

Australasian SPARTACIST



Number 207

Summer 2009/10

50 cents

Asylum for Tamil Refugees Now!

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

ALP Rules for Racist Australian Capitalism

For months the bourgeoisie, politicians and media have waged a hysterical campaign against desperate refugees seeking asylum by boat. Demonised as “illegal,” many are Tamils fleeing the imperialist-backed Sri Lankan regime’s merciless repression. Since the regime’s military offensive ended in May, some 300,000 Tamils have been interned in horrific prison camps and interrogation centres. Underscoring the risks these refugees face, in early November twelve Tamils drowned when their boat sank almost 650 kilometres from the Cocos Islands. Months earlier, five refugees died and scores were injured when their boat exploded after it was seized by the Australian navy.

Refugees intercepted on the high seas by heavily-armed Australian navy ships are turned back or redirected to Indonesia. Those captured in “Australian waters” are incarcerated behind razor wire in the remote Christmas Island detention centre, an overcrowded hellhole likened to Guantánamo Bay. Rudd’s federal ALP government enforces mandatory detention of “illegal” refugees, first imposed by the Keating ALP government in 1992. Once “processed,” for those refugees deported, it can be a death sentence. We demand: **Close the detention camps! No deportations! For the right of asylum for Tamil refugees and all victims of right-wing terror! Full citizenship rights for all who have made it here!**

Capitalist governments from Europe to North America to Australia have been waging a vicious war on the millions of refugees forced to flee the immiseration caused by imperialism. This brutality occurs in the context of the biggest capitalist economic crisis since the Great Depression. Millions of workers have lost their jobs across the globe. As the ongoing crisis continues to threaten the livelihoods of working people, the Rudd Labor government targets immigrants and minorities with increased state repression and violence. This in turn has generated racist attacks on the streets such as the wave of murderous terror against Indian and Chinese students (see “Racist Terror Sparks Indian Student Protests,” *ASP* No. 206, Spring 2009).

Anti-immigrant racism is a time-worn method of the capitalist rulers to divide the working class and paralyse it in the face of the capitalists’ attacks. It can and



Australian Customs

Desperate Tamil asylum seekers on armed Australian Customs vessel *Oceanic Viking* in November this year. We need a class-struggle fight to mobilise the multiracial working class in defence of immigrants and refugees.

must be fought by the organised workers movement. Giving a taste of the power the working class can wield, in 1998 union action in Perth saved a Somali man from being deported to certain death when the pilots refused to fly the plane and ground crew refused to refuel it. Mobilising the workers movement in defence of immigrant rights is crucial to the defence of the multiracial working class as a whole, to forging the necessary unity and strength to fight the bosses’ war on working people. Far from helpless victims, immigrants are a vital component of the working class, the force capable of destroying this decaying capitalist system. Only by sweeping away capitalist rule through workers revolution and building a classless socialist society can there be an end to racism.

ALP’s Anti-Refugee, “Anti-Terror” Regional “Security”

In mid-October, at Rudd’s behest, the Indonesian navy intercepted a boat carrying 260 Tamil asylum seekers. Taken to a port in Java, the refugees refused to leave their boat fearing they would be detained there in limbo for years. The Rudd government then brokered a deal with Indonesia for the latter to take 78 Tamil asylum seekers picked up by the Australian Customs ship, the *Oceanic Viking*. This turned into a month-long stand-off after the refugees refused to disembark until given a written guarantee of quick resettlement in Australia.

The Rudd government has increased funding to Indonesia to help police Aus-



Roy Rubianto

tralia’s racist “border protection” measures, including incarcerating refugees in Australian-funded detention centres there. For the Australian imperialists, strengthening ties with Indonesia is of key economic and geo-strategic importance. The Rudd government has been working to strengthen military co-operation with Indonesia, and continues training the blood-soaked Kopassus special forces, whose role is to suppress any opposition to the repressive Indonesian regime.

As a jackal imperialist power allied to the U.S., Australia seeks to impose regional “stability,” i.e., ensure its flow of profits from imperialist exploitation, by shoring up semicolonial regimes that will do their bidding. Australian imperialism’s recent spate of military and other agreements with regimes from the Philippines to Indonesia also occurs in the context of increased imperialist concern over the growing political and economic influence of the Chinese deformed workers state in the Asia-Pacific region. We stand for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy (see article, page 12).

The Rudd government is also providing resources and training for the Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan government including to beef up the regime’s crackdown on Tamils attempting to flee the island. The Sri Lankan government’s bloody 26-year war against the Tamils in the North and East of the island ended in May with the destruction of the remnants

of the Tamil mini-state and the execution of the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). We stand for the right of self-determination for the Tamil people and stood for the military defence of the LTTE against the army assault. At the same time we give no political support to the bourgeois nationalist LTTE who, carrying out the logic of nationalism, have staged attacks on Sinhalese villagers, expelled Muslims from the historic Tamil city of Jaffna and employed murderous violence against other Tamil nationalist groups.

The banning of the LTTE as a “terrorist” organisation by governments in numerous countries effectively gave the Lankan regime a green light to carry out its murderous offensive. We in the International Communist League denounced these bans and called for the defence of Tamil organisations against state repression, just as we have defended individual Tamils arrested and charged under the “anti-terror” legislation (see “Drop the Charges Against Tamil Activists!”, *ASP* No. 199, Spring 2007).

Using the criminal attack on the World Trade Center in 2001 and subsequent attacks such as the Bali and London bombings as a pretext, capitalist rulers around the world have used the “war on terror” to whip up racism, jack up state repression at home and regiment the population, criminalising political dissent and restricting the civil liberties of all. The “anti-terror” frenzy is also used to justify imperialist marauding abroad, including

continued on page 11

Stop Vendetta Against Roman Polanski!

Free Him Now! No Extradition!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 944, 9 October), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Suddenly reviving its 32-year-old vendetta against world-renowned film director Roman Polanski, the Los Angeles County district attorney's office, backed by the Feds, orchestrated his arrest in Zurich on September 26. The 76-year-old Polanski, now in Swiss custody, awaits possible extradition to the U.S. to be sentenced for having had *consensual* sex with a precocious 13-year-old one day back in 1977.

Roman Polanski committed no crime. Facing a Hollywood show trial with multiple felony charges hanging over him, he pled guilty to "unlawful sexual intercourse" with a minor. Threatened with more prison time after having already served six weeks in state prison for "diagnostic testing," Polanski, a French citizen, fled to Paris in 1978 to escape the puritan witchhunt. Despite the standing threat of extradition, Polanski has persevered in the face of the American judicial *fatwa* and managed to pursue his film career in Europe with artistic success, until now.

Many are asking the obvious question about Polanski's sudden arrest: *why now?* The events occurred over three decades ago, Polanski is in his 70s and there is no "victim" to avenge. The woman involved, Samantha Geimer, now in her 40s with three children, has long opposed the continued prosecution of Polanski. And, until recently, the U.S. has not really turned the screws trying to extradite him.

But, as noted by author Robert Harris in a 30 September op-ed piece in the *New York Times*, that changed after the release of the 2008 documentary, *Roman Polanski: Wanted and Desired*. The documentary includes an interview with David Wells, who brags how he, as a then-deputy district attorney, coached Judge Laurence Rittenband (now deceased) on the case, in particular to ensure prison time for Polanski. Based on the film and other evidence, Polanski's attorneys filed a motion to dismiss the case, which was denied in February by Los Angeles Superior Court judge Peter Espinoza. With perverse logic, Espinoza acknowledged that there was "substantial misconduct," but refused to consider dismissal unless Polanski personally showed up in his court to face certain arrest.

With the frame-up story out—including in court—the prosecutors had nothing to

lose in gunning for Polanski. Wells now ludicrously claims that he lied on camera and assumed the film would not be shown in the U.S. In response, Marina Zenovich, who made the documentary, noted that Wells had in fact "corroborated the account of events that he gave in my film" to the *New York Times* in an article printed on 17 July 2008.

The motives of the lying and vindictive American prosecutors and judges are clear enough, but the Swiss government's sudden willingness to kowtow to U.S. authorities has raised some eyebrows. Polanski, after all, has for many years owned a home in Switzerland that he frequently visited. Rumors abound that throwing Polanski to the wolves is a bid for leniency in the IRS investigation of the Swiss banking giant UBS on charges of assisting American citizens in tax evasion. "The government is so traumatized by the IRS and whole UBS scandal," commented former Swiss Socialist parliamentarian Jean Ziegler. "If any American authority asks for anything in Switzerland, they get it in 24 hours" (AP, 29 September).

Whatever machinations the government is employing against Polanski, we oppose this outrageous witchhunt, as we have from the outset. In the U.S., the morality police are howling for Polanski's blood, including the *New York Times* in a 30 September editorial. In France, after officials in the French government objected to Polanski's arrest, they were met by howls of indignation from other politicians demanding that Polanski face "justice" in the U.S.

At the same time, Polanski has received support from other filmmakers like Martin Scorsese and Woody Allen, who himself was the target of an anti-sex witchhunt (see "Woody Allen Crucified on 'Family Values,'" WV No. 558, 4 September 1992). But among those who defend him, many accept that Polanski committed a "crime" in 1977. And since that time, "sexual tolerance has shriveled," as noted by Alexander Cockburn in *CounterPunch* (2-4 October), with increasing hysteria over "pedophilia" and the attendant mushrooming of reactionary laws.

We demand an end to reactionary "age of consent" and "statutory rape" laws, which falsely conflate consensual sex with violent crimes. We oppose all laws against "crimes without victims" (which

also include gambling, prostitution, drug use and pornography). **Government out of the bedroom! Free Roman Polanski!**

At the time of Polanski's original persecution, we were virtually alone on the left in defending him. We reprint below our article, "Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" which first appeared in WV No. 192, 10 February 1978. The political points in that piece are as relevant today as they were then, over three decades ago.

* * *

Internationally acclaimed film director Roman Polanski has been driven out of the U.S. by a vicious and vindictive official witchhunt. His legal tribulations began last March 11 when he was arrested in the lobby of the Beverly Wilshire Hotel by Los Angeles police, responding to a woman's charge that he had screwed her 13-year-old daughter. Ever since, Polanski's nightmarish persecution—which included 42 days in the Chino, California state prison for degrading "psychiatric observation"—has escalated.

Polanski was recently released from Chino upon completion of the "psychiatric diagnosis," which was reportedly "favorable." However, Superior Court judge Rittenband immediately called the report a "whitewash" and informed the director's lawyer that he intended to sentence Polanski to an additional 48 days in prison, to be followed by "voluntary deportation." "He doesn't belong in this country," proclaimed this state-empowered guardian of the nation's morals. Polanski, who holds French citizenship, fled to Paris on February 1, where he remains while the prosecution plans ways to extradite him.

Rittenband, known locally as a "hanging judge," obviously intends to make Polanski into an example. Douglas Dalton, the defendant's attorney, has pointed out that of the 44 people convicted in Los Angeles County on similar charges in 1976, *none* ever spent any time in jail. Former state attorney general Younger also sought to make political hay out of



Roman Polanski at closing ceremony of 2008 Cannes Film Festival.

the case as part of his general "law-and-order" campaign.

The national press has covered the case with a mixture of pious outrage and amused contempt as another typical "Hollywood scandal." *Time* (28 March 1977) sneeringly referred to the director's "tawdry troubles," while the *New York Post* (2 February) devoted a full-page spread to the "new Hollywood" and Polanski's "rat pack" of sexually swinging friends, making him out to be some kind of exotic, neurotic freak. This is not the first time that the state, gleefully cheered on by the sensation-mongering press, has driven prominent figures out of Hollywood. Errol Flynn, by all accounts an amiable man who never hurt anyone, was endlessly being dragged through the courts on account of his well-known preference for young women.

Ingrid Bergman was even denounced in Congress at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt for her nerve in defiling her saintly "Joan of Arc" screen image by bearing a child out of wedlock to the Italian filmmaker Roberto Rossellini. Charlie Chaplin too was driven out of the "land of opportunity"—largely for political reasons, of course, but with a good dose of nasty sexual innuendo thrown in. The news-starved press runs periodic "exposés" of glamorous Hollywood in order to simultaneously titillate the public—for the most part trapped in deadly dull, poor and restricted lives—and channel their resentment against the rich and famous into satisfying but empty moral outrage.

What is genuinely "tawdry" and sordid about the Polanski case is not the actual incident itself, but the vile official persecution and the hideous hypocrisy of it all. The national press has carefully "omitted" the real facts of the case. The director had

continued on page 5

CORRECTION

A photo used in the article "Down With the Clerical Regime! No Support to 'Reform' Mullahs!" in *Australasian Spartacist* No. 206, Spring 2009 (reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 939, 3 July) was incorrectly identified as an "Iranian woman being prepared for execution by stoning, 2004." While

the image illustrates the horror often visited upon women in Iran by the theocratic regime, it has been brought to the attention of our comrades in the U.S. by a subscriber that the picture, which was incorrectly credited to Amnesty International, was a still from the 1984 Dutch film *De Steen (The Stone)*. We apologise to our readers for the error.

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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

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

EDITOR: Margaret Rodda

YOUNG SPARTACUS EDITOR: D. van Scheveningen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Wallace

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Phil Newman

Printed by trade-union labour.

