For an independent Australia." Under the headline



Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 cease-fire in Korean War. PLA entry into war was crucial in defeating U.S. imperialist onslaught against North Korea and defending Chinese Revolution.

"China stands up to US aggression," *Vanguard* writes that against the U.S.,

"China stands at the opposite pole, as the largest socialist country and bulwark against US imperialist expansionist ambitions. China serves as a living example to the world. And the prospect of China's economic modernisation poses a serious economic threat to US economic dominance of the world."

We Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed workers state against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack. This in no way equals political support to the treacherous Beijing Stalinists whose program—including the so-called "market reforms" and inviting in the imperialist corporations—poses a mortal threat to the Chinese workers state. While parasitically resting on the social foundations of the workers state, the Stalinist bureaucracy is not committed to the defence of the collectivised economy. As current events in China make amply clear, this bureaucratic layer acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the world capitalist market on the workers state. Basing itself on the dogma of "socialism in one country," the CCP regime always opposed the fight for



Beijing students protest U.S. bombing of Chinese embassy in Belgrade during 1999 Balkans War.

socialist revolution in the capitalist countries in favour of "peaceful coexistence." Today, this nationalist outlook serves those leading sections of the bureaucracy who, striving to become part of a new exploiting class, reach out to the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie with the aim of

In 1997, the former British colony of Hong Kong was reunited with China under the formula of "one country, two systems." The Beijing bureaucracy has likewise offered to guarantee the continued existence of capitalism on Taiwan in the event of reunification. Taiwan's capitalists have invested tens of billions of dollars on the mainland. The Trotskyist International Communist League stands for the revolutionary reunification of China: for a *socialist* revolution against the Taiwan bourgeoisie and a *political* revolution to oust the Beijing bureaucracy.

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils issuing out of a proletarian political revolution would face virulent imperialist reaction. While doing what it could to aid the fight for socialist revolution internationally, a revolutionary workers and peasants government would have to undertake necessary economic and military measures in its own defence. This would require the reconsolidation of central economic planning based on state-owned industry. Under a government based on workers democracy and led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, a centrally planned economy would optimise economic growth while eradicating the extremes of rich and poor so evident in China today. The state monopoly of foreign trade should be utilised to promote imports and exports on the world market, taking full advantage of the international division of labour. We oppose the opening of China to the World Trade Organization (WTO)

forging a "greater China." Regime spokesmen do not even talk about "defending socialism" anymore, but contend that U.S. hostility is aimed at preventing China from becoming a great world power.

Imperialism...

(continued from page 7)

the left of the rest of the anti-"globalisation" milieu. They call for a general strike, that is, "indefinite strike action nationwide" from 1 May to support the Latrobe Valley power workers and smash the Industrial Relations laws (*Workers Power*, March 2001). A general strike inevitably poses the question of *which class shall rule*, that is, a direct prelude to a struggle for power. But that's the last thing on WP's collective mind: what they're for is the election of a capitalist Labor government. This demand for a general strike is simply a "left" cover for WP's fawning loyalty to the virulently anti-revolutionary ALP parliamentary and trade-union misleaders of the working class. It is therefore no surprise that WP's articles calling for a general strike completely hide the fact that it was the Bracks ALP government which invoked the Emergency Services Act, threatening massive fines, to break the power workers "wildcat" strike. Avoiding any struggle against the misleaders of the working class, WP's militant sounding call for an "indefinite" general strike can only be a fanciful appeal for the pro-capitalist Victorian Trades Hall Council bureaucrats to lead a revolutionary battle against the capitalist rulers! Such a call is not only a patent

absurdity but promotes the worst illusions in the chauvinist union tops who act as the labour lieutenants of capital in the workers movement.

For the fake left, turning to the working class means pandering to its current Laborite leadership and consciousness. In contrast we fight to build a Leninist vanguard party, through a determined struggle against the reformism, protectionism and racism fostered in the workers movement by the Labor traitors. Such a party will champion the cause of all the oppressed. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Close the concentration camps! For free abortion on demand, free quality health care for all! For a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights!

We fight for new October Revolutions, looking to the model of Lenin's and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. They cancelled the debt amassed by the tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie by taking power and refusing to pay it. This was part of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary internationalist perspective. Against appeasement of imperialism, they fought to extend the Russian October to the advanced capitalist countries with the understanding that socialism could not be built in one country. We Spartacists fight for world socialist revolution which will lay the material basis to end the poverty and social oppression that imperialism inflicts on millions around the world. Join us! ■

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not because we favour Maoist economic autarky but because it would further undermine the monopoly of foreign trade and the collectivised economy.

