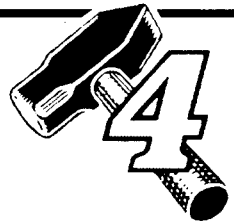


Australasian **SPARTACIST**



Number 171

Winter 2000

50 cents

"Reconciliation" is a Racist Hoax

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!

N.Y. SPARTACIST LEAGUE
P.O. BOX 3381
CHURCH ST. STATION
NEW YORK, NY 10008
212-267-1025

Break With Laborism— Build a Revolutionary Workers Party, Tribune of the People!

*The article below was issued as a 24
May Australasian Spartacist supplement.*

Fifteen-year-old Aboriginal youth Johnno Wurrumarrba was only telling the truth when he said he was being jailed "because I am black." A week later, on 9 February, Johnno, sentenced to 28 days in prison for allegedly stealing some pens and pencils, was dead in Darwin's Don Dale Juvenile Centre. The cops, as usual, claimed he had committed suicide. Founded on the historic genocide, uprooting and dispossession of the Aboriginal peoples, 200 years later "White Australia" capitalism still means racist brutality and death for Aborigines.

Johnno Wurrumarrba's death sparked justified outrage across the country over the racist mandatory sentencing laws that are openly aimed at Aborigines. Hundreds of Aboriginal people are behind bars for having a beer in a park or for "offensive" language. Stealing biscuits, a



no credit



Antony Weate

Founded on historic genocide, dispossession of Aboriginal peoples, over 200 years of "White Australia" capitalism still means poverty, racist brutality and death for Aborigines.

bit of change or a towel means prison. For many Aboriginal people, as the soaring number of deaths in custody demonstrates, a jail sentence means a death sentence.

Now those responsible for the racist state terror against Aborigines are pushing "reconciliation." The 28 May march

in Sydney is sponsored by capitalist corporations and heavily backed by the NSW Labor government. Their idea of reconciliation is that Aborigines should forgive and forget, resigning themselves to an existence of all-sided racist oppression while the ruling class absolves itself of its crimes, past and present.

In desperation, some Aboriginal people hope the "reconciliation process" and government acceptance of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation's document—ten years in the making, the creation of hand-picked Aboriginal "leaders" and government bureaucrats—might lead to
continued on page 8

ISO, WP—Waterboys for Pro-Imperialist Laborites

Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Get Out of East Timor Now!

The increasingly ugly and violent neo-colonial occupation of East Timor is now in its eighth month. Last September, the Australian imperialists and their allies cynically used the systematic campaign of terror by death squad "militias" sponsored by the Indonesian army as a pretext for imperialist intervention in the name of "humanitarianism." The racist brutality of the imperialist occupiers is such that many East Timorese now regard their supposed UN "benefactors" as little different than the bloody Indonesian rulers. As Maria Bernadino of Rebuild Watch in Dili said to ABC's *Background Briefing* in early May:

"At this point in time it feels like East Timor is going through another invasion...."

"This is no different, or at least not much different from the Indonesian invasion.

All they need to do now is go around shooting people and torture people and that'll be exactly the same. The discrimination is still there. The ill treatment is still there, the Timorese are treated as animals in East Timor."

We Marxists of the Spartacist League campaigned from the outset against the Australian/UN intervention in East Timor. As we said in a 16 September 1999 leaflet: "As proletarian revolutionaries, implacable foes of our 'own' ruling class, **we demand that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN get out of East Timor and stay out!**" While fake lefts and pseudo-socialists swung in behind the pro-imperialist ALP and trade-union misleaders who screamed for "troops in," we said the Australian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of its "own"

rulers, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies from Papua New Guinea to Fiji. We struggle to build an internationalist revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class and all the exploited in struggle to destroy racist Australian capitalism through socialist revolution.

The demand for the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist troops is the precondition for East Timorese independence. As events prove daily, the idea that Australian military intervention would bring "freedom" to the East Timorese is a horrible lie. Unemployment is **95 percent** as the UN overseers begin "reversing Indonesia-style job subsidisation." The few with jobs earn \$5 a day—the price of a cappuccino at the Dili Cafe favoured by the UN occupiers. Australian soldiers have terrorised

As we go to press

JUNE 10—The Australian warship *Manoora* carrying helicopters, armed vehicles and 300 troops is heading to Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. Special Air Service forces have reportedly already landed. Australian imperialist troops get out now! Hands off the South Pacific!

Timorese women in their homes and the Australian head of the UN television facility brutally assaulted a Timorese woman.

Since January, UN headquarters in Dili has been the scene of protests by angry jobless East Timorese. UN cops and soldiers have repeatedly attacked them. The imperialists' highest priority is
continued on page 2

Protest PUK Witchhunt of Leftists in Iraqi Kurdistan!

The following Spartacist League leaflet was issued on 19 April. We have since been informed that the court action against the Worker Communist Party of Iraq has been dropped and its supporters released.

The Worker Communist Party (WCP) of Iraq is the target of a dangerous witch-hunt by the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). Aimed at the complete suppression of the WCP, this is an attack on all fighters for the liberation of workers and the oppressed. We print (over) a Partisan Defence Committee protest letter to the PUK.

The context of this anti-communist crackdown is daily imperialist terror bombings of southern Iraq and the UN/imperialist starvation blockade. During the 1991 Gulf War we proclaimed: Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S./Australian Imperialism! In addition to the bloody devastation of the 1991 imperialist war on Iraq, the blockade has caused the death of more than *one million* Iraqis. Down with the starvation embargo! U.S./Australia/UN hands off Iraq!

While standing in solidarity with the WCP against the PUK attacks, we note that despite a stated commitment to fighting for socialism the WCP has repeatedly appealed to the same murderous UN and other imperialist agencies to oppose repression in Iran and Iraq. Thus, the WCP of Iraq calls for a plebiscite on Kurdish independence in Iraq with representatives of the "UN to observe the process and to give legitimacy to the results of the referendum" (25 May 1998 internet posting). In a leaflet calling for a 27 March protest in Toronto, Canada the WCP said, "We denounce the PUK practices as a violation of human rights, at the same time, we hold the United Nations the responsibility of the security, safety and release of our arrested comrades." Such appeals dovetail with the designs of the imperialists themselves and can only result in further oppression and misery for the masses of this region. The PUK's control of parts of Iraqi Kurdistan is itself the fruit of a UN-brokered deal between the PUK and its Kurdish Democratic Party rival aimed at furthering imperialist control of the region.

We Trotskyists defend the Kurdish

people against all their oppressors, and call for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan. We emphasise that this requires joint revolutionary struggle with the Arab, Turkish, Persian and other workers of the region against their common oppressors. The capitalist regimes of the Near East are bloody oppressors, but the greatest terrorists in the world are the Western imperialist powers who today brutally exploit millions in their Third World neocolonies. The struggle for socialist revolution requires the complete independence of the working class from its "own" capitalist rulers and from all the agencies of imperialism, not least the UN, that den of imperialist thieves and their victims.

Partisan Defence Committee

We protest and condemn the ongoing political witchhunt being carried out by the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan against the Worker Communist Party (WCP) of Iraq in Iraqi Kurdistan. As reported by Amnesty International and the WCP, PUK security forces arrested three leaders of the WCP on 16 February: Ammar

Sharif, Yousef Mohammed and Fahid Nasser. Reportedly the arrests followed public accusations by the WCP of massive PUK vote-rigging during recent local elections, and are part of a broader PUK campaign of persecution against leftists and organisations connected to the WCP. In January armed PUK men arrested 11 activists of the Free Youth and Students Union. A Children's Rights Protection Centre has been repeatedly harassed and the chairman of the Construction Workers Union, Mahdi Rasul, was detained.

On 5 March the PUK's "Interior Ministry" intensified the attack on the WCP with a court action intended to completely suppress this leftist political party. The PUK is persecuting the WCP, among other things, for publishing a booklet advocating equality between men and women and for violating reactionary laws which assert that Islam is the state religion of Iraq; for advocating the separation of Kurdistan from Iraq; and for contact with foreigners and having non-Iraqi members. These actions are not crimes — it is the PUK's vicious witchhunt that is genuinely criminal.

We demand the immediate release of all the imprisoned WCP cadre and that the harassment of their party cease. It is in the interest of workers and oppressed everywhere, not least those who fight for the social and national emancipation of the Kurdish people, to condemn this anti-communist attack on the WCP. **Hands off the Worker Communist Party of Iraq!**

East Timor...

(continued from page 1)

the creation of a capitalist state power—courts, cops and prisons—to repress and prevent social struggle in the name of "law and order." Over US\$3 million is going to purchase police vehicles, while almost the only jobs on offer are as security guards and cops.

Swarming in with the imperialist troops were the grasping Australian capitalists lusting for plunder. Corporate giant Telstra is making a quick killing while Northern Territory-based companies, especially those in the so-called "Silver Circle" around the ruling Country Liberal Party, are reaping a tax-free bonanza. Major oil and gas companies are eagerly looking to renegotiate the predatory Timor Gap Treaty—which already amounts to nothing less than imperialist theft of the oil and gas reserves off Timor's coast—to ensure even more fabulous profits.

Above all, the purpose of the imperialist intervention in East Timor is the enforcement of neocolonial stability in Australia's "backyard." With Indonesia a social volcano on the verge of eruption, this neocolonial occupation poses the threat of direct imperialist repression against the combative Indonesian proletariat. While "defence" strategists speak ominously of an "arc of instability" in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the Australian, British and U.S. military are again stepping up aid to the murderous Indonesian armed forces. A senior Aus-

tralian "defence" official was explicit: "Instability in Indonesia is so great that we have too much at stake to leave the military withering on the vine" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May).

Imperialism's Labour Front Men...

Seeking to advance the interests of Australian imperialism was exactly why the Labor Party and the misleaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) clamoured for the racist Australian state to send troops to East Timor. Like social-democratic parties the world over, the ALP, a bourgeois workers party, is based on the organised working class but upholds the system of capitalist exploitation, ruling for the bosses when in power. Such parties represent not the historic interests of the proletariat, but a privileged "aristocracy of labour," bribed with a tiny portion of the vast profits the imperialists have ripped from plundering the peoples of the world. In 1914, in the name of the "national interest," the leadership of most of the European parties of the Second International supported their "own" imperialist rulers in the horrific slaughter of World War I.

From its inception the ALP has preached racist Australian nationalism, the lie that the working class and its exploiters share a common interest. Pro-imperialist to the core, the ALP has backed every war waged by the Australian capitalists and was entrusted by them with running the federal government during both World Wars. Its unvarnished record of class treason includes

supporting the 1975 Indonesian annexation of East Timor. Then-prime minister Gough Whitlam's vicious racist comment about the East Timorese—"They're all mulattos"—perfectly captured the "White Australia" racism that has always been a principal pillar of this extremely right-wing social-democratic party. Under the ALP governments of Hawke and Keating the Australian military increased its arming and training of the Indonesian military, including the Kopassus special forces butchers. Australia (whether ALP or Liberal/Coalition-run) was the only country in the world to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. From Bougainville to Fiji, the ALP has aggressively asserted the interests of Australian imperialism.

...And Their Left Camp Followers

As the ALP and ACTU tops whipped up a chauvinist frenzy last year, virtually the entire self-proclaimed left fell in behind. The Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and Communist Party openly demanded Australian imperialist troops go in. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP) were more circumspect, but no less eagerly joined "troops in" marches. As we said in our 1 October 1999 leaflet, "All these social-chauvinists will bear their share of political responsibility as Australian troops move to secure 'order,' including by shooting down starving 'looters' on the streets of Dili."

As the brutality of the occupation sparks protest in East Timor and growing scepticism in Australia, the ISO and WP now would rather not acknowledge the services they rendered to the Australian imperialists. Furiously backpedaling, they want to disappear and cover up their

treacherous role. In response to our polemics, some ISOers, for example, claim that they argued "in the committees" against the call for "troops in." WP supporters dig out their paper position opposing intervention, sputtering they were opposing Australian troops even before the Spartacist League was! But **facts** are stubborn things: **both these groups marched in the chauvinist "Peacekeepers In" protests last September.** Featuring Returned Services League "diggers" and Indonesian flag-burnings, these rallies were outbursts of patriotic gore, shot through with anti-Indonesian racism. In the climate of chauvinist hysteria, as the Australian imperialists mustered the largest military strike force since the war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, Indonesians were subject to vile racist abuse.