Published quarterly by Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.

E-mail: spartacist@exemail.com.au. Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7.

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

Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 24-26 Lillian Fowler Place, Marrickville. ISSN 0311-3264

No. 207, Summer 2009/10

Date of issue: December 2009

Spartacist League of Australia

Web site: www.icl-fi.org

Melbourne

GPO Box 2339

Melbourne Vic 3001

Phone: (03) 9654 4315

E-mail: spartacist@iprimus.com.au

Sydney

GPO Box 3473

Sydney NSW 2001

Phone: (02) 9281 2181

E-mail: spartacist@exemail.com.au

International Communist League

Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

German Trotskyists in 1989 on Opening of Berlin Wall: “Workers Soviets Must Rule in All Germany!”

The following is reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 948, 4 December), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

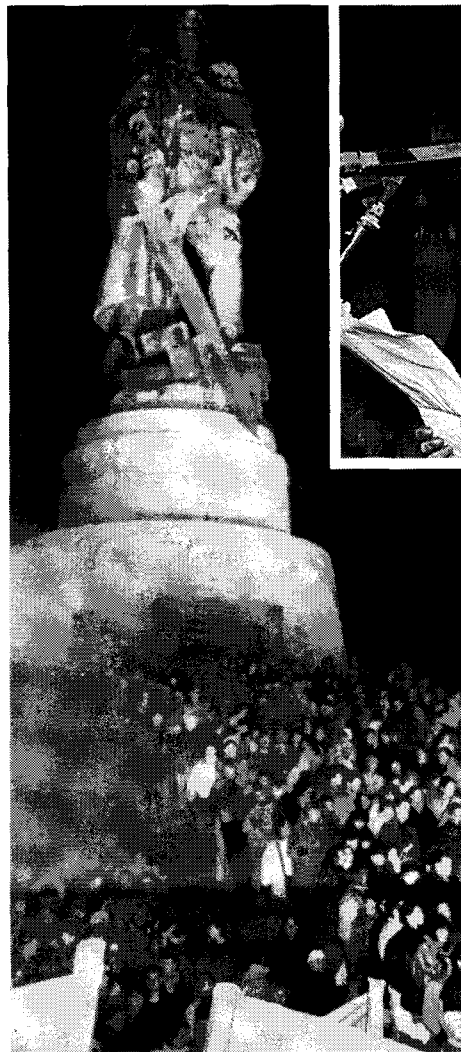
This November the imperialist rulers celebrated the 20th anniversary of the opening up of the Berlin Wall in the former East Germany (DDR). The bourgeois rulers falsely portray this event and its aftermath as an expression of the longings of the East German masses for the supposed joys of capitalism and an unqualified rejection of socialism and communism. The reality was very different, as powerfully described in the statement by our comrades of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—now the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands) that we print below. Republished from *Workers Vanguard* No. 490 (24 November 1989), this statement was issued days after the Berlin Wall came down on 9 November 1989 and over 200,000 copies were distributed.

The DDR was a bureaucratically deformed workers state that we Trotskyists defended against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Capitalism had been overthrown in the DDR, as in much of East Europe, in the wake of the Soviet Red Army's defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II. But the DDR was ruled by a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. On the basis of their dogma of “socialism in one country,” the Stalinists opposed the extension of proletarian revolutions internationally while suppressing any independent political expression of the working class at home.

The late 1980s and early '90s saw the unraveling of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. In the DDR, significant protest rallies began in October 1989, growing larger week by week. That month, hardline ruler Erich Honecker, head of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), was ousted from power. November 4 saw a million-strong demonstration in East Berlin. Contrary to today's capitalist mythology, it included many pro-socialist banners and slogans such as “For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!” The choices posed for the workers of the DDR were proletarian political revolution—i.e., the working class ousting the bureaucracy and taking political power into its own hands—or capitalist counterrevolution, i.e., the West German bourgeoisie taking over the DDR.

In struggling to effect a workers political revolution, part of the fight for the revolutionary reunification of Germany under the rule of the working class, the ICL undertook the largest and most sustained intervention in our history. In early December we began publishing the daily *Arprekorr*, Workers Press Correspondence. Groups of youth and workers in the DDR began to distribute *Arprekorr*, many of whom we organized into the Spartakist-Gruppen, or Spartacist groups.

The high point of struggle was the 3 January 1990 united-front demonstration against the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial and in defense of the DDR workers state that brought out some 250,000 people to East Berlin's Treptow Park. Our call for this protest was taken up by the ruling Stalinist party, which feared



the growing impact of our political views. At Treptow, for the first time in 60 years, Trotskyists addressed a mass audience in a workers state. Participants and those listening on radio and TV heard two counterposed programs: that of the Stalinist SED, and that of the Trotskyist ICL. Over hostile Stalinist interjections, the TLD's Renate Dahlhaus declared, “Our economy is suffering from waste and obsolescence. The SED party dictatorship has shown that it is incompetent to fight this.” We called for the forging of an egalitarian communist party and for the rule of workers and soldiers councils.

The Treptow mobilization posed the possibility of organized workers resistance to the imperialists' drive for capitalist annexation of the DDR. For that reason it became a key turning point, as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev pulled the plug on the DDR, vastly speeding up the timetable for capitalist reunification, and the East German Stalinists began to organize a stampede into counterrevolution. In their counterrevolutionary blitzkrieg, the German bourgeoisie threw billions of deutschmarks into East Germany. Under the impact of the bourgeois offensive, the March 1990 Volkskammer (East German parliament) elections became a referendum on capitalist reunification. Demoralized and disorientated by the abject betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy, 85 percent of the population voted for either the Christian Democratic or Social Democratic coalitions. Counterrevolution had won, a bitter defeat not only for the East German working class but internationally.

The ICL alone fought to the end against



Spartakist photos
East Berlin, 3 January 1990: Spartakist speaker addresses ICL-initiated 250,000-strong rally in Treptow Park against fascist desecration of memorial to Red Army soldiers and in defence of DDR.

capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR, the rest of East Europe and the Soviet Union. In contrast, the bulk of the left cheered it on, serving as junior partners in the imperialists' drive for capitalist restoration and standing openly with the forces of “democratic” counterrevolution. Many of the same groups today bemoan the poverty of East Europe while burying their own roles in helping to bring about this catastrophe.

We were very conscious that our intervention in the DDR was integral to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in the USSR as well. So, too, the defeat in the DDR paved the way for the ascendancy in 1991-92 of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. An unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, counterrevolution devastated the working classes of the former Soviet Union and the rest of East Europe, bringing grinding poverty, mass unemployment and fratricidal wars. Nor were the catastrophic results confined to the former Soviet bloc. On the ideological level, the consciousness of workers around the world has been thrown back, albeit unevenly, to the point where politically advanced workers no longer identify their struggles with the goals of socialism.

The collapse of bureaucratic rule and triumph of counterrevolution confirmed Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky's warning that the political bankruptcy of Stalinism was a mortal danger to the historic gains of the working class. Following Marx, Trotsky emphasized that an isolated workers state could not survive in the long run since its level of economic productivity could not rise above that of the powerful advanced capitalist-imperialist states committed to its destruction. The preservation of proletarian power in the Soviet Union and East Europe required its international extension through worldwide socialist revolution.

As we wrote in the main document adopted at the ICL's Second International Conference in 1992, “For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!” (reprinted in *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 47-48 [Winter 1992-93]):

“From the beginning we were in a political struggle with the abdicating Stalinist

regime over the future of the DDR. While we were calling for a government of workers councils, the Stalinists were consciously acting to prevent a workers insurrection by demobilizing all army units that had formed soldiers councils as a result of our early propaganda. Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution....

“The workers of the world, and we among them, suffered a grave defeat with the victory of the Fourth Reich. But we fought.”

* * *

Workers throughout the world seeking the rebirth of genuine communism are watching the dramatic events in East Germany. “Russia was the spark—Germany will be the flame,” proclaimed a banner, a slogan from the KPD [German Communist Party] of the '20s, in the massive November 4 East Berlin demonstration. The developments in the DDR [German Democratic Republic] pose pointblank proletarian political revolution. This means ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy and erecting in its place *real workers soviets*, like those established in the October Revolution, based on collectivized property. This in turn can be the spark for socialist revolution in the capitalist West.

East Berliners flooded across the border into West Berlin on the night of November 9. Except for a handful all went back. Kohl tried to address a “victory rally” in West Berlin but was drowned out with boos and whistles. When he tried to strike up a chorus of “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,” Brandt, Momper & Co. sang along, but the boos and whistles drowned them out. And an attempted Nazi march on the Brandenburg Gate led by Republikaner Führer Schönhuber was turned back by crowds shouting “Nazis out!” East German workers are jubilant that the Wall is coming down, but they don't want a revanchist capitalist reunification.

One placard on November 4 read: “Hungary '56, China '89,” and the spectre haunting the bureaucracy was the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, the first in East Europe against Stalinist bureaucratic rule. West German revanchists have tried to usurp June 17, and the East German bureaucracy spread the same lies about the uprising. But it belongs to the German working class. On that day East German workers appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the West to rise up against their capitalist masters. At the train station in Halle, workers greeted a train from the West with a banner proclaiming, “We're cleaning house in Pankow [East Berlin], now you sweep out the crap in Bonn.” Ulbricht was saved only by Soviet tanks. In any case, what was required then as well as today is fraternization with the Red Army. As Siberian and Silesian miners strike against the ravages of “market reforms,” the East German workers can make common cause with their class comrades and be the springboard for proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union.

continued on page 10

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 946, 6 November), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On August 1, the Philippines woke to the news that former president Corazon "Cory" C. Aquino succumbed to colon cancer. Aquino, who was catapulted to the presidency of this Far Eastern U.S. neocolony by "peaceful revolution," is deeply revered in bourgeois circles that have elevated her to near cult status as an icon of "democracy and freedom."

The late Cory Aquino was a member of the old landed aristocracy which has dominated Filipinos for centuries, both under Spanish and American colonial rule and following independence in July 1946. She assumed office in February 1986 during the so-called "People Power Revolution," a misnomer for the combination of a U.S.-engineered military revolt and massive street demonstrations encouraged by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and big business to send the hated dictator Ferdinand Marcos packing.

It is hardly surprising that Aquino's supposedly nonviolent "People Power" movement serves as a blueprint for the "color-coded revolutions" spawned by Washington from the Ukraine to Lebanon. When the U.S. pulled the plug on Marcos, who had become a liability to stability in the country, we said "Beware of coups 'Made in U.S.A.'" ("Reagan Pulls Plug on Marcos," WV No. 398, 28 February 1986).

Cory Aquino's "revolution" did not bring the Philippine working masses any closer to power. Instead, it was, as described by *Der Spiegel* (7 July 1986) journalist Tiziano Terzani, "the reinstatement of the old aristocratic oligarchy of Spanish descent, with which Marcos clashed and which he partly replaced by his own clique of relatives and hangers-on." For example, when the wealthy and powerful Lopez family dynasty fell out of Marcos's favor, it was stripped of most of its political and economic assets. Following Aquino's rise to power, it got back its television stations and ownership stake in the country's largest power utility.

A devout Catholic, Aquino promulgated the 1987 Constitution, which includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world. A hard anti-communist, Aquino was a staunch supporter of a strong American imperialist military presence in the Philippines. In the face of domestic political opposition, she unsuccessfully tried at the end of her presidency to maintain U.S. operation of the huge Subic Bay naval base. But the American military remains a potent combat force and continuous presence in the Philippines through rotating military exercises. All U.S. troops out of the Philippines!

The Philippines was seen by imperialist planners as an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Cold War offensive against the former Soviet Union and in the hot war against the Vietnamese Revolution, as it is in a strategic location to serve as a military staging ground and supply base as well as to guard the sea lanes along the western Pacific Rim. It still serves a similar purpose today, with the current U.S. military encirclement and provocations aimed chiefly at China and North Korea. As part of our struggle against imperialism and in defense of working people and the oppressed around the globe, we stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies and establish regimes based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalist policies.

The Persistence of "Yellow Fever"

According to bourgeois observers in the Philippines, Cory Aquino's death could not have been more timely. The former

Philippines

Aquino Funeral and the Left



Manila, 5 August: Funeral procession of former Philippine president Corazon Aquino. Philippine reformist left obscenely mourned "Tita Cory."

No Illusions in Bourgeois Liberals—For Workers Revolution!

president, a vocal opponent of the current regime, passed away while the highly unpopular right-wing president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo was in Washington to curry favor from President Barack Obama. The highly publicized refusal by the Aquino family of a state-sponsored funeral and the cold reception given President Arroyo during the wake laid bare to the population the deep factional divisions within the Filipino bourgeoisie, as the country prepares for national elections in May 2010. Arroyo, the daughter of a former Philippine president, has been suspected of rigging the 2004 election in her favor. Her husband Mike, a member of the oligarchy, has been accused of amassing kickbacks for state-sponsored projects and showering cronies with perks, much to the displeasure of the Makati-centered bourgeoisie, sections of the clergy and the general population.