Competition between the imperialists for markets would provide such a revolutionary regime a certain room for manoeuvre. The Soviet workers state under Lenin and Trotsky, erected through the October Revolution of 1917, took advantage of such rivalries to strike trade and military deals with Germany and other capitalist countries. But for the revolutionary-internationalist Bolsheviks, the aim was to buy time until the victory of proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, which they worked to prepare by building the Third (Communist) International.

Proletarian Internationalism vs. Chinese Nationalism

The all-sided misery pervasive throughout the former Soviet Union today—the wholesale devastation of industry and social services, the massive unemployment, the shocking fall in life expectancy—starkly illustrates the superiority of a planned economy over capitalist chaos. Yet many of those who oppose Beijing's concessions to imperialism speak in the language of Chinese nationalism, seeing defence of China in national, not class, terms. Particularly with the bombing of China's Belgrade embassy in 1999, U.S. provocations have produced a wave of anti-American nationalism on the mainland. When the spy plane landed on Hainan, a Beijing shop assistant exclaimed: "Our government should have shot down the plane. Jiang Zemin is too weak. If Grandpa Mao were still alive, the Americans would not dare to bully us" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

China was liberated from imperialist domination only through a bloody civil



AP/Greg Baker

Left: Migrant workers outside Beijing railway station. Right: Anti-U.S. protesters arrested in Beijing on 5 April. Stalinist regime fears that protest could touch off explosion by disgruntled proletariat.



war resulting in social revolution (albeit bureaucratically deformed) which ended the class rule of the *Chinese* bourgeoisie. Moreover, the survival of the People's Republic in its initial years was critically dependent on Soviet military and economic support. Only fear of Soviet retaliation prevented the U.S. from using nuclear weapons against China in the Korean War, as Washington repeatedly threatened to do.

The Beijing bureaucracy, by aiding the destruction of the Soviet Union, has helped bring about the present conditions in which the U.S. is openly preparing for war against China. In the early 1970s, after years of feuding between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in Beijing and Moscow, "Grandpa Mao" allied China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union. Mao sealed his treacherous "rapprochement" as American warplanes were laying waste to Vietnam. In 1979, just four years after the revolutionary victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, China under Deng Xiaoping acted as a cat's paw for a vindictive U.S. imperialism, invading Soviet-allied

Vietnam in order to teach it a "bloody lesson." Chinese forces were repulsed by battle-hardened Vietnamese troops.

Chinese nationalism is today serving to link leftist opponents of imperialism with right-wing advocates for a new Chinese imperialism. This is seen in *China's Road, Under the Conspiracy of Globalization*, a best-selling compilation of nationalist essays published in the aftermath of the Belgrade embassy bombing. One of the book's chief editors, Fang Ning, is a professor of "contemporary capitalism" in Beijing who denounces "globalization" in the language of Western academic "Marxism." The other, Wang Xiaodong, is a former editor of the journal *Strategy and Management*, which is connected to the military establishment. Wang makes no pretence of Marxism or leftism in any sense. He is a mirror image of the most extreme right-wing ideologues of Western and Japanese imperialism, maintaining that U.S. hostility toward the People's Republic is national and even racial in character.

Wang's stated goal is to transform China into "a post-development great power" on a par with the U.S., Germany and Japan. The aim of transforming China, with its relatively weak industrial base and massive rural backwardness, into an imperialist "great power" is not only reactionary but utterly utopian. Just look at Russia in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution: what had been the world's second-greatest industrial and military power is today a devastated wreck.

The phenomenon exemplified by *China's Road* is reminiscent of the "red-brown" coalition formed in Russia with

the collapse of the Soviet Union, bringing together Stalinist has-beens with outright tsarists, fascists and the like whose opposition to the Yeltsin regime and "Western imperialism" was centred on agitation for a strong, Russian-dominated imperial state. These chauvinists were virulently hostile to the multinational proletariat of the former Soviet Union. The "red-brown" coalition was the product of the Russian nationalism dominant in the Stalinist bureaucracy, which in its final years split between pro-Western "democrats" and chauvinist patriots who each in their own way contributed to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Likewise, the ideology of aspiring Chinese imperialism (though in fact utopian) is today poison to the forging of class unity with the North Korean and Vietnamese deformed workers states, and with the workers of capitalist Asia. In "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we wrote:

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

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 758, 11 May, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Britain...

