

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Down With U.S. Rulers' "Terrorism" Scare!

American imperialism's rulers seized upon the approach of New Year's Day, 2000 to launch a concerted assault on the immigrant population and on the rights of everyone. Conjuring up a shadowy international "terrorist" conspiracy, the State Department for months warned of threatened attacks on Americans overseas, on millennium celebrations, on computer systems. U.S. client states from Pakistan to Jordan detained and arrested scores of alleged terrorists. From New York City to New Orleans to Los Angeles, armies of cops were mobilized on New Year's Eve, targeting anyone who "fit the profile," particularly immigrants and travelers from the Near East and North Africa.

The terrorism-mongering campaign took off following the December 14 arrest of Ahmed Ressay. An Algerian national living in Canada, Ressay was seized by U.S. customs agents as he tried to enter Port Angeles, Washington by ferry in a car allegedly packed with explosives and timing devices. U.S. officials immediately claimed that he was linked to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA). Washington itself helped arm and train the GIA forces who joined the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats fighting against the Soviet Army and the left-nationalist regime in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

The capitalist media tried to churn up anti-terrorist hysteria with screaming headlines like "Everywhere at Risk"



Manufactured "terrorism" hysteria served as pretext last month for witchhunt against Arab immigrants and massive cop mobilizations in cities around the country, including New Orleans (above).

(*New York Post*, 20 December 1999) and "The Terror Countdown" (*Time*, 27 December 1999). In New York City, Republican mayor Giuliani, fresh from joining with Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer in union-busting

court injunctions and police-state measures against a threatened transit workers strike last month, imposed a virtual state of siege in various areas of the city. Nearly all of the NYPD's 40,000 cops were placed on duty for New Year's Eve,

complete with high-tech bomb disposal trucks and rooftop surveillance equipment. Trucks going into Manhattan were checked by bomb-sniffing dogs. As manholes were welded shut, trashcans removed and mailboxes sealed, Midtown was turned into an armed camp. Workers going to their jobs had to show special IDs.

Seizing on the Ressay incident and the arrest of two people supposedly linked to him who were trying to cross into Vermont, a U.S. official ranted, "We are seeing terrorists using Canada as a staging area" (*Toronto Globe and Mail*, 21 December 1999). In Montreal, home to more than 15,000 Algerians, cops rounded up dozens of Arab residents. In a coordinated sweep on December 30, dozens more were hauled off by U.S. and Canadian police in cities from Vancouver to New York. One Brooklyn resident victimized in this racist dragnet said bitterly, "This is a police state. Why are they blaming Muslims?"

Alongside the anti-Arab witch-hunt, the U.S. and Canadian governments carried out mass arrests of impoverished immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean. On New Year's Day, the U.S. Coast Guard seized over 400 Haitians and Dominicans who were packed into a freighter that ran aground off the Florida coast, while dozens of Chinese immigrants have since been arrested in Los Angeles and Vancouver after spending *continued on page 8*

Stage Set for Whitewash of NYPD Death Squad

Amadou Diallo— We Will Not Forget!

Sharpton/Democrats Seek to Defuse Anger Over Cop Terror

The death-squad-style cop execution of young black African Amadou Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets in the Bronx nearly a year ago sparked the most sustained level of social protest New York City had seen in years. Hundreds, sometimes

thousands, demonstrated almost daily to express their fury against the indignity, humiliation and raw terror that they are subjected to every day by the cops. Fearful that this anger could ignite a social explosion, Al Sharpton and other black Democrats scrambled to get out in front of the protests in a desperate bid to confine them to electoral pressure politics, to push illusions in the "justice" of the capitalist courts and above all to preserve the "integrity" of the police. Sharpton has cynically boasted how the protests

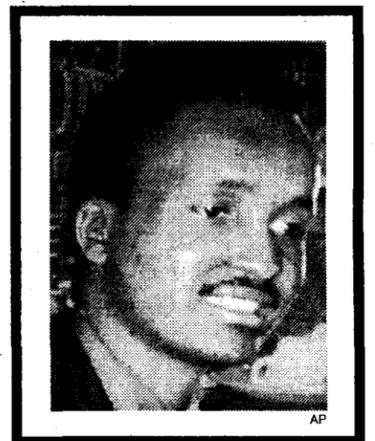
were brought to a halt when the four NYPD Street Crime Unit killers were indicted for Diallo's murder.

Now the December 16 court decision moving the cops' trial from the largely black and Hispanic Bronx to 85-percent-white Albany in order to ensure the killer cops go free threatens to uncork the seething outrage the Democrats worked so hard to contain. Expressing the consummate contempt of the racist ruling class for the victims of its police thugs, the court cited "a tidal wave of prejudi-

cial publicity" and ruled that "this case cannot be tried in Bronx County or anywhere else in the city of New York, without an atmosphere in which jurors would be under enormous pressure to reach the verdict demanded by public opinion."

In his *New York Times* (27 December) column, "A Whitewash in Albany," Bob Herbert observed: "The reality is this: An all-white panel of five judges, one of whom is a crony of the lawyer for one of the accused cops, took the case out of the

continued on page 9



On the Origins of Women's Oppression

13 December 1999

Dear Comrades,

"For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 725, 10 December 1999) addresses the roots of the oppression of women in the first division of society into classes. This insight, fundamental to a materialist worldview, is anathema to both the feminists, who claim that the "battle of the sexes" is eternal, and to anti-woman bigots, who hail the subordination of women as blessed by god and tradition. For us Marxists, in contrast, the oppression of women is a social institution that rests on private property, a human invention as subject to change as any other.

In a hunter-gatherer society, the division of labor between men and women was based not on female dependency but on the biological reality of childcare in a subsistence world. Women's work had to allow for pregnancy, breast-feeding (there was no cow's milk or porridge substitute for human milk) and the care of infants and small children. But the house-

hold was communal and the division of labor between the sexes reciprocal; the economy did not involve the dependency of the wife and children on the husband. The labor of both sexes was necessary to livelihood.