As Cory Aquino lay in the hospital, the powerful Roman Catholic church and Aquino supporters in the media were exhorting Filipinos to join in prayers for her recovery while yellow ribbons—the symbol of Cory's "People Power" movement—festooned the major avenues and buildings around the capital, Manila. From her sickbed, Aquino gave a final statement in support of thousands of demonstrators gathered in the nearby Makati Central Business District, many of them mobilized by the Philippine left, to protest Arroyo's attempts to get the Philippine Congress to rubber-stamp her proposed changes in the constitution that would

consolidate her hold on political power.

The announcement of Aquino's death touched off a massive emotional outpouring, even among the plebeian masses of Manila and key cities around the country. Business ground to a halt as the capitalist bosses joined white-collar employees in the Makati financial district to salute the funeral cortege in a blizzard of yellow confetti streaming down from surrounding high rises. A quarter million Filipinos waving yellow flowers, chanting "Cory" and flashing the thumb and index finger "L" sign (for "Laban," meaning "Fight") came out for the funeral procession, which took nine hours to wind through the storm-drenched streets of Manila. These televised scenes, exclusively carried by the Lopez-owned ABS-CBN network, were eerily reminiscent of the funeral march for Cory Aquino's husband, Benigno "Ninoy" Jr., a millionaire bourgeois politician with close ties to the CIA, who was assassinated by agents of the Marcos regime in August 1983. That event sparked the bourgeois-led "People Power" movement that brought Cory Aquino to power a few years later with U.S. backing.

Acid Test for the Philippine Left

Like the first Aquino funeral over 25 years ago, the second Aquino funeral graphically displayed the Philippine reformist left in the political tow of the bourgeoisie. Obscenely, the Philippine left in general has lined up behind the ghost of "Tita (Auntie) Cory."

The social-democratic Akbayan party,

which includes numerous ex-Stalinists, is the most prominent in the yellow-shirted political milieu. Its political predecessors cheered Cory Aquino's rise to power in 1986. Today, they are loyal drumbeaters for the Liberal Party of Senator Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III, who has emerged as Liberal presidential standard-bearer in the wake of the massive turnout and media hype during his mother's funeral. Akbayan has since formed a bloc with smaller bourgeois opposition parties and so-called "civil society" organizations to support "Noynoy," whom these reformists describe as "a symbol to a nation yearning for unity and greatness."

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)—through the National Democratic Front (NDF)—eulogized Aquino as "an outstanding and inspiring figure in the anti-fascist alliance" who was "willing to join up with the patriotic and progressive forces of the people in mass protest actions." The CPP-led guerrilla insurgency by the New People's Army (NPA) is in its 40th year. Ever since Aquino became president, the NDF umbrella political arm has been engaged in on-and-off peace negotiations with the government.

Born to the Cojuangco clan, Cory Aquino promised to make the family-owned Hacienda Luisita sugar estate a model of land reform, but she later reneged. Upon taking power, Aquino responded to popular expectations and enormous social turmoil with bloody repression. She presided over the military's mass killing of peasants in Lupao in Nueva Ecija province and outside the Malacañang presidential palace itself. She then unleashed rural death squads like the *Alsa Masa* (Mass Uprising) in a "total war" against the CPP and other leftists. In November 2004, Hacienda Luisita again captured headlines when heavily armed police and soldiers, backed by armored personnel carriers, attacked strikers affiliated with the *Kilusang Mayo Uno* (KMU), a labor federation aligned with the reformist left *Bayan Muna* (Nation First) party, killing seven, including a child, and wounding hundreds.

Despite having borne the brunt of repression, the CPP has absolved Aquino of the string of atrocities committed against the working people during her six-year term in office. The bloodiest of these attacks was the suppression of the 22 January 1987 demonstration for land reform, when Filipino cops and Marines fired pointblank into the march, killing 18 peasant protesters and their leftist supporters and wounding nearly a hundred, just outside the presidential palace. The CPP and its allies in the leftist umbrella group *Bayan* initially denounced Aquino. But in their pursuit of class collaboration, they soon began to alibi her. *Bayan* declared she was not "directly" responsible for this massacre by the military and police.

For the likes of Satur Ocampo, a Representative in the Philippine Congress who was once a senior cadre of the NDF, it's all just comrades' blood under the bridge. In 2001, Ocampo's *Bayan Muna* party mobilized the warm bodies for the military-backed "People Power II" coup. They supported President Arroyo's "People Power Coalition" senatorial slate, even while the blood of ousted populist president Joseph Estrada's plebeian supporters, gunned down at the gates of Malacañang, had barely dried. More recently, the "Honorable" Congressman Ocampo, a cothinker of exiled CPP founder and NDF political consultant Jose Maria Sison, was prominently flashing the "Laban" sign at Aquino's funeral procession. He is now reportedly being considered for a guest senatorial slot on the ticket of multimillionaire Manny Villar's *Nacionalista* Party.

For their part, the ex-Stalinist splinters from the CPP, like *Sanlakas*, *Alab*, *Katipunan* and the newly formed "socialist"

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Partido Lakas ng Masa (PLM—Masses Power Party), were among the left groups with banners held high at the funeral procession. Associated with Australia's thoroughly reformist Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), the PLM is headed by Sonny Melencio, who has emerged over the years variously as head political operator of the Liga Sosyalista, the Sosyalistang Partido ng Paggawa (Socialist Party of Labor) and the multitendency Laban ng Masa bloc.

While the PLM postures to the left of the CPP and is highly critical of Cory Aquino, its purpose remains to reinforce illusions in "People Power" among the working class. And though PLM leaders keep their distance from the Cory crowd, PLM supporters on the ground joined in the mourning for Aquino. The Melencioites are so enamored with "People Power" that they have been advocates of a broad, multi-class (i.e., *capitalist*) "transitional revolutionary government" in the same spirit as Cory's "revolutionary" government.

Loyalty to the strategy of "People Power" coupled with the appetite for pursuing "progressive" friends in the bourgeois military officer caste is a common thread that runs through Melencio's various "left" outfits. The Melencioites are the local cheering squad for "Third World" bourgeois nationalist leaders like Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales in Bolivia. Closer to home, they confer with shadowy opposition groups inside the bourgeois armed forces, like the Young Officers Union and the Young Officers Union of the New Generation. The PLM admits that its political program is inspired by the platform of these bourgeois military opposition groups.

Far from posing an independent proletarian political alternative, the Philippine left has repeatedly exhibited shameless subordination to the bourgeoisie—from the two "People Power" movements, through the string of botched anti-Arroyo coup attempts, to the maneuverings for the 2010 elections under cover of the recent Aquino funeral. By chaining the working class and the oppressed masses to one or another wing of the Philippine bourgeoisie, these reformist leftists will not and cannot lead the masses to break free from imperialist enslavement and capitalist exploitation.

Basing itself on the Menshevik/Stalinist

Manila, January 1987: Peasants demanding land were massacred by Aquino government's troops.



schema of two-stage revolution—which amounts to mobilizing the workers to bring bourgeois "progressives" and nationalists to power in the first "stage" and ends in the massacre of workers and communists—the Philippine left opposes the fight for proletarian revolution. Whether in the bourgeois Congress, in the "parliament of the streets" or fighting in the hills as guerrillas, the reformist left is deeply wedded to the politics of alliances with a mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie—the "popular front." And while the Philippine left courageously defies murderous repression, the purpose of its struggles is simply to pressure the capitalist class for concessions. Nevertheless, we defend the leftist guerrillas against the violence of the bourgeoisie and its blood-drenched state.

For Proletarian Class Independence

As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky outlined in the theory of permanent revolution, the bourgeoisies in countries of belated capitalist development are more fearful of the superexploited masses than they are of the imperialists, on whom they depend to secure their class rule. The chief condition for any real struggle by the toiling masses against imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and oppression is the class independence of the proletariat.

With its large peasant population, the Philippines also needs an agrarian revolution, in which the poor peasants and agricultural workers seize the land. But defeating the bloodsucking landlords, with their private armies as well as government death squads, requires a revolution in which the urban proletariat places itself at the head of the insurgent peasant masses to smash the whole framework of capitalist/landlord rule. Underscoring the potential for revolutionary working-class struggle is the growth of a young, militant proletariat due to industrial investment in the Philippines by the U.S., Japan and other countries. The Philippine prole-

tariat must lead the terribly exploited and oppressed masses of peasants, urban poor, women and minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class, crowning its victory with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist revolution in the economically backward Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and, in particular, the more economically advanced countries. It would act as a powerful impetus for proletarian political revolution in China and for socialist revolution in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers throughout the Near East, North America and elsewhere can serve as a living link uniting the workers of the semi-colonial countries and the imperialist centers.

The key to victory lies in forging an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration. Defense of those subjugated by the imperialists around the globe demands the pursuit of class struggle in the U.S. and other imperialist centers. Here in the U.S., we seek to build a revolutionary workers party which champions the rights of blacks, women, immigrants and all the oppressed as part of the fight for proletarian revolution to smash racist American imperialism. The International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky as the indispensable instrument for leading new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Imperialist top cop Obama meets right-wing Philippine president Arroyo in Oval Office in July.



Polanski...

(continued from page 2)

pleaded guilty on August 8 to unlawful intercourse with a minor in return for dismissal of other sex and drug charges against him, including rape, child molestation, oral copulation, sodomy and providing drugs to a minor. However, statements at the trial make it clear that what happened was hardly a case of rape!

The 13-year-old whom Polanski was accused of raping was described in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 August 1977) as "an aspiring actress," whose mother had known Polanski for over a year and given permission to photograph her daughter for the French edition of *Vogue* magazine. One of those photography sessions with the celebrated director turned into an evening of sipping champagne, nude bathing in a Jacuzzi whirlpool bath and consumption by the girl of part of a Quaalude (a fashionable sedative). Following this there was sexual intercourse (translated in the press as "drugging and raping").

It came out in court, however, that the girl had been "experimenting" with Quaaludes since the age of 10 or 11, and had a 17-year-old boyfriend with whom she had had prior sexual intercourse. A police detective on the case described her as looking to be "between 16 and 18," while the girl's mother at one point described her

daughter rather lamely as "precocious in the midst of growing up." Even Judge Rittenband in his probation report was forced to admit the blatantly obvious sexual maturity of the girl: "the prosecutrix was a well-developed young girl, who looked older than her years, and regrettably not unschooled in sexual matters."

The incident occurred in the home of movie star Jack Nicholson, and it was partially on the testimony of Nicholson's current roommate Angelica Huston, who had returned home later that evening, that Polanski was charged. Of course, her eager cooperation with the police could have had something to do with the fact that detectives searching the place for "evidence" found a vial of cocaine in her room.

Sexual and social life in southern California, with its thriving drug culture and troupes of precocious and sexually active groupies hanging about the fringes of the entertainment industry, produces thousands of "aspiring actresses" (and young male would-be "rock stars") like the one Polanski had the misfortune to run into. Regardless of what one thinks of the scene as a whole, its all-too-obvious reality makes absurd Rittenband's attempts to force rigid morality of the Victorian era into L.A. freeways and bedrooms.

Official repression and enforced standards of sexual activity have brought oppression and pain throughout history,

from the cruel feudal "right of the first night" through the Catholic church's intensely detailed rules on various sexual sins to the Victorians' complete denial of the sexuality of women and children and their artificial prolongation of childhood. The sexual "norms" which the American state upholds today reek with hypocrisy in a society where scientific research into human sexuality is only now beginning to be published on a mass basis; where scientific breakthroughs in contraception have removed the legitimate fear of pregnancy, which for ages stood as a barrier to sexual pleasure; and where rigid taboos based on ignorance have lost much of their force.

All those laws which define "sex crimes" in America today are fundamentally aimed at glorifying and propping up the obscene and repressive prison of the family, for centuries the main institution for the oppression of women and children. The reactionary sentiment whipped up by the persecution of "sex deviants" is fueled also by recognition that the family is the individual's shelter in a hostile world. Only a broader social vision of the eventual *replacement* of the family as part of the transition to a classless society can defuse these fears that lumpenization and social collapse are the only alternative to bourgeois morality.

The media's exploitation of the Polanski case is more than mere sensationalism.

His prosecution, like the furor over "kiddie porn," feeds into the sanctimonious "Save Our Children" crusade epitomized by Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual witch-hunt—a reactionary offensive which hides behind the "innocence" of children to enforce bourgeois morality through the vindictive persecution of "deviants."

The victimization of those held to threaten the prevailing norms of family life often takes the most extreme forms. In November a 23-year-old princess and her commoner husband were executed in Saudi Arabia as "sex criminals." By the traditions of her tribe, which is simultaneously the Saudi ruling class, shooting her and hacking off her husband's head by sword in the public market of Jidda were socially quite "moral." Judge Rittenband was not able to have Polanski beheaded in order to protect the "American Way of Life," but the principle that the state has the right to enforce a "norm" on private sexual activity is equally held by the U.S. bourgeoisie and the Bedouin sheiks. Their methods simply vary a bit.

There are indeed very real and pervasive sex crimes committed in America today, but they are not only nor necessarily the ones splashed across the pages of the tabloid press. Fear, guilt and repression are loaded on the very young for even having sexual thoughts. Adolescent youth are inhumanly and artificially segregated

continued on page 10

China...