To this day the ISO and WP celebrate the pro-imperialist trade-union bans against Indonesia which were **explicitly and solely** designed to hurry Australian military intervention. Already in May 1999 the ACTU had organised a rally in Sydney demanding the Australian imperialists send 5,000 troops to East Timor. As Victorian Trades Hall Council secretary Leigh Hubbard spelled out:

"Until there are actual peace-keepers in place, the union movement and community organisations will not be relaxing the campaign against the Indonesian government."

—*Guardian*, 16 September 1999

As soon as the troops went in, the ACTU announced the bans had fulfilled their purpose and called them off. But the trade-union bureaucrats' services to Australian imperialism didn't end. The Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) brass bragged that Australian general and INTERFET commander Peter Cosgrove

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Sydney

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- 24 June: For a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights!
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Australasian

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Japanese Trotskyists Fight Resurgent Nationalism, Racism

We publish below an abridged translation of a 1 May leaflet by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League, distributed at rallies in Tokyo on May Day, the international workers holiday.

[Tokyo governor] Ishihara Shintaro's April 9 instructions to the Ground Self-Defense Forces [army] to "maintain public security" in the event of a disastrous earthquake and his disgusting racist slur targeting minorities for repression, in particular people of Korean and Chinese descent, has stirred controversy from just about every sector of society—the trade unions, leftists, minorities and even his fellow capitalist politicians. Opposition to Ishihara ranges from those who call him a fascist to those who believe his racist chauvinism violates the Japanese constitution and the United Nations Human Rights Charter. What unites these various opinions is the illusion that Ishihara is an aberration standing outside the spectrum of bourgeois politics, and that capitalism can be reformed to work in the interests of the working class and minorities.

Ishihara Shintaro is an ultra-nationalist racist demagogue standing on the far right of the bourgeois political spectrum. His instructions to the military understandably invoked comparisons with the massacre of 6,000 Koreans in the wake of the Kanto earthquake of 1923, which was also used to target militant labor struggles, a radicalized burakumin [Japan's low-caste "untouchables"] organization and the embryonic but rapidly growing Communist movement inspired by the workers' seizure of power in the 1917 Russian Revolution. In fact, Ishihara's provocative instructions to the army are simply a call to carry out legislation set in motion by the popular-front government of Social Democratic Party (SDP) leader Murayama after the [1995] Kobe earthquake.

As minorities and immigrants already know, Japan is a racist hellhole, exemplified by the brutal racist and anti-Communist torture and murder of Ra Hun, leader of the [pro-North Korean]

May Day Leaflet



Spartacist Japan

May Day rally in Tokyo called by Zenrokyo labour federation.

Chosen Soren organization, in 1998. It is routine for immigrants to be rounded up and deported or tortured and murdered in immigration detention cells and local police stations. Ethnic Korean children have been the victims of so many racist assaults that they can no longer wear their school uniforms in public. *The Spartacist Group Japan fights for full citizenship rights for all minorities and immigrant workers.*

Increased racist demagoguery and attacks against minorities come in the context of the collapse of the "economic bubble" in the wake of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The differences between national government politicians and Ishihara are only tactical. And the bourgeois politicians who denounce Ishihara for his explicit and disgusting racism are hypocrites and liars who have no problem with the official racist policies of the Japanese capitalist state. They

all have the same goal: resurgent Japanese imperialism. National government politicians are concerned that their plans for greater imperialist investment and increased military deployment in Asia will be thwarted and that "the good image of Japan" will be tarnished by Ishihara's more crass approach. This is the same position as that of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), which yearns to be part of the capitalist government. The JCP can only whine that "The Tokyo Metropolitan Government is mandated to play an important part in international exchanges" and, therefore, "Ishihara is not an acceptable person to represent Japan's capital" (*Akahata*, 12 April).

[The left group] Chukaku-ha has labeled Ishihara a fascist (*Zenshin*, 24 April) and the Japan Revolutionary Communist League writes that he "resembles Hitler who said that behind the Jews stands a danger to Germany" (*Kakehashi*, 24 April). Ishihara is an extreme xenophobic reactionary, but reactionary views alone do not define fascism. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Party, wrote in 1936: "Finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers.... The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." Ishihara does not command that type of movement and the Japanese ruling class does not now need to place the fascists in power, but holds them in reserve to be unleashed against the proletariat if necessary to preserve its class dictatorship.

Indiscriminate use of the term "fascist" is the perfect excuse for these groups to push for a "more humane" capitalism. This can be clearly seen in their "solution": Ishihara should resign. Replacing Ishihara with a different bourgeois politician—be it Liberal Democratic Party or Democratic Party—or with a JCP or SDP politician administering the capitalist state will change nothing. As Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution*: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics." What is needed is a fight to bring down this racist capitalist system through workers revolution.

There is no such thing as the "healthy capitalism" that the JCP preaches. To maintain and increase their rate of profit, *all* capitalists must constantly attack the workers' standard of living. For the working class to free itself from the chains of wage slavery, the capitalist class as a whole must be expropriated and a new state created in which the working class is the ruling class. To break the proletariat from its existing pro-capitalist "leadership" and win it to revolutionary consciousness requires the building of a revolutionary party in political struggle against the reformists, whose program ties the workers to capitalism.

Just days after Ishihara branded Chinese and Koreans living and working in this country as "dangerous," he called China "Japan's biggest threat" and said that Japan should "vigorously promote the disintegration of China" (*Daily Yomiuri*, 16 April). This is a direct call for capitalist counterrevolution in China overseen by Japanese imperialism, harking back to the Japanese occupation of China [before and during World War II] during which untold atrocities, including the Nanjing Massacre and the enslavement of the *ianfu* ["comfort women"], were carried out.

Kakumar, a leftist group which has a tendency to label everything it doesn't like—from other left organizations to bourgeois politicians—as fascist, calls to "denounce" the "extreme reactionary" Ishihara. It is soft on Ishihara in part because it has the same position on China, as can be seen in its call: "No to the TMD [U.S.-sponsored plan for a "theater missile defense"] missile system! No to China's military build-ups to counter the TMD!" (*Kaiho*, 3 April). We stand for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and internal counter-revolution. We call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which is leading the drive toward capitalist restoration.

Kakumar calls to "denounce" Ishihara because he pushes revision of the constitution. Korean and burakumin groups are calling on the United Nations to condemn Ishihara. The Japanese constitution serves the purposes of the bourgeois state, not the working class. The façade of democracy is designed to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, military, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits through

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Chosen Soren



Spartacist Japan

Osaka cops attack headquarters of Korean organisation Chosen Soren in 1994. Spartacist Group Japan at 1993 protest in defence of Iranian immigrants demands "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!"



Publication of the Spartacist Group Japan

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Mexico: Drop All Charges Against UNAM Student Strikers and Leftists!

Before dawn on 15 April, some 5,000 cops of the Federal Preventative Police (PFP) re-occupied Mexico City's National Autonomous University (UNAM), site of a ten-month-long student strike until it was brutally suppressed in the government's February crackdown. The day before, some 8,000 students and workers had demonstrated to protest the UNAM administration's threat to send the PFP cops onto the campus.

From the beginning of the UNAM strike, our comrades in the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and Juventud Espartaquista (JE) have insisted that the police, including the campus police ("Auxilio UNAM"), are the hired thugs of the capitalist class and do not belong in the labour movement. The continued bloody police attacks add urgency to our call: Cops out of the unions! Military/police off campus!

In the February crackdown, up to a thousand students and others were arrested. The Mexican government cynically tried to defuse the ongoing protests in support of student strikers who were still imprisoned by releasing most of those arrested—who still face serious, trumped-up charges—while keeping eight strike leaders in jail. On 12 April, up to a third of the huge UNAM campus and several preparatory high schools were temporarily re-occupied by students demanding the release of the jailed strike leaders, following a 5,000-strong march to the jail the day before. All the remaining prisoners have now been released. We demand: **Drop all the charges against the student strikers and leftists now!**

On 20 March, the Partisan Defence Committee and the International Communist League (ICL) launched an international fundraising campaign for legal

Protest Police Siege of UNAM! Cops Off Campus!



Mexico City, 4 February: At least 20,000 march to demand release of over 250 students arrested after federal police, "Auxilio UNAM" campus cops, "Cobra" paramilitaries and hired thugs attacked UNAM-affiliated Prepa 3 high school.

defence and to help pay bail for the UNAM strikers. We are pleased to announce that this campaign has collected US\$5,673.29 plus 2,304.60 Mexican pesos (approximately US\$246) for the imprisoned militants and the hundreds still facing charges for fighting to defend public education. These funds

were transmitted to the Financial Commission for Political Prisoners of the UNAM students' General Strike Council (Consejo General de Huelga—CGH). This money—donated by union members, students and others from the United States, Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, Poland, Germany, Canada, Japan, Mexico, Australia and South Africa—is a concrete expression of international solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Mexican students and workers.

Collecting funds for the strikers' legal defence is part of the ICL's active participation in the UNAM strike. As noted in our fund drive call, "The tens of thousands of students and workers who participated in the strike and in huge support rallies were fighting for all those oppressed and dispossessed by capitalism, and it is our revolutionary internationalist duty to raise funds to help get them out of Mexico's dungeons."

The UNAM strike, provoked by the ruling class' attempt to purge poor and working-class youth through tuition hikes, sparked wider social struggle

throughout Mexico. Thousands of campus workers took part in demonstrations and defence of the occupied university, and after the PFP raid in February, refused to return to work until the cops vacated the campus. In the state of Hidalgo, student activists occupied the campus of the El Mexe teachers college, and after the campus was raided by police, the villagers of El Mexe captured 68 cops, who were then traded for the release of the arrested students (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 730, 25 February).

This campaign clearly struck a chord among workers and leftists in the places where the ICL does political work. In the U.S. San Francisco Bay Area, \$300 was contributed by International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10. Los Angeles NALC letter carriers Local 2200 gave \$200. In Chicago, transit workers contributed approximately \$175. In one instance, as a Chicago Spartacist supporter was soliciting donations from a group of workers, a transit worker from Guatemala intervened to insist on the importance of the UNAM strike, recalling the 1968 massacre of Mexican student protesters. When he finished, everyone in the group made a contribution. New York City transit workers, city workers and United Parcel Service workers also made donations. On 25 March, the day of Patrick Dorismond's funeral, predominantly Haitian marchers mourning this recent victim of the NYPD's terror donated \$15.50. In Los Angeles, with its large Mexican population, contributions were received at a downtown labour rally on 28 March, at a celebration in memory of farm-workers' leader Cesar Chavez, at a movie about the Zapatistas of Chiapas, and among Chicano college students. Chinese immigrant workers in Vancouver expressed their solidarity and made donations.

On many campuses where students face cutbacks and attacks upon education, the campaign found a real resonance. At New York City's Borough of Manhattan Community College, the primarily working-class students contributed almost \$60. A student co-op in Berkeley donated \$50. In Australia, generous contributions were made by students and striking university teachers at the 22 March "National Day of Action" calling for "Public Education NOT Privatisation" held in both Sydney and Canberra.

In France, comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France collected funds at demonstrations defending "sans-papiers" (undocumented immigrants)

Australasian Spartacist Subscription Drive Results

24 February to 5 April

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Sydney	180	192½	107
National Total	310	318	103

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No. 13, Autumn-Winter 1999

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ESPARTACO

PUBLICACION DEL GRUPO ESPARTACISTA DE MEXICO
NUMERO 13 OTONINOVIEMBRE DE 1999 MEXICO \$2.00 USD \$0

¡Por acciones huelguísticas obreras para derrotar las privatizaciones y defender la educación pública!

El siguiente artículo está basado principalmente en una conferencia sobre la huelga de la UNAM impartida por un miembro del Grupo Espartaquista de México en varias ciudades de EE.UU. y en el estudio de noticias. Las conferencias fueron organizadas por miembros comunistas de la Spartacist League U.S., como parte de nuestra actividad internacional para defender esta lucha.

