

Australasian SPARTACIST



Number 168

Winter 1999

50 cents

Declaration of the International Communist League

Defeat Imperialism Through Workers Revolution— Defend Serbia!

The following 21 April statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) was issued in eight languages for distribution at May Day demonstrations and other events internationally.

The imperialist war against Serbia is already the biggest military conflagration in Europe since World War II. Having pounded Serbia for weeks with bombs and cruise missiles, there is a growing crescendo among the Western imperialists for a full-scale invasion of the rump Serb-dominated Yugoslav republic. Once again the Balkans have become the powder keg of Europe, bringing us a step closer to a new world war. As proletarian internationalists fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) says: **Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!**

A 25 March statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. asserted:

"Every blow against U.S. imperialism in the Balkans will help to weaken the class enemy, providing an opening for the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy."

In Europe, the brutal imperialist attacks on Serbia are being carried out by capitalist governments headed by social democrats and ex-Stalinists. As the military historian Clausewitz once said, war is the continuation of politics by other means. Having demonstrated their loyalty to the bourgeoisie at home by enforcing racist capitalist austerity, today the social democrats are if anything more vigorous than their right-wing predecessors in doing the imperialists' dirty work abroad. The *Berliner Zeitung* (25 March) observed: "That a red-green government sent units of the Bundeswehr into a military intervention for the first time since the founding of the Federal Republic is saving the country from

an unproductive ideological and political conflict." At the onset of the war, sections of the International Communist League immediately issued statements unmasking the imperialist war propaganda and seeking to mobilize the workers of the world against their "own" bourgeoisies.

The destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers

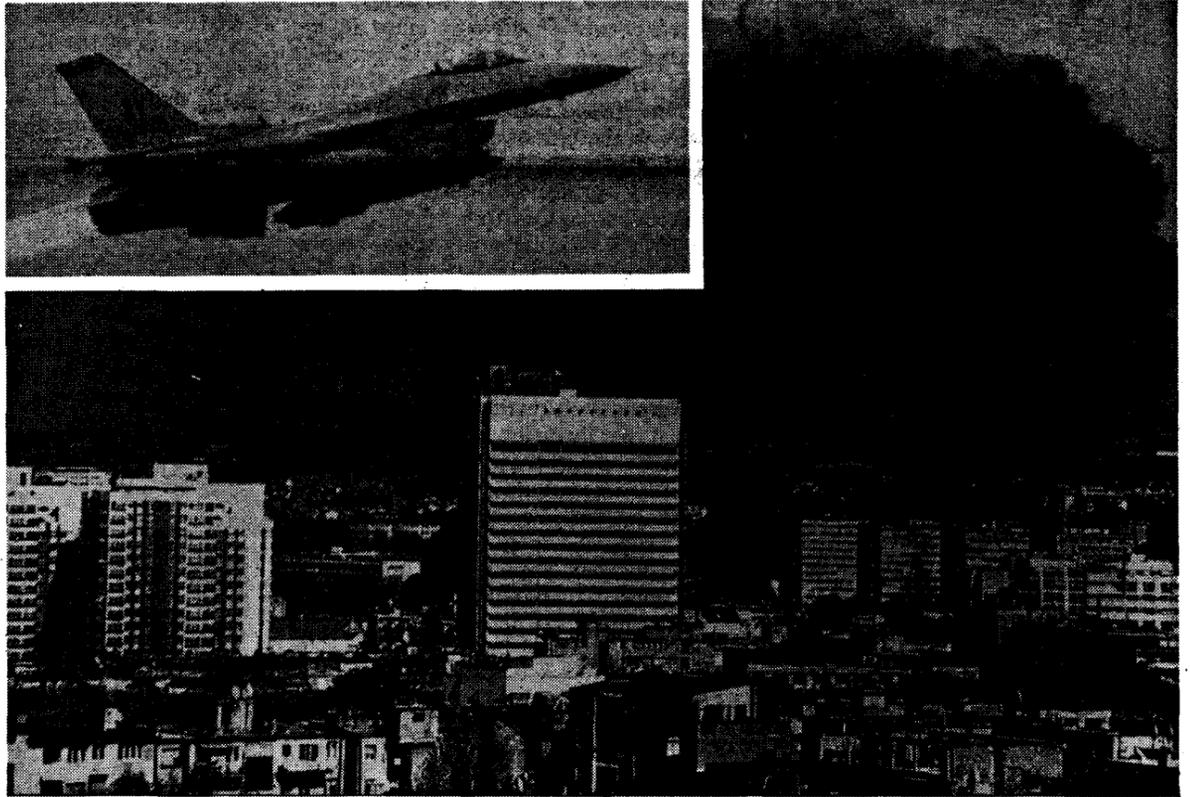
state ushered in a sharp rise in regional wars and imperialist military adventures, as a virulent new nationalism became the hammer of counterrevolution. Interimperialist strife, previously held in check by the need for a common anti-Soviet alliance, erupted anew. Just beneath the surface of the current unity of the NATO "allies" over the bombing of Serbia lie fundamental and escalating interimperialist rivalries expressed in the growing trade war between the U.S.

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Weekend Australian



Daily Telegraph



NATO terror bombing of factories, TV stations and other civilian targets is aimed at inflicting maximum suffering on Serbian population. Toxic smoke from burning oil refineries blackens Belgrade sky.

Spartacist League of Australia Statement

Reprinted below is the Spartacist League of Australia's 8 April leaflet headlined "Defeat U.S./Australian Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!"

The barrage of cruise missiles and bombs launched against Serbia on 24 March by the U.S. and its NATO allies brings us all a step closer to a new world war. Two weeks on, the imperialists have greatly intensified the attacks, and it is clear that targeting "military installations" in urban areas

is aimed not least at sowing terror among the besieged population. Sections of the capital of Belgrade have gone up in flames, the first time this city has come under bombardment since Hitler's Luftwaffe attacked in 1941. This war is a bloody statement by America's imperialist rulers that they will stop at nothing in their ruthless drive for profits and world domination. Joining with them in raining death and destruction on Serbia are the ex-Stalinists, Social Democrats and "New

Labour" today ruling capitalist France, Italy, Germany and Britain.

The Australian jackal imperialists quickly saluted the U.S./NATO terror bombing, with both Howard's government and Beazley's Labor "Opposition" pledging full support. Backing NATO's bloody war, the Australian capitalists also suck the lifeblood out of workers here through grinding austerity, union-busting and rampant racist cop terror. Any military blows against U.S./Australian/NATO

imperialism are in the direct and immediate interest of working people and minorities here and around the world. As proletarian internationalists, revolutionaries fighting to build a party to lead the working class to power against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors, the Spartacist League, Australian section of the International Communist League, declares: **Defend Serbia against U.S./NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic**

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All U.S./UN/NATO/Australian Troops Out of the Balkans!

Drop the Charges Against Kurdish Protesters!

On 17 February, Sydney cops viciously attacked and arrested Kurdish demonstrators who had occupied the Greek consulate, while in Melbourne Kurdish protesters were arrested and beaten in police custody. The demonstrations were among those organised worldwide by Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) supporters following the kidnapping and arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan on 15 February by Turkish security forces aided by the U.S. Over the last 15 years, tens of thousands of Kurdish people have been murdered in Turkey's gruesome war of annihilation which has destroyed more than 3,000 villages. Now the Turkish state looks to "legally" kill Öcalan.

The capitalist governments in Europe, mostly headed by social democrats, seized on the militant Kurdish protests

Berlin were shot to death by Israeli security guards; another 16 were seriously injured. In Sydney, it was the racist, anti-immigrant Australian Labor Party government of Bob Carr that sent its cops to brutally attack Kurdish protesters.

As a champion of the Kurdish struggle for national and social emancipation, the International Communist League actively participated in the worldwide demonstrations and widely distributed a declaration in several languages issued by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany ("Freedom for Öcalan," *Workers Vanguard* No. 708, 5 March). At a 25 February rally and march to the Turkish consulate in Melbourne, a Spartacist speaker exposed the lies of Labor senator Kim Carr who claimed that his party and social democrats in Europe supported the Kurdish people.

Pointing to Australian imperialism's support for Washington's war against the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers and the Australian government's complicity in the U.S.-led attacks against Iraq, our comrade criticised the PKK and the fake left for their program of trying to pressure the imperialists to be "friends" of the oppressed. Fending off efforts at political censorship, the SL speaker was cheered by many in the crowd when he called the imperialists the enemy of liberation. When he counterposed our call to free Öcalan now to the talk of a "fair trial" for the PKK leader "under international supervision," protesters started chanting, "Freedom for Öcalan."

Only a thoroughgoing social revolution can liberate the Kurdish toiling masses, carved up between four capitalist states, from the yoke of imperialism and exploitation. Even to achieve the democratic right to national self-determination requires uprooting capitalist rule throughout the entire region where the Kurds are concentrated. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be won to actively championing the Kurdish right of self-determination. Guided by Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution

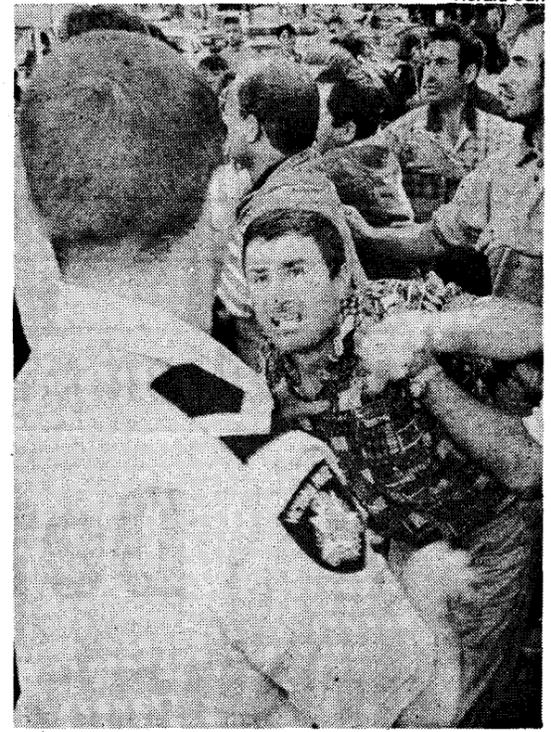
and the experiences of the Russian Revolution, we stand for a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan.

In Australia, as elsewhere, the capitalist rulers' efforts to incite anti-immigrant racism serve as an ideological tool to wreck working-class solidarity along racial and national lines. Foreign-born workers, including from the Kurdish diaspora, are key to class struggle in this country as well as forming a living link to workers struggles internationally. The labour movement must demand: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! As our speaker in Melbourne concluded, we fight for a revolutionary party that will mobilise the working class in defence of immigrants and all the oppressed on the road to smashing racist White Australia capitalism.

We print below a 23 May letter from the Partisan Defence Committee to the NSW Minister for Police and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

The Partisan Defence Committee vehemently protests the ongoing police repression of the Kurds who occupied the Greek consulate in Sydney in the early morning of 17 February this year in protest against the kidnapping and arrest of Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan.

Just as the social-democratic rulers of Fortress Europe, all of whom refused asylum to Öcalan, unleashed police terror against Kurdish protesters, so too has the NSW Labor government. Kurdish militants here were met with vicious attack by some 150 heavily armed cops who used paralysing capsicum spray to make arrests. There was indeed an "orchestrated campaign of violence" (in the words of the *Daily*



Melbourne, 17 February: Cops attack Kurds protesting arrest of PKK leader Öcalan.

Telegraph) but the orchestrators were the cops, the Labor-run capitalist government of NSW and the bourgeois press, against the Kurdish population.

In all, 65 protesters—including a 15-year-old—were arrested and charged with "unlawful assembly at a protected place." That these charges were later dropped testifies to their spuriousness. At a hearing on 20 April, however, the government signalled its intention to intensify its campaign against Kurdish leftists: new charges including trespass, arson and being armed with an offensive implement were laid against 13 of the protesters.

The Carr government's attacks on Kurdish militants is part and parcel of the racist hysteria against immigrants and refugees that has fuelled the growth of the likes of the fascistic One Nation party. Last October's cop invasion of heavily immigrant Bankstown and the racist cop killing of a 15-year-old Aboriginal youth a few weeks earlier only underscores that the ALP in power rules for the capitalists.