(continued from page 12)

while threatening one of China's main oil suppliers, Iran. And the Beijing Stalinists have also helped orchestrate talks aimed at disarming North Korea. Any weakening of North Korea would weaken the defence of China.

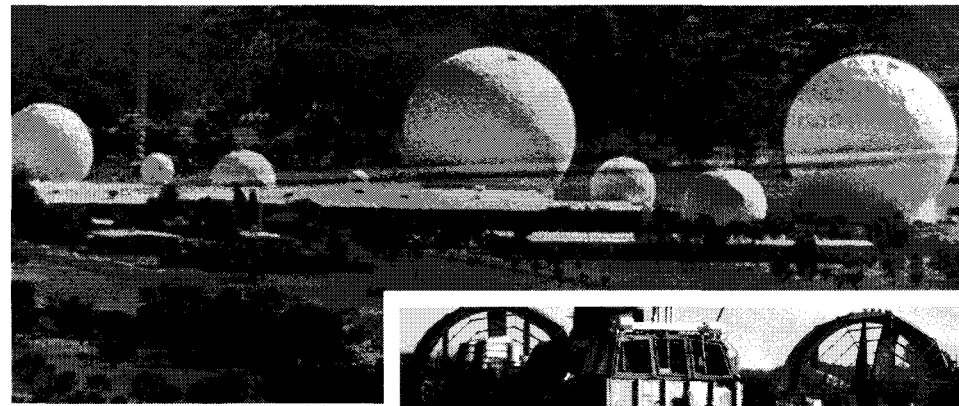
Particularly since capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the U.S. imperialists, supported by their jackal Australian imperialist ally, have escalated military pressure against China. The imperialist powers have constructed a military chain extending from South Korea to the former Soviet lands of Central Asia. In 2005 the U.S. and Japan strengthened their security agreement issuing a joint policy statement avowing that Taiwan was "a mutual security concern." Their backing of this brutal capitalist bastion, including placing anti-ballistic missile systems in the region, was an open provocation against China. In protest, our comrades in the U.S. and Japan produced a joint statement which demanded: "Down With U.S./Japan Counterrevolutionary Alliance! Defend the Chinese and North Korean Deformed Workers States!" (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 844, 18 March 2005). Likewise we denounced a subsequent 2007 Japan-Australia security agreement in the pages of *Australasian Spartacist*.

We stand opposed to demands pushed by the likes of the DSP upholding "independence" for capitalist Taiwan. Since ancient times Taiwan has been a part of China. We would stand with China in any military conflict with imperialist-backed Taiwan. Opposed to the Chinese government's perspective to reunify with bourgeois Taiwan based on "one country, two systems," we stand for the revolutionary reunification of China, based on workers political revolution on the mainland and a socialist revolution in Taiwan. Likewise we are for the expropriation of the Hong Kong capitalists.

Alongside their unequivocal support for the bloody U.S.-led occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, the Australian imperialists play an aggressive military role in Southeast Asia under the U.S. umbrella. This includes joint military exercises with the U.S., military agreements with blood-drenched capitalist regimes in Indonesia and the Philippines, and Australia's own neocolonial military occupations of the Solomon Islands and East Timor. Earlier this year the Rudd Labor government released a Defence white paper which openly targets China while projecting the biggest build-up of the Australian military since World War II.

At the same time, increasing economic reliance on China tempers the imperialists' anti-China military brinkmanship. This can be seen in the Australian government's muted response to the arrest and

imprisonment in China of Rio Tinto executive Stern Hu on charges of bribery and obtaining commercial secrets. While there is strong nationalist prejudice against Chinese investment in Australia, the Australian bourgeoisie are somewhat divided over what measures are in their best interests. The chairman of BHP-Billiton, Don Argus, recently warned the Melbourne Mining Club against selling off "the farm." Yet in September Queensland-based mining magnate, Clive Palmer,



Centralian Advocate

Above: U.S. Pine Gap spy base, part of military/intelligence network targeting Chinese deformed workers state. Right: Queensland, July 2009, 30,000 troops join U.S./Australian war games in Operation Talisman Saber.



U.S. Navy/Nardelito Gervacio

branded prejudicial treatment against Chinese investment in Australia as "racist," which it undoubtedly is.

While the ALP government seeks to avoid jeopardising Australia's booming trade with China it simultaneously foments racist nationalism while acting to militarise Australia's north. This includes the police/military occupation of Aboriginal lands in the Northern Territory and the development of training grounds for the U.S. military. The U.S. satellite tracking device at Geraldton in Western Australia and other U.S. spy bases especially Pine Gap, which was first established as part of the military/spy network that targeted the former Soviet Union, are now part of a sophisticated network linked to facilities in Hawaii enabling U.S. military machinations in the Pacific and East Asia against China.

In fighting for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia, we Trotskyists say: Down with the counter-revolutionary U.S./Australia alliance! U.S. bases out now! We call for Australian troops and cops to get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, East Timor and the Solomon Islands and demand: Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military. A key aspect of our opposition to Australian imperialism is our unconditional military defence of the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—countries which have all overthrown capitalism through social revolutions—against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time we fight for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies, whose bureaucratic mismanagement and appeasement of imperialism paves the way for capitalist counterrevolution. We in the ICL are committed to building internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist parties in order to lead the working class to victory on the road to world socialist revolution. On this 60th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution we say: Defend, extend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

Permanent Revolution Vs. Menshevik Theory of Stages

The defining event of the last century, and indeed that of all human history so far, was the 1917 Russian Revolution—the first and so far *only* successful *proletarian*

revolution, led by the Bolshevik party under V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. The socialist revolution of October 1917 confirmed the correctness of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution against the Mensheviks' theory of "two-stage revolution," which directed the workers to first fight for capitalist democracy and then some time in the future, i.e. never, there would be socialism. As 20th century history has proven repeatedly, the so-called "second stage" is in fact the massacre of

the revolutionary masses.

In the theoretical debates leading up to 1917 the Mensheviks insisted that, in a country such as Russia, the proletariat could only be an appendage to the liberal bourgeoisie, which was supposedly striving to establish a democratic republic. Lenin, however, had fought to unite the workers and poor peasants in Russia *against* the liberal bourgeoisie by calling for the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." While irreconcilably opposed to the Mensheviks' tailing of the bourgeoisie, Lenin accepted that the struggle for political freedom and the democratic republic in Russia was a necessary stage that would not undermine "the domination of the bourgeoisie" (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, 1905). His algebraic formula was by no means terms for class peace but a battle plan for class war extending to the international arena. Lenin envisaged the destruction of the Tsarist regime would inspire European workers to take state power. They would in turn support the proletariat in Russia doing the same. But Lenin's formula was inherently contradictory in that it projected a dictatorship of two classes with conflicting interests.

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was distinct from those of both the Mensheviks and Lenin, but far closer to the latter. Like Lenin, Trotsky understood that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie had no revolutionary capacities, but in contradiction to Lenin, Trotsky correctly argued that the peasants could not play the role of an independent partner, let alone leader, in the revolution. In sharp contrast to the Mensheviks, and drawing lessons from the 1905 revolutionary upheaval in Russia and studies by Marx and Engels, who in 1848-49 had raised the formulation "revolution in permanence," Trotsky explained in his 1906 work *Results and Prospects* that in Tsarist Russia, which had the most concentrated industry in Europe surrounded by the most backward agriculture, the Russian workers could come to power without an extended "democratic" stage of capitalist class rule.

Trotsky explained that in Russia basic democratic rights, including national emancipation, could only be obtained through the dictatorship of the working class as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

The only way to satisfy the longings of the poor peasants for land, was to break the power of the imperialists who were intertwined with the local capitalists and large landholders who made their lives a misery. Thus it was only the proletariat organised in the factories who could satisfy the demands of the peasants and oppressed masses through doing away with capitalist property relations and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. In carrying out the democratic tasks of the revolution, the proletarian state must inevitably make "despotic inroads into the rights of bourgeois property" and thus the revolution would directly pass over to the implementation of socialist tasks. It was based on this program that the so-called democratic revolution would then grow over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby become a *permanent* revolution. Conquest of power by the proletariat, Trotsky explained, did not complete the revolution but only opened it on an international scale because the completion of the socialist revolution within national limits is unthinkable.

In April 1917, following the February Revolution that overthrew the Tsar, Lenin returned to Russia to wage a fight in the Bolshevik party against the then-leadership of Stalin and Kamenev who were misusing Lenin's "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" slogan to conciliate the new capitalist Provisional Government and its war moves. Consigning those promulgating this slogan to the archive of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary antiques" and threatening to split with those conciliating the Russian capitalists, Lenin, in his famous *April Theses*, argued that power must pass into the hands of the proletariat and poorest sections of the peasantry. Thus Lenin came over to the programmatic conclusions of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Soon after, Trotsky was won to Lenin's insistence on the need for a complete break with opportunist groupings and the necessity for a vanguard party of professional revolutionists. Based on agreement on the decisive questions of the party and the class character of the revolution, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks led the Russian proletariat, leaning on the peasantry, to overthrow capitalist rule in October 1917, opening the road to world socialist revolution.

As proletarian internationalists, the Bolsheviks looked to successful socialist revolutions in the European industrial powerhouses, especially Germany, because they knew that the young Soviet Republic—in one of the most backward countries in Europe—could not survive long on its own. Revolutionary upheavals did follow all over Europe and beyond, but none of them resulted in the working class coming to power. By 1924 control in Soviet Russia had increasingly fallen to a conservative privileged bureaucracy as Stalin formally adopted and pushed the anti-Leninist policy of building "socialism in one country." In economically backward Russia, this signalled the beginnings of a political counterrevolution, which had its material basis in the destruction of industry and the death of many of the most politically advanced workers during the civil war, combined with the defeat of revolutionary opportunities abroad, especially the 1923 German Revolution. The developing political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union was fought by supporters of Trotsky's Left Opposition, many of whom were arrested and ultimately murdered by Stalin's police.

Stalinist Menshevism Leads to Bloody Counterrevolution

The first Chinese Revolution took place in 1911. The Qing Dynasty was overthrown by a bourgeois-nationalist Republican movement. But the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution such as

Chinese-Language Pamphlet No. 8



China's "Market Reforms": A Trotskyist Analysis

The Russian Revolution and the Emancipation of Women

\$1.25 (28 pages)

Order from/pay to: Spartacist ANZ Pub. Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

the national liberation and unification of China, agrarian reform or democratic rights for women to choose a husband or to own property could not be achieved. China's native bourgeoisie was too weak, corrupt and dependent on imperialism, too connected to the rural landlords and too fearful of the working class and the peasant masses. The 1911 Revolution was carried out with the assistance of the imperialist powers and left China divided under the rule of the warlords and imperialists. The bourgeois-nationalist GMD was founded a year later.

By the end of World War I the Chinese proletariat had grown to 1.5 million including significant concentrations of women. China became a prime example of a country of combined and uneven development, similar to Russia before 1917 but even more economically backward and with a smaller proletariat. On the one hand there existed advanced industry in the expanding Chinese cities, while on the other the vast countryside remained a sea of feudal misery.

In 1919 China politically exploded with the May 4th Movement, a student-centred upheaval against the imperialist carve-up of China. The new and vibrant Chinese proletariat, inspired by the 1917 Russian Revolution, quickly began to make its presence felt. For example, workers mobilised in a nationwide general strike to back student protests against Western approval of Japanese imperialist spoils following the Versailles Conference. By this stage, disillusionment with Western capitalist "democracy" prompted important groups of intellectuals and students to look to the Soviet Union and communism for a solution to imperialist domination of China.

Out of this intellectual ferment and social upheaval, the CCP was formed in 1921 under the leadership of Chen Duxiu. Chen, a talented linguist, had broken with China's traditional feudal-derived culture and became a Marxist who struggled to



RGASPI
Chen Duxiu, leader of May 4th Movement and then Chinese CP. New Youth Journal, founded by Chen, became an organ of early Chinese Communism.

orient the party toward the working class. Li Ta-chao, another co-founder of the CCP, represented a different political tendency. Emphasising the nationalist, anti-imperialist aspect of the workers movement, Li developed a view that in China all classes had been turned into "proletarians" by imperialist superexploitation. By 1926 Li, whose views became increasingly race-based, projected an anti-imperialist socialist revolution based solely on the peasantry! Thus fundamental characteristics of Maoist peasant-based nationalism appeared in the CCP even before the defeat of the second Chinese Revolution in 1925-27 and the rise of Mao.

The Communist International (CI) directed the CCP to ally with and enter



Winstar

Left: Workers take control of Shanghai as Guomindang forces approach city, 1927. Right: Ordered to their graves. Having laid down their arms on Stalin's orders, tens of thousands of Communists and militant workers were massacred following Chiang Kai-shek's bloody 12 April coup.