Desde hace más de 50 años, la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) ha sido el epicentro de la

huelga ha contado con el significativo apoyo y la simpatía de la clase obrera, especialmente de los trabajadores universitarios del STUNAM, los docentes del NAE y de los maestros. Como han denunciado los huelguistas, el objetivo de la huelga es defender el campus para el desmantelamiento y privatización de la UNAM, que es parte de los planes de la burguesía mexicana y de los dictados del Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI).

Con la victoria...

Gangsterism in the Service of the PRD

We publish below the translation of a statement issued on 1 May by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League.

Today, during the May Day march, a group of gangsters from the Militante group, a pseudo-Trotskyist organization buried inside the bourgeois PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), physically attacked supporters of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. During a discussion between supporters of both tendencies, when the Militante leadership was incapable of defending its politics, Ruben Rivera, a Militante *caudillo*, tried to substitute his fist for politics and cut short the political discussion by attacking one of our supporters with a punch. Several supporters of the GEM who went to the aid of their comrade were thrown to the ground by other Militante members and suffered injuries. Faced with this attack, we Spartacists defended ourselves. This brutal attack was witnessed by union militants and members of other leftist organizations who solidarized with us. We call on all organizations in the workers movement and student movement to condemn Militante's gangsterist attack.

In accordance with its reformist program, the Militante group showed up at the march on May Day, an international proletarian holiday, to proselytize electorally for its party: the bourgeois-nationalist PRD. They attack the GEM because our revolutionary-internationalist program represents the only class opposition to the PRD, crystallized in our call, "No illusions in the bourgeois-nationalist PRD! Forge a Trotskyist party

to fight for socialist revolution!" In contrast, on the front page of issue number 92 of Militante's newspaper which they had been selling to the march, one reads the headline, "PRD: A Sure Triumph Only Through Authentically Leftist and Combative Politics," together with a photograph of [PRD Mexico City mayoral candidate] Lopez Obrador. What these reformists do is openly advise nothing less than the class enemy of the proletariat on how to obtain a "sure triumph"! It isn't unusual that these types—whose party



AP
Mexican PRD leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas (above, right) with PRI president Ernesto Zedillo. As Mexico City mayor, Cárdenas has mobilised riot police against striking teachers, protesters, street vendors.

comrades rule the [Mexico City] Federal District (Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Rosario Robles and others) and led attacks on the students such as last August 4, October 14 and December 11— should see nothing wrong with police in the workers movement and even brag about fighting

to organize cops. After their comrades unleashed the riot cops against the student strikers, Militante disappeared from public view.

At the international level, the Militante group is part of a reformist tendency led by Ted Grant, which is characterized everywhere by its appetite for permanent entrism in all mass formations which it presents as "leftist," but always within the framework of respect for the bourgeois order. Thus, internationally the Militante tendency can brag

Pakistan, which the Militante tendency is also in up to its neck. They've also been firmly on the side of their "own" bourgeoisie in celebrating capitalist restoration in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe.

It was precisely when Spartacist supporters were discussing these questions with young supporters of Militante that their leaders, incapable of offering any political explanation to their own members, resorted to gangsterist violence.



Alfredo Estrella

of counting among its party comrades types like Javier Solana of the Spanish Socialist Party which fronted for the imperialist NATO assassins in their massacre of the Serbian people last year, or Benazir Bhutto, leader of the anti-woman, anti-worker bourgeois party in

This resembles more the methods of PRI *charros* [union bureaucrats connected to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party] than any self-proclaimed Trotskyists, and is an attempt to silence the only communists who presented a proletarian pole on May Day. ■

against government deportation threats and at a rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal. In Japan, more than \$500 was collected at, among other events, a meeting of striking airline pilots, a gathering of the oppressed Korean minority, sit-down protests by fired railway workers in front of the Diet (parliament) building, and a mass labour rally. The largest amount was collected at a protest demonstration against U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

The funds collected for the defence of the UNAM strikers by the sections of the ICL are a modest expression of our principled defence of all whose struggles are in the interest of the international working class. The PDC had added imprisoned strike leaders Alejandro Echevarria Zarco ("El Mosh") and Alberto Pacheco Guizar ("El Diablo") to its class-war prisoners stipend program. The monthly stipend of US\$25 alleviates some of the hardships of imprisonment and represents a living link between the activists behind bars and the international workers movement which champions the struggle for their release.

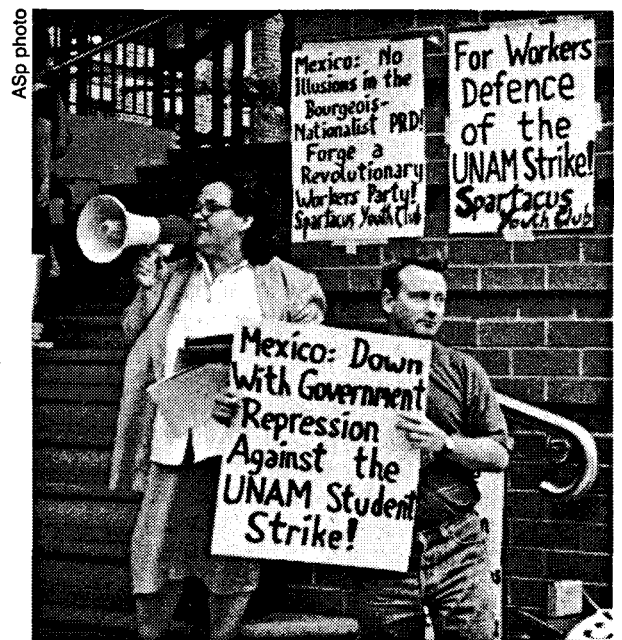
In struggling for such basic democratic rights as the right to education, the militants of the UNAM strike have faced brutal repression from the police thugs

sent by both the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) administration of Mexico City and the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) national government. Now, lagging in the polls, the PRD's candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas claims to oppose the federal police siege of the campus. This is nothing but a crass manoeuvre for votes based on the hope that strikers will forget the attacks by the PRD's riot police earlier in the strike. The GEM says: "The PRD is a capitalist party—no illusions!"

The urgent demands and needs of Mexico's impoverished workers and peasants—for agrarian revolution, education, health care, etc.—cannot be fulfilled by the corrupt and venal Mexican capitalist class, beholden to U.S. imperialism. Even the most minimal reforms, like the ones the UNAM students are seeking, demand the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. The Trotskyists of the GEM fight to build a Leninist vanguard party that can lead the workers and peasants of Mexico to power, smashing the capitalist system of oppression and poverty and opening the way to proletarian revolution throughout the Americas.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 734, 21 April

Sydney, October 1999: Spartacist speakout at UNSW campus in solidarity with UNAM student strikers denounces Mexican government repression.



Japan...

(continued from page 3)

the suppression of the working class and the oppressed and furthering imperialist ambitions abroad. The UN is a den of imperialist thieves and their victims and its purpose is to supervise the division of the spoils of the world. We call for Japanese imperialist troops out of the Golan Heights and West Timor! All imperialist troops out of Serbia and East Timor!

Racism is endemic to capitalism. As the bourgeoisie increases the rate of exploitation, immigrants are the scapegoats for rising crime, unemployment and impoverishment. *We call for industry-wide unions that organize all workers in the same union, regardless of national origin or race.* The working class and minorities must advance their interests together, or they will be beaten back sepa-

rately. The superexploited and oppressed immigrant workers and minorities are a human bridge to the toilers throughout Asia and an important component of the forces that are capable of smashing this deeply racist capitalist system.

The Spartacist Group Japan, together with our comrades around the world in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights to bring to the proletariat the consciousness of its historic task as the gravedigger of capitalism. To sweep away this capitalist system and to eliminate racism, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to link together all forms of resistance to immiseration and oppression in order to create an egalitarian socialist society here and internationally. For new October Revolutions! Reforge the Fourth International! For a workers republic in Japan as part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■

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East Timor...

(continued from page 2)

thanked them for "carrying valuable people, equipment and supplies to the deployed forces, without which our logistic build up would have been severely hampered" (MUA Media Release, 19 November 1999).

These labour traitors have opposed and demobilised any concerted fight against the capitalists' one-sided class-war. Yet they found great energy and resolve in whipping up support for the Australian occupation of East Timor. And they're at it again over the coup in Fiji, another Australian neocolony. Michael Costa of the New South Wales Labor Council declared, "We call on the federal Government to be as vocal and as upfront as it was in relation to East Timor" (*Australian*, 25 May). The Spartacist League says: Australian imperialists, hands off Fiji and the Solomon Islands!

ISO: "Fantastic" Rallies, "Magnificent" Union Bans

After the fact the ISO admitted the obvious, that:

"Such an orientation towards a 'troops in now' position meant that the demonstrations called in Melbourne by Trades Hall were dominated by the slogan from the beginning. The union actions and public rallies were effectively reduced to a means to that end."

—*Socialist Worker Review*, November 1999

But not only did the ISO march in the Melbourne 8 and 10 September "Peacekeepers In" rallies, they endorsed them. For the ISO the "troops in" rallies were "fantastic" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 September 1999). The pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy's bans were "magnificent" and a "brilliant lead." Indeed the ISO (*Socialist Worker Review*, November 1999) especially gushed over the MUA's "stranding \$22 million in wheat in Melbourne" and refusing to load produce in Newcastle—particularly despicable acts when millions of Indonesians were on the brink of starvation.

Back in March 1999 the ISO's *Socialist Worker* ran a headline "No Australian Troops to Timor." Dyed-in-the-wool opportunists with a weathervane attuned to Laborite "public opinion" instead of a revolutionary backbone, the ISO ditched that call and refuses to this day to demand "Australian troops out" in its press, leaflets, or public interventions. Far from a principled working-class position of irreconcilable opposition to one's "own" imperialist rulers, the ISO's headline reflected merely their advice to the racist Australian capitalists, demanding "Instead of sending troops, the government should be sending unconditional aid." The same line was taken by their New Zealand group who in September headlined "No NZ troops!" while pleading instead for "Western aid."

The idea that imperialism is merely a policy that can be transformed to the benefit of the working class and oppressed through pressure is a deadly lie. It was central to German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky's repudiation of revolutionary Marxism and his burning

hostility to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Following in Kautsky's footsteps, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—ISO's international cothinkers) originated in their late leader Tony Cliff's reneging on the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence of the Chinese and North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack, which took the form of a multi-nation "police action" under the auspices of the United Nations. This was a cowardly capitulation to the British bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lackeys: it was a Labour government that dispatched troops to Korea. Is it any surprise then that prominent Cliffite John Rees, at a 21 September 1999 London meeting, criticised Tony Blair's Labour government for doing too little, too late in East Timor? Indeed Rees complained that Britain had only contributed "a few Gurkhas" to the imperialist occupation force!

Workers Power: Cheek by Jowl with the Social Patriots

Workers Power, on paper, claims to be opposed to Australian/UN intervention in East Timor. But when it counted, WP was *marching* with the "troops now" crowd. WP's claim that they marched in the "troops in" demonstrations because they really were for "troops out" reveals only their utter lack of principle and craven capitulation to the pro-imperialist ALP and trade-union misleaders. According to WP:

"The actions by many trade unions in this country in solidarity with East Timor have been commendable. The MUA, CFMEU and TWU's black banning of Indonesian goods, planes and ships were excellent demonstrations of working class solidarity and action in support of a progressive end."

—*Workers Power* (November 99-January 2000)

That "progressive end" was sending in imperialist troops! Indeed, like the ISO, WP wanted the bans continued, and extended to Australian companies. Hardly a blow against Australian capitalism, this served the reactionary Laborite call for imperialist sanctions against Indonesia, part and parcel of the chauvinist campaign.

As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted decades ago, centrists always denounce genuine revolutionaries as "sectarians" for upholding the ABCs of Marxism while bowing before the utterly reformist forces to their right. True to form WP ever-so-politely argues against the rabidly chauvinist DSP who screamed loudest and longest for Australian/UN troops to Timor, and who today, in a nauseating whitewash of neocolonialism, thrill about the supposed "freedom" of the East Timorese. WP ludicrously claims the DSP's line is "totally inconsistent with past DSP positions, and sets a dangerous precedent for future positions" (November 99-January 2000).