Stop the persecution of immigrants and refugees! Drop all the charges against the Kurdish protesters now!



"Freedom for Öcalan!" Turkish-language article in *Spartakist* No. 135, Spring 1999, publication of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands.

to further foment racist hysteria against immigrants and intensify police-state measures. In Germany, where the PKK remains banned under the current German Social Democrat/Green government, three Kurdish protesters in

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Sydney	210	242½	115
National Total	310	353	114

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International Communist League
Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Australasian SPARTACIST

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

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

EDITOR: Oliver Stevens
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Glenn Blackall
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Phillipa Newman

Printed by trade-union labour.

Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001. E-mail address: ASP@att.net.au.
Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7 airmail/\$5 surface.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville. ISSN 0311-3264

No. 168, Winter 1999 Date of issue: June 1999

Donate Now!

Support Fund Drive for Yugoslav Workers Under U.S./NATO Attack!

German Spartacists Detained by Berlin Cops

MAY 24—On the night of 9 April, NATO forces bombed the Zastava car factory in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, knowing that the plant was protected by a "live shield" of workers. Tens of workers were killed, scores were injured, many of them seriously, and the power plant supplying heat to the city's hospital, schools and residences was also bombed to bits.

In response to this deliberate act of imperialist murder workers at the Alfa Romeo plant in Milano, Italy downed tools in protest and the Alfa Romeo COBAS (Rank-and-File Committee) launched a fund drive for Yugoslav workers. The COBAS initiative states:

"Every thing that exists on Yugoslav territory has now become a military target. We will not be told the true number of civilian dead and wounded in these 40 days of mad bombing until the ultimate massacre. But we already know that hundreds of factories, bridges, dwellings, railroads, telecommunications, electrical plants, aqueducts have already been razed to the ground. Hundreds of thousands of families are reduced to misery and the infrastructure for sustaining every human convenience is in ever more jeopardy. Devastated refineries and chemical factories leak poisonous waste into the soil, air and water, which will spread death across an ever wider area. The illegal use of depleted uranium shells will contaminate entire generations. There is no possible motivation in the world that could justify such a massacre of a population.... And meanwhile the stock market rises."

Strikes and workers demonstrations against the war have been steadily escalating in Italy, now ruled by the coalition government headed by Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left. On 13 May, COBAS led a political general strike around the slogan "Not a life, not a lira for this war!"

Sections of the International Communist League around the world have actively joined in the COBAS-initiated campaign of material aid, which aims to raise a billion lire (some \$835,000) for the workers of Zastava and other factories. Despite our political differences with many of the participants in this campaign, including the syndicalist-influenced COBAS, the ICL has participated in the spirit of the united front—march separately, strike together! In doing so, we have been able to make the fund drive an *international* effort, providing a way for workers throughout the world to express class solidarity with Yugoslav workers and opposition to the death and destruction that the U.S./NATO imperialists have been raining down on the people of Serbia for over two months. Indeed, the imperialists' murderous attack on the Zastava plant epitomises the nature of the U.S./NATO war, which is clearly aimed at terrorising the Serbian population.

German imperialism, which instigated the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, is now engaged in its first direct military combat since the defeat of the Nazi regime. The coalition government headed

by Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Gerhard Schröder has sought to quell growing popular opposition to the war against Serbia, which suffered under Nazi occupation during World War II. On 18 May, police detained two *Spartakist* salesmen in front of a Berlin Daimler-Chrysler plant to stop them from collecting for the fund drive. As described in a 24 May protest statement by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD):

"Our supporters were packed into a police van and held against their will for 45 minutes while astonished Mercedes workers and apprentices streamed out of the factory gate. Worker donations collected before the cops arrived were immediately confiscated along with the collection bucket under the pretext of 'suspicion of fraud.' At the same

bombing of other key factories that have so far destroyed the workplaces of a half million workers—was intended as a warning to the proletariat throughout the Balkans."

In the imperialist "belly of the beast" in the U.S., our comrades have collected funds from trade unionists outside workplaces and union meetings, including among the heavily black and immigrant New York City transit workforce. In Britain, where Tony Blair's Labour government has distinguished itself as the most bellicose of the NATO powers, shop stewards from the Cowley car plant, workers at Ford Dagenham near London and London Underground transit workers have contributed. So, too, have immigrant workers—in Britain and elsewhere in Europe—who are on the receiving end of racist state repression and the fascist terror it spawns and have not bought into the cynical "humanitarian" pretext for NATO's Balkans war.

In Mexico, subjected to U.S. imperialist plunder, the Grupo Espartaquista

governments in many cases, is apparently without limit. The British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff and its international cothinkers are a case in point. When our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain first collected for the fund drive at an 8 May London antiwar protest, a number of SWPers contributed. But the SWP leadership soon brought a halt to this. At a subsequent protest on 18 May, SWP spokesman Julie Waterson became so rabid in trying to thwart the efforts of our comrades that she grabbed a big handful of leaflets out of a collection bucket.

Our participation in the campaign for aid to the workers under NATO's guns necessarily entails a political struggle against the reformists and centrists who have given aid and comfort to their respective bourgeoisies. As Leninists, we understand that opposition to imperialism abroad means class struggle at home—that socialist revolution, requiring the instrumentality of a revolutionary

Zastava auto plant in ruins after NATO bombed factory knowing that workers were inside. Plant (far right) had employed 20,000 workers.



no credit



Yugoslavia Review

time, of course, thousands of buckets are being passed for the Kosovo refugees, and that is allowed because it enhances the pretext for this murderous war (while the borders of racist Germany remain tightly shut to the refugees). This attack by the SPD-led German capitalist state on basic working-class solidarity is meant to intimidate and regiment all workers who dare to demonstrate their opposition to the war of U.S. and German imperialism in the Balkans and must be vigorously fought....

"It is not an accident that the police were apparently called by the *Werkshutz* [company cops] of Daimler, which as arms manufacturer and pillar of both the Third and Fourth Reichs of German imperialism has its strategic interests in the Balkans, too."

The SpAD statement pointed to the Zastava workers' history of class struggle, including a bitter strike two and a half years ago against the bourgeois-nationalist Milosevic regime, which had fired more than half of the workforce in the wake of capitalist restoration. The statement declared that the "murderous act of NATO terror against them—like the

was invited to address and pass the hat among 600 delegates of the workers committee at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, which has been rocked by militant protests against the imposition of tuition. In Japan, at a 50,000-strong protest against revisions to the Japan-U.S. security treaty on 22 May, metal workers, medical workers and rail workers reached into their pockets to give to the campaign—as did youth supporters of the Communist Party, despite their leaders' attempts to exclude and silence us. And students from the Chinese deformed workers state studying in the U.S., Canada and Australia have donated to the fund drive, including at protests against NATO's bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

While anger and revulsion against the NATO slaughter is widespread, the capitulation of an array of so-called "socialist" outfits to their "own" bourgeoisies, presently served by social-democratic

party to lead it, is the only way to put an end to the capitalist system which breeds war.

In Australia we have an obligation to take a stand against the imperialist war in the Balkans, which is fully supported by both Howard's government and Beazley's Labor "opposition." We urge our readers to donate generously to the Zastava campaign and give direct material aid to the workers and their families struggling for survival under the U.S./NATO murderous war of aggression against Serbia and its civilian population. This is truly a cause in the interest of the whole of the working people. *The working class has no fatherland! Defeat imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia!*

Contributions can be made out to the Partisan Defence Committee (earmarked "For Yugoslav Workers") and sent to: Partisan Defence Committee, P.O. Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230. ■

Little Drummer People for Imperialism Social-Chauvinist "Left" in NATO's Baggage Train

"To the socialist it is not the horrors of war that are the hardest to endure—we are always for 'a holy war of all the oppressed, for the conquest of their own fatherland!'—but the horrors of the treachery shown by the leaders of present-day socialism...."

—V.I. Lenin, "The European War and International Socialism," August-September 1914

Treachery well describes the pseudo-left's capitulation before the imperialist war on Serbia. Despite a pacifist veneer of opposition to the bombing, they march in lockstep behind the war aims of NATO imperialism, tacitly supporting the imperialist assault on Serbia in the name of defending the "national rights" of the Albanian Kosovars.

At a 7 May Sydney meeting, "Resisting the Euro & NATO," not a word of *anti-imperialist opposition* to NATO's war on Serbia was uttered by the organisers—Militant Socialist Organisation, Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and "Supporters of the Fourth International in Australia" (the "United Secretariat")—nor by the speaker, editor of the USec's *International Viewpoint*, Adam Novak.

As the NATO atrocities mount, the imperialists scarcely bother to disguise the obvious, that *the aim of the U.S./NATO bombing is to terrorise the Serbian population and utterly destroy that country as they have done Iraq*. When we demanded, "is anyone here for the *defeat* of the imperialists in the Balkans?" there were no takers—some even called out "No!" This is grotesque, but not surprising.

The meeting's pro-war character was exemplified by used-up "leftist" and used-bookstore owner Bob Gould. Nearly sobbing, Gould retailed imperialist hype about Kosovo and declared his solidarity with British-based Alliance for Workers Liberty which openly declared on their website, "If NATO troop landings put a stop to the Serb's genocidal drive against the Kosovars we will be glad of it" (2 April)!

Against this pro-imperialist swill we Trotskyists of the Spartacist League voiced our proletarian opposition to NATO's war. We exposed the USec's call on the UN and/or the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to intervene in the Balkans—a call for the European imperialist armies to intervene on the ground on their own behalf, in counterposition to U.S.-dominated NATO (see ICL Declaration, page one). Utterly in thrall to imperialism's predatory designs, the USec retails the "proposal" of their former leader Tariq Ali, now a bourgeois journalist, for "a new Congress of Berlin, under the auspices of the UN Security Council" (*International Viewpoint*, May 1999). The 1878 Congress of Berlin carved up the Balkans, setting the stage for the 1912-13 Balkan Wars which were a trip wire for World War I. As Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote,

"There it was that all the measures were taken to convert the national diversity of the Balkans into a regular melee of petty states. None of them was to develop beyond a certain limit, each separately was entangled in diplomatic and dynastic bonds and counterposed to all the rest, and, finally, the whole lot were condemned to helplessness in relation to the Great Powers of Europe

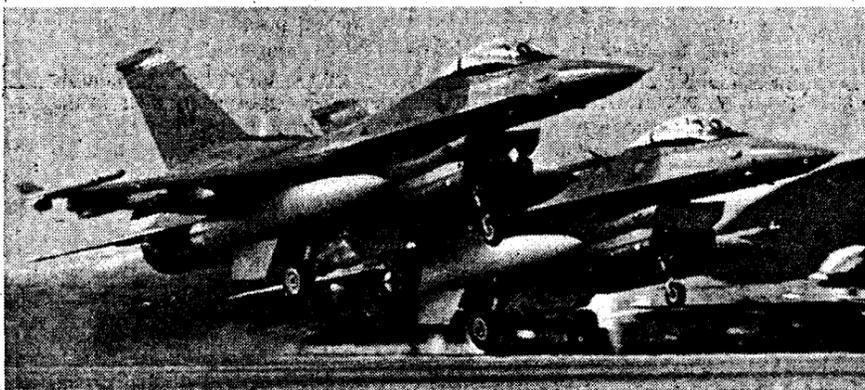
and their continual intrigues and machinations."

—*The Balkan Wars 1912-13*

The attack on Serbia is an imperialist war of domination against a small, dependent country in which the international proletariat has a side, against the U.S./NATO rulers. We are *revolutionary defencist* on the side of Serbia—this flows from our struggle to *defeat* imperialism. We give not a shred of support to Milosevic nor any of the other murderous nationalist regimes in the Balkans. Against the poisonous nationalism and fratricide that have engulfed the former Yugoslavia since capitalist counterrevolution, we fight for the proletarian internationalist perspective of bringing the workers to power throughout the region against *all*

the Serbs. They prettify the UCK, pretending it is some kind of "independent" force, while "evenhandedly" proclaiming: "We oppose both the US-led NATO war against Serbia/Yugoslavia and the Serbian authorities' genocidal campaign of terror against the ethnic Albanian majority in Kosova." But the UCK is a pawn of NATO. The DSP's demand to arm them (*Green Left Weekly*, 14 April) is a transparent appeal to the NATO imperialists and reveals the extent to which the DSP supports the latter's war aims.