(continued from page 3)

of nationalist flag-waving. We fight for: Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Trade-union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists! What's needed is a fight across national borders for jobs for all, as part of the struggle to sweep away capitalist rule.

The SLP manifesto refers to the miners strike of 1984-85, which was led by Scargill and was one of the greatest class battles Britain has ever seen. We Trotskyists draw the lessons from it for the British proletariat. On the eve of the strike, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party set up Scargill for a witch hunt over his correct statement that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. And it is notable that Healy's favourite Labour politician was...Ken Livingstone. The miners strike took militant trade-union struggle as far as possible; it was sabotaged by the Labour Party and TUC tops. But Scargill remained tied to the Labour Party and the miners union fought alone.

We sought to extend the strike to other unions, calling for miners, railworkers and dockers to shut down the country.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European deformed workers states was a catastrophe for working people there and internationally. US and British imperialism are preparing the ground for war against the People's Republic of China. The SLP manifesto "condemns the use of economic and political blockades or sanctions which are used by international capitalism against countries—such as Cuba—that challenge the very basis of capitalism". We call for the unconditional military defence of Cuba, as well as the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. We Trotskyists fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. The overthrow of capitalism in the imperialist heartlands is the best way to defend the existing workers states and to go forward to a world socialist society. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!■

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Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

corruption." But for the Philly cops, Jamal was in the right place at the right time. They had been gunning for him since he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in 1969. His later defense of and support for the MOVE organization against brutal police terror, which included a 600-man police siege of its Powelton Village house in 1978, only whetted the cops' appetite to get him. As we wrote in our article "Philly Cops' Reign of Terror" (reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15):

"History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government."

The State's Frame-Up Machine

Mumia's innocence has been evident from the outset. In the 1995 Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, we demonstrated that the prosecution's case against Mumia at his original trial was manifestly false. That case rested on three legs: "eyewitness" accounts that were secured through police manipulation,



Young Spartacus

Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at May 2000 Jamal rally in San Francisco. Mass labour-centred protest is needed in fight to free Mumia.

man. I never said I hoped he died. I would never say anything like that."

In fact, there has never been any evidence that Jamal's gun was even fired that night, as the cops did not report performing any one of the standard tests (like smelling the barrel for the odor of burnt gunpowder or testing Jamal's hands for gunshot residue). The police crime lab reported that the rifling of the bullet that allegedly killed Faulkner was "consistent" with Jamal's .38 calibre pistol. Yet there are millions of guns in the U.S. with that same rifling pattern.

With their frame-up of Jamal now completely blown to bits, the Philly prosecutors' office, cops and others who

the Philadelphia cops are notorious for corruption and frame-ups.

At the time that Faulkner was killed in December 1981, the FBI was engaged in at least three investigations of police corruption involving extortion and bribery in connection with prostitution, after-hours clubs, gambling and the Mafia in the Center City district that Faulkner patrolled. An affidavit by a source for the FBI at the time, Donald Hersing, which was also submitted by Jamal's new legal team, testifies that the cops were very concerned about possible informants for the Feds. Among those targeted in the FBI investigation were James Carlini, head of Homicide; John DeBenedetto, head of the Central Division where Faulkner worked; and Inspector Alphonzo Giordano, who was the senior cop at the scene of Faulkner's shooting. These three constituted the chain of command for the investigation of Faulkner's killing.

Several informants or witnesses in the FBI's investigation were murdered. A witness who testified against DeBenedetto was murdered in 1983. A reported suspect in the killing was a former cop and Giordano associate. During a federal corruption investigation of the "Five Squad" narcotics cops in the early '80s, a prosecutor alleged that Philly cops had plotted to kill a witness. Another witness in that case testified that he'd been told that a "Five Squad" cop who had cooperated with the FBI was killed in his home.

In his affidavit, Beverly testifies that he saw police officers in the area where Faulkner was shot: "Two undercover policemen were standing on the west side of 13th St., north of Locust. Also a uniformed police officer was sitting in a car in the corner of the parking lot. They were there while the shooting of Faulkner took place. I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me."