This primitive social equality was overturned when inventions such as agriculture made possible the social surplus which provoked the division of society into classes; a ruling, leisured class could live off the labor of others. With classes came the development of the institution of the monogamous family and patrilineal descent. The biological fact of child-bearing and child rearing was henceforth tied to the social oppression of women. Society split into antagonistic classes and the ruling, or property-owning, class governed society through the armed state. As a means of the consolidation of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority, the patriarchal family decreed monogamy for women to determine inheritance of property. In the most backward class societies, women are literally bought and sold in marriage like cattle—the very word

"family" comes from the Latin for slave, "familia."

However, it is not true that "the new social surplus happened to originate in the traditionally male sphere of human activity," as the article says. This historical inaccuracy appeared in some of our earlier articles on the subject in both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*, for example, "Women and the Permanent Revolution" (*WV* No. 17, March 1973). When "Women and the Permanent Revolution" was reprinted in *W&R* No. 40 (Winter 1991-92), we clarified this in the introduction:

"Our knowledge of the development of early human society has deepened in the intervening period. We know far more about these subjects than could Marx and Engels when they were first formulating the principles of historical materialism in *The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology* in the 1840s. It was not until later into the 19th century that the study of anthropology and archaeology developed; in particular Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877) had an enormous impact on Marxist thought. The exciting discoveries of more recent decades by no means negate the analysis given in Frederick Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, the key Marxist text on the subject. Instead, they amplify and reinforce the materialist understanding of the origins of women's oppression in the institution of the family.

"It is now generally agreed—even by those who agree on little else—that agriculture was a fairly early discovery

in the development of a more advanced technology. In the early, biologically based division of labor between men and women in the hunter-gatherer societies, women, as the gatherers, were likely to have been key to the discovery that one can cultivate plants, as well as to the invention of other arts like weaving."

That the husband, rather than the wife, became the head of the family probably has more to do with the demands of childbearing and childcare than the "male sphere of activity." In early class society production was still very much household-based; primitive agriculture revolved around the family farm, for example. While women were socially subordinate and dependent on their husbands and fathers, their participation in production was essential. With the advent of industrial capitalism, production moved to the factory, the household became totally private and women as household drudges became powerless and wholly excluded from social production. As members of the proletariat, however, working women, at the side of their class brothers, now have the social power necessary to fight for their emancipation. The overthrow of the capitalist order through workers revolution will open the way for the elimination of all oppression and exploitation based on the abundance of a worldwide planned economy. It's only this that will enable us to replace the oppressive institution of the family with socialized domestic services, freeing women to fully participate in social and political life.

Comradely,
Amy Rath

Honor Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg!

In upholding the revolutionary traditions of the early Communist International, the International Communist League commemorates the "Three Ls" this month, marking the death of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in January 1924 and the murder of German Spartakusbund and Communist Party founders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were assassinated by military reactionaries



TROTSKY



LENIN

amid the counterrevolutionary terror unleashed by the Social Democratic government against the Spartakist workers uprising. Two months later, at its First Congress, the Communist International adopted a resolution authored by Lenin saluting these heroic leaders of the world proletariat and exposing the sham of bourgeois "democracy."

In Germany, the most developed capitalist country of continental Europe, the very first months of full republican freedom, established as a result of imperialist Germany's defeat, have shown the German workers and the whole world the true class substance of the bourgeois-democratic republic. The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg is an event of epoch-making significance not only because of the tragic death of these finest people and leaders of the truly proletarian, Communist International, but also because the class nature of an advanced European state—it can be said without exaggeration, of an advanced state on a world-wide scale—has been conclusively exposed. If those arrested, i.e., those placed under state protection, could be assassinated by officers and capitalists with impunity, and this under a government headed by social-patriots, then the democratic republic where such a thing was possible is a bourgeois dictatorship. Those who voice their indignation at the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg but fail to understand this fact are only demonstrating their stupidity, or hypocrisy. "Freedom" in the German republic, one of the freest and advanced republics of the world, is freedom to murder arrested leaders of the proletariat with impunity. Nor can it be otherwise as long as capitalism remains, for the development of democracy sharpens rather than dampens the class struggle which, by virtue of all the results and influences of the war and of its consequences, has been brought to boiling point...

In these circumstances, proletarian dictatorship is not only an absolutely legitimate means of overthrowing the exploiters and suppressing their resistance, but also absolutely necessary to the entire mass of working people, being their only defence against the bourgeois dictatorship which led to the war and is preparing new wars.

—V.I. Lenin, "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (March 1919)

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Mobilizing Labor Against the Fascists—1939, 1999

18 December 1999

To the editor:

Workers Vanguard No. 724 (26 November 1999) reprinted a 1939 report from *Socialist Appeal*, newspaper of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), about an anti-Nazi protest organized by the SWP that year in New York. That rally had some striking parallels with the October 23 anti-Klan action initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and heavily built by the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League. In both cases, the demonstrations succeeded because they escaped the usual mechanism for social control.

In 1939, as Democratic Party president Franklin D. Roosevelt prepared the country for imperialist war, the SWP was able to mobilize 50,000 workers, heavily drawing in the Communist Party (CP) ranks, in a militant show of strength against the German-American Bund and other Nazi and anti-Semitic outfits. At the time, the CP was channeling its considerable influence in the CIO industrial unions into Roosevelt's New Deal coalition in the name of the "People's Front" against fascism. In New York, the CP had backed the election of pro-Roosevelt Republican mayor Fiorello La Guardia—who protected the February 1939 Nazi rally as he brutally deployed his cops against the thousands of protesting workers. Although the CP was in a position to have mounted

a powerful action against the Nazis, it was straitjacketed politically. This left an opening for the SWP, which in the aftermath of the anti-Nazi demonstration continued to recruit from the ranks of the CP.