The DSP is so gung-ho they openly defend UCK atrocities against "members of the Serb minority in Kosovo." Who else, asks DSP hack Doug Lorimer, would one "expect the KLA to target in this war if not members of Serbian



AP photos

Workers Power, DSP support Kosovo Liberation Army, pawn of NATO terror war against Serbia.

the reactionary butchers. *For a socialist federation of the Balkans!*

There is a just cause for self-determination for Kosovo. But *right now* that cause is subordinated to the imperialist attack on Serbia. Most clearly through the Rambouillet agreement which preceded the war, the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK/KLA) has subordinated itself to the imperialists and openly acts as spotters for the U.S. planes bombing Serbia and Kosovo. Raising the call for Kosovar independence in this context is nothing but an ideological justification for the war aims of the U.S./NATO imperialists. Not least, such a call portrays Milosevic's Serbian nationalist regime as the main enemy, rather than the vastly more powerful and lethal imperialist NATO cabal arrayed against it.

NATO's Ground Troops

For the DSP the world is divided into "progressive" peoples, like the Kosovo Albanians, and "reactionary" peoples, like

security forces and their civilian collaborators" (*Green Left Weekly*, 19 May)? This is the murderous logic of "ethnic cleansing." It reeks of their earlier collaboration with the sinister Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP) who lauded the followers of the fascist Usta-sha whose bestiality in World War II gave even the Nazis pause (see "What is the Democratic Socialist Party?" *ASp* No. 167, Autumn 1999).

Like the DSP, championing the UCK is the central "revolutionary tactic" advocated by Workers Power (League for a Revolutionary Communist International [LRCI] statement, 16 May). WP emblazons on their banner "Stop NATO's Bombing, Independence for Kosovo!" Their solution to the impossibility of both opposing the NATO bombing and championing the UCK is to declare that there are really two, unrelated wars going on: NATO's on Serbia and Serbia's on Kosovo. These contortions cannot hide the fact that WP's claim to be for the

"defeat of NATO" is a fraud, as proven by their statement that the UCK has "the right to take any military advantage they can from the NATO bombing."

For WP, the UCK's "support for NATO bombing and calls for it to invade and occupy Kosova," does not alter the "progressive character" of the UCK resistance (LRCI, 16 May). Indeed, WP attacks our organisation for *not* championing the UCK. In their *War in the Balkans* pamphlet WP polemicalises against our principled opposition to NATO imperialism, complaining in the section "Australian left gets it wrong":

"Worst of all, in the pages of Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League's US section, claims that the KLA's 'basic strategy has been to bring about a level of armed conflict sufficient to induce the Americans to intervene on its behalf.' In other words the Kosovans are to blame for the current terror being unleashed against them."

The Albanian nationalists were induced to sign the Rambouillet agreement precisely in order to provide a diplomatic pretext for attacking Serbia, which is exactly what the UCK wanted. Even the LRCI's statement says as much, opposing the UCK's "adventurist attempt to draw NATO into Kosova." This only underscores the petty-bourgeois dilettantish essence of Workers Power who so easily dispense with their own pronouncements should the occasion suit.

At an 18 May WP meeting in Melbourne, our comrades nailed them for disappearing any mention of opposition to Australian imperialism. In true academic debater's style, WP dismissed this, and then went on to claim we were inconsistent: if we did not support Kosovo independence because the UCK was beholden to NATO, how could we be for independence for East Timor when leaders there call for UN and Australian imperialist intervention. It obviously doesn't matter to WP, in the sanctuary of their student bureaucrat offices and "trendy" bars, that the UCK is part of an imperialist war against Serbia.

ISO: Stop the Bombing and... Pass the Ammunition

WP also attacks the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) for being insufficiently enthusiastic about the UCK. Originally a step-to-the-left split from the Cliffites, WP now goes after them from the right. But while the ISO nowadays criticises the UCK for "becoming an instrument of NATO," their "anti-imperialism" is a thin veneer meant to hoodwink unwary left-minded youth. Their first public statement on the war pointedly *did not* call for NATO/U.S./Australian imperialists to get out of the Balkans! Now the Cliffites have enlisted with the band of rad-lib intellectuals who are openly calling for *imperialist military intervention in the Balkans* under the auspices of the OSCE or the UN! Leading British SWPer Alex Callinicos signed the same *pro-war* declaration peddled by the USec:

"Nato is not the only or above all the best fulcrum for an agreement. One could find the elements of a multinational police force (embracing notably Serbs and Albanians) in the ranks of the OSCE to enforce a transitional agreement."
—*New Statesman* (10 May)

The signatories (including anarcho-anti-communist Noam Chomsky) bemoan that the NATO air strikes are "forcing the withdrawal of the OSCE forces from Kosovo" and fear for the well-being of the imperialist occupation forces already in the Balkans under the Dayton Agreement. We say *all imperialists out of the Balkans!*

The ISO claims that if the pro-war, pro-imperialist Australian Labor Party "took a stand against the bombing, it would be an enormous boost to the anti-war forces" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 April). This is ludicrous—the ALP are the social-democratic frontmen for imperialism and

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist War!

While virtually all of what passes for the left in this country embrace the imperialists' war aims in the Balkans (see article, opposite), the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs (SYCs) have forthrightly proclaimed our revolutionary opposition to imperialism. Calling to "Defeat U.S./Australian Imperialism through Workers Revolution! Defend Serbia Against Imperialist Attack!" SYCs in April held two speakouts at Sydney's University of New South Wales and one at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. On 26 March, Spartacist comrades addressed hundreds of students at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, using a sound system made available by campus workers.

The SYCs have taken up the campaign to aid Yugoslav workers under NATO bombardment (see page 3), collecting nearly \$200 in just the first week on campuses and at the 19 May National Union of Students' National Day of Action. Hundreds of students—among them people of Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian and Chinese background—have contributed, including many who had to hunt for the five or ten cents they could spare.

In contrast to the eagerness of many youth to express their solidarity with the Serbian workers, despite all the imperialist propaganda, leaders and members of the International Socialist Organisation and Socialist Alternative have refused to donate anything to the victims of the bombing they claim to oppose. A well-known Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) cadre had to look on in embarrassment as young Resistance members selling *Green Left Weekly* dug deep into their pockets to make a

contribution. Indeed, the DSP at UNSW ostentatiously refused to join our 22 April speakout. In Melbourne, Workers Power, based at RMIT, were nowhere to be seen during our 30 April protest there, despite being explicitly informed.

In building for that protest—held to coincide with the anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution against U.S. and Australian imperialism—our comrades generated quite a stir on the campus. They were met with considerable solidarity from many—particularly students from the ex-colonial countries who rightly feared they could be next on the imperialists' hit list—while they fended off animated hostility from right-wing students and yahoo types.

While many youth hate the imperialist terror being unleashed in the Balkans, there are still deep-seated illusions in the United Nations as a potentially "progressive" agency. SYC speakers at our UNSW 22 April forum noted that the UN is nothing other than a den of imperialist thieves and their victims. In Iraq the UN—"sanctioned" bombing and starvation blockade has killed well over one million people, many of them children. From the 1950-53 counter-revolutionary war against the Korean workers and peasants to neocolonialist interventions from Somalia to Haiti, the UN has been necessarily only a fig leaf for imperialist slaughter.

As Marxists, we understand that imperialism is not a set of policies which the ruling class can adopt or discard or change to make more humane. Imperialism is nothing but the highest stage of capitalism, where a few rich,

have supported every war waged by Australian imperialism. They ruled the country during both World War I and II, the imperialist invasion of Somalia and the war on Iraq. Looking to the ALP is no aberration for the ISO. Their British cohorts were ecstatic about the election of Tony Blair's New Labour, the most virulent of the imperialist warmongers. In Canada they absurdly claim that the ardently pro-war New Democratic Party "leadership has swallowed the propaganda about this war, hook line and sinker."

The political roots of these parties lie in the betrayal of August 1914 when the social democrats in West Europe supported their own imperialist bourgeoisies in World War I. The idea that the pro-capitalist social democrats would oppose an imperialist war supported or waged by their own ruling class testifies to the deeply ingrained Laborism of the reformists and centrists who have abandoned the perspective of proletarian revolution for the "parliamentary road" to prettifying capitalism. The ALP's social-democratic cothinkers in government—Britain's New Labour Party, Germany's SPD, the French Socialists—not only support NATO's Balkan war, *they are prosecuting it!*

The tendency of which the ISO is a part was forged in 1950 in the crucible of

social-democratic anti-Communism, expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend the North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state against British and U.S. imperialism. Driven by hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state, they embraced imperialist "democracy" as the alternative to "Stalinist totalitarianism." They simply carry that forward today. The ISO today says "the UN is no answer." In truth these reformists have no objection whatever to calling on the imperialists, be it the UN or the racist Australians. In 1993 the imperialists invaded Somalia under the guise of "humanitarian assistance." The ISO whined "Give them food—not troops," while for months refusing to call for Australian imperialist troops to get out of Somalia.

The ISO deeply believes that imperialism is just a policy that can be modified through pressure on the ruling class. The answer, they claim, is "a movement which says, 'Stop NATO's bombs. Refugees are Welcome. Welfare not Warfare.'" Dutifully totting up the billions this war is costing, they urge the imperialists to take another, more humane (and thrifty) course. This is also the program of Socialist Alternative, a split from the Cliffites. "NATO bombs won't solve the problems," they say, "an anti-war movement needs to be built" (*Socialist Alternative*, April 1999).

Such calls serve to obscure that the oppressed have a side in this war, in defence of Serbia and for the defeat of the imperialists. Counterposed to a proletarian revolutionary perspective against imperialist war, they exemplify the pseudo-socialist left's conscious rejection of the need to rouse the working class against the capitalist rulers. From

SYC speakout, UNSW, 22 April: Defeat U.S./Australian Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!



industrialised countries dominate the entire world and compete against each other for the planet's finite markets and resources. An irrational system based on private profit, capitalist imperialism necessarily leads to war—against weaker countries, such as Serbia and Iraq, or against each other, such as in World War I.

To defeat imperialism requires the mobilisation of the working class to overthrow the imperialist bourgeoisies. As Marx put it, capitalism had created its "own gravedigger" in the working class, which by virtue of its role in creating the wealth in capitalist society has the social power to overturn this system predicated on exploitation, oppression and war. Our purpose is to provide the revolutionary leadership which will mobilise that social power

for a proletarian revolution to place the working class in power, expropriate the bourgeoisie and lay the basis for a socialist egalitarian society.

The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, mobilised the working class to overthrow the Russian imperialists in October 1917, taking the Russian workers and peasants out of the carnage of World War I and opening a new chapter in human history. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are organisations of revolutionary education and action, dedicated to winning young people to the struggle to send capitalism into the dustbin of history. Only socialist revolution can prevent the imperialists from plunging us into another world war, this time fought with nuclear weapons. Join us in the fight for new October Revolutions! ■

the drive to smash the maritime union last year, and now the construction and mining unions, to the ongoing assault on jobs and conditions, the capitalists here are waging a one-sided class war. Taking special aim at Aborigines and immigrants, the rulers try to divide and weaken the working class. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party to direct and organise the growing anger accumulating at the base of society into *class struggle*, aiming not at getting the ALP traitors back in office to rule for the bosses but at overthrowing the entire system of exploitation that breeds war, racism and poverty.

The ISO wants to build "an anti-war movement" of "masses of workers," which, they claim, is what took Russia out of World War I. On the contrary, no "peace movement" ever ended war. In 1917 in Russia, a *thoroughgoing proletarian revolution* led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party overthrew the capitalist system. It occurred precisely because the Bolsheviks built a revolutionary party rooted in the working class which steadfastly opposed its "own" Russian imperialism amid the patriotic fury and carnage of World War I, and which broke from the Second International of Karl Kautsky. The Bolsheviks fought to extend the October Revolution internationally, understanding that without the destruction of capitalism around the world there could be no possibility of putting an end to imperialist war. As Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The struggle for peace, 'the struggles against war,' 'war on war' and similar slogans are hollow and fraudulent phrases, if unaccompanied by the propaganda and the application of revolutionary methods of struggle. The only method to put an end to war is to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The

only method to overthrow the bourgeoisie is by a revolutionary assault....