Are they kidding? For nearly three decades the DSP has peddled the dangerous lie that Australian capitalism can be pressured into playing a "progressive" role. The DSP has consistently supported racist Australian imperialism's military adventures under the guise of providing "humanitarian" assistance from Somalia



Reuters

Brutal Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor: enforcing neocolonial "stability" in its "backyard."

to Cambodia. In 1998 they declared that the Australian military's intervention alongside the bloody Indonesian army in West Papua (then Irian Jaya) was "welcome" (*Green Left Weekly*, 13 May 1998)! The DSP's Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor front group is now, as a glossy "Help rebuild East Timor" flyer proudly states, "a registered United Nations Humanitarian Operations Centre (UNHOC) NGO."

Perhaps WP's pursuit of the likes of the DSP explains why *five months* after the imperialists went in, WP first declared the necessity to "begin campaigning for the withdrawal of Australian troops" (February-April 2000, emphasis added). Of course, like the rest of WP's pronouncements, this too is not worth the paper it's written on. We'll give a free *ASP* sub to any Workers Power member who can provide tangible evidence of this "campaign." (A hint: don't bother looking in the current May-July issue of *Workers Power* because it's not there.)

Subordinating the working class to its imperialist exploiters isn't new for the right-centrist Workers Power. With their origins in the British SWP, WP shares the SWP's deeply Laborite worldview. WP stepped slightly to the left when they emerged from the SWP about 20 years ago, declaring the former Soviet Union a bureaucratically degenerated workers state as against the Cliffites' writing the USSR off as "state capitalist." But they soon returned to the "democratic" imperialist fold, cheering capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In 1999, as the NATO imperialists were raining death on Serbia, the British WP marched in lockstep behind Blair's government, the most belligerent of the imperialist powers. Their clamouring for "independence for Kosovo" was just a thin cover for their support to the war aims of the imperialists, as was made clear when WP joined in a 10 April 1999 "Workers Aid for Kosovo" rally shot through with slogans like "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." Their capitulation to Laborite chauvinism over East Timor is in this same vile social-imperialist tradition.

The Main Enemy Is At Home!

Slavishly pushing illusions in the pro-imperialist ALP and Laborite trade-unions tops has always been the hallmark

of the Australian reformist and centrist left. Lacking any shred of confidence in the working class as the revolutionary force to destroy the imperialists' system of robbery and plunder, groups like the ISO and WP operate completely within the political framework of social democracy. As an article of faith, they are forever urging a vote to the ALP. Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin fought to *politically split* the mass working-class base of the social-democratic parties away from their pro-capitalist leadership and program. The ISO and WP act to reinforce the political domination of Laborism. Imbibing much of the worldview and "values" of Australian social democracy, to them our insistence on a hard political fight against Laborism is the height of sectarian foolishness. And thus they joined the overwhelmingly white and petty-bourgeois chauvinist rallies calling for Australian imperialist troops to East Timor.

Proletarian internationalists, we in the Spartacist League did the polar opposite. We organised anti-imperialist forums and speakouts. We took our propaganda to unionised factories and work sites, to immigrant neighbourhoods and elsewhere—to those with good reason to know that the racist Australian imperialists are anything but the liberators of the exploited and downtrodden. While the fake lefts hailed the ACTU's racist anti-Indonesia campaign, we forthrightly called for Australian workers to black ban arms and supplies to the *Australian*-led military forces.

In the neocolonial and dependent countries throughout Asia the toiling people yearn to throw off the yoke of imperialist exploitation. In the advanced industrial countries class-conscious workers seek the road to overthrow their own exploiters. The fake lefts in Australia claim to be "internationalists," but their pushing illusions in "democratic" Australian imperialism shows just what kind of "internationalists" they are. Our political aim is to forge a revolutionary vanguard party that can lead the multiracial working class to the overthrow of the Australian capitalist class in a socialist revolution. From this flows our unalterable opposition to all attempts by this rapacious, violent ruling class to extend its power to exploit and oppress the peoples of the region. This requires a political struggle against the pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucrats and the ALP who chain workers to their exploiters. It also requires a struggle against the likes of the ISO and WP who through their adaptation to Laborism stand as obstacles to the working class gaining revolutionary consciousness.

As we wrote last issue:

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

ASp photo

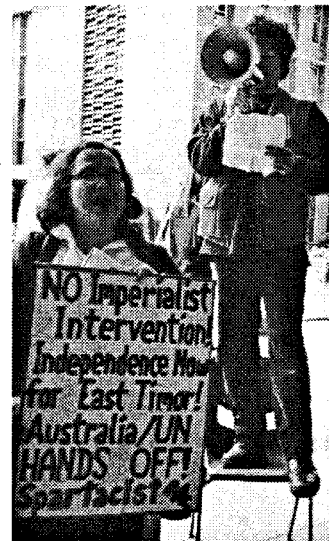


EAST TIMOR
Stop the Killing
Indonesia OUT
Peacekeepers IN
 Demonstration: Wed 8th Sept
Dept of Foreign Affairs (Star Spangled Strained Cops)
 International Day of Action &
 Student Strike: Fri 10th Sept
SP (Four Streets & Elizabeth St) 12pm
 Organized by the National Committee for East Timorese Resistance
in cooperation with the ACTU, the Australian Workers Union, the
 MUA, the CFMEU, the TWU, the Education Union, the
 Australian Students Union, the Australian Teachers Union, the
 Australian Nurses Union, the Australian Public Service Union, the
 Australian Postal Union, the Australian Maritime Union, the
 Australian Meatworkers Union, the Australian Railways Union, the
 Australian Seafarers Union, the Australian Shipbuilders Union, the
 Australian Shipworkers Union, the Australian Shipyard Workers Union, the
 Australian Shipyard Workers Union, the Australian Shipyard Workers Union,

U. Trades Hall, Socialist Worker, Res
and solidarity groups.

Socialist Worker (ISO) marched in social-chauvinist mobilisations, endorsed Melbourne demos demanding imperialist "peacekeepers" to East Timor. Spartacist League (right) forthrightly opposed imperialist intervention.

ASp photo



Forge a Trotskyist Party on the Program of Permanent Revolution!

PRD Pushes Deadly Illusions in Indonesian Capitalists

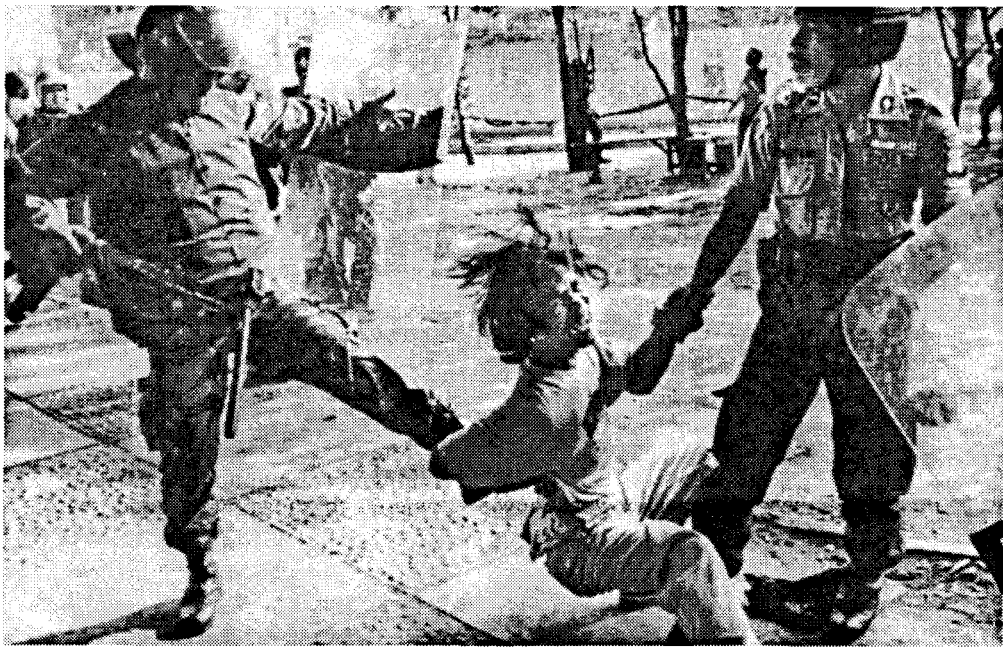
No to Class Collaboration—For Working-Class Political Independence!

In April, Budiman Sujatmiko, leader of the Indonesian Peoples Democratic Party (PRD), and Avelino da Silva of the Socialist Party of Timor (PST), toured Australia speaking on "Unfinished struggles for freedom in Indonesia and East Timor." Various Australian fake lefts attempt to cloak the PRD in "socialist" and "revolutionary" garb, but in these meetings, sponsored by Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET, Democratic Socialist Party [DSP] front group), Sujatmiko himself showed what a fiction this is. Singing the

strikes and protests. In April thousands of teachers struck across Indonesia. Jakarta bus drivers and port workers have also gone on strike. Showing great combativity in economic struggle, the working class needs to be organised independently of and against the Indonesian rulers and their imperialist backers. As Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin explained, the proletariat must become not only a class in itself, but a class for itself, that is, conscious of its historic role as the liberator of all the oppressed and exploited.

the capitalist class enemy in the guise of a mythical "democratic," "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" wing. As the working class is never supposedly "ripe" for the conquest of state power, socialist revolution is postponed to the never-never land of the future in order to carry out the "first stage." As the tragedy of Indonesia in 1965 revealed in blood, the first stage means the massacre of the communists; there never is a second stage.

The Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) was then the largest Communist



Agus Lolong/AP

Soldiers attack Jakarta protester, September, 1999. Petty-bourgeois nationalist PRD praises Indonesian president Wahid (above), rejects program of workers revolution to overthrow bloody capitalist rule.

praises of Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid, Sujatmiko painted this former leader of Nahdatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation, as a guardian of a "process of democratisation." "We do support him," said Sujatmiko, when he pursues "progressive" policies.

Especially since the imperialist-backed Suharto military dictatorship fell two years ago, Indonesia has been a seething volcano. Following the brief rule of Suharto's hand-picked successor Habibie, the bourgeoisie, desperate to stabilise their rule and under pressure from the imperialists, last June stage-managed a sham election. Wahid was installed as president precisely to ensure that imperialist subjugation of desperately poor Indonesia remains. Along with vice-president Megawati Sukarnoputri and chairman of the "People's Consultative Assembly" Amien Rais, the Wahid government imposes capitalist austerity dictated by the IMF and the Indonesian bourgeoisie. Wahid & Co. continue to oversee brutal national oppression and increased bloody communalism and religious reaction. We revolutionary Marxists say: Wahid is not a potential friend, but the enemy of the workers and oppressed!

The multinational proletariat, including its vital component of militant women workers, will be the gravedigger of capitalism. The proletariat has grown explosively in recent decades, especially in the 1980s, militantly struggling for better wages, working conditions and the elementary proletarian right to organise in trade unions. Strike waves marked the 1998 fall of Suharto and the June 1999 elections. Recently, in key industrial areas scores of companies, including Reebok and Sony, have been hit with

The Indonesian proletariat urgently needs a revolutionary party based on the program of *permanent revolution*, which alone can point the way forward to a victorious struggle for power. As Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, explained, in countries of "combined and uneven development" such as Indonesia—the most modern industry alongside a countryside stamped in pre-capitalist times—all wings of the bourgeoisie are so tied to imperialism and so fearful of the impoverished masses that they can maintain their rule only by upholding imperialist domination and social reaction through sheer terror. Stable parliamentary bourgeois democracy is a pipedream. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry, can achieve the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions of Europe—national liberation, agrarian revolution, separation of religion and the state, formal equality for women. Further, if the revolution is not to be militarily or economically strangled it must be extended internationally, above all to the imperialist centres.