In the case of October 23, with Republican mayor Giuliani trying to deny the Klan rally a permit, Al Sharpton and the rest of the liberal Democratic Party establishment came out in favor of the Klan's "rights." Sharpton filed a friend of the court brief in defense of the Klan rally, while the Democrats—with the reformist left in tow—called for a demonstration for "tolerance," going so far as to offer to share a sound permit with the fascist killers. This left an opening for the PDC, whose call to "Stop the KKK!" had galvanized a significant layer of New York City's working people and the oppressed, tapping into widespread, pent-up anger over the escalation of cop repression and grinding exploitation.

In its October 14 call for the anti-Klan mobilization, the PDC noted, "The Klan is making a big mistake by thinking they can get away with this racist provocation. There is no way that working people in this heavily black, Hispanic and immigrant city are going to allow these hooded terrorists to organize here for lynch mob terror." Likewise, the massive turnout in 1939 was fueled by outrage that American Hitlerites would dare rally in New York City six years after Hitler



Trotskyists mobilized 50,000 workers against 1939 Madison Square Garden rally by German-American Bund and other Nazis.

came to power in Germany.

One difference should be noted. In the 1930s, the workers who rallied behind the SWP's mass anti-fascist rally were overwhelmingly Jewish workers whose position in society was akin to that of Puerto Rican and other immigrant populations today. Jewish workers, who were among the more class-conscious (in the New York region the CP membership was largely Jewish), were keenly aware of the deadly fascist threat. Today, Jews are concentrated in the upper middle class.

Both the SWP-initiated 1939 anti-Nazi rally and the PDC's October 23 labor/

black mobilization against the KKK gave a real taste of the social power of the working class when it is mobilized independently of all the parties and agencies of capitalist class rule. What was seen in action at these demonstrations was the nucleus of the kind of workers party that is needed to genuinely realize the interests of the working class and oppressed through the overthrow of capitalist class rule and the establishment of proletarian class rule, laying the basis for an egalitarian socialist society.

Comradely,
Helene Brosius

Letter to *New York Times*

Rehabilitating McCarthy, Eliminating Trotsky

The following letter to the *New York Times Magazine*, not printed as of this point, is in response to a *Times* (28 November 1999) piece on efforts to vindicate 1950s anti-Communist witch-hunter Joe McCarthy. Trumpeting the "tradition of liberal anti-Communism," the *Times* article joins the chorus of those aiming to rehabilitate the McCarthyite witchhunt by trying to give it the gloss of refinement and erudition as opposed to the cruder, more primitive methods of the Senator from Wisconsin. In fact, the liberals played a leading role in the witch-hunts: as rabid McCarthyites lumped them together with Communists, they sought to exonerate themselves by showing they were the best, most determined anti-Communists.

True to its purpose, the article sympathetically portrays a current crop of anti-Communist academics, many of

them former "radicals," who have furthered their fortunes in the service of the bourgeoisie's "death of communism" ideological crusade. These are exemplified by Ronald Radosh, who rose from obscurity by penning various works re-prosecuting the heroic Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, framed up and executed as "A-bomb spies" in 1953 in an anti-Communist, anti-Semitic witchhunt.

One might ask, if communism truly is "dead," then why all the fuss? As we wrote in "Celebrating McCarthyism—Elia Kazan: Hollywood Salutes a Rat" (*WV* No. 709, 19 March 1999): "By issuing a whole spate of books and articles 're-examining' the Cold War and honoring the witchhunters while vilifying the victims, the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologues seek to ram home the message to a new generation of workers and youth that any interest in communism is *verboten*." The current "death of communism" barrage is aimed at imposing the idea that capitalist society is the only world possible. But communism isn't dead—it is the program that expresses the class interests of the workers and oppressed, growing out of their aspirations and struggles for a society of genuine equality and social justice. Trotskyism remains the embodiment of those aspirations, which can only be realized in the fight for new October Revolutions.

* * *

15 December 1999

The article "The Rehabilitation of Joe McCarthy" by Jacob Weisberg (28 November) takes present-day proclamations of the "death of communism" to rewrite the history and impact of communism in the United States. To this purpose, Weisberg's retrospective on the Cold War witchhunt has to eliminate and conceal

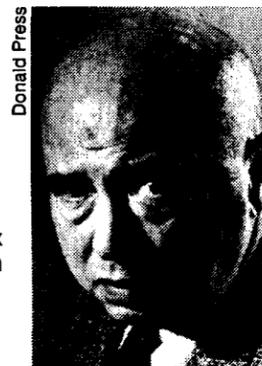
Leon Trotsky and the American Trotskyists who opposed Stalinism from the perspective of advancing the cause of proletarian revolutionary internationalism.

Outside of the Stalinized American Communist Party, the only organizations on the American left that are referred to are in a half-sentence mention of "the anti-Stalinist splinter groups of the 1930's and 40's, the Lovestoneites and the Schachtmanites" [sic]. In the 1930s, Shachtman was still a member of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party led by Jim Cannon. The Trotskyists' leadership of the citywide class battles in Minneapolis in 1934 that organized the Teamsters union doesn't fit Weisberg's declarations of the supposed irrelevance of communism in the United States. His misspelling of Shachtman's name is another small but telling indication of his ignorance.

More a measure of the absence of knowledge of the most elementary tenets of Marxism is Weisberg's assertion that "Communism as a way of organizing a nation-state is finished." More than 150 years ago, in his draft of the *Communist Manifesto* titled *The Principles of Communism* (October 1847), Friedrich Engels responded to the question, "Will it be possible for this revolution to take place in one country?" by stating: "No. Large scale industry, already by creating the world market, has so linked up all the peoples of the earth, and especially the civilized peoples, that each people is dependent on what happens to another.... The communist revolution will therefore be no national one."

The material abundance necessary for the construction of a socialist society can only be achieved through an international planned economy. The ignorant idea of communism as a means of organizing a nation-state derives not from

Marxism but from the very Stalinists that Weisberg's article so reviles. "Socialism in one country" was proclaimed by the consolidating Stalinist bureaucracy in



Max Shachtman

1924, which recommended that the workers of the world make peace with their exploiters on behalf of defending "socialism" in the Soviet Union. The Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist ruling classes through fighting to advance the cause of proletarian international class struggle.