"The struggle against war and imperialism cannot be the job of any sort of special 'committees.' The struggle against war is the preparation for revolution, that is to say, the job of working class parties and of the International."

—"An Open Letter to All Revolutionary Proletarian Organizations and Groupings" (July 1935)

Instead of seeking to educate and organise the working class against the capitalist rulers and their war, the social-chauvinist left calls for a more effective imperialist policy directed towards creating a "free Kosovo" through the agency of the UCK, or implying that imperialism can choose a more humane policy rather than assert its dominance militarily.

Like the present war on Serbia, the anti-Soviet Cold War was carried out in the name of "human rights" and "democracy." The pseudo-Trotskyists cheered the forces of counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union and dismembered the former Yugoslavia. Now, however much some may try to disguise it, they beat the drums for the imperialists' war which followed in short order. In a real way these groups bear responsibility for the fratricidal bloodshed and for the emboldened imperialists who are now raining death on the Serbian people.

In contrast, we in the International Communist League act on the understanding that war cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and socialism is created. Part of our struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution is to politically clear the road of these latter-day Kautskyites, the "stinking corpse of social democracy." ■

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SL Statement...

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sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO/Australian troops out of the Balkans!

Contrary to Clinton's cynical lies, echoed by Howard and Beazley, NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with "human rights" or defence of the Albanian population of Kosovo against "ethnic cleansing." In fact, the all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counter-revolution. Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and inter-imperialist rivalries. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to the U.S.-backed fascistic Tadjman in Croatia. **For a socialist federation of the Balkans!**

A significant layer of workers in Australia came here from the former Yugoslavia. At speakouts in working-class suburbs in Melbourne and Sydney, and on the campuses, our defence of Serbia against imperialist attack and our opposition to the all-sided nationalist bloodletting has been greeted favourably by Croats, Serbians and others from this multiethnic region. We fight to build a revolutionary party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system based on racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and power away from a small handful of filthy rich and creates an egalitarian economy.

NATO was set up by the U.S. 50 years ago as a military alliance aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union, which was created as a result of the only successful workers revolution in history, the October Revolution of 1917. Undermined by decades of Stalinist misrule, the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Now the U.S.—who, with their Australian junior allies, butchered over two million people in their losing counter-revolutionary war against the Indo-chinese workers and peasants in the 1960s and '70s—act as if nothing stands in the way of imposing their power everywhere. In recent years, the U.S. (everywhere supported by Australia) has invaded, bombed or tried to starve into submission one country after another, from Somalia to Haiti and Iraq. Another Australian naval ship has just been sent to the Persian Gulf to enforce the blockade against Iraq, which has killed up to a million people through starvation and disease, while murderous bombing raids continue. **U.S./Australia hands off Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade!**

Not simply lackeys of their senior U.S. partners, the Australian rulers have

regional ambitions in what they view as their "Asian backyard." Gendarmes to suppress struggles against imperialist domination from Indonesia to Vietnam, the Australian bourgeoisie has been increasingly flexing its muscles in the region. They reap great profits from their Papua New Guinea neo-colony and have imposed a "robber's peace" on the oppressed people of Bougainville. Australia out of PNG, Bougainville and Irian Jaya!

Beneath the current unity of the NATO "allies" over the bombing of Serbia lie fundamental and escalating inter-imperialist rivalries expressed in the growing trade war between the U.S. and Europe, as well as Japan. It was imperialist machinations stoking nationalist hatreds in the Balkans which led directly to World War I in 1914. Today, NATO bombing is a trip wire for a broader and even bloodier international conflagration, potentially drawing in

1995 from lands where their forebears had lived for centuries, by far the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the wars precipitated by the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Until the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) became nothing but a pawn of NATO imperialism's war aims, we called for the right of the Albanian population of Kosovo to form an independent state. For Marxists the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians is necessarily subordinated *now* to our military defence of Serbia against imperialist bombing and threatened invasion. Just as Kosovo has become the war cry for the imperialist assault on the Balkans, groups like the International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Workers Power (WP) and Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) are making the Kosovo Albanians and UCK their *cause célèbre*, providing ideological cover for NATO's predatory aims.

ASp photo



Spartacist contingent marched in Sydney protest, 17 April, despite Stalinist CPA attempts at censorship.

Greece, Turkey and Russia. While acting as a soft cop for NATO, capitalist Russia's denunciation of the U.S./NATO military attack on Serbia is in line with its ambition to assert itself as a regional imperialist power. Both Russia and the U.S. have huge nuclear arsenals, and the U.S. has already demonstrated its readiness to use these weapons with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Capitalism is an irrational system, and the mad drive for profit and power inherent in this system will inevitably lead to a nuclear third world war if it is not stopped through international proletarian revolution.

The bourgeoisie has demonised Milosevic (as they did Saddam Hussein) to gain public support for their imperialist attacks. But Milosevic is like all bourgeois-nationalist despots who keep themselves in power through murderous repression of minority peoples as well as of their "own" workers and peasants—no different in this than *American client states* like Zionist Israel, Turkey and Croatia. Aided by U.S. and German imperialism, the Croatian regime of Franjo Tadjman drove out **300,000 Serbs** in

These groups all *hailed* the capitalist counterrevolutions that ravaged Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, a historic defeat for the international proletariat. They have supported and urged workers to support the social-democratic parties which rule for the bosses across Europe—and are today carrying out the savage imperialist war against Serbia. While claiming to oppose NATO's bombing, they peddle the same social-chauvinist garbage about the need to crush Serbia!

Declaring "NATO's Bloody Balkan War Won't Bring Peace," the ISO complains that "far from weakening Milosevic, the war will serve to strengthen his rule." They refuse to defend Serbia against imperialism. Instead they absurdly claim that "A strong stand by Labor leaders"—who they know full well back the imperialist carnage—could help "stop the bombs."

During the propaganda blitz leading up to the war, Workers Power in Australia blared "we stand four square with the KLA against the Serb forces." Even as the UCK/KLA was openly appealing for NATO to attack Serbia, WP fatuously advised them, "place no trust in NATO." WP's British parent group grotesquely *equates* the Serbian victims of murderous NATO air strikes with the imperialist powers declaring, "For us, in this conflict, NATO imperialism and the Serb forces are equally reactionary." WP's claims to oppose the NATO bombing and even support Serb "self-defence" under some conditions are belied by the League for a Revolutionary Communist International statement urging workers to "recognise the right of the Kosovars to acquire arms and supplies from whoever is willing to give them and also their right to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces!"

The DSP also demands that the UCK—which today describes itself as "NATO's ground forces"—"should be provided with all the resources, without

any political strings attached, needed to defeat the Serbian armed forces in Kosovo." The DSP paints the imperialists and their Serbian victims essentially as allies, claiming "NATO's air war can only facilitate the creation of conditions for a Bosnia-style 'solution' to eventually be imposed by the western powers and the Milosevic regime upon the Kosovar people." This is absurd. The Kosovo Albanian separatists are the strongest supporters of U.S./NATO air strikes against Serbia and of NATO occupation of Kosovo.

Serb-chauvinist demonstrations have been held outside U.S. consulates in Sydney and Melbourne, replete with racist slogans like "Kosovo is Serbia" and "If Kosovo is Albanian, then Springvale is Asian." The abject reformists of the Communist Party of Australia whitewash Serb chauvinism, writing of "allegations of the persecution of ethnic Albanians" (*Guardian*, 31 March). They complain that the NATO bombing was "undertaken without the authority of the United Nations. It is illegal." So, if the UN—that imperialist den of thieves and their victims—provided a fig-leaf, the attack on Serbia would be justified?!

At bottom all of these self-proclaimed "socialist" groups believe the imperialist rulers can be pressured into more "peaceful" and "humane" policies. While the Australian rulers prepare to occupy East Timor with "peacekeeping" troops to ensure neo-colonial "stability" in the region, these "leftists" peddle deadly illusions in the "democratic" credentials of Australian imperialism, variously urging "aid," "training" and "support" to the East Timorese. In this they serve as frontmen for their "own" capitalist rulers. We say: Independence for East Timor! For workers revolution in Indonesia! Australian imperialism: keep your bloody hands off! Imperialism is not a policy which can be "reformed" but a *system* of exploitation and war. Imperialist war is the concentrated expression of the "normal" brutal workings of the capitalist profit system, which daily condemns countless numbers of working people around the world to death. We say: anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

The racist Howard government, while hailing the NATO bombing, wants no part of the hundreds of thousands of refugees which it is creating. With Labor's support, they have reluctantly agreed to "accept" 4,000 mainly Muslim Albanian refugees—only on condition that they be dumped in remote defence installations and banned from seeking permanent residency. This recalls the brutal racist internment of Jewish refugees in World War II. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Last year thousands of workers flocked to the MUA's picket lines seeking to fight back against the brutal job-slashing and union-busting of the capitalist rulers. The power to destroy this system of racism, war and exploitation lies in the hands of the multiracial working class. But that power is shackled by the union tops who fuel the flames of imperialist war through protectionist tirades against workers of other countries while tying working people in Australia to their exploiters, centrally through the Australian Labor Party. From World Wars I and II to Korea, Vietnam and today the Balkans, the ALP is the party of imperialism war.

The Spartacist League fights to break working people and the oppressed from pro-imperialist Laborism in order to forge a revolutionary workers party like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the 1917 October Revolution—a party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, a party rooted in proletarian internationalism. Join us in building the party which will lead new October Revolutions and put an end once and for all to imperialist mass murder. **Defend Serbia! Defeat Australian imperialism through workers revolution!** ■

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Organizational Rules and Guidelines

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Program of the Spartacist League

Australian Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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- II. Break with Labourism! For a Revolutionary Leadership of the Working Class
- III. Australian Imperialism
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The Spartacist League and the Left

Program of the Spartacist League
\$2 (24 pages)

Declaration...

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and Europe, as well as Japan. The post-Soviet world increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world. It was imperialist machinations stoking nationalist hatreds in the Balkans which led directly to World War I.

Today, NATO bombing is a trip wire for a broader and even bloodier international conflagration, potentially drawing in Greece, Turkey and Russia. While acting as a soft cop for NATO, capitalist Russia's denunciation of the U.S./NATO military attack on Serbia is in line with its ambition to assert itself as a regional imperialist power. Both Russia and the U.S. have huge nuclear arsenals, and the U.S. has already demonstrated its readiness to use these weapons with the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Who could believe that the French, the British or the Israelis would be any more restrained? Capitalism is an irrational system, and the mad drive for profit and power inherent in this system will inevitably lead to a nuclear third world war if it is not stopped through international proletarian revolution.

Imperialists Rain Terror on Yugoslavia

NATO's war against Serbia has nothing to do with "human rights" or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against "ethnic cleansing." This war is not about the Kosovo Albanians. It is a war of domination aimed at realizing longstanding American plans to insert a substantial U.S./NATO military presence in Serbia through subduing, or if necessary dislodging, Milosevic. Since when do the imperialists care about the oppressed peoples? Hundreds of thousands of immigrants are deported every year by the European governments. Indeed, these same governments went into a virtual frenzy at the thought of having to open their borders to the refugees from Kosovo.

The ICL stands in the tradition of V.I. Lenin, whose "Socialism and War," a powerful handbook of revolutionary internationalism written in 1915 and circulated clandestinely to workers and soldiers throughout Europe during the war, teaches:

"The standpoint of social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by advocates of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat.' A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow."

Lenin stressed that in the case of an imperialist war against a small nation or semicolonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of one's "own" government but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. In the present war, we are for the military defense of Serbia, without giving the Milosevic regime a shred of political support. We called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian population of Kosovo against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade until the Albanian separatists became simply a pawn of NATO's predatory designs. For Marxists, the democratic right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians is necessarily subordinated *now* to the struggle against the imperialist bombing and threatened invasion.