The PRD explicitly *rejects* this revolutionary, internationalist, proletarian program. According to Sujatmiko, "We cannot defeat imperialism and advocate socialism at the same time." "We have to first get the democratic revolution," he said, "the working-class movement is not ripe yet." This "stagist" conception is a noose around the neck of the proletariat and all the oppressed toilers. Originally pushed by the Mensheviks, the pro-capitalist wing of Russian social democracy, then later by the Stalinist betrayers and all manner of petty-bourgeois nationalists, the program of "two-stage revolution" means tying the masses to

party in the capitalist world. The PKI leadership preached "joint unity" with then-ruler Sukarno and the Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms." Suppressing workers strikes and militant peasant struggles in the name of "unity," the PKI lulled the masses with the illusion that Sukarno would protect them. Politically disarmed and demoralised by this fatal program of "two-stage" revolution, the working class was unable to defend itself when the Indonesian capitalists struck. The army and fanatical Islamic gangs drawn from Nahdatul Ulama, directly aided and

abetted by the American CIA and the Australian ASIS, massacred over *one million* Communists, workers, peasants, women's activists and ethnic Chinese (see "Lessons of Indonesia 1965," *Spartacist* No. 55, Autumn 1999).

"Reformasi" or Revolution?

Reform of the capitalist state apparatus does not challenge the rule of the bourgeoisie and end the exploitation and degradation of the workers and the oppressed. From the debacle of "People Power" in the Philippines a decade ago to the replacement of generals overly compromised in mass killings by new "human rights" generals in South Korea, massive and courageous struggles have been co-opted into supporting some wing of the bourgeoisie which sees financial and political advantage for itself in polishing up the façade of the system of capitalist misery. The illusion of a "democratic revolution" carried out arm in arm with the oppressors can only disorient and disarm the masses, and is an obstacle to the necessary struggle to mobilise the proletariat around its class interests.

Since its inception in 1994 as the Peoples Democratic Union, the PRD has always tailed sections of the Indonesian bourgeoisie while hoping to pressure them to be more "democratic." For years they supported Megawati, a vicious Javanese chauvinist with close ties to sectors of the bloody Indonesian military. In the June 1999 elections the PRD sought

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

—*Green Left Weekly*, 2 June 1999

Now that the "opposition" is in power, Sujatmiko depicts Wahid and Megawati as representing "democratic forces" in the cabinet who are being "threatened by right-wing forces." Hailing a supposed "space of democracy," the PRD claims "This has given confidence to the people: they can now act as political groups to put pressure on the government so that it must listen to the people" (*Green Left Weekly*, 10 May). Seeing the PRD exactly as such a "pressure group," Sujatmiko bragged about PRD leaders meeting with and offering advice to Wahid on 21 February. According to Sujatmiko, "one of these proposals has been accepted already: taxes on luxury goods."

The PRD accepts and operates entirely within the framework of capitalism now, and they project continuing to do so in the future. As Sujatmiko said in an interview with *Green Left Weekly* (10 May):

"The struggle for liberating Indonesia's productive forces from the domination of *continued on page 11*

<p>SPARTACIST The Russian Revolution and the Collapse of Stalinism The Bankruptcy of "New Class" Theories Tony Cliff and Max Shachtman: Pro-Imperialist Accomplishes of Counterrevolution</p> <p>The Stalinist Thermidor, the Left Opposition and the Red Army 2 On Trotsky's Concept of a "Rise Faction" in the Soviet Bureaucracy 25 Down With Imperialist Occupation of Kosovo! All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now! 40 April 1969 Declaration of the International Communist League Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution—Defend Serbia! 43 Women and Revolution and ICL Perspectives For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! 56</p> <p>Forge a Trotskyist Party! For Workers Revolution! Lessons of Indonesia 1965</p>	<p>SPARTACIST 4!</p> <p>Deklarasi Prinsip-Prinsip dan Beberapa Elemen dari Program Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Revolusi Sosialis Dunia dan Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat) 2. Kritik Kapitalisme Keras Pekerja 3. Kami Adalah Partai Revolusi Sosial 4. Dasar Teoritis dan Sejarah Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat) 5. Sifat Internasional Revolusi Sosialis 6. Peranan Kita Berada sebagai Pelepor dalam Membela Kemanusiaan Tertindas 7. Dasar Berjuang dari Revolusioner 8. Perjuangan Melawan Pring Imperialisme 9. Menentang Nasional dan Hak-Semua Bangsa Untuk Menentaskan Nasty Seodiri 10. Revolusi Kolonial, Revolusi Permana dan "Jalan Gerilya" 11. Front Rakyat: Bukan sebuah Taktik Melainkan Kebijakan Terbesar 12. Program, Organisasi dan Disiplin Partai Revolusioner 13. Kami Akan Haru Andai Untuk Menerobok Sejarah! <p>Diklatikan di Prinsip dan Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) Published October 1999</p>
<p>Spartacist No. 55, Autumn 1999 \$2 (56 pages) Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001</p>	<p>Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program, International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) Bahasa Indonesia - \$1.25 (16 pages)</p>

Aboriginal Rights...

(continued from page 1)

some reforms. But "reconciliation" is precisely *not* about addressing the grim reality the Aboriginal peoples face daily. It was the brainchild of then Labor prime minister Paul Keating who wanted to cover up his knifing of land rights and a huge increase in black deaths in custody. At the same time, Keating sought to clean up Australian capitalism's "image" to facilitate its penetration into Asia where the vile treatment of Aborigines had become an embarrassment, an obstacle to the only thing the ruling class really cares about: profit.

The federal government preaches "reconciliation" while denying there ever was a "stolen generation." Howard & Co. rewarded the Northern Territory government's empty promise to "investigate alternatives" to mandatory sentencing with \$5 million, while increasing the cops' power to detain youth without even charging them! No wonder that in Mandarin Chinese there is a new expression, "Howardism," which is a synonym for racist arrogance. Kim Beazley's ALP "opposition" hypocritically denounced the NT mandatory sentencing laws, but *not* those in his native Western Australia which were first introduced by Carmen Lawrence's state Labor government. Now in opposition in WA the ALP still loudly defends these racist laws. At the same time, the ALP-run state governments continue to kill Aborigines on the streets and in the jails.

The struggle for Aboriginal rights in this country powerfully illustrates the futility of looking to the capitalist state, whether run by the Coalition or the ALP, to in any way ameliorate the conditions of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. We Marxists understand that the capitalist state—the courts, cops and prisons—serves a profit system based on the exploitation of labour, built upon the dispossession and genocide of the indigenous population and the exclusion of Asians. Racist to the core, it cannot be reformed into serving the interests of the exploited and oppressed. It must be smashed by victorious workers revolution. With its numbers and organisation, its hands on the levers of production, it is only the multiracial working class that has the social power and historic interest to bring down the capitalist system and establish an egalitarian socialist society.

Racist Oppression: Bedrock of Australian Capitalism

From the beginning the racist rulers of this country have sought to wipe out the Aboriginal population. The 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by hideous massacres of Aboriginal people from one side of the country to the other: the 1824 slaughter of the Wiradjuri people, the infamous 1838 Myall Creek Massacre and the month-long killing



Australian



Herald Sun

Left: Aboriginal footballer Nicky Winmar proudly defies racist bigots, 1993. Right: Protesters against fascist One Nation party of Pauline Hanson, Echuca, rural Victoria, 1998.

spree around Coniston in 1928 to name but three. Justifying this barbaric destruction of a people, the Australian rulers declared the Aborigines were a doomed population that would die out. To ensure this outcome, a conscious policy of "forced assimilation" was applied to those of mixed race. Thousands of Aboriginal children were ripped from their families; the "Stolen Generation" is really many generations.

From North America to Africa and Asia the British colonialists carried out murderous and genocidal wars against many indigenous peoples. But Australia was unique in its pretence that no one lived here (*terra nullius*) and thus those who most obviously did live here had no rights. Until the 1960s Aborigines, particularly those living on reserves, lacked basic citizenship rights. They could not vote, had no freedom of movement and were not even counted in the census—in the land their ancestors had occupied for over 40,000 years.

Today some of the laws have changed but racist oppression and intense social degradation remain. Infant mortality rates for Aborigines are like those of desperately poor "Third World" countries. Life expectancy for adults is 20 years lower than that of the rest of the population. In many towns, unemployment is over 90 percent. Aboriginal people are jailed at a rate 14.9 times that of the population as a whole. And the cops serve as judge, jury and executioner, carrying out racist killings of Aborigines on the streets and in the prisons. John Pat, Daniel Yock, Lloyd Boney, David Gundy, Colleen Richman, Eddie Murray—the all too many victims of capitalist state terror must not be forgotten!

Handmaiden to the reconciliation fraud is the bourgeoisie's very real campaign to prevent Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders from getting back even a fraction of the lands which were stolen from them. The 1992 *Mabo* decision admitted that Aborigines had some, extremely restricted, right to claim title to land. But from the Keating government's *Native Title Act* to Howard's *Wik* amendments, this minimal recognition of land rights has been so whittled away in the interests of the mining magnates and agribusiness as to be all but meaningless. As we wrote in our program, *For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!*:

"We support any attempts by Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders to claw back some of the land which has been stolen from them, and to get whatever financial compensation they can from the tight-fisted, racist ruling class. The possibility of independent development of Aboriginal nations was brutally foreclosed by the British colonisers. Yet in those locations where Aboriginal peoples have a land base we defend whatever measure of political autonomy they are able to wrest from governments, including the right to govern their land and control its resources."

Only a workers government can guarantee these conditions. Elementary jus-

tice, not only for Aboriginal peoples, but for all the oppressed and exploited in this society, demands the expropriation of industry and agribusiness through proletarian revolution. Only the destruction of capitalism as a system can lay the basis for a future free of deprivation, state violence and all-sided racist oppression for Aboriginal peoples. We Marxists of the Spartacist League are struggling to build a Leninist vanguard party, a genuine tribune of the people, that fights to instill in the working class the understanding that without an unremitting proletarian fight for Aboriginal rights the workers will not and cannot destroy racist capitalism.

ALP: Party of "White Australia"

With the Soviet Union destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution, imperialist rivalries have sharply increased, and the Howard government, like capitalist governments everywhere, has stepped up the slashing of living standards and escalated the war on unions, immigrants and minorities. Their crude anti-Aboriginal and anti-Asian racism, however, has some sections of the capitalists worried about their ability to rob and oppress peoples throughout the region. So the ALP "offers" words about racism while fully endorsing the Coalition's racist anti-immigrant campaign.

The ALP was founded a century ago as the party of "White Australia" racism. This is hardly ancient history. In the 13 years (1983-96) that the ALP ruled federally under the Hawke and Keating governments the rate of Aboriginal imprisonment rose by 51 percent and the number of deaths in custody tripled. The 1996 federal election was, as we put it, a "Carnival of Racist Reaction" marked by an explosion of bi-partisan white racism targeting Asians, immigrants and Aborigines, along with an escalation in attacks against the organised working class and sharp cuts to social services.

This directly fuelled the rise of Pauline Hanson's fascist One Nation Party and spurred on National Action, KKK and other fascist scum. From Broome to Cairns come reports of lynch mob terror against Aborigines while in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney the fascists have been increasingly active, especially targeting immigrants. Where the power of the multiracial working class can be brought to bear, we fight for union/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists' race-hate provocations. This is the program that won a resounding victory in New York City on 23 October 1999 when more than 8,000 unionists, black people, youth and socialists rallied to the call of the Partisan Defense Committee (legal and social defence arm of the Spartacist League/U.S.) and drove the KKK off the streets. Key to this success was our principle that the working class must be mobilised independently of and against the capitalist state.

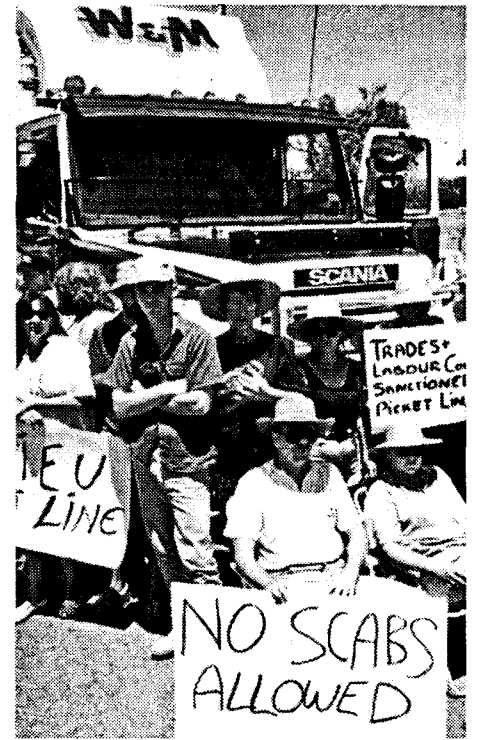
Out of power federally, the ALP runs state governments which continue the

war on Aborigines, immigrants and the working class. In NSW, Carr's "tough on crime" drive has targeted Aboriginal people from Sydney's Redfern to the most remote communities. Aboriginal youth are *100 times* more likely to be jailed than other people and constitute 32 percent of the juvenile prison population. At the same time immigrants especially from Asia and the Near East are subjected to Gestapo-style attacks, roundups and deportations. In Queensland, the Beattie ALP government's *first* act was to enshrine Howard's anti-land rights *Wik* legislation.