Dan Williams' Book: A Brief for the Prosecution

Jamal's new legal team of Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman and British barrister Nicholas Brown was assembled after Jamal dismissed former lead counsel Len Weinglass and assistant counsel Dan Williams. With the clock ticking on his life, Jamal was forced to fire his longtime attorneys after Williams authored a book purporting to be an "inside account" of his case. Jamal's petition to dismiss Williams and Weinglass correctly indicts the book as "a breach of client loyalty." In its statement supporting Jamal in this action, the PDC wrote: "Even within the loose 'ethics' of the legal profession, publication of such a book by an attorney involved in an active case, much less one in which the client's life hangs in the balance, is an abomination" (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Forced to Fire Attorneys," WV No. 754, 16 March).

A measure of where Williams is coming from can be gleaned from the simple fact that, in his book, Williams

acknowledges one Gerald Nicosia as "someone with whom I have spent many hours reflecting upon the case." When Williams was fired, this same Nicosia—who has been working on his own book asserting that Jamal killed Faulkner—called a press conference featuring: Joseph McGill, the prosecutor at Jamal's original trial; Hugh Burns, the lead prosecutor in the 1995 Post-Conviction Relief Appeal hearing; Burns' assistant, Charles "Joey" Grant; and Maureen Faulkner.

Appropriately titled *Executing Justice*, Williams' book tries to pre-emptively kill the evidence of Jamal's innocence presented in the new affidavits. Both Williams and Weinglass were well aware of this evidence some time ago. Beverly's affidavit was sworn in 1999 before Rachel Wolkenstein, who is PDC staff counsel and was then part of Jamal's legal team. When Williams and Weinglass refused to present it in evidence, Wolkenstein and Jon Piper, another attorney on the case associated with the PDC, refused to be part of this unconscionable suppression of evidence of Jamal's innocence and resigned from the legal team.

An article in the Philly *Daily News* (5 May), whose front-page headline read "Abu-Jamal's Attorneys Drop a Bombshell," reports: "Abu-Jamal's former attorney, Daniel Williams, said that the [Beverly] document had been in the legal team's files but that he and attorney Leonard Weinglass had decided not to use it. He declined to say why, and Weinglass said he would have no comment." Why, indeed? It is a cardinal rule for any real defense lawyer to use all available means to demonstrate the client's innocence. Here was a signed affidavit from a man confessing to having shot Faulkner. Yet Weinglass and Williams refused to use it!

In his book, Williams makes it clear that to him, maintaining the sanctity of the bourgeois "justice" system stood above presenting evidence proving Jamal's innocence. In a chapter of his book titled "Fighting Ideology," he deprecates any evidence that goes against the grain of his own belief in the ultimate fairness of the capitalist courts, claiming that such evidence could only be the product of deranged conspiracy theories driven by the "ideological zeal" of the PDC. Williams' denunciation of the Beverly testimony is, not surprisingly, now being used by the Philly D.A.'s office, whose spokesman declaimed, "Even his defense team thought it was crazy, and we agree" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 8 May).

Williams trashes not only Beverly's testimony but that of William Singletary, who witnessed Faulkner's killing and testified at Jamal's 1995 appeal hearing. Singletary said that Jamal was innocent and that the shooter was a black man in a green army coat who fled the site. Williams' central premise is that the cops never could or would knowingly frame up an innocent man:

"I was sensitive to the possibility that Mumia's sympathies with MOVE might have prompted law enforcement to jump to a conclusion about Mumia's guilt. I even believed that law enforcement was willing to fabricate evidence to help in the effort to convict a man they *believed to be guilty*. Rachel and Jon held more extreme views; they were convinced—actually, to them, it was sacrilegious to believe otherwise—that law enforcement knew Mumia was innocent, knew that the shooter fled the scene, and relished that a conviction and death sentence would be a terrific coup in the city's war against MOVE."

Even if one only considers the cases documented by the Feds, it is simply empirically evident that the Philly cops knowingly frame up innocent people. Hundreds of convictions based on concocted evidence, coerced confessions, police torture, and manipulation of prostitutes to serve as "witnesses" have been thrown out just in the last several years. Among the more notorious of these was the case of a 53-year-old black grandmother, Betty Patterson, whom the cops set up on charges of drug dealing in order

Mumia: "Many of You Refuse to Let Go of the System"

The following statement was issued by Mumia Abu-Jamal on 10 May and read to 12 May rallies in Philadelphia and San Francisco.

Dear Sisters, Brothers, Friends and Enemies,

We are at a crossroad, one dictated by time, by history, by circumstance and even by chance.