In fact, the all-sided nationalist bloodbath in the Balkans was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former deformed workers state of Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II, when Tito's Communist partisans battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Tito's partisans were the only force in Yugoslavia during the

war that opposed communalism. But the socialist and democratic ideals to which the Tito regime publicly appealed were undermined by the bureaucratic deformations and the inherent limitations of Stalinism, with its program of building socialism in one country. Tito introduced "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to imperialist economic penetration and reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism.

After Tito's death the bureaucracy began to fracture along national lines. Milosevic, who promoted "market reforms" as head of the central bank, launched his political career by appealing to "greater Serbia" chauvinism particularly against the Kosovo Albanians. In this, he embodied the link between capitalist restoration and nationalism. But Milosevic was not alone in this regard. His Croatian counterpart, Franjo Tudjman, idolizes the World War II fascist Ustasha—a puppet of the German Nazis—and Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic is a rabid nationalist and Islamic reactionary. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo in overthrowing all the bloody nationalist regimes of the region, from Milosevic to Tudjman. For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

The terminal crisis of Titoist Yugoslavia came in early 1991, when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. Germany moved in to steamroller its European allies into recognizing their independence. The U.S. then joined Germany in throwing its weight behind an independent Bosnia under the leadership of Muslim nationalist forces. In Croatia the U.S. and Germany provided the fascistic Tudjman regime with not only large quantities of modern weaponry but also high-level training and advisers. This enabled the Croatian army in mid-1995, in league with NATO's air assault, to rout the Bosnian Serb military forces. Hundreds of thousands of Serb civilians were expelled by Croatian forces in the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the war. At the same time, the U.S. covertly funded and armed Islamic fundamentalist killers in Bosnia including the *mujahedin* cutthroats who had fought against the Soviet army in Afghanistan.

Euro "Socialists"

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. Trotsky insisted that a proletarian position on war required "a complete and real break with official public opinion on the most burning question of the 'defense' of the fatherland." The fake left proves Trotsky's point in the negative. They join in the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo" while rejecting the defense of Serbia, whose very *right to national existence* is under attack by the imperialist powers. Despite a pacifist veneer of opposition to the bombing, they march in lockstep behind the war aims of their own imperialisms and the social-democratic or popular-front governments whose election they supported. The camouflage: stop the NATO bombing;

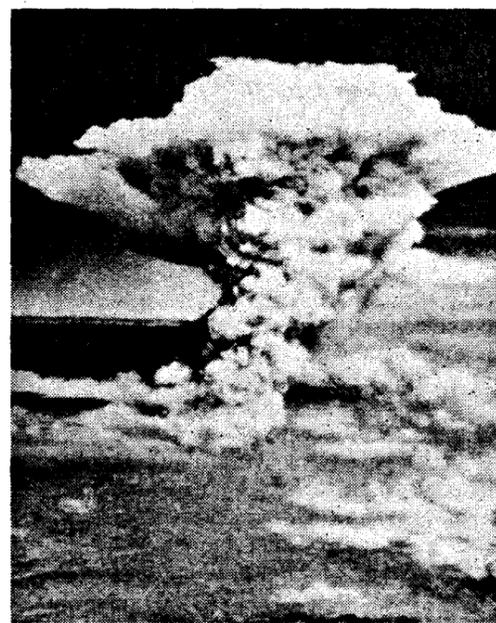


Reuters



Novosti

Imperialist barbarism: Nazi death camp at Auschwitz; U.S. nuclear incineration of Hiroshima, 1945.



Asahi Shimbun

the message: go to war in the Balkans with ground troops under EU control. For today's "death of communism" leftists, who long ago gave up any confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat, the bloody imperialists—whether under the flags of the UN or the EU or NATO—are the means for bringing "human rights" to the oppressed peoples of the world!

In its supposedly "antiwar" propaganda, the European "left" is simply acting as the spokesman for their own imperialist bourgeoisies, whose interests are by no means the same as those of the American imperialists. "The partnership with NATO in the Yugoslav crisis is simply a cloak, masking great differences between the United States and its European allies," a former UN official told the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The same article (15 April) quoted a range of people running the gamut from left to right "who view the intervention in Kosovo as a thinly disguised effort to impose Washington's will on Europe's future." In France, the *Chronicle* noted, "newspaper commentaries are so unremittently hostile to the United States that a reader might well imagine Paris is at war with the Pentagon, rather than with the Yugoslav army," while former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt complained about being "held on a leash by the Americans."

Thus, the "left" is running point for their own capitalist ruling class: their "anti-Americanism" is a cheap substitute for an obstacle to anti-imperialist proletarian internationalism. Swimming with the tide of bourgeois "public opinion," the slogans of the "left" dovetail with those of outright fascists; for example, in Germany the Nazis raise the call, "No German blood for foreign interests!"

Perhaps the most blatant of the *pro-war* "leftists" are the former Stalinist parties, exemplified by the French CP, which is of course in the government. Headlining, "Europe and France Must Participate in Building Peace," a leaflet signed by the PCF along with the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in Rouen complained that the NATO bombing hasn't gotten rid of Milosevic: "Milosevic is still in place! The Albanians are being hunted down or massacred! These are the first results of the military

adventure. In contrast, peace in the region implies active and determined support to the weak social and democratic forces fighting against the nationalist dictatorships and for the right of ethnic minorities."

The fake-Trotskyist LCR, the French organization of the United Secretariat (Usec), in its own press is more explicit in beating the drums for war. The LCR openly called for *imperialist military intervention in Kosovo* under the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)—a European-dominated military bloc—or the United Nations. In its 1 April issue, *Rouge* declared:

"NATO was not the only, and above all not the best, linchpin for an accord. The conditions for a multinational police force (particularly composed of Serbs and Albanians) could be found under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord."

The following week a *Rouge* statement advocated an accord with Serbia that would be policed by "a multinational force under UN control." The UN—truly a den of thieves and their victims—has been an instrument for imperialist militarism from the 1950-53 war against the North Korean deformed workers state to the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf.

Alain Krivine's Usec is acting as a mouthpiece for the interests of French imperialism, counterposing to the U.S.-dominated NATO intervention the call for a European imperialist expeditionary force in the Balkans. Rifondazione Comunista (RC) in Italy and the PDS in Germany (as well as some SPD members like ex-party chairman Oskar Lafontaine) push much the same brand of nationalist anti-Americanism. While the American government is the foremost imperialist military power, this attempt to depict the European imperialist states as more benevolent than the U.S. is nothing but vile social patriotism. Presumably, then, the German bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is morally better than its American counterpart? And what about the dirty history of French colonialism in Algeria and Indochina, or the British empire's history of pillage and murder in Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, Africa and the Middle East? And it was the Italian bourgeoisie

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La Repubblica



Der Spiegel

Imperialist-instigated counterrevolution ripped apart Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state in early 1990s, fuelling all-sided nationalist bloodletting. From left: Bosnian Muslim fundamentalists, Croatian soldiers giving fascist salute, Serbian Chetnik chauvinists.

Declaration...

(continued from page 7)

which invented concentration camps in Libya, which first used poison gas against the Ethiopian population, and which carried out countless acts of butchery in the Balkans during World War II.

The French pseudo-Trotskyist organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) has a well-deserved reputation for catering to the backward prejudices of the working class by ignoring special oppression, whether it be women's oppression, homophobia, racism or the national question in France, where along with the rest of the fake left it denies the right of self-determination for the Basques in France. But they too have suddenly become champions of the right of self-determination of the Kosovo people. In its 9 April issue, Lutte Ouvrière writes: "If the French government, as well as the other Western governments, were really helping the Kosovars, it would be noticeable and we would not see the endless lines of refugees that we see on TV." Despite its claimed opposition to NATO military attacks, the logic of this position is that the imperialists should intervene more decisively and really crush the Serbs. By demonizing Milosevic—rather than the imperialists—as the main enemy in this conflict, LO serves as a left apologist for the bourgeoisie.

In the same vein, the minuscule International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT), which sneers at independence for Quebec and more generally is notorious for its indifference to the rights of oppressed peoples, such as the Catholics in Northern Ireland, today howls for "independence for Kosovo"—apparently they only champion independence for those who have imperialist sponsorship.

In Italy, Rifondazione preaches confidence in the UN and calls for a conference of European capitalist powers to resolve the Balkans crisis. RC revels in anti-Americanism in order to alibi its support to its own ruling class. RC's call to shut down the NATO air base in Italy is raised from the perspective of Italian nationalism and in the interest of a stronger capitalist Europe directed against its imperialist rivals (like the U.S.). We Trotskyists appeal not to the bourgeois state, but rather to the Italian proletariat to mobilize labor actions against the U.S./NATO bases, from which a deadly war is being launched against the interests of all workers—Serbian, Italian, Albanian and American. We say: Smash the counterrevolutionary NATO alliance through workers revolution!

A four-page supplement issued 10 April by *Proposta*, the limp "left opposition" of RC, never calls for immediate withdrawal of Italian troops from the Balkans. *Proposta* supported the previous "Ulivo"/RC bourgeois government which invaded Albania.

Social chauvinism means defense of "national interests," i.e., calling on the working class to identify with the imperialist aims of the ruling capitalist class. It means the explicit abandonment of class struggle by reformists and pro-capitalist trade union leaders. Thus, the Italian CGIL-CISL-UIL bureaucrats called off

a railroad strike as soon as the war broke out. Serbian workers are not the enemy of Italian rail workers! The enemy is the Italian bourgeoisie!

As Lenin asserted: "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same politico-ideological content—class collaboration instead of the class struggle, renunciation of revolutionary methods of struggle, helping one's 'own' government in its



Yevgeni Khaldei

1945: Soviet troops raise red flag over Berlin after Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich. Counterrevolution in Soviet Union has increased danger of new imperialist world war.

embarrassed situation, instead of taking advantage of these embarrassments so as to advance the revolution." The reformist trade union leaders are bribed with the crumbs of imperialist profit. In France unions get more revenue from the state and the capitalists than from their own members. Fake left groups like LO and LCR emulate this political corruption by taking their own financial subsidies from the bourgeois state. But he who pays the bills calls the political tunes! We struggle for the **complete independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state!**

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we are presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. The centrist Workers Power joined the deeply Labourite Alliance for Workers Liberty in a 10 April "Workers Aid for Kosovo" rally in London dominated by NATO and Albanian flags and placards screaming, "NATO Good Luck" and "NATO Now or Never." "Workers Aid for Kosovo" is modelled on "Workers Aid for Bosnia," initiated in 1993, which, under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for workers in Bosnia, promoted support to the Bosnian Muslim government and worked hand in glove with UN troops in the fratricidal war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims. It thereby served as a stalking horse for direct imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs.

A statement distributed at a London public meeting of 30 March by WP's international, the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI),

claimed to defend the Serbs against NATO attack—"though not in Kosova which they have no right to occupy"! At the same time, WP urges the Albanian separatists "to take full military advantage of the imperialist bombing to drive out the 'Yugoslav' forces," adding: "If [Clinton and Blair's] primary concern were for the Kosovars they would recognise their statehood, and give the KLA

the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops." This is an unvarnished appeal to the NATO imperialists.

Workers Power has in fact supported every reactionary force in the Balkans (including in Serbia) as long as they are opposed to the imperialists' current main enemy, Milosevic. Thus, in June 1991 when the German Fourth Reich was engineering the destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, they called for immediate recognition of the capitalist-restorationist Slovenian and Croatian declarations of independence. A year later WP's Austrian affiliate, the ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt, was involved in a "united front" with the local chapter of Vuk Draskovic's Serb National Rebirth, an organization of Great Serbian monarchists and Chetniks, then in opposition to Milosevic. During the 1995 NATO air strikes, WP refused even on paper to defend the Bosnian Serbs against imperialism.

It could not be clearer that the fake lefts are social-chauvinists whose bottom line is support to imperialist war aims in the Balkans, despite the theoretical contortions they go through in trying to reconcile their lip-service opposition to NATO with their support to the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, which is now simply a pawn of NATO. Against the social-chauvinists of his time, Lenin polemicized against Karl Kautsky, a central leader of the German SPD who during the first inter-imperialist war maintained "loyalty to Marxism in word, and subordination to opportunism in deed." Lenin wrote that "Kautsky 'reconciles' in an unprincipled way the fundamental idea of social-chauvinism, recognition of defence of the fatherland in the present war, with a diplomatic sham concession to the Lefts—his abstention from voting for war credits, his verbal claim to be in the opposition, etc." (Lenin, "Socialism and War," 1915). But today's "leftists" like Workers Power are indeed far to the right of a Karl Kautsky.