Len Meyers,
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*



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Down With Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism!

Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!

Independence Now for East Timor!

We reprint below, in abridged form, a December 1999 Australasian Spartacist supplement, issued by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia.

Under the guise of a "humanitarian" mission, Australian imperialism now rules over the desperately poor people of East Timor in all but name, and they plan to continue for at least the next three years. In the largest Australian military

Australasian SPARTACIST

operation since its participation in the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants three decades ago, Australian troops sweep through the streets as armoured vehicles rip up the roads and F-111 warplanes scream overhead. With brutal racist arrogance, the Australian neocolonial occupiers enforce misery and squalor—lack of food, medical care and education—for the suffering people of East Timor while moving to disarm the independence fighters of Falintil.

This is what virtually every ostensibly socialist organisation in Australia called for as they lined up behind the racist Australian rulers. The International Socialist Organisation (ISO), Socialist Alternative (SA), Militant Workers Power (WP) and especially the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) leapt into hailing, attending, and in some cases leading the September chauvinist demonstrations of "national unity" which were screaming for "Peacekeepers in!" The fake left wildly cheered the racist anti-Indonesia actions [union bans against Indonesian goods] led by the Laborite union bureaucrats which were explicitly designed to hurry Australian military intervention and were promptly called off as soon as the army went in. Hostile to any independent mobilisation of the proletariat in its own class interest and to the socialist principle of "not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military," these "socialist" groups unashamedly subordinated themselves to the pro-imperialist Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy who aggressively campaigned for troops.

Against these drumbeaters for white Australian imperialism, the Spartacist League has from the beginning campaigned in both word and deed against Australian intervention into East Timor, demanding that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN and all their lack-

eys and camp followers get out of East Timor and stay out! The demand for the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops is the precondition for the fight for East Timorese independence. As proletarian internationalists, opposed above all to our "own" ruling class, we call for the Australian workers movement to black ban [boycott] arms and supplies to the Australian-led military forces. Independence now for East Timor!

The idea that military intervention by Australian and U.S. imperialism can bring independence and "freedom" for the East Timorese is a horrible lie. These same imperialists backed Indonesia's annexation in 1975 and for 30 years supported and armed the bloody Indonesian regime. These are the imperialists who devastated tiny Serbia and who slaughtered millions in their losing effort to defeat the Vietnamese Revolution. Whether under the fig leaf of the UN (a den of imperialist thieves and their victims) or otherwise, the imperialists are mass murderers who will stop at nothing to preserve their system of plunder and robbery.

As to the Australian rulers' credentials as opponents of genocide, one need only look at the barbarity they have meted out for the last 200 years to the Aboriginal peoples who were nearly exterminated, their lands and even children stolen from them. During World War II, the Libyan people knew the Australian troops as the most brutal racist marauders to march across that country. What the Australian capitalists have in mind for East Timor can be seen in Papua New Guinea [PNG] and Fiji, neocolonies where the racist imperialist pigs lord it over the people who they brutally exploit while robbing the natural resources of these tiny countries. Australia out of PNG, Bougainville, Irian Jaya, Fiji! The main enemy is our "own" ruling class—for workers revolution!

Revolutionary Marxists understand, as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin explained in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, that imperialism is not a "policy" but the inevitable product of the capitalist system. The ruling class doesn't "choose" whether or not to be imperialist—the pursuit of profit ultimately compels the capitalists to wage war against small, dependent countries and against their imperialist rivals. The imperialist system of brutal exploitation and degradation cannot be reformed or pres-

UN imperialist "peacekeepers": Australian occupation forces impose reign of terror in East Timorese capital of Dili.



Reuters

ured into serving the interests of the oppressed—it must be swept away through international proletarian revolution.

Despite the best efforts of the Laborite traitors and their left tails, the pro-imperialist rallies were overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois and white, and working-class support to the Australian imperialists' occupation of East Timor is shallow. Workers seething under union-busting attacks, minorities subjected to racist abuse, Aborigines denied even the most basic necessities of life, all have good reason to be distrustful of the Australian ruling class. So now the fake lefts are desperately attempting to disappear their treacherous cheerleading for Australian imperialism. The ISO, for example, is running articles about "Anger at UN arrogance" and "Labor and Militarism," while WP says, if you look hard enough, "Australian and UN troops out now."

The fake lefts' current attempts to paint themselves in "anti-imperialist" colours is just whitewash. Every one of them howled with the imperialist wolves, cheering capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This historic defeat for the international proletariat has meant horrific destitution for the working people, especially women, unleashed murderous communalist bloodletting and intensified inter-imperialist rivalries. While the fake left rallied behind "democratic" imperialism, we Trotskyists, revolutionary Marxists, fought for the unconditional military defence of the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states in the USSR and East Europe against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the conservative, nationalist Stalinist usurpers who undermined and ultimately strangled the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the first and to date only successful workers revolution in history.

Having supported the anti-Soviet Cold War drive of the imperialists and their social-democratic front men, the fake-left traitors in short order were openly embracing the war aims of the NATO imperialists in the Balkans. Fuelled by and in turn fuelling murderous nationalism, capitalist counterrevolution ripped apart the deformed workers state of Yugoslavia, leading to all-sided reactionary "ethnic cleansing." As the imperialist powers manoeuvred to extend their influence, self-proclaimed "socialists" consistently lined up behind whoever "their" imperialist rulers were backing. In 1999, most of the "left" took up the imperialists' war cry over "poor little Kosovo." Workers Power, for a grotesque example, marched in London alongside those calling for NATO bombing of Serbia.