UPI

Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois nationalist GMD. Trotsky opposed entry into the GMD and voted accordingly in the Russian Politburo in 1923. The rise of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy and its politics of "socialism in one country" led to selling out revolutions abroad. In October 1926, in order to maintain the bloc with Chiang's misnamed "Revolutionary Army," Stalin ordered the CCP to call off a peasant revolt and forbade the formation of soviets (workers and peasants councils). Trotsky later remarked in *The Permanent Revolution* (1928):

"The official subordination of the Communist Party to the bourgeois leadership, and the official prohibition of forming soviets (Stalin and Bukharin taught that the Kuomintang 'took the place of' soviets) was a grosser and more glaring betrayal of Marxism than all the deeds of the Mensheviks in the years 1905-1917."

To justify this class-collaborationist betrayal, Stalin lauded the GMD as a "workers and peasants party." The bloc with Chiang Kai-shek left the Communists and their supporters politically and militarily disarmed. In April 1927, against criticisms of Trotsky's Left Opposition and only a few days before Chiang Kai-shek was to stage a bloody counter-revolutionary coup against Chinese workers, Stalin defended him as a "reliable ally." This prostration before Chiang resulted in the second Chinese Revolution being tragically drowned in blood as Chiang's forces turned on the CCP and butchered the best of the Chinese proletariat in Shanghai. Under directions not to fight back, some 25,000 CCP members were slaughtered in 1927 alone.

Initially all five Central Committee members of the CCP opposed the entry into the GMD. But Stalin's bureaucratic clique in the Soviet Union kept this opposition secret from Trotsky and his supporters. Nevertheless Trotsky did initiate a fight against Stalin's policy, and unlike the CCP leaders, did not back down to Stalin and Bukharin (see "The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism" *Spartacist* No. 53, Summer 1997). In 1929 Trotsky summed up the defeat of the second Chinese Revolution:

"The Chinese Communist Party entered a bourgeois party, the Kuomintang, while the bourgeois character of this party was disguised by a charlatan philosophy about a 'workers' and peasants' party' and even about a party of 'four classes' (Stalin-Martynov). The proletariat was thus deprived of its own party at a most critical period.... The responsibility falls entirely on the ECCI and Stalin...."

"Never and under no circumstances may the party of the proletariat enter into a party of another class or merge with it organizationally. An absolutely independent party of the proletariat is a first and decisive condition for communist politics."

—"The Political Situation in China and the Tasks of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition," June 1929

As a result of the political fight around China, Trotsky confirmed there was no "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie and generalised the theory of permanent

revolution to countries of combined and uneven development. Trotsky's later critique of Stalin and Bukharin's "Draft Program" for the Communist International, including its section on China, are contained in his 1928 work *The Third International After Lenin*. This book not only armed the future cadres of American Trotskyism, but also Chen Duxiu and other communists in China who rejected Stalinism and founded the Trotskyist Communist League of China (CLC) on May Day 1931.

Mao Embraces Chiang Kai-shek ... Again

A period of bourgeois terror and reaction followed the defeat of the second Chinese Revolution. The trade unions and other legal workers organisations were smashed or forced underground. Meanwhile the majority of the many-millioned poor peasantry continued to have almost no rights. Peasant women were so downtrodden that many were not even given names at birth.

The CCP turned away from the working class, shifting focus from the cities to the countryside, i.e., from the proletariat to the peasantry. Their perspective became one of mobilising the peasant masses to close in on the cities. This is borne out by CCP membership figures. In 1927, 58 percent of the ranks of the CCP were from the working class. In 1931, the figure amounted to less than one percent. By the early 1930s the CCP had become a peasant party with a declassed petty-bourgeois leadership.

In contrast, true to the theory of permanent revolution, the CLC remained in the cities, understanding that it was only the proletariat, leaning on the poor peasant masses, who could throw off the imperialist yoke, offer land to the tiller and win basic democratic rights through the expropriation of the capitalists and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. Explaining this revolutionary perspective, Trotsky drove home the difference between the class position and training of the workers and the peasants. He wrote:

"The worker approaches questions from the socialist standpoint; the peasant's viewpoint is petty bourgeois. The worker strives to socialize the property that is taken away from the exploiters; the peasant seeks to divide it up. The worker desires to put palaces and parks to common use; the peasant, in so far as he cannot divide them, inclines to burning the palaces and cutting down the parks. The worker strives to solve problems on a national scale and in accordance with a plan; the peasant, on the other hand, approaches all problems on a local scale and takes a hostile attitude to centralised planning, etc."

—"Peasant War in China and the Proletariat," September 1932

With the fall of its membership base in the cities, the CCP became increasingly stamped by their peasant environment and financially dependant on their rural supporters. This in turn made them reliant upon merchants and the wealthier sections

of the peasantry, leading to the conciliation of the rich peasants. By September 1930 the so-called "Kiangsi Provincial Soviet," a besieged CCP-controlled area in south-central China, adopted a new land law that even allowed the rich peasants to retain their own good land rather than requiring them to exchange it for the less fertile land of the poor peasants. It is no accident that all guerilla movements opt for a middle- or rich-peasant policy rather than taking the class struggle into the village; this is another reason why revolutionary Marxists oppose guerillaism and insist that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class.

Not long after Mao's forces had retreated from Southern China in the Long March, beginning in 1934, the Seventh Congress of the CI, under Stalin's leadership declared that the threat of fascism demanded that the proletariat ally itself to the so-called anti-fascist sections of the bourgeoisie in a vast "People's [or popular] Front." In 1931, Japan had invaded and occupied Manchuria. As it became increasingly clear that Japan was threatening to invade the rest of China from its base there, the devoutly nationalist Mao quickly adopted the CI's "people's front" line to push an "anti-Japanese united front" with the GMD.

By 1 August 1935 the CCP had issued an appeal to all "patriotic classes" to join the Communists' fight against Japan. In doing so they issued new guidelines to moderate agrarian policies in order to win support from rich and middle peasants. By 1936 orders had been issued to CCP cadre to ban the use of the name "Communist Party" at the sub-district level and replace it with "Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association."

The Japanese invasion of central China in 1937 saw the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War and a second "united front" between the CCP and Chiang's GMD. In October 1938 Mao would grovel that, "Without the Kuomintang it would be inconceivable to undertake and pursue the War of Resistance ... it has had two great leaders in succession—Mr. Sun Yat-Sen and Mr. Chiang Kai-shek" (Stuart Schram [ed.] *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, 1969). But the alliance between the CCP and GMD was more on the order of a very unstable non-aggression pact, with Chiang's forces staging repeated attacks on the Communist-led peasant armies. While Mao agreed (on paper) to disband the "soviet" governments that the CCP had set up in areas under its control and to share administration with the GMD, in practice the Communists maintained exclusive control over these areas.

In the war between imperialist Japan and semicolonial China, the Trotskyists adopted a policy of military support to China, while opposing Chiang Kai-shek politically. But when the GMD's war effort became subordinated to U.S. imperialism following U.S. entry into the

continued on page 8

China...

(continued from page 7)

Pacific War in December 1941, and with American general Joseph Stillwell taking command of the GMD armed forces, military support to Chiang's forces was no longer appropriate as it would have meant support to U.S. imperialism in the wider imperialist conflict. However, given that Mao's Red Army continued to wage an independent struggle against the Japanese occupiers and was *not* militarily subordinate to U.S. imperialism, revolutionary Marxists would have given military support to Mao's Red Army against the Japanese, seeking to rally the urban workers while denouncing the Stalinists for suppressing social struggle.

The leading role played by Mao's forces for national independence greatly enhanced the CCP's authority and influence and expanded the area under its control by the end of WWII. At the same time Mao held religiously to his commitments to the "patriotic" capitalists and landlords in Red Army territory throughout the period of the "united front." With the onset of WWII, he proposed the Menshevik pro-capitalist demand for "new democracy." Under "new democracy" the CCP guaranteed bourgeois class rule. In January 1942 the peasants were "advised to pay rent and interest as well as to protect the civil, political, land and economic rights of the landlord" (Decision of the Central Committee on Land Policy in the Anti-Japanese Base Areas). In April 1945 Mao was even more explicit, stating that "the program of the revolution is not to abolish private property" and that "reasonable profits of state, private and cooperative enterprises" would be "guaranteed" (*On Coalition Government*). The anti-Japanese popular front remained CCP policy until 1945. To maintain a bloc with the landlords, the agrarian program was watered down to nothing: no land confiscation was permitted and land reform became rent reduction.

Military Victory of PLA Results in Deformed Workers State

In January 1946 Mao concretised the CCP's class-collaborationist perspective at a "Political Consultative Conference" where he outlined the make-up of a bourgeois coalition government down to including 90 Nationalist army divisions and 18 CCP army divisions. This deal wasn't consummated because of anti-Communist hostility amongst elements of the GMD military who, in an attempt to decisively crush Mao's forces, escalated the war against the PLA. That Mao's liquidationist course did not lead to a repeat of the tragic counterrevolutionary events of 1926-27 was also due to the fact that the GMD government was so corrupt that Chiang couldn't afford to risk a coalition government.

It was only after Chiang refused to make a deal with the CCP that Mao put forward a radical land reform program, including confiscation of landlord property. This ignited support from the peasants. As Chiang's brutal and despotic army ruthlessly plundered the areas they controlled, the peasant masses, often at the point of starvation, flocked to join the CCP's Eighth Route Army. Across China, peasant uprisings broke out spontaneously against the vicious repression of Chiang's forces. Indeed amid economic and social chaos from 1946-1949 China was in a classic pre-revolutionary situation.

However, it wasn't until October 1947 that Mao even raised the slogan for the overthrow of the GMD regime. The GMD's occupation of the CCP base in Yenan finally made it clear that no compromise was possible and that a coalition government of a "new democratic type" was a pipe dream. Thus, and in violation of Stalin's explicit orders, the CCP

decided to strike out for state power. This decision to carry through a military victory occurred in the context of special conjunctural developments. The U.S. imperialist rulers had become so discouraged by the GMD government that they essentially withdrew backing in the period 1948-49. Meanwhile the Communist army, which had previously been deprived of weapons was suddenly supplied with large quantities of Japanese armaments following the Russian occupation of Manchuria. These factors led to the rout of the GMD forces and the toppling of Chiang's regime.

The declaration of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 marked the



Burke/Life

Victorious People's Liberation Army enters Beijing, January 1949.

birth of a bureaucratically deformed workers state. With the victory of Mao's forces the bulk of the Chinese bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan with the GMD, eliminating the crucial bourgeois element of "new democracy." By October 1949 power was completely in the hands of the CCP and the state power was based on the military dominance of the PLA. With Soviet aid, the CCP then set about building up a state sector of heavy industry. This was accelerated with the onset of the Korean War when measures were taken against the remaining domestic capitalists beginning in 1952. However, the ideology of this new CCP regime reflected the provincial consciousness characteristic of the peasantry. The CCP acted to ensure that the working class was not a factor in 1949. It responded to worker uprisings, of which there were a few in Shanghai and other cities, by banning strikes. Mao's anti-internationalism and hostility to mobilising the working class was highlighted by the fact that in December 1952 up to 1,000 Trotskyists and their sympathisers were rounded up by Mao's police. Many served decades and/or died in jail.

The Chinese Revolution, deformed as it was, proved there is *no* third road between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The whole course of revolutionary events proved the revisionist character of Mao's theories. There was and could be no extended democratic stage under capitalist class rule. While the CCP repeatedly sought to set up a "democratic" bourgeois regime, the property relations that resulted were those of a workers state. Given the complete powerlessness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, absence of the working class as an independent force, the predisposition of the CCP cadre for a state modeled on Stalin's Russia and objective pressures towards centralised economic planning, the collectivisation of the economy flowed inevitably from the PLA victory in 1949.

The smashing of capitalist class rule and the ensuing collectivisation of the economy laid the basis for a vast growth in social production and living standards. The new regime swept away much of the feudalist garbage. The gains of the Chinese Revolution brought progress especially for women. This included stamping out arranged marriages, female infanticide, foot binding and the selling of

peasant girls into concubinage. The revolution rapidly expanded literacy levels and vastly improved health care. Internationally the victory of the Chinese Revolution represented a huge defeat for the U.S. and other imperialist powers (including Australia). This was driven home by the intervention of China's PLA in the Korean War of 1950-53, which helped prevent North Korea being overrun by the U.S. imperialists and their capitalist South Korean puppet regime.

Notably the political origins of the deeply anti-Communist SAIt and Solidarity groups go back to the Korean War. Bowing to anti-Communist Cold War hysteria, the late Tony Cliff (SAIt and

Solidarity's theoretical godfather) capitulated to the British bourgeoisie and the then-ruling Labour Party. Cliff and his supporters refused to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against imperialist attack. Tony Cliff broke from the Trotskyist Fourth International along with some of his followers while others were expelled. Cliff's anti-Marxist "theory," which asserted the Soviet Union was "state capitalist," was used as a justification for their class betrayal, just as this "theory" is used today by SAIt to justify their refusal to defend the remaining deformed workers states against imperialism. In contrast we Marxists stand for the unconditional military defence of the North Korean and Chinese workers states, including their need to have and test nuclear weapons, in the face of the nuclear-armed imperialist madmen in Washington and their junior partners in Australia. We also fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through workers political revolution in the North and socialist revolution in the capitalist South.