It took the opening of the first imperialist world war, World War I, and an orgy of chauvinism to shatter the Second International and for the "socialists" of that time to lead the working class to the slaughter. Today, as the first bombs were being dropped on the Balkan peoples, what passes for the "left" was already prostrate before its own imperialism. In the face of World War I, Lenin called on the workers to turn the inter-imperialist

war into a civil war in all belligerent countries, demanding a split of authentic socialists from the Second International.

The fake left's ideological prostration before imperialism reflects their many years support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights." As long as the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe existed, as Trotskyists we called for their unconditional military defense against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. In contrast, the fake left supported all manner of pro-capitalist forces in the name of "anti-Stalinism." The state-capitalist British Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Tony Cliff along with its satellites and fake Trotskyists like the USec and Workers Power (the latter with some contradiction) all opposed the intervention of the Soviet Army into Afghanistan, the last objectively progressive act of the Kremlin bureaucracy. In the early 1980s they joined in fervent support to CIA/Vatican-sponsored Polish Solidarność, which was in the forefront of the drive for capitalist restoration in East Europe. A decade later, all these groups cheered on Yeltsin and his pro-imperialist "democrats" as they launched the counterrevolution which was to destroy the Soviet Union.

The SWP, who rejoiced when New Labour was elected, tails after Labour "left" Tony Benn, saying, "Tony Benn has opposed the Falklands War, the Gulf War and this war" (SWP pamphlet, "Stop the War," April 1999). Tony Benn is a "little England" nationalist who called for UN sanctions during the Gulf War and today complains the bombing doesn't have UN authorization. Meanwhile, the press of the Socialist Party (formerly "Militant") calls for "workers' action to overthrow Milosevic" (*Socialist*, 16 April) while, needless to say, never calling for British workers to overthrow British capitalism.

Politically apart from the British "poor little Kosovo" crowd is the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), headed by mine-workers leader Arthur Scargill. An SLP press release of 24 March, quoting Scargill, forthrightly branded Labour Party prime minister Tony Blair a murderer. It pointed to the hypocrisy of the imperialists, noting that "Britain still occupies part of Ireland." However, Scargill's statement that the bombing is being carried out "without even the fig-leaf of a United Nations Security Resolution" implies confidence in that institution of the imperialists. A more left-wing statement by the Normanton Constituency SLP is titled: "Defend Yugoslavia and Iraq—Fight Imperialism." The statement correctly nails Blair's New Labour Party as "anti-working class, pro-imperialist." It says, "We firmly believe in the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, and in the case of Yugoslavia that means the right of a sovereign nation to solve its own problems." However, both SLP statements are uncritical of Milosevic's virulent Serb-chauvinism.

Yet in the April/May issue of its *Socialist News*, the SLP says nothing about defeating imperialism, hints at a call for ground troops ("Neither Clinton nor Blair has any intention of putting their soldiers into Kosovo on the side of the Kosovar Liberation Army") and calls on "UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, Russian Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov and the Pope to devise a form of peace negotiations which would stop the bombing"! Talk about an unholy alliance—the Pope who was a key operative for Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, the chief of the UN which invaded Haiti and Somalia and is starving Iraq, and the prime minister of capitalist "post-Soviet" Russia the SLP now beseeches to bring us peace! Scargill's opposition to the Vatican-sponsored Solidarność was used by the Thatcher government as a union-busting spearhead against Scargill and the British



Dar Spiegel

Imperialist "humanitarianism": U.S. occupation forces terrorised Somalia, 1993.

miners before and during their 1984-85 strike.

Militants in the SLP who want to oppose British imperialism must understand that the "old Labour" political tradition which the SLP fondly harks back to is anything but anti-imperialist. The "little England" nationalists of the pre-Blair Labour Party "left" stood on the side of their own imperialism from India to Ireland to the "virginity testing" of Asian women seeking admittance into Britain. The line of Labourism is the so-called parliamentary road to socialism—as though the ruling class would hand over state power to the proletariat after a democratic election; in the meantime, they seek to participate in the "humane" administration of the capitalist system. You can't fight imperialism without a revolutionary fight against the capitalist system which breeds war.

The Working Class Must Fight National and Racial Oppression

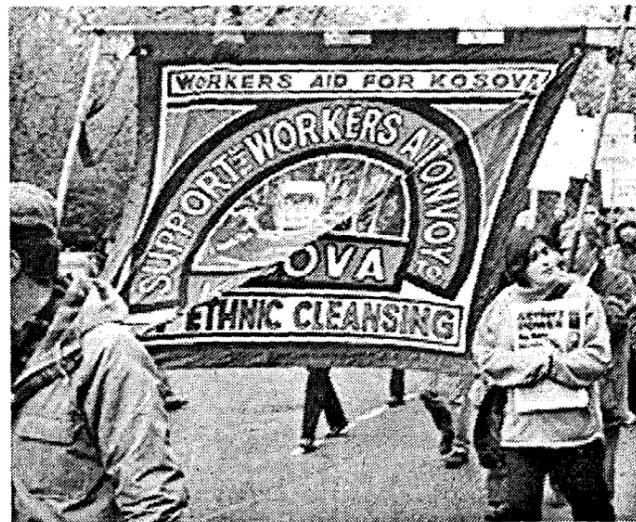
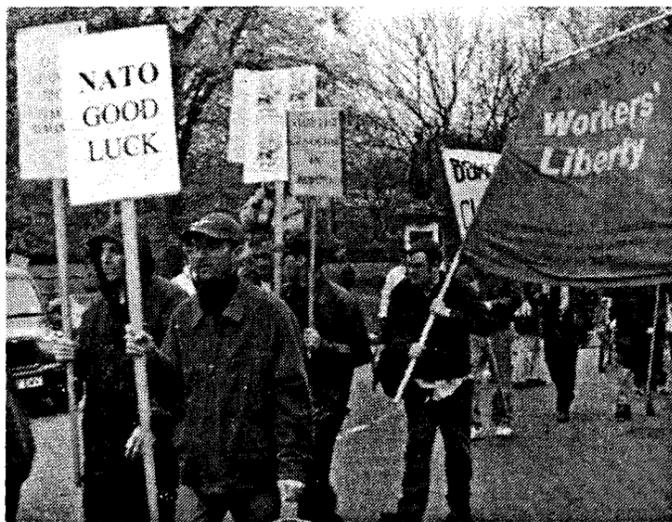
Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks led the Russian working masses to successfully smash the capitalist state in October 1917. The Bolsheviks took revolutionary Russia out of the imperialist carnage, and founded the Communist International for the purpose of spreading the revolution worldwide.



Le Bolchévik

But unlike in Russia, the sharp revolutionary opportunity presented by the first World War did not lead to the proletariat overthrowing the bourgeoisie in Western Europe. The chief responsibility for this lies with the social democracy. These bloodhounds of counterrevolution served their bourgeois masters well, butchering revolutionaries like the German communists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The pressure of imperialist encirclement on the economically backward Soviet state, the devastation of the Russian working class in the civil war that smashed the counterrevolutionary Russian and imperialist forces, and the failure of proletarian revolution abroad set the stage for a political counterrevolution in 1924 (Thermidor), in which political power was usurped by a nationalist, parasitic caste headed by Stalin and his heirs. Their false dogma of "building socialism in one country" meant in practice an accommodation to imperialism. The Stalinist program of class collaboration has led to the defeat of incipient workers revolutions from China in 1925-27 to Spain in 1936-39, Italy 1943-45 and France in May 1968. Having destroyed the revolutionary internationalist consciousness of the Soviet proletariat, the Stalinist bureaucracy finally devoured the workers state, ushering in the capitalist counterrevolution of 1991-92.

U.S. imperialist president Jimmy Carter waged Cold War II under the rubric of "human rights." Today, "human rights" imperialism is the watchword of the imperialists and their hangers-on to justify their war aims. During World War I, Britain and France justified their war against Germany in the name of liberating Belgium while Germany claimed to be fighting for the liberation of Poland from Russia. Lenin savagely ridiculed this bourgeois decep-



Workers Hammer photos

Fake lefts march behind "human rights" imperialism: Labourite "Alliance for Workers Liberty" and centrist Workers Power (right) at 10 April "Workers Aid for Kosova" rally in London.

tion. While strongly supporting Poland's right to self-determination, he argued that raising this slogan in the context of an inter-imperialist war could only mean "stooping...to humble servitude to one of the imperialist monarchies" ("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," July 1916).

While the bourgeoisies today howl about "poor little Kosovo," they perpetuate numerous instances of national

and racial oppression, including in western Europe. The French bourgeoisie oppresses and expels thousands of North Africans and other *sans papiers* from "la belle France." Germany has deported Kurds back to sure repression and possible death in Turkey, while Bosnian refugees were victims of mass deportations by the Fourth Reich. Italy sank a ship of Albanian refugees on the high seas. Roma and Sinti peoples are hideously tormented across "socialist" Europe.

Ligue Trotskyste denounces racist Jospin government and imperialist war against Serbia at 27 March Paris protest against deportations of immigrants.

The repression of the Basque people exposes what capitalist "European unity" is all about: trans-national police-state coordination of terror against oppressed peoples fighting for liberation. We demand freedom for the Basque nationalists in French and Spanish prisons, and call for the right of self-determination of the Basques, north as well as south of the Pyrenees!

The ICL fights for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of the fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles. In this situation of interpenetrated peoples, in which the Catholic minority is currently oppressed within the sectarian Orange statelet, we recognize that there is no equitable solution to national oppression short of the mobilization of the proletariat throughout the British Isles for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, smashing the Orange statelet in the North as well as the Catholic clericalist state in the South.

While screaming about Milosevic, the imperialists are silent about the oppression—including massive forced population transfers—of Kurds in Turkey. The government of Turkey, the southeast bastion of NATO, has carried out a 14-year war against the oppressed Kurdish

population that has left some 30,000 dead, totally destroyed 3,500 villages and forced more than three million Kurds to flee their homes. It is notable that the leader of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, was tracked down by the CIA and was denied asylum by every European country, while in Germany the PKK is banned. We say: Freedom for Öcalan! Down with the persecution of Kurdish militants! For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

The domestic face of bourgeois nationalism is the sharp increase in racism directed at Europe's dark-skinned and Eastern European immigrant communities, who face massive deportations and state and fascist violence. Immigrants who are no longer needed as "guest workers" for low-paid dirty work are being thrown out while second-generation youth in particular are viewed with contempt by the rulers: with no jobs and no future for these youth, the ruling class fears them as social tinder waiting to explode. Across Europe, capitalist regimes administered by supposed "socialists" unleash their cops to terrorize minority youth, while in Blair's Britain the oppression of blacks and Asians has become such an acute embarrassment that the government was forced to acknowledge "institutionalized racism" in the police.

Racist oppression is integrally linked to the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Social-democratic regimes and popular-front governments (coalitions which tie working-class parties to the bourgeoisie in government) have been put into office since the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the express purpose of destroying the "welfare state." The capitalist rulers no longer feel obligated to maintain a high standard of living for Western workers to compete with the social benefits of the planned economies of the East European deformed workers states resulting from the victory of the Red Army in World War II. As the bourgeoisie seeks to drive up the rate of exploitation, immigrants are not only targeted for deportation but are used as convenient scapegoats for unemployment

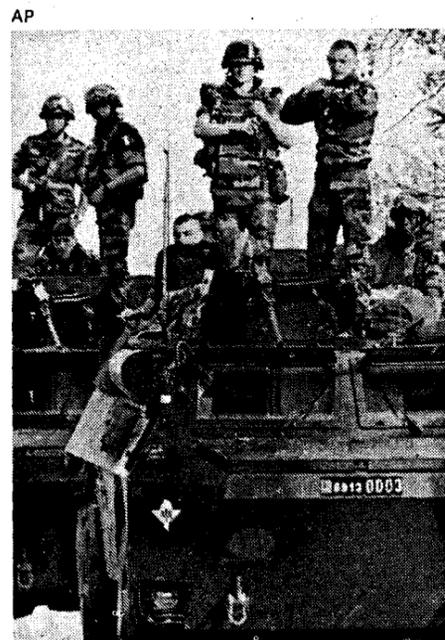
and immiseration. Anti-immigrant racism is the cutting edge of attacks on the whole working class. The interests of the working class and minorities must advance together, or they will fall back separately. The workers movement must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees from right-wing repression.