As the Howard government pursues its campaign to roll back and wipe out union rights, the Bracks' ALP government in Victoria broke the recent power workers strike there. Meanwhile Carr & Co. are going after teachers and railway workers and the cops have been sent to attack picket lines from Davids warehouse workers to strikers at Joy Mining Machinery.

The vicious racist attacks on Aborigines as well as immigrants are aimed at dividing the working class in order to destroy trade-union rights and social welfare while ratcheting up the rate of exploitation. The Laborite trade-union misleaders aid and abet the capitalists' dirty work, preaching the poison of protectionism. Viewing the world through the eyes of the bosses, they peddle the lie that the enemy of the working class in Australia is the workers in other countries, not the capitalists here.

Attacks on the most vulnerable in this society have always been used as a wedge to attack the livelihood and well-being of the entire working class. In

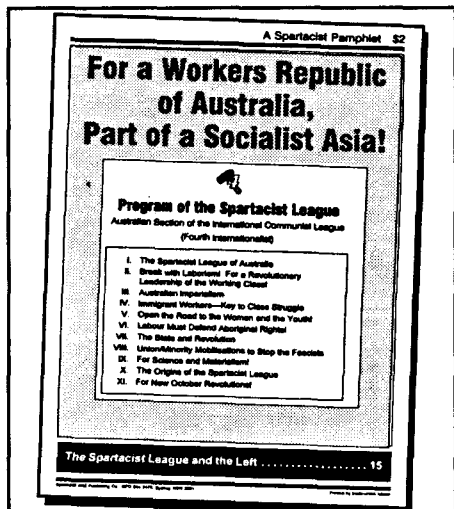


Townsville Bulletin

Stuart, Queensland, 1993: Meatworkers strike fought racist sacking of Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley, winning his reinstatement.

1977 Aborigines were the first people forced into the slave-labour, union-busting "work-for-the-dole" schemes. *We say Aboriginal rights, immigrant rights and union rights must go forward together or they will be thrown back separately.*

Outraged by the pro-capitalist ALP and trade-union tops' fealty to the racist status quo, some militants, not least among Aborigines, despair that the working class can be mobilised in defence of indigenous people. But the spectacular storming of parliament in Canberra in August 1996 by militant Aborigines, unionists and youth showed otherwise. Some 35,000 had come out to an Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) protest against the newly elected Howard government's attacks on welfare and union rights. When the cops attacked an Aboriginal contingent at the head of a 6,000-strong march of Aborigines and unionists, the organised workers defended the Aboriginal protesters, forcing the cops to retreat into Parliament House where they were besieged for two hours. In this exceptional action, the militant



Program of the Spartacist League
Australian Section of the International
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demonstrators acted in spite of the Laborite misleaders' racist refusal to lift a finger in defence of Aborigines. This gives a taste of the kind of social power that can be brought to bear under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

The sight of unionists defending Aborigines in Canberra sent the ruling class into a witchhunting frenzy. In turn, the ACTU tops cut off the hand that reached out to Aborigines from the working class. They turned in the anti-racist militants to the state. In effect this was their pledge that they would prevent workers from ever again defending Aborigines against racist state terror. Thus do the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats act as a transmission belt for, and reinforcer of, backward consciousness in the proletariat—centrally the deep racism rooted in this country's violent history as a European settler colony in Asia.

Laborism is not some "lesser evil" but a political *obstacle* in the struggle for the interests of the workers and oppressed. The main mechanism for chaining the proletariat to the racist rulers, the ALP is, in the apt phrase of Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin, a bourgeois workers party, thoroughly bourgeois in its leadership, outlook and program while based on the organisations of the working class. A revolutionary workers party will be built by *splitting* the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership, centrally through the fight to replace the social-democratic union misleaders with a class-struggle, revolutionary leadership of the unions.

Fake Left: Laborite to the Last

Last September the ALP and the union tops, who have demobilised and sold out every attempt to fight back against the bosses, found energy and purpose in screaming for racist Australian imperialism to send troops into East Timor. Virtually the entire self-proclaimed left rallied behind them attending, endorsing and in some cases leading marches for "Peacekeepers In!" They wildly cheered the racist anti-Indonesian trade union bans which were *explicitly* designed to hurry Australian military intervention and were promptly called off as soon as the army went in. In the face of the rabid chauvinist campaign, only the Spartacist League from the beginning opposed this neo-colonial invasion, forthrightly proclaiming in word and deed: Australian/UN imperialist troops out of East Timor! Independence now! As we said in a December 1999 special *Australasian Spartacist* supplement:

"As to the Australian rulers' credentials as opponents of genocide, one need only look at the barbarity they have meted out for the last 200 years to the Aboriginal peoples, who were nearly exterminated, their lands and even children stolen from them."

This truth has been brutally driven home as Australian troops attack desperate job-seekers and terrorise Timorese women in their homes. In Darwin, the heavily Aboriginal city which is the staging ground for the imperialist occupation of East Timor, it's the same story. Young Aboriginal women have reported being harassed and sexually assaulted by the racist marauding Australian troops.

This doesn't give the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) even a moment's pause. They were first in the ranks of the pro-troops brigade. Today they demand "a people power movement on the streets, like the one which forced the Howard government to send in troops" in order to "abolish mandatory sentencing." The DSP deeply believes that the racist capitalist state can be pressured into serving the interests of the exploited and oppressed. This is a deadly lie. The army, the cops, the courts exist for only

one reason, to defend and preserve the rule of the tiny handful of capitalists. All experience of the workers movement has proven, as Lenin wrote, that the state is "an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another," (*State and Revolution*). It cannot be reformed—it must be smashed through workers revolution!

For groups such as the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP) the capitalist state administered by the ALP is something other than a capitalist state run by, for example, the Liberals. Back in 1993, the ISO greeted "reconciliation" ALP-style, crowing that "Paul Keating's speech in Redfern Park last December was a great start to the Year of Indigenous People."

Aboriginal deaths in custody tripled under Hawke/Keating Labor governments. Spartacist contingent, Sydney, 1994, denounces ALP "reconciliation" hoax.



They were ecstatic too when Hawke established a Royal Commission into Black Deaths in Custody, for which they had been pleading since the 1984 acquittal of the cops who murdered John Pat. They got what they wanted. The ALP-appointed commission endorsed the police and coroner verdicts in *all* 99 cases it reviewed. *All the killer cops walked!* As we uniquely warned in 1987:

"A Royal Commission would be at best a whitewash, and could be used to witchhunt the victims. There is deep anger at 'black deaths in custody.' But the reformists and liberals are engaged in a treacherous and dangerous attempt to tie blacks and all the oppressed to the same state which is carrying out the terror!"

— "Hawke's Cold War Regime Kills Blacks," *ASP* No. 120, May/June 1987

Indeed, Laborite to the bone, the ISO grotesquely supports cop and prison guard "unions." They're all for "strikes" by these armed thugs of the capitalist state who routinely terrorise and murder Aborigines! We Marxists say: Cops, prison guards out of the unions!

The Workers Power group announced its presence in Australia calling for a vote to the execrable Keating in 1996. They still carry the torch, demanding "Repeal the Wik amendment to the Native Title Bill" (*Workers Power*, May-June 2000). That is, they uphold Keating's *Native Title Act* which knifed Aboriginal people. Like the ISO, WP alibis the ALP, complaining about its "lack of backbone" against mandatory sentencing, while disappearing the racist state terror carried out by state ALP governments against Aborigines.

WP calls for "defence of the right to self-determination of indigenous Australians." The ALP upholders of racist capitalism, from Whitlam in the 1970s to Beattie today are also for "self-determination" while the government-appointed Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation's declaration states that "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have the right to self-determination within the life of the nation."

For Marxist revolutionaries, upholding the democratic right of oppressed nations to form their own state is central to rooting out the nationalism, chauvinism and

patriotism that ties the proletariat to the capitalist class, especially in the oppressor state. Lenin's Bolshevik party, by intransigently defending the right of national self-determination, was able to forge unity between the working class of all nations within the Tsarist prisonhouse of peoples, key to the 1917 proletarian revolution. But the call for "self-determination" for Aboriginal peoples in Australia (or Native peoples in the U.S. or Canada) can only be utopian or reactionary: utopian because the vibrant pre-colonial societies were smashed through bloody terror; reactionary because it is counterposed to a political struggle against the ALP and the Laborite union bureaucracy. Racist social democracy mouths words about "self-determination"

Majesty," this is the monarch of the now shrunken empire which destroyed indigenous societies from Australia to Canada and the Pacific. In her name British troops today enforce their bloody writ in Northern Ireland. Appeals to such reactionary institutions are worse than a blind alley for Aboriginal people.

The real and only allies of the Aboriginal people are to be found in the multiracial working class. Aborigines who joined the Maritime Union picket lines two years ago knew that the thugs who dragged waterside workers off the docks are brothers to the cops and prison guards who kill Aboriginal people. As well, there have been important if too-rare instances of class struggle in which workers and their unions, in spite of their Laborite misleaders, actively came to the defence of Aborigines. In 1966 a stockmen's strike won the Aboriginal workers equal wages (although because it remained isolated the racist bosses were able to sack the Aboriginal workers immediately after). In 1989 a large contingent of building workers downed tools in protest over the murder of David Gundy. In Townsville in 1993 when Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley was sacked, the entire union at the site struck for three weeks, winning his reinstatement.

Against those who turn their back on the proletariat (either through cringing Laborite reformism or despair), our party seeks to actively intervene on the side of the oppressed with our communist program. The SL, with militant Aborigines in Wollongong and trade unionists, organised to build the first demonstration in the country protesting the acquittal of the cops who brutally murdered John Pat in 1983. In 1993 the SL mobilised trade unionists, students and Aborigines from the Redfern community to successfully break the racist colour bar at the Student Prince Hotel in Sydney.

The defence of Aboriginal rights by the organised working class must be an integral part of the fight to overthrow capitalism, the common oppressor and exploiter of all. What is necessary is a multiracial revolutionary workers party—built in opposition to the Laborite misleaders—which opposes every manifestation of capitalist injustice and oppression, striving to transform the proletariat into a conscious instrument for socialist revolution. As we wrote in our statement of program:

"The Spartacist League fights to mobilise the social power of the integrated, organised labour movement, independent of the capitalist state, to defend Aboriginal peoples against racist state terror, and to consistently champion their rights. We fight for complete legal equality; for jobs for all and equal wages; and for massive health and education programs to address the oppression of the Aboriginal people on the reserves, in the wretched 'fringes' and inner cities. Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those Aboriginal people who desire it, and the fullest possible autonomy for those who do not, and make it possible to address the special needs created by more than two centuries of injustice and oppression."

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

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the face of belligerent racist hostility, some Aboriginal leaders appeal to outfits like the United Nations or even the English queen. Contrary to its own self-serving mythology, the UN is not a benevolent international body guarding the interests of the downtrodden. An agency for carrying out the dictates of the imperialist powers (while including their victims), the UN's starvation embargo has murdered *one million* Iraqis. In East Timor the Australia/UN occupiers are ensuring that children there can expect the same desperate future faced by Aborigines. As for her faded "Britannic

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China...