Maoist Bureaucratic Rule: Adventurism and Betrayal

Marxists define socialism as the lowest stage of a classless egalitarian, i.e., communist, society based on material abundance and on the highest possible level of technology. It can only be built on the basis of international planning. Crucially this requires the overthrow of capitalist rule in the advanced imperialist centres such as the U.S., Japan, Europe and Aus-



Magnum

While U.S. rained bombs on heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, Mao greeted then-U.S. president Nixon in China in 1972.

tralia. Such a program was anathema for the nationalist Mao Zedong. Instead, the politics of Mao and subsequent leaders such as Deng Xiaoping and the current bureaucratic leadership are to appease imperialism and try to maintain the world status quo. Hostile to a working-class centred program, the Stalinist bureaucracy in China has oscillated between idealist peasant-based adventures such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), and the crazed intra-bureaucratic power struggle of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) while selling out worker and peasant struggles abroad.

In the 1960s, while under the gun of U.S. imperialism, Mao's regime put forward a fake "anti-imperialist" posture, which attracted youth around the world. This amounted to promoting and conciliating bourgeois nationalist regimes in neocolonial countries, leading to tragic results. Based on the same class-collaborationist politics that led to the crushing of the 1925-27 Revolution, Mao backed the Indonesian Communists' support to the capitalist Sukarno government. This subordination of the oppressed masses to the bourgeoisie paved the way for the crushing of the Indonesian Communist Party and the slaughter of up to one million Communists, workers, peasants, ethnic Chinese and other minorities in 1965-66.

Some years after the Sino-Soviet split between the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the Soviet Union, Mao sought and obtained an alliance with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union at the height of the imperialist war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in 1972. Disgustingly at the same time as U.S. warplanes were carpet bombing Vietnam, Mao was shaking hands with U.S. president, and war criminal, Richard Nixon in Beijing. This alliance was deepened under Deng Xiaoping. In 1979, acting as a cat's paw for U.S. imperialism, Deng ordered the PLA to invade Vietnam, the main Soviet ally in East Asia. The battle-hardened Vietnamese forces resisted effectively and delivered a stinging defeat to the PLA.

In the 1980s the Deng regime supported the imperialist-backed Islamic fundamentalist Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Red Army. From Australia, to Britain, to America the Cliffites pushed the same line and despicably sided with their own imperialist rulers against the 1979 Soviet intervention. In contrast we said "Hail Red Army!" and called to extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan people. We saluted the progress brought by this intervention especially for Afghan women. We also recognised that it was better to fight against imperialism in Kabul than in Moscow. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan by the Soviet bureaucracy was a betrayal of the Afghan and Soviet peoples.

In so many ways the Beijing bureaucracy aided the U.S. and Australian imperialists to fulfill their goal of destroying the Soviet Union. By its appeasement of imperialism the Stalinist bureaucracy in China has shown itself to be an obstacle to the defence of the Chinese Revolution

and to the necessary international workers revolution.

Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Counterrevolution

In 1978 when Deng Xiaoping came to power he introduced "market reforms" which he called building "socialism with Chinese characteristics." This was an attempt by the Chinese bureaucracy to use the whip of the market to overcome stagnating productivity caused by nationally narrow bureaucratic commandism. Over time, the regime abolished the so-called "iron rice bowl" which was premised on guaranteed employment. It opened the country to imperialist investment, gave up the state monopoly of foreign trade and substituted market mechanisms for a planned economy, including decollectivising agriculture.

It is true that, under Mao, China built a substantial industrial base. But without massive aid from abroad there could never be sufficient industrial development to revolutionise the countryside. At the time of Mao's death China remained a predominantly rural country and the low agricultural productivity was a barrier to industrial growth. It was on this basis of low productivity, including inefficiency, that Mao promoted mythical self-sufficiency based on generalised scarcity.

It is incontestable that over the last few decades "market reforms" have resulted in economic growth. This has had the effect of proletarianising tens of millions of former peasants, many of them women. Today over 50 percent of labour is employed in manufacturing, construction, transport and the service sector. Forty percent of the population is urbanised. These are developments of significant historical progress from a Marxist standpoint. But "market reforms" have also massively widened the gap in living conditions and have created a wealthy new class of capitalists with links to CCP officials and the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. Under the "reforms" millions have lost their jobs from the state-owned sector and been forced to work in the private sector for lower pay and none of the benefits provided by the state enterprises. And 150 million migrant workers have moved to the cities, where they are labouring under desperate conditions while being looked down upon by workers with urban residence permits.

These factors have resulted in an upsurge in defensive labour actions by workers that have seen attacks on corrupt managers and even pitched battles with the police. Meanwhile the CCP regime has responded with a mixture of repression and cash handouts to the more recently unemployed and the reversal of some privatisation measures. The Chinese bureaucracy is also aware of what happened in the Soviet Union and suppresses all political debate and opposition.

The Chinese workers and peasants have waged many struggles in the past ten years, but they are atomised and without a leadership whose perspective is to overthrow the political rule of the bureaucrats and place power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets. The powerful Chinese proletariat standing at the head of the peasants and urban poor need a Leninist-Trotskyist party to direct struggles to the seizure of political power. A workers political revolution, establishing a regime of workers and peasants councils, would seek to take advantage of the international division of labour by promoting a high level of exports and imports, and would renegotiate economic agreements with U.S. and other imperialist powers in the Chinese workers' favour. It would struggle to unify all sectors of the Chinese working class in alliance with the rural toilers, it would fight to ensure migrant workers all the rights accorded to legal urban residents and take up the fight against

any and all Han chauvinist discrimination against China's minority peoples.

A proletarian political revolution in China, based on defence of the collectivised economy, would re-establish a centrally planned economy and with it a state monopoly of foreign trade and ensure basic economic security for all workers. However, even the most far-sighted communist leadership would not be able to overcome the limits facing China in a world dominated by powerful imperialist states. The establishment of a revolutionary government in China would spark revolutionary upsurges beginning in Korea and Japan through to the oppressed masses of Southeast Asia and here in Australia. Only through the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, particularly in the imperialist centres of North America, West Europe, Japan and Australia, can the material basis be laid for the all-round modernisation of China as part of a socialist Asia.

The social contradictions in China are growing and, when they blow, either capitalist counterrevolution or workers political revolution will be posed. The potential for workers political revolution was shown in the events around Tiananmen Square in 1989. Student demonstrations against bureaucratic corruption were joined by worker protests against the effects of high inflation.



Peter Turnley

May 1989: Workers arrive at Tiananmen Square to join mass student protests. Entry of workers signalled incipient proletarian political revolution.

Workers began to protest, hold mass meetings and form assemblies in cities across China, which could have led to the formation of workers councils or soviets. The Chinese bureaucracy was initially paralysed when the first army units sent in failed to suppress the demonstration. For two weeks the regime could not implement its own martial law decree. Ultimately the regime was able to mobilise loyal army units which savagely crushed the protesters. The massacre overwhelmingly targeted the workers. We called to "Oust the Bureaucrats—For Lenin's Communism! Workers and Soldiers Soviets Must Rule!" After the massacre, *Workers Vanguard*, the paper of our U.S. section headlined: "Defend Chinese Workers! Stop the Executions!"

Months later, amidst significant demonstrations in the East German deformed workers state, the ICL intervened to fight for the revolutionary reunification of Germany. This meant a proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the imperialist West, for a red Germany in a socialist Europe. As part of this struggle, in January 1990, we initiated a united-front demonstration to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial in Treptow park in East Berlin. The then-ruling Stalinist party, feeling pressure from their base, took up our call and some 250,000 East Germans came out in solidarity with the Soviet Union against the fascists. From the platform of this demonstration there were two counterposed political programs, that of the Stalinists and that of revolutionary Trotskyism presented by us (see article on page 3).

In August 1991, when most of the fake-Trotskyists internationally, and the reformist left in Australia, including the DSP and the International Socialists

(forebears of SALT and Solidarity), cheered for capitalist "democracy" and sided with Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary forces in Moscow, we intervened in Russia distributing tens of thousands of leaflets calling for "Soviet Workers—Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Fighting against capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union we published and distributed Trotsky's *Third International After Lenin* for the first time in Russian. We fought to bring authentic Marxism back to the homeland of the October Revolution. Our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in the struggle to do so. Capitalist counterrevolution was a catastrophic defeat for working people in the former Soviet Union and throughout the world.

For an Internationalist Revolutionary Workers Party!

Our aim is to build internationalist revolutionary workers parties. In this country such a party will be built in political struggle against the ALP and the trade-union misleaders of the working class. The ALP's anti-communist and racist roots run very deep. In 1949, the same year the Chifley Labor government sent troops to smash the powerful coalminers' strike, it also dispatched warships to take supplies up the Yangtze River to Chiang Kai-shek's forces. The

ALP has backed every war and every dirty colonial adventure by Australian imperialism. Backed by the reformist left, one of the ALP's greatest crimes against the working class was its loyal service to the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, leading to the destruction of the world's first workers state.

It was no surprise then, that earlier this year the capitalist Rudd Labor government fueled a xenophobic anti-China backlash, preventing a Chinese state-owned company from investing in the moribund Australian company OZ Minerals on "security" grounds. The racist and anti-Communist hysteria that was whipped up was designed to line the population up behind the counterrevolutionary aims of the Australian and American rulers against China. The invention of a Chinese "threat" was then used to justify the government's proposed military build-up, which will be used to enforce Australian imperialism's exploitation in the region and hawkishly targets China.

The Laborite trade-union misleaders back the bourgeoisie's anti-China campaign. We all know that the bourgeoisie have been escalating attacks on the working class, cutting jobs and conditions. Rather than engaging in a class-struggle fight against the capitalist rulers, the union tops join with the bourgeoisie and whip up "buy Australian" nationalist protectionism, pushing the lie that workers overseas are stealing the jobs of workers in Australia.

For years this nationalist protectionist poison has particularly targeted China. For example last year, in response to a loss of 600 jobs at South Pacific Tyres, the manufacturing workers union in Victoria declared "the decision demonstrates a

worrying trend of companies taking their work off-shore to places like China for cheaper unregulated labour." In blaming workers overseas for job losses, such protectionism not only serves to divide workers, it also fuels racist scapegoating of immigrants and refugees and foments vicious racist attacks on minorities, such as the murderous spate of bashings of Indian and Chinese students. Targeting China, such protectionism is particularly destructive because it lines workers in Australia up behind their own capitalist rulers against the Chinese deformed workers state.

Against the chauvinism of the union tops, and the ALP to which they are connected, it is necessary to build a new leadership in the trade unions, one which begins with the understanding that the interests of the working class and the interests of the capitalists are irreconcilably counterposed. We stand for international class-struggle solidarity in defence of jobs and say: Down with all protectionist poison! The ALP is a bourgeois workers party, bourgeois in its outlook and program but based on the trade unions. An internationalist revolutionary workers party will be built by splitting the working-class base of the ALP away from its pro-capitalist leadership.

Such a Marxist party, based on the principles of scientific socialism and historical (i.e., dialectical) materialism, would fight to impart to the proletariat the dearly bought lessons from the international workers movement including the necessity to defend the gains that the working class has already won. Winning workers from Australia to Japan, to the U.S. and Europe to an understanding of the historic significance of the Chinese Revolution, including defending the gains which issued from it in the form of the core collectivised economy, is integral to winning them to a revolutionary perspective towards overthrowing capitalism at home.

Only when workers revolutions put the industrial capacity and technologies of the advanced imperialist countries to use in an international planned economy under the rule of the working class will the basis be laid for a socialist society of material abundance pointing to a communist future for all. This is what the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is fighting for: For the communism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks and the reforging of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Women and Revolution

Women Workers and the Contradictions of China Today

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 61 ENGLISH EDITION SPRING 2009

Down With Executive Offices of the Capitalist State!

Marxist Principles and Electoral Tactics

Against Apologists for the Treachery of the POUM, Then and Now

Trotskyism vs. Popular Frontism in the Spanish Civil War

Women and Revolution

Women Workers and the Contradictions of China Today

Spartacist (English edition)
Theoretical journal of the
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)
No. 61, Spring 2009
\$2.00 (64 pages)

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

East Germany...

(continued from page 3)

The Red Army crushed the Nazi regime and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state east of the Elbe. But the resurgence of German nationalism and fascist terror has not been restricted to the West German successor state of the Third Reich. There, the first victims of fascist terror are immigrant workers. And now similar attacks, for example on Vietnamese workers, are taking place in East Germany. Hostility to immigrant workers such as the Poles has been expressed even in the mass protest demonstrations, as in Dresden. Instead, as a banner on November 4 declared, "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" This means: **Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers East and West!**

Today a wing of the East German security forces shows its support for revanchist capitalist restoration under the watchword of German nationalism by cloning a new generation of fascist terrorist skinheads and scum, the existence of which the bureaucracy has done its best to deny. A banner of an anti-fascist contingent at the November 4 demonstration read, "Weimar: 160 Nazi Skinheads Organized a Manhunt." Even the perimeter of this massive demonstration was infested with fascists from West and East. Just as Russian workers must smash Pamyat, workers/minorities in East and West Germany had better organize to crush these vermin **now!**

A demonstration of 50,000 SED [Socialist Unity Party] members in East Berlin on November 10 demanded "No sellout of the DDR," for "real plans," and "return to Lenin." Stalin gave central planning a bad name. The East German economy is the most successful in Eastern Europe. Workers may chant "Gorby, Gorby, help us." But by and large they reject Gorbachev's "perestroika" and "market socialism," which have bred increasing misery and national conflict from the Balkans to the Baltic and Caucasus. East German workers are not about to surrender the social gains they have won. Attempts to form a Solidarność-style anti-



Spartakist
Spartacists raise banner "For a Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe" at demonstration in honour of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, East Berlin, 14 January 1990. Spartakist Workers Party poster for March 1990 elections declares, "No to Capitalist Reunification!"