We are here because it is the right place and the right time to be. I thank all of you for coming to this encampment in the hopes of joining you at our next such encounter.

Many of you have said that you don't believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.

Lawyers are not agents of comfort to be exchanged like throw pillows.

They are agents of freedom or they are aiders and abettors of repression.

I have received some criticism for

recent changes in my legal team. I don't fear criticism, but I must say I don't agree with this one.

You have seen lawyers violate their own rules with total abandon with the blessing of the courts.

How can you say you don't believe in the system and then believe lawyers who betrayed their so-called client's interests?

I thank you all for joining in this ongoing battle for freedom and justice.

And, if you by chance choose not to join me, I have one simple request: don't get in my way.

To quote John Africa: "Freedom is urgent. Direction is necessary and freedom cannot be taken by any god-damn judge's opinion."

I Thank You
Ona Move
Long Live John Africa

coercion and outright terror; a purported "confession" by Jamal while he was lying near death in the hospital, which didn't surface until *two months* after the killing; ballistics evidence supposedly showing that the bullets that killed Faulkner were fired from Jamal's gun.

In fact, five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the cops on site that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. Four witnesses—including two cops—described a man wearing a green army jacket. Beverly testifies that he was wearing such a jacket the night he shot Faulkner.

In fact, the police officer who was assigned to guard Jamal in the hospital the night of the killing wrote in his official report, "During this time, the negro male made no comments." Jamal's recent affidavit concludes emphatically, "Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak, and impossible to holler. I never confessed to anything because I had nothing to confess to. I never said I shot the policeman. I did not shoot the police-

have been screaming for Jamal's death are now denouncing Beverly's affidavit as a "complete fabrication." An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (5 May) titled "Abu-Jamal Lawyers: Killing Was Mob Hit" quotes a spokesman for the District Attorney's office declaring that Beverly's sworn confession to a crime punishable by death is "patently ridiculous on its face." He is echoed by one Michael Smerconish, attorney for an organization set up by Faulkner's widow, Maureen, who is a front for the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) campaign to push for Jamal's execution as an alleged "cop killer." Smerconish sneers, "The only thing they have yet to claim is that the shooter was seen on the grassy knoll and is hiding in Roswell, New Mexico."

It is hardly far-fetched to believe that the cops would hire a hit man to get rid of one of their own, particularly if he were believed to be an informant. Just watch the movie *Serpico*, based on a true story, if you want a small taste of what the cops do to those who snitch on their shakedown, payoffs and frame-ups. And

to manufacture evidence against her sons in a murder investigation.

The whole history of this country is littered with frame-ups of those who have struggled to defend their unions, to fight capitalist injustice or to in any way challenge the rule of capital. In this country, the rule of capital and the brutal exploitation of labor are premised on the enforced subjugation of the overwhelming majority of the black population at the bottom. The rulers put their machinery of state repression in high gear particularly if they sense any potential evidence of the explosive combination of black and red.

This was captured in the words of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in the 1960s: "The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." This warning was brought home in blood in the murder of 38 members of the Black Panther Party under the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Those they couldn't kill they tried to frame up. As we wrote in "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (WV No. 624, 2 June 1995):

"Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—



ASP photo

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Sydney rally, August 1995.

because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression."

Mumia's role as an articulate young spokesman for the Panthers put him squarely in the sights of the Philly cops and the FBI. The FBI amassed over 800 pages on Jamal in its COINTELPRO files. Jamal was put on the FBI's Security Index of those deemed a "threat" to "national security" and on the Administrative Index of those to be rounded up and thrown into concentration camps in case of a "national emergency."

And such cop frame-ups are hardly confined to Philadelphia, or the United States. British barrister Nicholas Brown, who is on Jamal's new legal team, earlier served as an assistant to the lawyers for the Birmingham Six, victims of a British police vendetta against the Irish Republican Army. Rounded up in 1974 for two Birmingham pub bombings, they were beaten, tortured and put behind bars for 16 years. When the government finally acknowledged their innocence and freed them in 1991, one of the six said: "The police told us from the start that they knew we hadn't done it.... They told us

that we were selected and they were going to frame us."

At the time of their conviction, the presiding judge dismissed evidence of torture and forced confessions, arguing that "to believe this...one would have to suppose the existence of a 'conspiracy...unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history' among the officers involved." Shortly before their release, a leading spokesman for the British establishment complained that the mass campaigns resulting in their freedom wouldn't have happened "if they'd been hanged" in the first place. This is the line today of the F.O.P. and others who seek the legal lynching of Jamal.