We in the SL along with our comrades throughout the International Communist League fought against the NATO imperialist attack, declaring: Defeat U.S./Australian imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! We gave not a shred of support to Milosevic & Co., a gang of capitalist, nationalist murderers. While the left hailed NATO's pawns in the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK), we said that there was a just cause for self-determination for Kosovo, but it had become subordinated to the NATO imperialists. Today, the imperialists and the UCK are now reversing the terms of oppression, beating, torturing and driving out Serbs and Roma (Gypsies). Against all the bloody nationalist regimes, we fight for the proletarian internationalist perspective of a socialist federation of the Balkans. We say: U.S./UN/all imperialists out of the Balkans!

The Fraud of "Human Rights" Imperialism

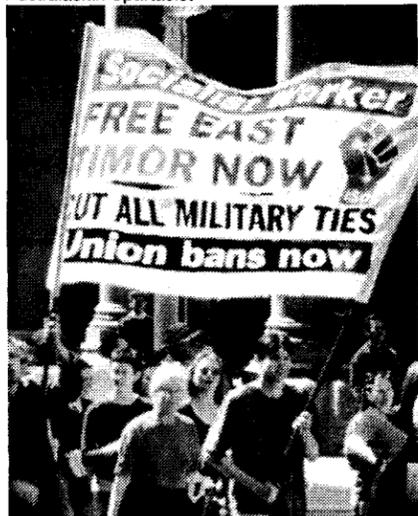
As we stated in our 1 October 1999 leaflet, "East Timor Independence Now! All Indonesian and All UN Imperialist Troops Out Now!":

"The UN intervention has nothing to do with defending the East Timorese people and everything to do with defending the interests of the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. and its Australian junior partner. The UN mission's name—'Operation Stabilise'—captures its true intent: to enforce neocolonial stability in Australia's 'backyard' and prop up the Indonesian police-state regime in the face of massive social unrest."

We say that the real and only allies of the desperately poor people of East Timor are the international working class, from the multi-millioned proletariat of Indonesia to the workers of the imperialist countries in the region, Australia and Japan.

In Indonesia, the road to overthrow the blood-drenched regime requires that the

Australasian Spartacist



Jon Reid



in leadup to military occupation of East Timor, Australian ISO (far left) called for imperialist economic sanctions against Indonesia in guise of "union bans" and DSP/Resistance (left) openly called for sending in troops. Spartacist League/Australia forthrightly opposed chauvinist mobilization.

Australasian Spartacist



proletariat struggle to transcend the dominant Javanese chauvinism fostered by the bourgeoisie, championing the right of self-determination for all the oppressed peoples in the archipelago. This means a struggle against bourgeois forces like Megawati Sukarnoputri, a vicious chauvinist who supported the annexation of East Timor and to whom much of the fake left has given backhanded support. As the new government of Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawati and Amien Rais demonstrates, all wings of the bourgeoisie in countries of belated capitalist development are so tied to imperialism and fearful of the proletariat that they are incapable of fulfilling the tasks historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Achieving these tasks and putting an end to the brutal exploitation of the masses requires the proletarian seizure of power—the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. To this end, the working class must forge a revolutionary leadership—a Leninist-Trotskyist party. If it is not to be strangled by economic and social backwardness and imperialist intervention, the struggle for proletarian revolution in Indonesia must be linked to the fight for workers rule in the advanced capitalist countries, not least Australia, Japan and the U.S.

The imperialist occupation of East Timor is also a dagger aimed at the bureaucratically deformed workers state in China, where the Stalinist bureaucracy is driving headlong toward capitalist restoration. Their seeking to join the World Trade Organisation is their latest move in a series of attacks which threaten the gains of the 1949 overthrow of capitalist barbarism. For the imperialists, the “magic of the market” means driving fully one-third of all workers in China’s state industries out into the streets. We stand for the unconditional military defence of China—as well as of North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. We fight to mobilise the proletariat of China and the other deformed workers states to prevent capitalist counterrevolution through a political revolution which ousts the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Australian-led occupation of East Timor underscores that Southeast Asia is a hotbed of inter-imperialist rivalries. As our comrades in the Spartacist Group Japan wrote on 20 October 1999, “The Japanese ruling class is bankrolling this imperialist military operation while simultaneously using it as a pretext to further expand and strengthen its imperialist military.” There are 200 Japanese soldiers now in [the Indonesian city of] Surabaya and West Timor. Meanwhile, the Australian imperialists’ armed forces are now much closer to resource-rich Aceh, where agitation for independence from Indonesia is growing. Reportedly, Indonesian radar has detected Australian military aircraft “intrusions” around Aceh—most likely from the Butterworth airbase in Malaysia. Aceh sits directly astride the Straits of Malacca, a strategic waterway through which most of Japan’s oil passes, including its major operations in Aceh itself. While having their own particular interests in the region, the Australian jackal imperialists very much act as

Washington’s “deputy sheriff” in Asia.

Anti-Asian racism is the bedrock of Australian capitalist imperialism. Even as the Australian rulers posture as “defenders” of the East Timorese, they have launched a campaign of racist hysteria against refugees from Asia and Iraq—victims of continued bombing and a starvation blockade by “human rights” imperialism. Screeching about “a national emergency,” immigration minister Philip Ruddock has tried to outdo the fascistic One Nation party of Pauline Hanson in targeting nonwhite people. The government, fully supported by Kim Beazley’s ALP [Australian Labor Party] has all but abolished the right of asylum while mandating Australian interception of foreign ships in international waters! Recently arrived East Timorese refugees are being pressured to return—with only a blanket and a sack of rice. Against this bipartisan war on immigrants we say: Down with the racist immigration laws! No deportations! Immigrant workers, a bridge to the toilers throughout Asia, are a vital component of the forces capable of destroying this racist capitalist system. The multiracial working class, suffering under the profit-gouging bosses, has a special duty to take up the struggle to defend refugees and to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Meanwhile, ALP/Liberal unity extends to [right-wing prime minister] Howard’s new tax—an increase in the Medicare levy for those earning more than \$50,000



Aborigines chained and treated as slaves by colonial settlers. White Australia racism meant genocidal oppression of Aboriginal people.

to fund the imperialist occupation of East Timor and increase the size of the armed forces. Raising money for imperialist murder in the name of “health” is truly Orwellian. But even this is not enough for Beazley: he wants the bosses to grant leave for workers to join the Army Reserve and stand alongside the gun-toting Australian army thugs in oppressing the East Timorese! Down with Howard/Beazley’s war tax!