Communist "free union" have fizzled.

Workers in the DDR have followed attentively the strikes against perestroika of Soviet miners. The factory committees the miners have organized are the **core of real workers soviets**, which are **the key** if economic planning is to be controlled by the working class. Although tremendous ferment exists in the plants, the working class remains politically atomized, e.g., there have as yet been no strikes, which would immediately be **political**. Workers councils must be established at the point of production with control over quantity and quality. Computerized input-output analysis (developed by Russian-born economist Leontief) can permit investments in line with the democratically controlled growth of investment and consumption.

When the Wall started coming down on Friday [November 9], the West German stock market went up, because Frankfurt bankers and their SPD [social-democratic] front men are dreaming of bleeding East Germany dry the way they have Poland and Hungary. To defend collec-

tivized property and to attack the world market, East Germany needs a stable, readily convertible currency (e.g., based on the gold standard like the Soviet *chervonets* in 1923). However, an isolated revolutionary East German workers state would still be threatened by the power of cheap commodities, as Marx warned.

There can be no genuine socialism in half a country facing an economically far more powerful imperialist neighbor. From the podium of the massive November 4 demonstration writer Stefan Heym was enthusiastically received when he said, "Socialism, not Stalinist but the real thing, which we want to finally build, for our benefit and that of all Germany, is unthinkable without democracy." The defense of collectivized property in East Germany requires its extension to the West. That means the expropriation of the Frankfurt bankers by proletarian revolution in the West—to which immigrant workers are key. We Trotskyists call for the **revolutionary reunification of Germany** through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution

in the East. Because of the strategic weight of Germany in Europe, reunification, if it is not to recreate an imperialist behemoth, a Fourth Reich, can only be as part of a **Socialist United States of Europe**.

The huge protest demonstrations, impressive in their discipline, remain dominated by petty-bourgeois forces like Neues Forum and the Social Democrats (SDP). On November 4, Neues Forum called for "free elections" supervised by the UN, i.e., by imperialism, while the SDP, just like Helmut Kohl, called for a return to a "market economy." When the [West German] SPD and their hangers-on talk about "democratic socialism" they mean "democratic" counterrevolution, of which the SPD intends to be the general staff. While Kohl was booed down, Brandt and Momper were cheered. The Social Democrats are the main danger for East German workers.

The International Communist League and its German section, the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands, uphold the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the social gains of the October Revolution and its extension from East Berlin to Havana against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. In contrast, the social democrats faking as Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel and the Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter [followers of the dubious David North] surrender these gains at every point they are challenged. They backed Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid in 1981 and opposed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against imperialist-backed clerical reaction in 1979.

To date no left opposition has surfaced within the SED. Yet there have been expressions of support for real communism in the DDR, such as the signs on November 4 calling "for a new communist party." As in 1953, what is lacking today is a proletarian internationalist vanguard party fighting for power. Forging such a party requires returning to the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky! Hail Rosa Luxemburg, the greatest founder of German Communism, murdered by the Freikorps at the behest of the SPD leadership! The German Revolution, East and West, needs a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! ■

Polanski...

(continued from page 5)

from one another in schools and colleges. The religious strictures of the Catholic church and other religious sects, including orthodox Judaism, keep thousands of women trapped in an endless cycle of poverty, pregnancy and ever more mouths to feed. The aged are locked into grim and tiny rooms to die as their wardens debate "Should sex be allowed in old age homes?"

In ignorance and shame thousands of poor young women are forced into dangerous abortions without Medicaid, while the wealthy manage as they always have. The more unfortunate must either bear their unwanted children or else be sterilized permanently in government hospitals while great debate rages as to whether the young should be "exposed" to contraceptives and birth control information. There is also the hideous frustration and sexual tension built up within the family itself, with attendant beatings and brutalization of children, including their sex-

ual mistreatment. Rape and these other very real crimes, along with the prostitution which is the eternal companion of enforced monogamy, are the sordid reality behind "public morality."

Polanski has been made the latest public target in the state's vindictive attempts to uphold the puritan myth and hide this reality. Even his brilliant and often powerful films, like "Cul de Sac," "Knife in the Water," "Repulsion," and more recently "Rosemary's Baby" and "Chinatown," have been used against him. As one Columbia Pictures executive moaned, "Roman's got such a bad reputation for being a pervert film maker, he's going to be judged guilty by his work" (*Time*, 28 March 1977).

What emerges from the director's life, however, is a pattern of successful creative achievement in the face of a pattern of violence and tragedy. As a young boy Polanski saw his parents ripped away (to disappear permanently in the concentration camps) by Nazi stormtroopers. At 15 he was beaten almost to death with an iron bar by a maniac. After achieving a reputation as a talented filmmaker in Stalinist Poland, he emigrated to the West—where his pregnant wife, the actress Sharon Tate, was hideously slaughtered at home along with the couple's friends by the crazed Manson family. And now Polanski has had the humiliation and torture of spending over a month in prison for "psychiatric observation." (If this had occurred in the Soviet Union, where dissidents are barbarously locked up in mental

hospitals, the director would already be high on the list of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign.)

Yet to the state of California Polanski is a "sex criminal" and it threatens more prison. It is no wonder why the victim chose to leave America. As he rightly observed, "They spent 42 days trying to drive me bizarre, but thank god I'm smart and rich..." (*New York Post*, 7 February). He went on:

"In America, California, I lose my wife, my baby, my friends, perhaps my sanity and almost my freedom. No, I say, no! The Nazis couldn't take it away from me, nor could the grief of my losses. And this little whore and the California laws won't either. I have given much and they have taken too much from me."

Good for him. We are cheered to see that this ordeal of puritanical witchhunting has not broken Roman Polanski's spirit.

The Polanski case has stirred up the poisonous fears and vicious repression which underlies bourgeois morality. As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed "norms." The guiding principle for sexual relations between people should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own concern, and the state has no business interfering in human sexual activity.

Drop the charges against Roman Polanski! No extradition! Stop the puritanical witchhunt! ■

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Workers Vanguard/Australasian Spartacist

Marxist working-class biweekly of the Spartacist League/U.S. and quarterly Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia

\$20 for 22 issues *WV* and 4 issues *ASp*

OR \$5 for 4 issues, overseas: \$7 **Australasian Spartacist** only
 \$15 for 22 issues **Workers Vanguard** only

All subscriptions include English-language *Spartacist*. *Workers Vanguard* subscriptions include *Black History and the Class Struggle*.

I would like to contribute \$_____ to the production of *Australasian Spartacist*.

Name _____

Address _____

Suburb _____ State _____ P'code _____

Phone _____ E-mail _____

207
Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

Immigrants...

(continued from page 1)

the growing and bloody occupation of Afghanistan, where under the banner of the "war on terror" thousands of civilians have been maimed and slaughtered.

While particularly targeting Arab, Asian and Muslim people, the "anti-terror" laws are ultimately aimed against the entire working class. Today, the Construction Forestry Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) is targeted by the witchhunting Australian Building Construction Commission (ABCC) of the Rudd government. The ABCC's ASIO-style powers to spy on, secretly interrogate and prosecute militant workers, are patterned on the "anti-terror" laws. CFMEUer Ark Tribe faces a jail sentence of up to six months for allegedly failing to attend a compulsory ABCC interrogation. We say: Defend the unions! Down with government union busting including the ABCC! It is necessary to organise a proletarian-centred fight against all the reactionary "anti-terror" and anti-union laws.

White Australia Racism and Laborism

One of the very few notes of public dissent by ALP politicians against Rudd's racist war on refugees came from retiring federal backbencher Julia Irwin, who aptly labelled Rudd's "Indonesian solution" worse than the previous Howard government's "Pacific solution." Australian capitalism's immigration laws are designed to ensure that only those who have the desired skills, money or anti-communist credentials—and preferably the "right" skin colour—are allowed in. Thus, while demonising Tamil and other refugees, Rudd simultaneously peddles the view of a wing of the capitalist rulers who worry that Australia's current population base is insufficient to compete economically against their rivals.

Australia was established as a white imperialist enclave in Asia—a British penal colony built on the bloody dispossession and mass murder of the Aboriginal people, pogroms against the Chinese people and a racist colour bar to keep out anyone not "Anglo-Celtic" enough. "White Australia" racism was a founding pillar of the ALP. The exclusion of "cheap" Asian labour was the basis of the Labor Party's chimera of bringing prosperity to its white Australian working-class base through domestic capitalist ownership and the exploitation of Australia's natural resources. While the White Australia policy has been formally abolished and Australia is no longer lily-white, Australia is nevertheless a virulently racist minor imperialist power. And the ALP, wedded to the rule of capital, continues to identify with the xenophobic fears of its own ruling class.

The ALP is a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly bourgeois in its program, outlook and leadership while based on the trade unions. Through the instrument of the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, the "labour lieutenants of capital," the bourgeoisie's "values" are transmitted to the working class. Pushing nationalism and "protection" of Australian industry, the trade-union bureaucracy instils in the proletariat the lie that workers and their capitalist bosses have fundamental interests in common. Earlier this year, the leader of the right-wing Australian Workers' Union, Paul Howes, railed against taxpayers' money "supporting the jobs of Indian steelmakers or Chinese steelmakers or Brazilian aluminium-makers" (*Australian*, 3 February). Such wretched class collaboration is intended to blind the proletariat to the irreconcilable conflict between labour and capital, poisoning international working-class solidarity. Against such nationalist trash we counterpose the clarion call of the *Communist*

Manifesto: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

Howes, a darling of the Murdoch press, received much media coverage recently when he criticised the government's policy on refugees. Stating that "This is an issue about leadership," the staunchly Labor-loyal and deeply anti-communist Howes declared, "Malcolm Fraser turned public opinion around to accepting the Vietnamese boat people. Arthur Calwell, the immigration minister in the Chifley government, taught the people about what immigration means for Australia, about the benefits" (*Age*, 7 November). Lining up to applaud Howes' stance on refugees were a gamut of trade-union bureaucrats and their "left" tails. Tim Gooden, Geelong Trades Hall Council secretary and pin-up boy of the Democratic Socialist Perspective's Socialist Alliance (SA), added his own whitewash of the Chifley Labor government, declaring it "helped build this country by welcoming people fleeing war and persecution" (*Green Left Weekly*, 28 October).

Immigration policies under capitalism serve not only the economic but also the political interests of the bourgeoisie. With the xenophobic White Australia capitalist rulers desperate for more workers after World War II, the slogan of the post-war Chifley Labor government was "Populate or Perish." Directed against the Japanese in particular and the Asian masses in general, it meant populate Australia with white immigrants. Thus innumerable fascist war criminals were welcomed, while their victims—Jews and communists—were not, as immigration officials were instructed to comb the displaced persons camps looking for "Aryans." When not enough "Anglo-Celts" could be persuaded to migrate, others from Eastern and, later, Southern Europe were declared to be "white enough" to qualify.

Deeply committed to "White Australia," the Chifley government at the same time was determined to deport all Asians who had ended up in Australia during the war—some of whom had married Australian citizens. However an exception was made following the 1949 Chinese Revolution. In the name of anti-Communism, there would be no deportations to "Red China."

While SA's Tim Gooden praises Chifley's racist "immigration" program, the virulent anti-communists of Socialist Alternative (SAIt) paint a rosy picture of the Fraser government's "acceptance" of thousands of Vietnamese in the late 1970s (*Socialist Alternative*, December 2009). Under intense pressure from the U.S., Fraser's acceptance was premised on saving members and supporters of the imperialists' brutal puppet regime in South Vietnam following the defeat of U.S. and Australian forces by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. While the Vietnamese arrivals were nevertheless subjected to vile White Australia racism, many were also used by the state to physically suppress expressions of solidarity here with the Vietnamese Revolution. In 1985, rightist Vietnamese mobs were unleashed by the Hawke Labor government against meetings celebrating the 10th anniversary of the revolution.

For their part, the reformists of Solidarity, particularly through their Refugee Action Coalition (RAC), have for years used the refugee issue to push anti-communism and loyalty to capitalist "democracy." In 2007, Solidarity turned a refugee rights rally into a platform for the bourgeois Greens and the counterrevolutionary Falun Gong and "Free China" crowd to vituperate against the Chinese deformed workers state.

Protectionist Poison and "Border Security"

While the CFMEU and Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) tops have also expressed some concern for refugees, this is thin gruel compared with their ongoing

role in whipping up anti-immigrant chauvinism and directly helping to enforce fortress White Australia on behalf of the capitalist rulers and their government. The CFMEU, with its large multiracial membership, have episodically taken up the defence of deeply exploited "guest workers." However, alongside this, CFMEU leaders such as Andrew Ferguson rail against "illegal" construction workers "taking away the jobs of Australian workers" (*Australian*, 16 October). Despicably, the CFMEU tops have also boasted of reporting "illegal" workers to the cops for arrest and deportation ("Liberals go soft on illegals," *Unity*, December 2000).