(continued from page 12)

today in the Stalinist regime's embrace of the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie in the name of forging a "greater China."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic *caste*: resting on the proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. In response to those imperialist pressures, which have sharply increased following capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union, the bureaucracy has expanded the "market reforms" initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s. Recently, the pace of privatization and retrenchment of state-owned enterprises has accelerated in anticipation of entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO), a move which if implemented would open China to a greater degree of import competition from Western and Japanese multinationals and also to foreign investment in certain industries. We fight against imperialist penetration of the Chinese deformed workers state and defend the state monopoly of foreign trade.

Writing of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Leon Trotsky noted: "It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat." Faced with boiling anger at the base, the Beijing bureaucracy has trod warily, imprisoning or even executing some officials for blatant corruption and occasionally reversing some of its own proposed "free market" measures. An article in the *New York Times* (16 April) on a joint venture between Volkswagen and the Shanghai municipal government complained:

"China continues to shelter many of its industries from true competition, in turn perpetuating too many factories and poor management. Though the government warns that China's state-owned companies must prepare for global competition, most sectors of the economy remain stuck in their socialist past."

The U.S. and the other major capitalist powers are intent on a capitalist counter-revolution which would entail the suppression of the Chinese proletariat in blood and the smashing of the Communist Party-dominated state apparatus. To that end, while pursuing "constructive engagement" with the Beijing regime with the aim of furthering economic penetration, Washington brandishes its military might against China and sponsors a range of forces—from the CIA's "Free Tibet" crowd to pro-imperialist "dissidents"—aimed at fomenting counter-revolution from within. The U.S. is proposing a "theater missile defense" in East Asia which would target the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers

states in the first instance, and has maintained capitalist Taiwan over the past 50 years as a bulwark against China.

The Trotskyist ICL fights for the unconditional military defense of China and the other deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. As stated in the ICL's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998):

"Our position flows from the proletarian class character of these states, embodied

in the collectivized property relations — nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade and banking, etc.—established by social revolutions that destroyed capitalism. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of these states, our defense of them against the class enemy is unconditional, i.e., it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies, nor does it depend upon the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict."

boldened the imperialist exploiters in attacking the working people and minorities in the U.S. and other capitalist countries. It is in the direct class interest of the proletariat in the U.S. and internationally to oppose the imperialists' drive to reconquer China for capitalist exploitation.

The American labor tops are trying to repeat in China the scenario played out in East Europe and the ex-USSR. A key agency in this regard is the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS). According to one of its Washington paymasters, the National Endowment for Democracy, in China the ACILS has "helped labor groups and underground activists educate workers about their rights"—i.e., organizing counter-revolutionary "free trade unions." Meanwhile, back home the AFL-CIO tops are in the vanguard of protectionist and anti-Communist opposition to China's entry into the WTO, joining with liberal Democrats, right-wing Republicans and incipient clerical-fascist Pat Buchanan.

It won't be easy for the "AFL-CIA" to sell American "free enterprise" to Chinese workers. Many workers in East Europe and the former Soviet Union bought the lie peddled by the likes of Yeltsin and Solidarność leader Lech Walesa that "free market" capitalism would bring unparalleled prosperity and living standards comparable to West Europe and North America. But many Chinese workers have *already experienced the miseries of "free market" exploitation*, slaving in large plants owned by Western and Japanese firms and offshore Chinese businessmen or in sweatshop operations often run by native-born exploiters, where conditions are generally far worse than those in state-owned enterprises.

A major concentration of privately owned factories producing textiles, clothing and other light manufactures is located in the Pearl River delta in Guangdong province opposite Hong Kong. Workers in the "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), mainly young women from the countryside, slave in these factories 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Their salary is often withheld for the first six months and forfeited altogether if they leave before a year! China's laws stipulate that overtime is limited to 36 hours a week and must be paid at a rate 50 percent higher than regular time. But the bosses in these factories openly flout the country's labor laws, bribing government officials for this privilege. Such conditions are only a small taste of what the Chinese masses would face under capitalist rule, which would qualitatively extend and deepen the exploitation and

immiseration now being experienced by workers in the SEZs.

It is telling that even anti-Communist "dissidents" feel compelled to criticize "free market" capitalism in order to gain a sympathetic hearing from Chinese workers. A prime example is Han Dongfang, a Hong Kong-based "labor organizer" with a regular program on the CIA-funded Radio Free Asia. Han denounces the Clinton administration *from the right* for "de-linking trade from human rights issues." Yet this bellicose anti-Communist hypocritically pays lip service to the intense hostility among Chinese workers to privatizing the economy, writing that he does not believe "large-scale and rapid privatisation is the only way forward for the reform process" (*China Labour Bulletin*, September/October 1997).

Han and his ilk posture as defenders of the economic interests of the Chinese workers, condemning the official All-China Federation of Trade Unions for failing to defend the workers. Indeed, this adjunct of the Stalinist bureaucracy does not defend the interests of Chinese workers. But what Han stands for is the smashing of the Chinese deformed workers state and the introduction of brutal capitalist exploitation throughout the country.

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Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

A proletarian political revolution will begin under the banner of struggles against social inequality and political oppression, as in 1989. The struggle for freedom of the trade unions—based on the defense of socialized property—as well as for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold as part of the fight for soviet democracy, for the formation of workers councils opposing the bureaucratic parasites and suppressing counterrevolutionary elements. The central question is that of revolutionary leadership, which can only be resolved by forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to bring revolutionary socialist consciousness to the working class. Such a party would combat Han chauvinism and imbue the proletariat with the understanding that it must fight for the interests of all the oppressed—from women to homosexuals to the poor peasantry and migrant workers.

Workers in the state sector, currently in the forefront of the labor struggles, constitute a majority of the Chinese proletariat. But two-thirds of the population still lives in the countryside as peasant smallholders or is otherwise engaged in the agricultural economy. The working class cannot wrest political power from the bureaucracy without the sympathy and support of the peasant masses, especially the rural youth who make up a majority of China's conscript army.

The drive toward capitalist restoration has led to increasing immiseration of both rural toilers and the urban industrial proletariat. Bankrupted peasants and youth who cannot find a livelihood in the rural areas have flooded into cities looking for work—a vast army of migrant labor estimated at up to 130 million people! Lacking official household registration (*hukou*), migrants are not entitled to the housing, medical care and schooling for their children available to legal urban residents. Most migrants are men who leave their wives and children in the villages and try to eke out a living in the cities by taking the most menial jobs.

These developments have acted to create a major division within the working class as many urban workers are contemptuous of the rural migrants and also fearful that they will take their jobs because the migrants are desperate enough to work for next to nothing. Meanwhile, millions of migrants are rounded up and forcibly removed to their villages every year. The unity of the working class demands the defense of these migrant workers. The fight to win for these workers the same legal rights and benefits as longtime urban residents could serve as an initial step in the crucially necessary task of linking the



Peter Turnley

Entry of working class into student protests in Tiananmen Square, 1989, signalled incipient proletarian political revolution.

in the collectivized property relations — nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade and banking, etc.—established by social revolutions that destroyed capitalism. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of these states, our defense of them against the class enemy is unconditional, i.e., it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies, nor does it depend upon the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict."

Beware Imperialism's Labour Front Men!

A key role in U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary drive is played by the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy, whose anti-Communist operations against militant unions in Latin America, South Korea and elsewhere earned it the epithet "AFL-CIA" throughout the Third World. This goes hand in hand with the labor tops' class collaboration in the U.S., where they act as the capitalists' political police inside the unions.

In East Europe and the former USSR, these "labor lieutenants" of American imperialism promoted and helped organize "free trade unions" as battering rams for capitalist restoration. In the early 1980s, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy acted as a conduit to fund Polish Solidarność, a phony "union" which spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe. Later, in the Soviet Union, AFL-CIO operatives sought to channel working-class discontent over Mikhail Gor-

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ISO Sponsors Pro-Capitalist, Anti-Communist Indonesian Unionist

The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) sometimes postures as a left critic of the Indonesian Peoples Democratic Party and even on occasion throws around the term "permanent revolution." For revolutionary Trotskyists the program of permanent revolution is based on the understanding that the solution to the most basic democratic tasks in countries of belated capitalist development requires the dictatorship of the proletariat, linked to the fight for socialist revolution in the imperialist centres. For the ISO permanent revolution means "take liberal slogans and give them a socialist twist" (*Socialist Worker Review*, November 1999).

What the ISO is really about is craven prostration before the pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party. Thus they sponsored, along with a section of

the pro-imperialist, Laborite trade-union bureaucracy, a May speaking tour of Indonesian trade-union leaders Muchtar Pakpahan and Rekson Silaban of the Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union (SBSI) which claims 1.4 million members.

Pakpahan and Silaban openly defended capitalist rule in Indonesia, stating their support for "government by Gus Dur." Declaring "reform better," Pakpahan denounced revolution. Grotesquely he upheld the ban on communism written in the blood of the over one million slaughtered in 1965. He told a Melbourne audience, "We have to wait for the right moment.... Do not revoke Decree Number 25." It speaks volumes that supporters of the ISO and Workers Power *applauded* this chilling anti-communist apology.

Pakpahan himself spent two years in Suharto's jails. But far from struggling to bring down the bloody military regime, he declared "I would nominate Tutut [Suharto's eldest daughter]" for president (*Business Week*, 19 January 1998)! Moreover, Pakpahan is up to his neck in associations with the bloody imperialists and their labour front men. After his 1998 release from jail, he met with the U.S. Secretary of Labor, Alexis Herman. Recently Pakpahan went to bat for one Roger Smith, an Australian operative of the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), who faced deportation from Indonesia.

The ACILS, an arm of the American AFL-CIO union federation, is a "core institute" of the CIA-funded National Endowment for Democracy which has backed some of the most reactionary

scum on earth. These Cold Warriors are notorious for fomenting capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Today they especially target the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. We Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. Defend the gains of the 1949 revolution!

The ISO publicised Pakpahan's appeal on behalf of Smith (*Socialist Worker*, 24 March). This is completely in accord with the ISO's cheering capitalist counterrevolution from Poland to the Soviet Union. Like the anti-communist Pakpahan, they line up with the labour frontmen for imperialism, agents for the robbery and subjugation of the Indonesian masses. ■

PRD...

(continued from page 7)

imperialist powers is a struggle which is still capitalistic in nature, in the sense of developing productive forces under the control of a people's revolutionary democratic government."

As we wrote in "Indonesia at the Flashpoint" (*ASP* No. 170, Autumn), the petty-bourgeois nationalist PRD's program begins and ends with "reformasi total," i.e., a "reformed" capitalism.

Concomitantly, the PRD is in fact *not* opposed to imperialism. The PRD is *for* the Australian imperialist-led occupation of East Timor having long demanded that the imperialist powers carry out "multinational peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the UN" there. What that means was made clear by the PST's Avelino da Silva who shared the platform with Sujatmiko. Da Silva *defended* the occupation forces in their attacks on protesting East Timorese workers. He told the Melbourne meeting that his advice to the troops and cops was "if they [the protesters] use stones, then you can arrest them"! This self-proclaimed socialist appealed to "good investors" to "take a Timorese partner. Then there shall be no revolution, no insurrection."

In the Sydney and Melbourne meetings, supporters of the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Workers Power, Socialist Alternative, the Communist League—all of whom claim to oppose the DSP's rabid "troops in" to

Cigarette factory workers protest near Surabaya. Indonesian women workers will be in forefront of fight against capitalist exploitation and semifeudal enslavement.



East Timor line—raised not a peep of opposition to their "own" ruling class. Only the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League intervened against the Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor. As our speaker said in Sydney:

"We say that the 'White Australia' imperialists are the enemy of the oppressed whether in Australia or anywhere else. The interests of the workers are completely counterposed to the interests of the capitalists and their state, whether that state is run by John Howard or the ALP. To turn to the union-busters, the butchers of Aborigines, the builders of concentration camps for immigrants, the

anti-woman, anti-gay bigots that run this country and to proclaim that they can be a force for freedom, for humanitarianism, is a horrible, grotesque and deadly lie. We communists say: Australian imperialism get out of East Timor now! Independence for East Timor!"

Silent on the burning question of imperialist troops, a leading member of the deeply reformist, ALP-loyal ISO (without identifying himself) did ever-so-politely remark to Sujatmiko in Sydney, "you see some distinction between Wahid and the military.... But it seems to me again that is quite a dangerous illusion." This is pretty rich coming from

those who two years ago claimed that anti-Chinese racist and Muslim leader Amien Rais, today a key force in whipping up bloody Islamic violence, and Megawati could lead "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army to split it from below" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 March 1998).