From its very origins, the ALP has been even more aggressive than the outright bourgeois Liberals in pushing Australian imperialist military interventions in the name of the “national interest.” Preaching the lie that there is a “partnership” between the working class, forced to sell its labour power as its sole means of existence, and the tiny minority of capitalist exploiters, the social democrats are *defenders* of the capitalist order. Thoroughly bourgeois in its program, outlook and leadership while based on the trade unions, the ALP is a bourgeois workers party, representing not the class interests

of the proletariat but the material privileges of an “aristocracy of labour,” bribed by crumbs from the profits the imperialists reap from exploiting and oppressing millions of people around the world.

Fully imbibing the “values” of the capitalist rulers of this white imperialist enclave in Asia, the ALP has been in the forefront of racist anti-immigrant, anti-Asian hysteria, from the founding “principle” of “White Australia” to today targeting desperate refugees. Ruling for the bosses, the federal ALP in power oversaw a hideous escalation of the murder of

lian military adventures under the guise of providing “humanitarian” assistance from Somalia to Cambodia to Irian Jaya. Sneering that opposition to their grotesque support to Australian imperialism was “left-wing dogmatism,” the DSP bragged that they “forced” the imperialists to act, declaring the occupation of Timor a “victory.”

The International Socialist Organisation repeatedly joined the “Send in the Troops” crowds, describing one such rally as “fantastic,” and endorsed two “Peacekeepers In” demonstrations in Melbourne on 8 and 10 September. Now they want to cover their tracks over East Timor. So *Socialist Worker* has had numerous articles warning against any “reliance” on the UN, detailing the bloody nature of UN interventions over the years, and even a few criticisms of the ALP’s “gung-ho support for Australian militarism” (22 October 1999).

It was the union bans against Indonesia carried out by the pro-imperialist Laborite union bureaucracy which the ISO cheered most of all, as they marched in the chauvinist rallies with “trade union bans now” banners. To this day, the ISO wants the bans not only reinstated but increased. The very grotesqueness of the “union bans” was shown by the fact that the MUA [Maritime Union of Australia] banned *wheat* shipments to Indonesia, where workers are facing starvation due to the Asian capitalist economic crisis.

In fact, not only does the ISO refuse to call for the Australian/UN troops to get out of East Timor, their actual position was that there weren’t enough troops! Under the headline “Troops no answer to Timor’s agony” (*Socialist Worker*, 24 September), the ISO laments:

“The 7000 troops of the ‘peace-keeping’ force are not a serious attempt to deal with the East Timor’s [sic] crisis.

“According to the government’s own military analysts, it would take 4000 just to monitor the border between East and West Timor.”

Just days earlier, a Socialist Workers Party speaker (the ISO’s British parent group) at a “Freedom for East Timor” meeting in London criticised Tony Blair’s

continued on page 10

Sydney Morning Herald



Asian immigrants imprisoned in Port Hedland, Western Australia, 1995.

Aboriginal people and laid the basis for the Howard government’s vicious union-busting and slashing of social services. Opposing and demobilising any concerted fight against the capitalists’ one-sided class war, the social-democratic traitors found energy, purpose and drive in whipping up support for the Australian imperialist occupation of East Timor. And right behind them came the pseudo-left.

Little Drummer People for Imperialism

In the vanguard of the reactionary chauvinist mobilisations demanding Australian imperialist troops “liberate” East Timor were the Democratic Socialist Party and its youth group, Resistance. A hallmark of the DSP and its predecessors has been to appeal to the racist Australian imperialists to adopt “a progressive foreign policy” while welcoming Austra-



Australian troops set fire to peasant village in South Vietnam during U.S.-led counterrevolutionary war against Indochinese workers and peasants in 1960s and '70s.

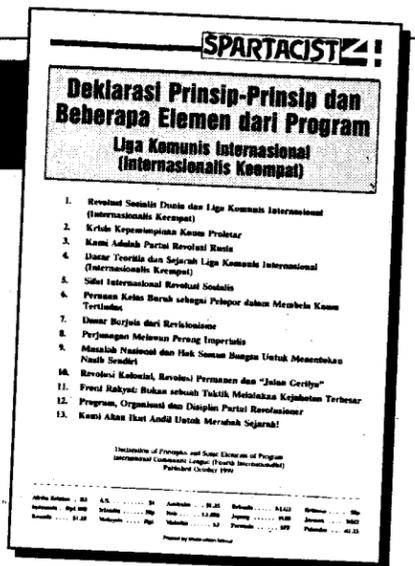
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Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

The capitulation of the Transport Workers Union Local 100 bureaucracy to the court injunctions leveled by Republican New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer against the transit workers on the eve of a potential walkout last month, criminalizing not only the right to strike but even advocacy of strike action, was a stark demonstration of how the class collaboration of the labor misleaders is counterposed to a defense of workers' interests. As we wrote in a December 14 leaflet in response to the bipartisan union-busting assault, "Labor's power has been shackled by the union misleaders who tie the unions to the capitalist class enemy, its government and political parties, particularly the Democrats" ("Defend Labor's Right to Strike! Bust the Union-Busters! Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!" reprinted in WV No. 726, 31 December 1999).

Indeed, the chief political expression of the labor bureaucracy's all-sided program of class collaboration is its support to the capitalist Democratic Party, going back to the "New Deal" coalition under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s. Elected president in 1932, Roosevelt, himself a millionaire scion of the moneyed aristocracy, promised American working people a "New Deal"—a return to full employment and a future of permanent and general prosperity, enacting limited social welfare measures like the Works Progress Administration (WPA). To this day, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its left tails continue to peddle the myth that Roosevelt's New Deal marked the heyday of "progressive" politics in the U.S.