The MUA misleaders have also long pushed nationalist protectionism, for example demanding "Australian crews for Australian ships." In late October, in the midst of the desperate effort by the 78 Tamil asylum seekers aboard the *Oceanic Viking* to win asylum in Australia, the MUA tops issued a statement that gave support to the government's anti-refugee "border protection" frenzy. Referring to the 13 MUA seafarers on board the armed government Customs vessel, the union bureaucracy crowed, "The central role played by Australian seafarers is crucial in complementing defence and border security arrangements" (30 October MUA media statement).

Notwithstanding the fact that the MUA and CFMEU tops subsequently announced a union donation of \$10,000 to the refugees on board the *Oceanic Viking*, the role of these pro-capitalist misleaders of the unions is to push the class-collaborationist lie that workers have an interest in defending the borders of Australian capitalism. A class-struggle leadership in the unions, in fighting to forge international proletarian unity, would stand intransigently opposed to such pro-capitalist nationalist bile.

Customs, along with the military, police, courts, prisons and detention camps, are part of the armed fist of the capitalist state whose purpose is to protect capitalist rule and the private ownership of the means of production. The navy is the frontline in Rudd's "border control" against refugees, while the police and military enforce the government's takeover of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and are used against workers' pickets. In 1989, the Hawke Labor government used air force pilots in a strike-breaking operation to smash the pilots' union and in 1949 the Chifley Labor government called in the troops to smash the coalminers' strike. The capitalist state apparatus cannot be wielded in the interests of the working class and oppressed. It must be smashed through working-class revolution.

A Revolutionary Perspective Vs. Laborite Reformism

In response to a reactionary backlash over the announced union donation to the Tamil refugees on the *Oceanic Viking*, SA and SAIt cadre rushed to laud the MUA/CFMEU tops without a word of criticism of these bureaucrats' willing service to "defending Australia's borders." In this they illustrate their role in the Laborite chain that binds workers to the capitalist system. The reformists serve as a cover for the "left" union bureaucrats who in turn cover for the ALP, whose role in government is to administer Australian imperialism on behalf of the capitalist rulers.

SA, SAIt and the Socialist Party (SP) have joined a dozen organisations from Malaysia to New Zealand in signing a 5 November statement protesting the treatment of Tamil refugees. It appeals to the capitalist regimes in the region and demands that racist Australian imperialism "take a leading role in helping reduce the misery of the world's millions of refugees." With this demand, SA, SP and SAIt push deadly illusions in the imperia-

lists (especially "their own"), whose depredations around the globe are *responsible* for the horrific plight of refugees.

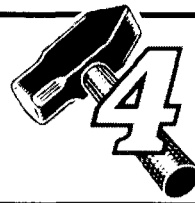
These reformists call for refugees to be allowed to "live in freedom in Australia while their claims are processed," i.e., until this racist government decides to deport them or not. SA, SAIt and SP all endorsed a 5 December Melbourne rally organised by RAC, "Let the refugees into Australia," which deep-sixes even the usual reformist opposition to mandatory detention in order not to offend the Labor Party, who they helped put in power at the last elections. In contrast to these groups, we Marxists do not seek to advise capitalist governments on more "progressive" immigration policies. All laws in defence of the nationally-based bourgeoisie's rule are necessarily racist and chauvinist.

Of a piece with building illusions in White Australia capitalism, SA, SAIt and SP also promote the "humanitarian" credentials of the United Nations, an imperialist den of thieves, their victims and intended victims. Sowing illusions in Australian imperialism and the United Nations is not new for these "little Australia" reformists. In 1999 they marched in lock-step with the ALP and trade-union bureaucrats in demonstrations that screamed for Australian imperialist troops to go to East Timor. The Australian-led UN occupation there has meant racist state terror and brutal imperialist exploitation. We say: Australian troops out of Afghanistan, East Timor, and the Solomons! For a class-struggle fight for refugee and immigrant rights!

In its attempts to maximise profits, the capitalist class shifts production to low-wage neocolonies while seeking out the cheapest sources of labour at home: foreign-born workers, women and youth. New layers of immigrants bring into the multiracial working class valuable experiences from struggles abroad. A class-struggle fight in defence of refugees and for immigrant rights would help build a bridge to the struggles of workers from Indonesia to the Philippines who are heavily exploited by Australian imperialism. We stand on the all too rare examples of international working-class solidarity, such as waterfront workers' actions in solidarity with Indonesia's struggle for independence in the late 1940s and with the fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against U.S./Australian imperialism in the 1960s and 70s.

If the trade unions are to become weapons of struggle in the interests of the working class and oppressed, a leadership must be built in political opposition to the fetid Laborite nationalism and obeisance to the capitalist state pushed by the current trade-union misleaders and their "left" tails. Fighting for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism, such a leadership, linked to a revolutionary party, would fight to organise the unorganised. It would fight to bring undocumented workers and exploited women outworkers into the unions with full union rights and conditions, as part of a class-struggle fight for jobs for all. It would mobilise the multiracial working class in struggle against all the government's racist immigration laws, demanding full citizenship rights for all, asylum rights for all those fleeing right-wing repression and a halt to racist deportations.

The indispensable instrument to transform the political consciousness of the working class from a class in itself to a class *for* itself, conscious of its historic role in sweeping away the whole rotting capitalist system, is a Leninist vanguard party. Such a party will champion the cause of oppressed minorities, immigrants and Aborigines, exposing all the capitalist tyranny and injustice, winning the advanced layers of the proletariat to its banner in the struggle for socialist revolution. *For a workers republic of Australia, as part of a socialist Asia!* ■



60th Anniversary of Chinese Revolution

Defend, Extend the Gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution!

The following is based on forums given by comrade Ralf Neuer in Melbourne and Sydney in October.

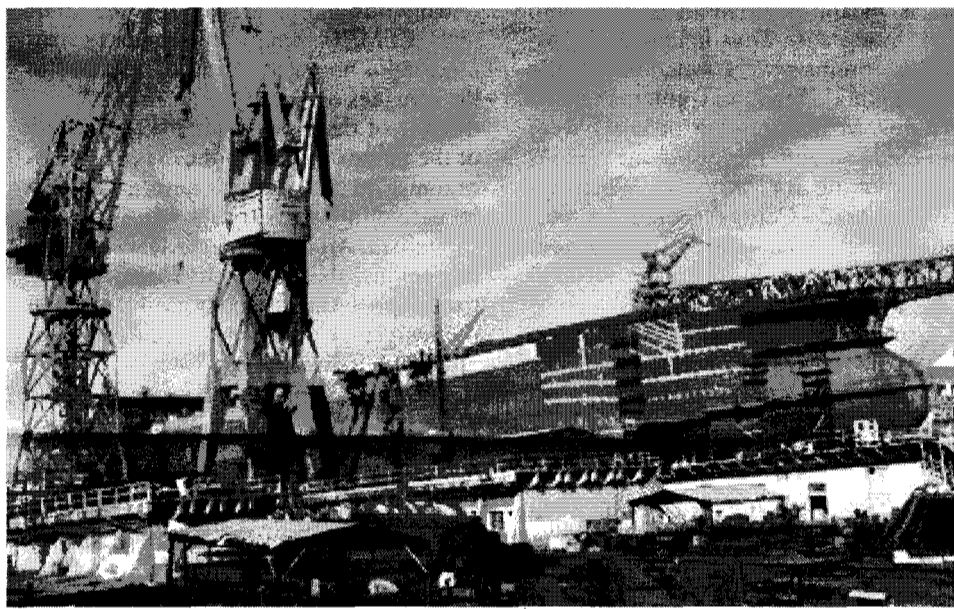
Sixty years ago China experienced a profound social revolution as the peasant-based People's Liberation Army (PLA) led by Mao Zedong's Communist Party (CCP) overthrew the imperialist-backed bourgeois-nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang (GMD). The victory of Mao's PLA destroyed the Chinese capitalist state, smashed the rule of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landlords and ripped the country out of the clutches of the imperialist powers. The 1949 Chinese Revolution brought enormous social gains to China's workers, peasants and especially deeply oppressed women, and further ignited anti-colonial and revolutionary struggles across Southeast Asia.

However, unlike the 1917 Russian Revolution, which was made by a class-conscious proletariat guided by the internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party, the Chinese Revolution, based on the peasant masses, was shaped by the *absence* of the Chinese workers struggling for power in their own right. Thus the People's Republic of China was from its inception a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state with a nationalist petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste resting atop the proletarian property forms issuing from the revolution. The CCP established a regime patterned on the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which had usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in a *political* counter-revolution beginning in 1923-24.

Against opponents of revolutionary Marxism such as the Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP), who argue that China has become capitalist, or others such as Socialist Alternative (SAlt) or Solidarity, who assert that China never ceased to be capitalist, we in the International Communist League (ICL) argue that despite decades of "market reforms" and the development of a sizable class of capitalist entrepreneurs (many of them former government functionaries and their children), the core of the Chinese economy continues to be based on collectivised property forms. State-owned enterprises remain dominant in strategic industrial sectors such as steel, nonferrous metals, heavy machinery, shipbuilding, telecommunications, electric power, oil extraction and refining. The nationalisation of the land has prevented the emergence of a class of agrarian capitalists socially dominating the countryside. The state that issued out of the 1949 Revolution has not been overthrown and replaced by armed bodies of men committed to the private ownership of the means of production.

In contrast, the DSP argue that China gradually became capitalist as a result of

For Unconditional Military Defence! For Workers Political Revolution!



BusinessWeek

Above: China State Shipbuilding Corporation, part of China's collectivised industry. Below: Beijing, this year, Chinese workers protest threatened layoffs at Panasonic factory. Twenty million Chinese workers have lost jobs, mainly in export industry, since onset of capitalist global economic crisis.



AP/Andy Wong

incremental privatisations and administrative measures by the bureaucracy. This constitutes a fundamental revision of the Marxist view of the state. It complements the reformist myth that the capitalist state, such as exists in Australia, could transform itself into a workers state by gradual nationalisations and parliamentary acts. Such "analysis" not only eradic-ates the need for workers revolution but also the necessity for a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead that struggle. It is nothing but a cover for capitulating to the Australian ruling class and its drive to smash the Chinese deformed workers state.

That China is not capitalist can be seen in the context of today's world capitalist economic crisis. The dominant weight of

China's state-owned enterprises and banks has prevented it from being dragged into the spiraling economic crisis that has ravaged most capitalist countries. Ongoing control over the financial system has enabled the Beijing regime to shield China from speculative money-capital, which often causes havoc in neocolonial countries. However, China is by no means totally insulated from the destructive irrationality of the world capitalist market. Over 20 million migrant workers have lost their jobs since the onset of the world economic crisis, mainly from factories owned by foreign and offshore Chinese capitalists who produce for export.

In contrast to the stimulus programs designed to bail out the bosses in many

capitalist countries, China's stimulus program is centred on investment in infrastructure by state-owned enterprises and government bodies, and expanding loans by state-controlled banks has offset the massive decline in export earnings. While almost all capitalist economies have been shrinking, China's rate of growth is about eight percent.

Indeed a comparison between China and India since 1949 shows the immense advantage of an economy whose motor force is not production for private profit. At the time at which capitalist India gained national independence shortly before the Chinese Revolution it was on a par with China both economically and in terms of human misery. Today, India's per capita gross domestic product is only half that of China, while China's poverty rate is half that of India. The malnutrition rate of children in China is one quarter that of India. In China, almost 90 percent of women are illiterate, roughly twice that of India.

To the extent that the CCP regime has opened up sections of the country to capitalist investment, it has acted as a labour contractor for the imperialists and offshore Chinese capitalists. But this does not equate to the rule of capital. As was the case in the former Soviet Union, the decisive arena in which a capitalist counterrevolution would have to triumph is at the *political* level, in the conquest of *state power*. The imperialists understand this very well. Seeking to reimpose unbridled capitalist exploitation, the imperialists aim to promote an anti-Communist political opposition tied to domestic and foreign capital. This is why they are constantly harping about "political liberalisation" and pushing China to open up its banking sector and privatise the core of its state-owned industry. It is also why they back reactionary religious-based movements, led by the likes of the Tibetan Dalai Lama, and promote the rabidly nationalist World Uighur Congress leader Rebiya Kadeer. As part of our defence of China we stood opposed to the counterrevolutionary riots in Tibet last year and have written a fine article on the communalist outbreak in Xianjing earlier this year (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 941, 28 August).

Ever since the revolution the imperialists' strategic aim has been to return China to the subjugation, exploitation and misery that existed prior to 1949. This they hope to achieve through a combination of economic penetration and military pressure. For their part the nationalist Chinese bureaucracy, seeking "peaceful coexistence," are ever ready to collaborate with the imperialists. In recent years they have supported the U.S.-led "war on terror" under which banner the imperialists have occupied Iraq and Afghanistan

continued on page 6