There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!

From the time the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal's case 14 years ago, we have sought to assist him in pursuing every possible legal avenue. Rachel Wolkenstein and Jon Piper served on the legal team and fought, against the resistance of Weinglass and Williams, to follow up every lead that would further demonstrate Mumia's innocence. At the same time, as the PDC's statement of purpose printed on the back page of every issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* says: "We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the 'justice' of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others."

We have organized united-front actions across the country which were infused with the understanding that the social power of labor must be mobilized in Jamal's defense, not only in the U.S. but internationally. We fought to get bigger forces to take up his case, bringing it to trade unions, death penalty abolitionists and others. And we were successful. We recognized that these other forces would seek to silence our revolutionary politics as they tried to keep the protests "safe" for Democratic Party liberals. Their politics are captured in the central slogan of Jamal demonstrations over the past few years—the call for a "new trial." Williams accurately describes the sensibilities behind this slogan in his book: "Mumia may very well be guilty, the agnostics argue, but who is to say? There has been no legitimately fair proceeding to adjudicate his guilt. His trial was a travesty, a besmirchment and stain on 'American justice'."

Such liberal politics are also peddled by various self-proclaimed "Marxist" organizations and black nationalists who have organized Mumia mobilizations over the past several years. This is typified by Socialist Action, whose leader, Jeff Mackler, alibis Williams' dismissal of Beverly's testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory. In an article titled "The Tragic Evolution of Dan Williams & Gerald Nicosia" (*Socialist Action*, April 2001), Mackler writes:

"The reference to mobsters killing Faulkner is also to be found in Williams' book, his 'Inside Account.' According to Williams, this refers to a discussion among Mumia's four attorneys, wherein one raised 'mobsters' as a possible avenue to pursue. But the defense team and Mumia rejected it.

"Aside from this reference, there has not been a single occasion where this notion was raised, either publicly or during the course of Mumia's trial proceedings by any attorney—or for that matter by anyone associated with Mumia's defense. The attorney who Williams attributes the remark to was dismissed from the case more than a year ago."

For Mackler, Williams' great crime was that "he was apparently unprepared to remain a disciplined member of Mumia's legal team and serve his client in pursuing a line of argument that provided concrete evidence that Mumia was denied his constitutional right to self-representation." We, too, believe that Mumia was denied his right to represent



Workers Vanguard

Trade unions representing millions of workers in South Africa and around the world have taken up Mumia's cause. Workers at June 1995 COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg hold up Jamal flyers.

himself. But for Mackler the emphasis is on pursuing *only* those angles which violate the Constitution—the bourgeoisie's codification of what rights should be accorded the population. By his lights, any evidence which points to the true nature of the capitalist state, its cops and courts is out of bounds.

For Class-Struggle Defence!

With the Republicans now occupying the White House, the organizers of the upcoming May 12 Mumia demonstrations now occasionally raise the call to "free Mumia." To be sure, it would look more than absurd to call on people to pressure Bush attorney general John Ashcroft, an open sympathizer of the Confederate slavocracy, for "justice for Mumia." But it never stopped these reformists from arguing that Mumia could get a fair shake from Clinton's attorney general, Janet Reno, who ordered the attack on the integrated Branch Davidians religious sect near Waco, Texas in 1993. In any case, even their call to "free Mumia" is defined by the goal posts set by capitalist "law and order," as they argue that the state should set Mumia free because it violated its own Constitution in not allowing him to represent himself. In this, they serve to demobilize workers, youth and others who want to fight for Jamal's freedom. Why take to the streets if it's simply a matter to be settled in the bourgeois courts?

From Mexico City to Johannesburg, workers who daily experience grinding exploitation and brutality have taken to the streets in support of Jamal because they see in his struggle their own. As the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League argue in the call for a Revolutionary Contingent in the May 12 Mumia demonstration in San Francisco: "Workers unions are the only significant force for integration in racist America. Unlike students, the working

class in trade unions has the social power to bring this system based on exploitation and racial oppression to its knees and to shake the foundations of decaying world imperialism. But the working class must be mobilized *independently of the capitalist state* which has worked for years to frame up Jamal."