While the ISO offered its comradely advice to the PRD leader, our comrades intervened to put forward the internationalist program of permanent revolution on which an Indonesian Trotskyist party must be forged. As our speaker said in Sydney:

"We communists look to the working class as the only social force that can bring human freedom and revolution. We seek to forge a revolutionary workers party that organises the working class—not to have discussions with 'Big Brother Dur'—but in mobilisations to smash the capitalist class. Unlike the PRD, from the very beginning we have warned that Wahid, Rais and Megawati are the enemies of the workers and toiling people of Indonesia. Even the most basic democratic demands in Indonesia can only be won through the proletarian seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is the lesson of the Russian Revolution, and the lesson that proletarian revolution must be extended to the imperialist heartlands from Australia to Japan to the United States.

"We in the International Communist League fight to forge the necessary instrument for such victories, revolutionary Trotskyist parties of the Bolshevik type, because we stand and fight for new October Revolutions, putting an end to capitalist imperialism once and for all, the only way forward for all of humanity on this planet." ■

urban-centered proletariat and the peasant masses in struggle against mounting depredations.

In the countryside, there has emerged a class of rich farmers—i.e., petty capitalists who hire labor and lease additional land from their neighbors and have expanded into non-agricultural businesses—who are a bridge to the capitalist world market and a dangerous force for counterrevolution within Chinese society. The Beijing government itself calculates that up to ten million peasants will lose their livelihoods if China enters the WTO due to increased imports of grain and other produce, mainly from North America. The capitalists must be driven out of the SEZs and off the land. This poses the question of forming workers and peasants councils to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. Such councils would recollectivize agriculture, providing cheap credit and farm equipment to peasants who form cooperatives, and reinforce the state monopoly of foreign trade, a vital means of defending industrial workers and rural toilers against the predations of world imperialism. Defend and extend the planned, collectivized economy! Expropriate without compensation the bloodsucking imperialist and offshore Chinese bourgeoisies!

Some Chinese opponents of "market reforms" uphold Mao's "socialism" as an

alternative to the present regime. But the Maoist perversion of socialism was national economic autarky and primitive egalitarianism, in which the masses were equal because all were equally poor. Writing in the mid-19th century, Karl Marx explained that in the absence of an international socialist society based on the highest level of technological and industrial development, "only want will be generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and all the old crap must revive." Flatly repudiating Marx, the Stalinists preached the idiocy that socialism could be built in a single country if only imperialist military intervention were thwarted. Refuting this in his 1928 work *The Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky wrote:

"The capitalist world shows us by its export and import figures that it has other instruments of persuasion than those of military intervention. To the extent that productivity of labor and the productivity of a social system as a whole are measured on the market by the correlation of prices, it is not so much military intervention as the intervention of cheaper capitalist commodities that constitutes perhaps the greatest immediate menace to Soviet economy. This alone shows that it is by no means merely a question of an isolated economic victory over 'one's own' bourgeoisie."

In practice, "socialism in one country" meant opposition to the perspective of

workers revolution internationally. Thus, like Stalin, Mao sought alliances with various "anti-imperialist" Third World bourgeois-nationalist regimes and then with the imperialists themselves. This was exemplified by the criminal alliance of Mao's China with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet degenerated workers state, forged as the U.S. rained bombs on the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in the early 1970s. In "China on the Brink" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997), we noted: "China's alliance with the U.S., initiated by Mao and Zhou Enlai, helped set the stage for Deng's 'open door' to imperialist exploitation in the next period. Today, Mao's heirs don't even give lip service to the goals of socialism, instead openly offering themselves as compradors (agents) of imperialism."

Opposing workers democracy and international extension of the revolution, both the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists increasingly opted for capitalist market measures to spur productivity. The road of the Stalinist bureaucracy would return the Chinese masses to the prerevolutionary days of impoverishment and imperialist subjugation. The modernization of China—providing the basis for a decent life for all its inhabitants on the basis of access to the advanced technol-

ogy and productive resources now concentrated in North America, West Europe and Japan—requires proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist centers, laying the basis for an *internationally planned, socialist economy*. That is the task of the ICL as it fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

SPARTACIST

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Chinese Miners Revolt Against "Market Reforms"

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 735, 5 May), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

When reports of an uprising in late February by laid-off Chinese miners in the town of Yangjiazhangzi surfaced earlier this month, the capitalist media internationally expressed alarm over mounting labor struggles in China. An editorial in the *New York Times* (7 April), mouthpiece of the U.S. bourgeoisie, cynically acknowledged that "the current phase of selling off state factories and mines is creating hardships for many longtime employees" and lectured Beijing that it "should heed the message from Yangjiazhangzi." The imperialist rulers rightly see the resistance of the Chinese proletariat to the ravages of "market reforms" as the chief obstacle to their schemes for the capitalist reconquest of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state.

The scale of that working-class resistance was evident in the revolt by some 20,000 workers and their families in Yangjiazhangzi, located 250 miles northeast of Beijing. The upheaval began when workers at a huge state-owned molybdenum mine which had been shut down in November massed at the enterprise headquarters, demanding to speak to plant managers about their paltry severance pay—\$68 for every year of service in the mines. The managers failed to show up, and a speech by the town's mayor only infuriated the workers more. Miners and their families took to the streets, setting up barricades, burning cars, smashing the windows of government buildings and setting oil drums ablaze.

Authorities moved cautiously lest the workers decide to use the stock of dynamite in the mine to defend themselves. For two days, the workers battled the People's Armed Police, a force created in the mid-1980s specifically to put down growing social unrest. Finally, army units were brought in, firing live ammunition over protesters' heads and quelling the rebellion.

Sixty-eight dollars can barely support a family of three for a month even in this economically depressed region, yet workers also have to pay for their own pension benefits and health insurance out of that money. A man who worked in the mine for 35 years along with his wife estimates that their severance pay will last about ten months. "After that, what am I going to do? How are we going to eat?"

Last year, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji pointed to the mine as a prime example of a money-losing enterprise that would have to be shut down. But the mine is "unprofitable" only by the measure of a capitalist market. Molybdenum is a valuable metal used to toughen steel, and the mine's managers have been enriching themselves by taking over parts of the mine or piecing off other parts to their cronies. One worker bitterly recounted: "They have sold parts of the mine to their friends. They have sold all the mine's trucks. But we haven't seen this money.... They eat it and drink it away"

**For Unconditional Military Defence of China Against
Imperialism, Capitalist Counterrevolution!**

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Oust Stalinist Bureaucracy!

(*Washington Post*, 5 April).

The deepening of "free market" measures is setting the stage for a monumental clash between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the proletariat and peasant masses. The Chinese Labor Ministry reports more than **120,000 labor disputes last year—14 times more** than 1992—from petitions to strikes (*Japan Times*, 25 April). A senior police official in the central province of Anhui reports that it is now common to see "workers

indicating the fragility of the bureaucratic caste in the face of an aroused proletariat, which has already shown its potential to win over entire sections of the conscript army of the deformed workers state in struggle against the Stalinist regime. When the working people entered into the student demonstrations centered on Tiananmen Square in May-June 1989, marking an incipient political revolution, both officers and ranks of numerous People's Liberation Army regiments refused

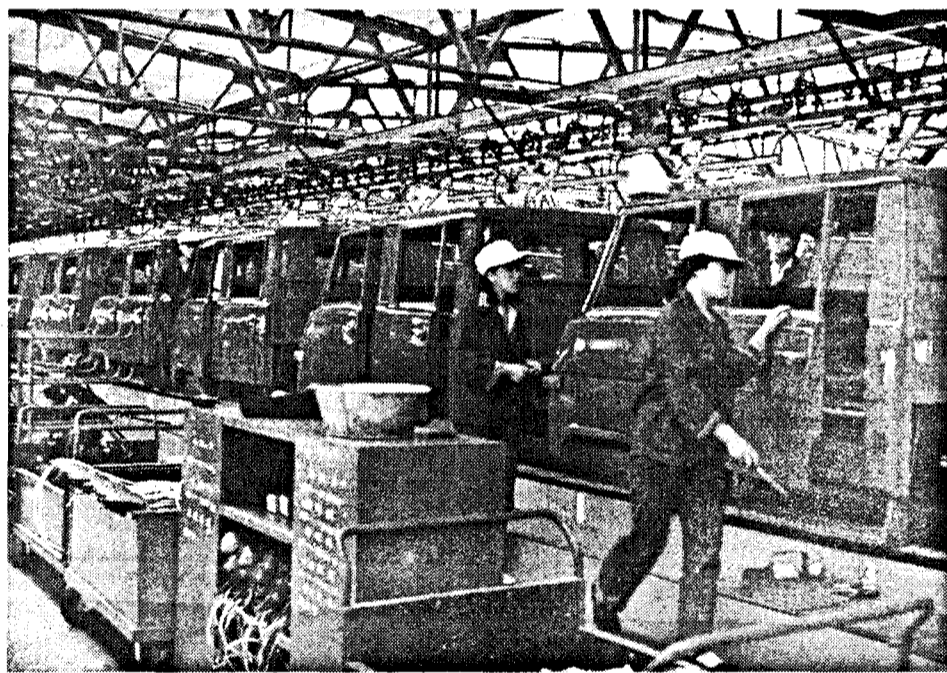
communism." Proletarian political revolution in China—premised on defense of the planned, collectivized economy which is the social foundation of the workers state—would have a tremendous impact in reversing this assault, reverberating among the proletariat from Indonesia and South Korea to Japan—the industrial powerhouse of Asia—and the U.S. It would revive the working people of Russia who have been ground down by nearly a decade of capitalist counterrevolution. At the same time, a revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils would face virulently hostile imperialist reaction. The International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, to lead the overthrow of capitalist class rule internationally, smashing the imperialist system and laying the material basis for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

China on the Brink

Some of the Yangjiazhangzi miners understand that their layoffs and looming impoverishment stem from the "market reforms" imposed by the Beijing regime, which are undermining the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. That revolution liberated the country from capitalist exploitation and imperialist subjugation, ushering in a planned, collectivized economy which guaranteed workers lifetime employment and social benefits—the "iron rice bowl." State enterprises provide workers not only with a livelihood but with housing, medical care and schooling for their families. Thus the privatization, closure or retrenchment of state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises threatens workers with utter destitution. "We miners have been working here for China, for the Communist Party, since the revolution," said one worker. "And now suddenly my part of the mine is private." These workers understand that such state property belongs to the working people. Who gave the managers the right to sell it off?

It is crucial to understand that the 1949 Revolution was deformed from its inception under the rule of Mao Zedong's bureaucracy, patterned after the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1924. Mao's regime excluded the proletariat from political power and based itself on Stalin's nationalist dogma of building "socialism in a single country." That meant accommodation to world imperialism and opposition to the struggle for socialist revolution in other countries. This nationalist perspective is expressed

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Wo-Lap Lam/Asiaweek

State-owned auto factory in China. Workers in state industry are in forefront of struggle against ravages of "market reforms."

collectively besieging enterprise leaders, hurling abuse at them, and even detaining them under duress." In December, a thousand miners fought with police and blocked a railway line in northern China to protest not having been paid in months. Around the same time, 2,000 retired steel workers in the southwestern city of Chongqing (Chungking) closed off the main road to the steel mill to protest cuts in pensions. In the vast rural hinterland, the immiseration of the poor peasantry, as a result of the decollectivization of agriculture in the late 1970s, and the growing class divide with the creation of a class of rich farmers have led to rampant attacks on tax collectors and other officials.

In its article on the Yangjiazhangzi revolt, the *Washington Post* wrote that it was "severe for a disturbance in a Chinese city but was indicative of unrest bedeviling the Communist Party" and observed that "in the countryside, however, authorities appear more willing to order security services to smash protests and fire on demonstrators." This is a stark

orders to suppress the protests, forcing the regime to bring in other units to crush the workers' uprising.

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

Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the international proletariat has been thrown back economically and politically by the bourgeois onslaught and triumphalism over the so-called "death of