Along with the intensification of the bourgeoisies' war against their own working masses, the final undoing of the October Revolution has intensified social reaction, and as always women are among the chief targets. Capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has pauperized women, driving them out of jobs and back to the tyranny of "Kinder, Kirche, Küche." Across Western Europe and North America, abortion rights are under concerted attack, while in the so-called "Third World" (but not only there), fundamentalist religious forces are on a rampage of anti-woman terror, seeking to buttress every kind of familial and social obstacle to the emancipation of women.

The fake left spreads the illusion that putting the social democrats into power is a means of "fighting the right" and the fascists. This is a bald-faced lie. These capitalist governments have relentlessly persecuted the immigrants, while protecting the fascist gangs who spread their murderous terror. Appealing to the racist bourgeois state to ban the fascists is simply suicidal and augments the arsenal of state repression, which will invariably be used against the left, not the right. We fight to mobilize the social power of the organized proletariat at the head of all the oppressed to smash fascist provocations!

West Europe's dark-skinned proletarians are not just defenseless victims but an important component of the working-class forces capable of destroying the racist capitalist system. To mobilize the power of the integrated proletariat, however, requires a political struggle against the social-democratic parliamentary and union leaderships, which are transmission belts for racist poison into the working class and whose pro-capitalist policies

continued on page 10



French expeditionary forces in Macedonia. LO's Arlette Laguiller and LCR's Alain Krivine, "left" promoters of French imperialism.

Declaration...

(continued from page 9)

have simply perpetuated the conditions of mass immiseration and despair which serve as the breeding ground for fascism. Only active engagement in the urgent social struggles against racial oppression and repression can lay the basis for the unity of the multiethnic proletariat against the bourgeoisie. But the labor "leaders" pursue the opposite policy, for example by organizing the racist cops into the trade unions. Cops are not workers! We demand: Cops out of the unions!

To once and for all smash the fascists—the armed gangs which capital holds in reserve to use against the working class—requires socialist revolution. But the fake lefts who politically tail the larger social-democratic bourgeois workers parties are totally incapable of a bold assault on the capitalist system. It is instructive that the electoral platform of the LO-LCR lashup in the European parliamentary elections does not even mention "socialism," let alone "revolution." For these timid reformists the maximum program is to go back to the good old days of the "welfare state"—the program of social democracy! It is a measure of the retrogression of proletarian consciousness since the destruction of the Soviet Union that most of those who once paid lip service to the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky and destroyed by revisionism, have become open mouthpieces for the politics of the Second International, which the heroic Rosa Luxemburg already aptly described as a "stinking corpse" at the time of the First World War! In sharp distinction to these pseudo-Trotskyists, who openly acquiesce to capitalist rule, we fight for **new October Revolutions**, which requires the reforging of the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution!

Down With Maastricht! For a Workers Europe!

Previously a diplomatic appendage to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance, today the European Union is an unstable adjunct to the economic, military and political priorities of the European capitalists, and is directed against the workers of Europe and non-European immigrants, as well as against Germany's main imperialist rivals, the U.S. and Japan. With Germany as its strongest component, the European Union is also an arena in which the fundamentally conflicting interests of the major European bourgeois states are expressed.

Because capitalism is organized on the basis of particular nation states, itself the cause of repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world, it is impossible to cohere a stable pan-European bourgeois state. The perspective of a progressive European "superstate," as preached by Jospin, Schröder et al. is a bald-faced lie. As Lenin noted long ago, a capitalist United States of Europe is either impossible or reactionary:

"Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists...but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America" ("On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," August 1915).

In contrast, Workers Power actually maintains that the EU is progressive, or potentially so, arguing that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht" (*Workers Power*, June 1992). Thus WP becomes the mouthpiece for capitalist "united" Europe. As Trotsky wrote of the centrists of his time, "But it is a law that whoever is afraid of a break with the social patriots will inevitably become their agent" ("Lessons of October," 4

War is the mother of revolution: Petrograd soldiers in June 1917 raise banner calling for Third International only months before Bolshevik-led October Revolution brought workers to power. ICL fights for new October Revolutions.



November 1935). In a parody of parliamentary cretinism, WP even calls for a Europe-wide constituent assembly!

LO similarly had an abstentionist position on Maastricht. In reality, these groups act as left democrats, seeking to put a "democratic" face on capitalist reaction. We stand with Lenin. The "unity" of the EU has been directed against the proletariat and oppressed: raining bombs on Yugoslavia, policing the borders against "illegal" immigrants, turning over Öcalan to the torture chambers of Turkey.

A statement for the Euro-parliament issued by Scargill's SLP calls for getting Britain out of the European Union. Titled "Vote Us In to Get Us Out," the statement presents the EU and the Maastricht Treaty as the root cause of rising unemployment and the general worsening of economic conditions. This obscures the fact that, with or without the Maastricht Treaty, the main enemy of the workers of each country is their "own" bourgeoisie. Thatcher's Britain pioneered the dismantling of the "welfare state" years before there was any serious talk of a common European currency. Our opposition to the EU is based on a proletarian internationalist perspective, not the nationalist protectionism of the SLP. Only the overthrow of capitalism through workers revolution and the establishment of a **Socialist United States of Europe**, as part of a worldwide socialist society, can lay the basis for the development of productive resources that will genuinely benefit mankind.

Reforge the Fourth International!

Sharply impacted by the Asian economic collapse, the Japanese economy has suffered its greatest crisis in 50 years. Japanese imperialism, for its part, has reacted with an aggressive attempt to refurbish bourgeois militarism. As the U.S. and its NATO allies began their barrage of cruise missiles and bombs against Serbia, the Japanese navy fired at two vessels suspected of being North Korean spy ships. This was only the second time in the postwar period that the navy has fired its weapons, the other time being in 1953 against the USSR off Hokkaido.

A statement by the Spartacist Group of Japan (SGJ) noted:

"While endorsing the U.S./NATO massacre of Serbs, the Japanese ruling class is well aware that American imperialism's role as top world cop is also directed against them, America's main imperialist rival in the Pacific. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Japan-U.S. security treaty less and less suits the real interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie. Already the second biggest military spender in the world, Japanese imperialism is pushing the revised military guidelines to prepare its own battle-ready army and navy."

Asserting "Not one man, not one yen

for the imperialist military!" the SGJ emphasized that the struggle against imperialist war cannot be conducted separately and apart from the class struggle:

"Japanese workers must join with workers from Indonesia to the Philippines in the struggle for a socialist Asia, in the unconditional military defense of China, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and for proletarian political revolution. What is needed is an uncompromising proletarian party to lead the working class to state power."

The sharp escalation of inter-imperialist rivalry, reflected in the growth of bourgeois militarism in the U.S., Europe and Japan, expresses a fundamental law of imperialism. Imperialism is not a policy that can be made more humane, as the liberals and reformists contend, but "the highest stage of capitalism," as Lenin defined it: "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed."

Lenin sharply polemicized against Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism," today resuscitated as "globalization," which claimed that the great capitalist powers could peacefully agree on the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital. Lenin asserted, to the contrary, that "the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interest, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the **strength** of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc." The small number of imperialist powers are engaged in a ruthless struggle to improve their relative competitive position by increasing the rate of exploitation of their domestic working class, by plundering the colonial and

semicolonial world and by seizing markets at the expense of their rivals. Thus, the basis is laid for new wars to redivide the world in accord with the changing relative strengths of the imperialists. As Lenin asserted: "inter-imperialist" or "ultra-imperialist" alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing **all** the imperialist powers, are **inevitably** nothing more than a "truce" in periods between wars" (Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*).

The view held by fake leftists like Workers Power that a European capitalist superstate can be constructed by peaceful means is simply a modern-day variant of Kautsky's theory. Another variant is the view that the existence of nuclear weapons will restrain the capitalist imperialists—at least the "democratic" imperialists—from resorting to a new world war. In a polemic with Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International we pointed out that this demonstrated touching faith in the democratic imperialists, who gratuitously atom-bombed their already defeated enemy at the close of World War II. Today's "leftists" who expect rationality and restraint from the imperialist rulers have deliberately short memories: the bloody-handed carpet bombers of Vietnam have little rationality and even less scruples.

There is an element of fatuousness in the presumption on the part of the American bourgeoisie that Russia's weakness and indebtedness preclude it from military intervention. The Russia of the tsars was not strong when it chose to mobilize against Austria (and therefore Germany) in WWI. None of the combatants indulged in such "rational" calculation; they all expected the war to be over in a few short months. This is how wars start, and our centrist opponents are as foolish as the bourgeoisies they tail in this regard. We are not dealing with a rational social system, but rather with imperialism. **Only world socialist revolution can save mankind from a barbaric outcome.**

Writing on the aftermath of Hitler's coming to power, the Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Fourth International Leon Trotsky wrote: "The catastrophic commercial, industrial, agrarian and financial crisis, the break in international economic ties, the decline of the productive forces of humanity, the unbearable sharpening of class and international contradictions mark the twilight of capitalism and fully confirm the Leninist characterization of our epoch as one of **wars and revolutions**." He concluded "War and the Fourth International" (1934) by asserting: "It is indisputable at any rate that in our epoch only that organization that bases itself on international principles and enters into the ranks of the world party of the proletariat can root itself in the national soil. **The struggle against war means now the struggle for the Fourth International!**"

We seek to carry forward the work begun by comrade Trotsky: **Reforge the Fourth International!** ■

Spartacist pamphlet

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state in 1991—instigated by the same imperialist powers now carrying out a war of terror against Serbia—was prepared by the former Stalinist regime's pro-capitalist market "reforms." This 1988 collection of *Workers Vanguard* articles analyses how "market socialism" widened social inequalities and intensified ethnic and national divisions, enormously strengthening the internal forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

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July 1988 Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10118

Australian Imperialism...

(continued from page 12)

slaughter of as many as a million Indonesian toilers, which brought former Indonesian strongman Suharto to power, as an "historic" event which created a "benign strategic environment" for Australian capitalism. Australia's ASIS overseas spy agency assisted the American CIA who drew up lists of individuals to be murdered by the Indonesian military and reactionary Islamic gangs in this holocaust.

At the time of Indonesia's 1975 invasion, then Labor prime minister, and arrogant racist, Gough Whitlam dismissed concerns about the East Timorese with the vicious racist comment that "They're all mulattos"! "White Australia" racism has *always* been a principal pillar of this extremely right-wing and pro-imperialist social-democratic party.

Following the ALP's lead, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) bureaucracy is demanding "the immediate establishment of a substantial UN peacekeeping force with Australian participation." They want 5,000 UN troops in East Timor. The Darwin-based Northern Territory Trades and Labor Council calls for "economic bans on all trade and commercial enterprises related to Indonesia" while the federal teachers union demands that the government shut down an Indonesian consulate in Australia. This is class treason—the logic of which is to demand Australian imperialism wage *war* on neo-colonial Indonesia.

Here is the lie of a "partnership" between capital and labour laid bare. At home, the pro-capitalist union tops won't lift a finger to mobilise the working class to fight the gruelling job cuts, speed-up and profit gouging by the Australian capitalists or defend Aborigines and immigrants against racist cop terror. Yet they pound the working class with Australian nationalism, fostering illusions in the "benevolence" of the imperialists, binding workers more tightly to their exploiters. These same union bureaucrats who are demanding Australian imperialism police East Timor have secured a privileged position for themselves precisely because they have been bribed by the imperialists with a tiny portion of the vast profits squeezed out of the superexploited working people in the neo-colonial world.

In the past, workers in Australia have taken industrial action that cut *against* the capitalist rulers. In 1945-49 the Black Armada boycott of Dutch shipping was carried out in support of the Indonesian independence struggle. In 1996, in the face of the Australian rulers' total support to the blood-drenched Indonesian regime, maritime workers slapped rolling bans on Indonesian shipping to protest the arrests of trade-union leaders. Today, genuine internationalist proletarian solidarity with the workers and oppressed of East Timor and Indonesia means stopping *Australian* military aid and goods.