In his book *Lessons of October*, Leon Trotsky, leader together with V.I. Lenin of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, pointed to the role of the reformists in "the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." That is the role played by the reformist organizers of the May 12 protests, whose appeals to the state for "justice" simply try to mask the true face of bourgeois democracy, which represents nothing other than the dictatorship of the capitalist class. In contrast, in our class-struggle defense work we seek to *raise* political consciousness regarding the nature of the capitalist state as the machinery for organized violence against the working class and oppressed. At the pinnacle of that machinery of repression in the U.S. is the death penalty, rooted in the legacy of chattel slavery. We oppose the death penalty for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is vivid testimony to this fundamental Marxist understanding. We fight to make the working class conscious that if it does not fight against racial oppression enforced through brutal state repression, so starkly demonstrated in Jamal's case, it will never break the chains of its own exploitation. Our purpose is building, training and steeling the working-class vanguard party needed to smash the rule of capital and turn the wealth of this country over to those who labor to produce it. **Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!** ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Fight Is On

Mobilize to Free Mumia Now!

There is no justice in the capitalist courts. FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

The French Left and the Popular Front

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Smash Imperialist Exploitation Through World Socialist Revolution!

Break With Laborism! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

Reprinted below is the Spartacist League of Australia's leaflet widely distributed at May Day protests in Sydney and Melbourne. The International Communist League took part in over 25 May Day rallies in a dozen countries. Revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist, we stood out for asserting that the enemy of working people everywhere is their "own" capitalist rulers, and for defend-

ing the countries where capitalism has been overthrown—China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—against imperialism and counterrevolution.

In Australia thousands of youth and workers joined anti-"globalisation" protests. Our unconditional military defence of China against imperialism sparked lively discussion and many were intrigued by our opposition to the Aus-

tralian imperialist occupation of East Timor. In Labor-run Western Australia, Perth riot cops viciously attacked protesters, injuring many and arresting eight. At the 5,000-strong Sydney protest, ALP premier Bob Carr's cops, including on horseback, repeatedly charged protesters, injuring up to 30. As many as 100 were arrested and one activist faces frame-up charges of obstructing and disobeying

police. *Drop the charges against the May Day protesters!*

In Melbourne 10,000 rallied, including some 7,000 trade unionists. Justifiably furious at the ALP government's union busting and cop brutality, young protesters burned an effigy of the premier, Bracks. Later, many were also eager to march to the state parliament. This was too much for the Laborite Socialist Alternative and others who at one point deliberately *diverted* marchers to the Liberal Party headquarters! These reformist frauds are an obstacle to revolutionary class struggle.

We Spartacists intervened in May Day protests here and internationally to win youth and workers to the understanding that only proletarian revolutions in especially the imperialist centres and in the subjugated neocolonies can put an end to the whole *system* of capitalist, imperialist exploitation.

On 1 May leftist youth, trade unionists and others plan to mark May Day, the international proletarian holiday, with protests against "corporate tyranny," coinciding with other "M1" anti-"globalisation" actions around the world. This includes a blockade of the stock exchanges in
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Steve Ferrier



Sharon Smith

Labor Party rules for the bosses. May 1: ALP's cops attack protesters in Perth (left). Melbourne demonstrators (right) burn effigy of Victoria Labor premier, Steve Bracks.

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

Free Mumia Now!

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 758, 11 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

WORKERS VANGUARD

On May 4, new attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner, dropped a legal bombshell with new papers filed in the federal court where Mumia's appeal is pending. Among these papers is a *sworn confession* by a man named Arnold Beverly,

who states: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.... I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene."

At about 3:55 a.m. on 9 December 1981 near the corner of 13th and Locust Streets in Philadelphia, Faulkner had

stopped a VW driven by Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, which was carrying another passenger. In a sworn statement submitted on May 4, Jamal testifies that while filling out his log sheet in the cab he was driving at the time, he heard shouting and "recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream. As I came across the street I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand, saw a flash and went down to my knees."

In his own affidavit, Jamal's brother testifies that when he saw Mumia running to the scene, "he had nothing in his

hands. I heard a shot and I saw him stumble.... Mumia was not holding a gun. Mumia never intervened in anything between me and the cop. I had nothing to do with the shooting or killing of the police officer. My brother Mumia Abu-Jamal, had nothing to do with shooting or killing the policeman."

As one of Jamal's new attorneys, Eliot Grossman, said at a press conference following the filing of the affidavits, "Mumia Abu-Jamal was in the wrong place at the wrong time when a hit was in progress on a police officer who was causing problems interfering with police

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Workers Vanguard