In fact, the aim of the New Deal coalition was to co-opt the new industrial unions through a series of government laws and regulatory agencies and, more broadly, to buy "class peace." The impact of the Great Depression, combined with the victory of fascism in Germany, led to a leftward radicalization of the American working class. In 1934, there were three citywide general strikes—in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo, Ohio—all led by "reds," respectively the Communist Party (CP), the Trotskyists and A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, which soon thereafter fused with the Trotskyists.

The next few years saw the formation of the mass industrial unions, again in many cases under the leadership of self-described communists and socialists. The strikes in this period, especially in the auto industry, were virtual wars involving

Roosevelt's "New Deal" Coalition and the "People's Front"



SOCIALIST APPEAL

1937 cartoon in Trotskyist newspaper exposed "People's Front Against Fascism" as prop for U.S. imperialism. At bottom, CP head Earl Browder crawls behind pacifists and liberals.

mass pickets, plant occupations and secondary labor boycotts of scab goods. The CIO organizing drives broke down the racist barriers which characterized the old AFL craft unions, as hundreds of thousands of black workers took their place as a powerful new strategic component of the industrial proletariat.

The burgeoning labor militancy expressed a broader political groundswell that could have led for the first time to a workers party independent of the two capitalist parties. But this surge toward independent political action was instead channeled by the leaders of the new industrial union movement into Roosevelt's Democratic Party, not only by old-line labor bureaucrats like John L. Lewis and social democrats like Walter Reuther but also by the Stalinist CP, by far the strongest force on the American left.

The CP's support to Roosevelt was part of an international policy—dubbed "the people's front against fascism"—promulgated in 1935 by the Stalinized Communist International. The Soviet bureaucracy under Stalin was then seeking an alliance with the Western "democratic"

imperialist states (Britain, France and the U.S.) against Nazi Germany. To this end, Communist parties were instructed to support a supposedly "progressive" and "anti-fascist" section of their own bourgeoisie. Where Stalinist parties had a mass base as in France, the popular front meant a coalition with bourgeois parties like the Radicals. As was seen most clearly in the case of the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930s, the role of the popular front in power was to suppress proletarian revolution.

We publish below excerpts from the 1937 pamphlet *The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal* by James Burnham, then a leading Trotskyist publicist, exposing the Stalinist program of class collaboration, particularly as applied in the United States. Since the American CP was relatively small, its popular-front policy was manifested through electoral support to the Democrats, beginning with Roosevelt's 1936 re-election bid against Republican opponent Alf Landon. A few years after writing this pamphlet, Burnham broke with the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, joining with Max Shachtman in leading a petty-bourgeois opposition which repudiated the Marxist position of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Burnham soon became an anti-communist renegade and eventually an extreme rightist. However, this 1937 pamphlet remains an excellent polemic, from a revolutionary standpoint, against reformism and class collaboration on the American terrain.

Three generations have now passed since the newly formed industrial unions came under the political sway of the Democratic Party. What is the result? Today, "new" Democrat Bill Clinton and the Republican-dominated Congress are moving to dismantle the limited social reforms of the 1930s made as concessions to labor militancy. Welfare has been abolished, Social Security is under attack. The level of unionization has steadily declined in recent decades. A major rea-

son for this is the AFL-CIO's servile obedience to harsh anti-labor laws such as Taft-Hartley, enforced by Republicans and Democrats alike.

The allegiance of the labor bureaucracy, as well as the majority of the working class and also the oppressed black and Latino minorities, to the Democratic Party is the main obstacle to successful class struggle in the U.S. It is necessary to break with the Democratic Party and to forge a workers party, one modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which led the workers of Russia to power in the October Revolution of 1917, creating the first workers state in history. We strive for new October Revolutions—for the overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement by an egalitarian socialist society internationally.

"The Peoples' Front: The New Betrayal" by James Burnham

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the Peoples' Front is a new policy. It is, it is true, a new slogan; but, in actual content, it is simply an old policy in a new disguise, an old strategy dressed up for the new occasion.

The words of its defenders make entirely clear what the real content of the policy of the Peoples' Front is; and it is, therefore, not necessary to give elaborate external proof. The Peoples' Front is merely a re-wording of the theories and practises of class collaboration and coalition government, as these have been advocated by reformists since the beginning of the modern labor movement. Class collaboration is what the Peoples' Front specifically proposes: the union of organizations and parties representing various classes and sections of classes on the basis of a common program to defend bourgeois democracy....

The united front, however, has nothing at all in common with the Peoples' Front.



Almeida/NY Times

Al Gore embraced by John Sweeney as October AFL-CIO convention endorsed his presidential bid. Class-collaborationist labor bureaucrats shackle workers to capitalist Democratic Party.

The united front consists in an agreement reached between two or more parties and organizations, which have *different programs*, for joint action on specific issues. In this agreement there is absolutely no question of a common political program. Each organization retains intact its entire program; retains the right to put it forward; retains the right to criticize the other organizations in the united front agreement, either in general, or for failure to carry out properly the united front agreement. Thus, in the united front each organization guards its full independence; while at the same time the widest possible unity can be achieved for carrying through some action accepted as desirable by all of the constituent organizations of the united front....



WV Photo

October 23 labor/black mobilization that drove KKK out of NYC was a microcosm of a workers party in action. Democrats colluded with Republican mayor Giuliani and capitalist courts in failed attempt to give Klan a free ride.

Revolutionary socialists do not merely accept the united front passively. They are the most active and the only consistent advocates of the united front; whereas reformists always resist the united front and must be forced into it—just as the Stalinists now, in basing their policy on the reformist Peoples' Front, resist and fight against the genuine united front of action. How could it be otherwise? The ideas and principles of the revolutionary Marxists represent the historical interests of the proletariat. Consequently, any joint struggle by specific actions to the advantage of the proletariat will be welcomed by the Marxists; and the broader the basis, the better. At the same time the Marxists are anxious to have an ever broader mass arena for the presentation of their own ideas and a demonstration of their own methods, confident that a true understanding of them will turn the masses away from the reformists toward the revolutionists.