Against the trade-union misleaders and the ALP who preach the "national interest," a class-struggle leadership must be built in the unions that inscribes on its banner: anti-imperialism abroad means class-struggle at home! It is in the struggle to forge such a leadership that a multiracial revolutionary workers party will be built, the indispensable instrument for destroying the class rule of the Australian capitalists, exploiters of the toilers here and throughout the region.

Fake Left Rallies for "Democratic" Imperialism

Beholden to the ALP and trade-union brass who in turn front for Australian imperialism, fake leftists, most notably the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), have long urged Australia



Daily Telegraph Mirror

Keating Labor government sent troops to Somalia, part of racist UN/imperialist invasion, 1993. ALP in power rules for Australian capitalists.

to "act" in defence of the East Timorese. The pages of *Green Left Weekly* have, especially recently, been filled with calls for UN intervention. Now that it's happening, the DSP is simultaneously declaring the 5 May deal a "betrayal" and a "partial victory"! Whatever they label it, the fact is the DSP is *for* UN-sanctioned imperialist intervention. Leading DSPer Max Lane (once second secretary in the Australian Embassy in Jakarta), in his guise as national coordinator of Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor (ASIET), appeals to supporters of the East Timorese "to increase political pressure on their own governments to press the UN to take a firmer stance on the conditions for the referendum and if possible force Jakarta to withdraw its troops from East Timor altogether" (*Green Left Weekly*, 19 May).

To ensure no one misses the point, Lane laments "that the US and British governments, key players in the UN, are not applying maximum pressure on the Indonesian government." This direct appeal to the mad bombers of Serbian civilians to apply "pressure" starkly underscores that the DSP has nothing to offer the oppressed except the continued yoke of imperialist domination and exploitation.

In our last issue we described the DSP as "Made-in-Australia" opportunists of the most unbridled variety lacking even the most rudimentary loyalty to the cause of the working class." Thus it came as no surprise to learn that the DSP and ASIET proudly participated in a Sydney ANZAC Day holiday rally to "Remember East Timor." Held in concert with the official "commemoration" of Australian imperialist militarism—from World War I to Vietnam—this event featured ALP, trade-union and church speakers hailing East Timorese who died "defending Australia" in World War II against the Japanese. Invoking the "ANZAC spirit" of bourgeois patriotism, they called for UN/Australian intervention in East Timor. Joining the DSP to hawk their wares in the shadow of the War Memorial was the International Socialist Organisation (ISO).

This is not the first time the DSP and the ISO have beat the drums for the interests of the Australian ruling class. In 1995 when the Australian imperialists whipped up a chauvinist frenzy against their French rivals in the South Pacific under the guise of opposition to France's testing of nuclear weapons, the DSP and ISO were the "best builders" of a despicable Australian nationalist campaign.

That there is nothing remotely "progressive" about this straight-out cheering for Australian imperialism is underscored by the fact that the death-squad leaders in East Timor *also* invoke, in the words of the 26 April rally leaflet, the "Timorese who died protecting

Australians in World War II." Fought over which competing imperialist power would get to rape China, the "Allies" war in the Pacific was characterised by intense racism against the Japanese people. This culminated in the incineration of the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs, a racist atrocity carried out when Japan was already militarily defeated and largely as a threat to the Soviet Union. As revolutionary internationalists, we Trotskyists opposed this inter-imperialist war on all sides and were for the defeat of our "own" imperialist ruling classes through the fight for proletarian revolution, while standing for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union.

In World War I, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin savaged the "defenders of the fatherland"—the political precursors of the DSP and ISO—as "defenders of imperialist plunder." These groups are, in Lenin's words, social-chauvinist—socialist in words, and chauvinist in deeds.

Class Collaboration at Home and Abroad

Opposed to the struggle for socialist revolution, the DSP and others cloak their kowtowing before the Australian imperialists by claiming UN intervention and imperialist "peacekeepers" are what the East Timorese want. It is certainly true that the imperialists have willing allies among the East Timorese petty-bourgeois nationalists. Both imprisoned Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão and Ramos-Horta have always appealed to the imperialist powers, willing to act as local frontmen in the exploitation of their "own" people. Backing the UN-sponsored "transition to independence," Gusmão has promised that profits from the Timor Gap oilfields will be uninterrupted.

Also joining the call for "a UN-supervised referendum" is the People's Democratic Party (PRD), the Indonesian group for whom the DSP acts as local press agents. Many PRD leaders, jailed by Suharto, are still imprisoned—we demand their freedom now! Allegedly socialist, the PRD is described by the DSP as the "radical wing of the Indonesian democracy movement." The PRD calls for *reformasi* and seeks to manoeuvre for influence, especially among the supporters of bourgeois opposition figure (and possible victor in the 7 June "election") Megawati Sukarnoputri, who is a hardcore Javanese chauvinist with support among significant sections of the military.

In neo-colonial countries such as Indonesia, the ruling class is tied by a thousand strings to the imperialists, and fears above all any revolt of the masses. This was the bitter lesson of the bloody 1965-66 defeat. The road to national and social justice for all of the peoples of what is today Indonesia lies only in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the destruction of capitalism through the seizure of state power by the proletariat standing at the head of all the oppressed masses and the victory of workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries.

Continued Indonesian rule in East Timor, "autonomous" or otherwise, can only mean perpetuation of the last 24 years of occupation. We seek to win Indonesian workers to the struggle for the immediate independence of East Timor on the road to smashing the capitalist dictatorship that makes Indonesia a prison house of peoples. Yet as the deep immiseration of Papua New Guinea makes clear, an independent East Timor would necessarily be subject to neo-colonial domination, unless the struggle for national liberation is linked to the fight for workers rule throughout the region, not just in Indonesia, but in Australia and Japan.

As proletarian revolutionaries, the International Communist League fights to forge sections of an international Trotskyist party from Indonesia to Japan to Australia. As we stated in our recently published Program of the Spartacist League, "For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!":

"The working class is the only social force capable of carrying out the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, replacing it with the egalitarian-socialist reorganisation of society based on its own state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international character of the socialist revolution means the struggle for workers revolution in Australia is inextricably linked to the class struggle of the workers in Indonesia and the other states of Southeast Asia, through to the powerful proletariat of Japan. The name of our newspaper, *Australasian Spartacist*, reflects our strategic goal, to be part of the struggle for workers revolution throughout the Asian region."

Down with Australian imperialism! Independence for East Timor! For workers revolution in Indonesia! ■

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Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

\$1.25 (20 pages)

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

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(第四国际主义者)

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Independence for East Timor! UN/Australia Bloody Hands Off!

Down with Australian Imperialism!



Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter



Jason Smith

Australian imperialists armed and trained bloody Indonesian army (left), today provide core of UN-sponsored intervention in East Timor to ensure capitalist stability. Right: Indonesian forces in East Timor, 24 May.

MAY 27—Under a 5 May agreement signed at the United Nations by Indonesia and Portugal, a “military style” UN contingent has begun to arrive in East Timor. This “assistance mission” by forces from Australia, the U.S., Britain, Germany, Japan and the Philippines, supposedly is to ensure that an 8 August vote on Indonesia’s sham “autonomy” deal will be “free and fair.” If the plan is rejected, East Timor will then come under “UN authority” which is to effect a “process of transition to independence.”

Everybody knows that the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese people want independence from Indonesia. Following Jakarta’s brutal annexation of this former Portuguese colony in 1975, over 200,000 have died. Since the East Timor vote was announced, “pro-integration” death squads, armed and organised by the Indonesian military (ABRI), have been carrying out one bloody massacre after another. In response there has been a crescendo of calls from sundry liberals, Labor Party bigwigs, trade union councils and self-proclaimed leftists for Australia and the UN to “act” in defence of the East Timorese.

These people are consciously appealing to the same imperialist powers who are raining death on the Serbian population. “East Timor is the Kosovo on our doorstep” blares the press. Exiled East Timorese leader and Nobel “peace” laureate José Ramos-Horta modestly declares, “We are not asking NATO countries to bomb Jakarta into the Stone Age. We propose a milder form of military action by the western countries” (*Sun-Herald*, 25 April). Alongside them are “leftists” who say “independ-

ence for Kosovo and East Timor.” Echoing the lie of “human rights” imperialism, their call literally means independence on the bayonets of the U.S. and Australian armies. We revolutionary Marxists say: **No UN intervention! Australia, all imperialists: keep your bloody hands off East Timor!**

Jakarta’s bloody rule in East Timor has been backed throughout by the U.S. and other imperialist powers who regarded the murderous Suharto regime as a key Cold War ally against the “spread of Communism” in Asia. The Australian imperialists, especially under Labor Party governments, have been prime backers of the Jakarta generals, increasing military aid some **30-fold** in the last decade alone.

When it suits their purposes, the imperialist powers are happy to cover their murderous crimes under the imprimatur of UN “authorisation.” From the horrific 1991 war against Iraq, and the subsequent economic blockade which has killed over a million Iraqis, to racist colonial interventions from Somalia to Haiti to Cambodia, imperialist troops have donned blue hats—and carried out slaughter. In 1969 it was the UN which “observed” a phoney “act of free choice” in West Irian, now Irian Jaya, which legitimised Indonesia’s takeover of that former Dutch colony. True to form, in East Timor, the 5 May agreement leaves ABRI in control of “security.” **Indonesian troops out! Independence now for East Timor!**

The core of the UN force will consist of Australian cops whose job is to help the Indonesian army “supervise” the upcoming vote and “train” a new police force. These are the same racist cops who regularly brutalise Aboriginal

people and immigrant youth, and smash union picket lines in Australia. If the cops prove insufficient, the Australian military is doubling the number of troops on stand-by, the largest number since the Vietnam war. The new 3,000-strong Ready Deployment Force with air and naval support based in Darwin (only 600 kilometres from East Timor) is prepared for “overseas emergencies.”

The role of Australian cops and troops in East Timor will be to disarm **pro-independence** militants and ensure a smooth transition to more direct neo-colonial rule. Above all, the imperialists seek to prevent the struggling masses of Indonesia, seething as tens of millions are driven into desperate poverty, from challenging the capitalist order. Thus, Australian imperialism has been steadily increasing its military presence in the region. Last year Australian military units engaged in a joint operation with ABRI to back up a brutal crackdown by the Javanese-centred regime against the indigenous Melanesian people in Irian Jaya. The Australian jackal imperialists have **always** played the role of counter-revolutionary regional gendarme against the working people in concert with their big-brother allies, first Britain and now the U.S.

For all the “human rights” propaganda and new-found “concern” for East Timorese national rights emanating from Canberra, East Timorese would do well to look at Papua New Guinea, Australia’s own neo-colony. This is a desperately impoverished country where Australian companies loot the mines, forests and other natural resources while Australian expatriates litter the state apparatus and expect to be treated as “boss” by the black population. After

a decade of braintrusting and financing the PNG government’s bloody war against Bougainville separatists, which has killed up to 20,000, last year the Australian rulers sent in “peacekeepers”—to forcibly ensure Bougainville remained within the artificial boundaries of PNG.

Meanwhile, 1,650 East Timorese refugees in Australia continue to be denied permanent residency after ten years in the country, living under threat of imminent deportation. Even as the Australian government and media wage a cynical propaganda blitz over the several thousand Albanian Kosovar refugees dragooned into Australia (dumped in isolated army bases and denied permanent residency), hundreds of desperate refugees arriving in Australia are regularly and brutally interned in deportation prison camps. We say: **Asylum for East Timorese refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Down with Australia’s racist immigration policies!**

ALP: Frontmen for Australian Imperialism

Labor’s foreign relations spokesman Laurie Brereton has been acting the imperialist hawk, for months demanding the immediate dispatch of UN/Australian troops. Attempting to white-wash the Labor Party’s dirty role over the years, Brereton moans that in the past the Labor Party had betrayed “basic Australian values” by appeasing Indonesia’s 1975 takeover of East Timor. But the “core values” of the ALP were perfectly expressed by former Labor prime minister Keating when he described the 1965 anti-Communist

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