The Peoples' Front, on the other hand, is not merely, not even primarily, an agreement for joint action on specific issues. It first and foremost involves the acceptance by all members of the Peoples' Front of a *common program*. This difference is the key to the gulf which separates the Peoples' Front from the united front.

What program? We have already seen the answer. The program of the Peoples' Front is a program for the defense of bourgeois democracy: that is, for the defense of one form of capitalism.

Whose program is this? It is obviously *not* the program of the proletariat. The program of the proletariat, accepted by revolutionists since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, can be summed up in two slogans: for workers' power and



Minnesota Historical Society

The Peoples' Front is thus thoroughly and irrevocably non-proletarian, anti-proletarian....

Marxism always approaches every social, political, and historical question from the point of view of the class struggle. The basic conflict in modern society—capitalist society—is, according to Marxism, the conflict and struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This conflict must continue, and progressively deepen, until capitalism, on a world scale, is overthrown, and the bourgeoisie defeated, and liquidated as a class. Only the two basic classes of modern society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—are capable of independent historical action, and thus of formulating

revolutionary crisis, as is France, nor is it in the midst of a Civil War, as is Spain. Though the historical issue for the United States, as is the case for every nation at the present time, is socialism vs. capitalism, though only the workers' revolution and socialism can solve even a single one of the major problems facing United States economy; nevertheless the issue is not yet posed in terms of the immediate struggle for state power. The American proletariat is still faced primarily with the more elementary immediate demands: the struggle for the right to organize, for industrial unionism, for the exercise of democratic rights generally, for a powerful trade union and unemployed movement, for relief and union conditions, for

becoming apparent in a dozen fields.

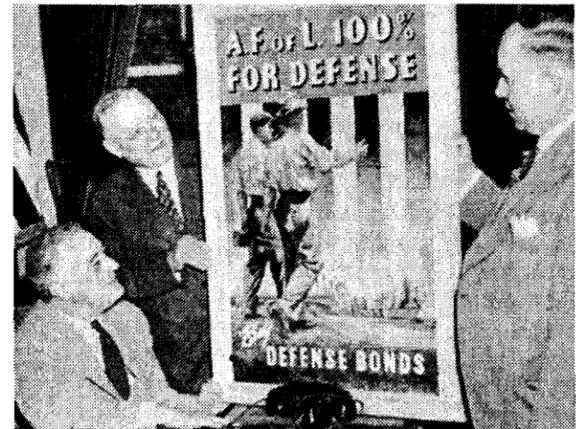
Up to the present, the best known and most conspicuous result of the Peoples' Front strategy emerged during the 1936 election campaign. From the point of view both of the social composition of his support and likewise of the political content of his program, Roosevelt was in effect a Peoples' Front candidate. No one could doubt that he was a staunch and outstanding defender of capitalist democracy, nor that the bulk of the proletariat, the farmers, and the lower strata of the rest of the middle classes, were solidly behind him. Thus the upholders of the Peoples' Front ideology found themselves, willingly or unwillingly, driven into the Roosevelt camp: either openly, as was the case with many, or, like the Communist Party itself, through a backhanded and ambiguous formula.

The Communist Party was compelled to define the issue of the campaign as "Progress vs. Reaction," "Democracy vs. Fascism." It had to discover the forces of fascism in the "Landon-Hearst-Liberty League" combination. It was then required to raise as the central slogan, "Defeat Landon at all costs!" And the only realistic interpretation of this slogan—the interpretation which the majority of even its own sympathizers made—was to vote for Roosevelt. Browder admits quite openly that this was the central direction of the Stalinist campaign. In his post-election analysis of the elections, delivered to the Central Committee of the party, he boasts as follows: "The first objective was the defeat of Landon. This was accomplished to a degree far surpassing all expectations...this aim we shared with the largest number of people.... Without exaggerating our role in bringing about this result, we can safely say that the weight of each individual Communist in the struggle was far higher, many fold, than that of the members of any other political group in America." He apologizes at length for the nominally independent Communist Party ticket that was in the field. If only "a national Farmer-Labor party..." had "decided to

continued on page 11



"Battle of Deputies Run," May 1934. Trotskyists led victorious Minneapolis strikes which laid basis for explosive growth of the Teamsters and helped inspire the militant struggles which formed CIO industrial unions.



AFL-CIO

AFL leaders William Green and George Meany with Democratic president Roosevelt. Stalinist Communist Party joined labor tops in mobilizing the working class behind U.S. imperialism in World War II.



for socialism. Naturally the immediate tactic of the proletariat is not on all occasions the struggle for state power: that is possible only in a revolutionary crisis. But at all times and on all occasions the fundamental program remains the same—for the overthrow of capitalism, for workers' power and for socialism. This program expresses the basic class conflict in modern society; records the Marxist understanding that the problems of society can be solved only by socialism, and that socialism can be achieved only through the conquest of power by the proletariat. The duty of the revolutionary party, the conscious vanguard of the proletariat, is to keep this full and fundamental program always to the fore and always uncompromised. In its program, the revolutionary party thus sums up the independence of the proletariat as a class, and asserts its independent historical destiny.

For the proletariat, through its parties, to give up its own independent program means to give up its independent functioning as a class. And this is precisely the meaning of the Peoples' Front. In the Peoples' Front the proletariat renounces its *class* independence, gives up its *class* aims—the *only* aims, as Marxism teaches, which can serve its interests. By accepting the program of the Peoples' Front, it thereby accepts the aims of another section of society; it accepts the aim of the defense of capitalism when all history demonstrates that the interests of the proletariat can be served only by the overthrow of capitalism. It subordinates itself to a middle-class version of how best and most comfortably to preserve the capitalist order.

independent social and political programs. Reduced to simplest terms, the program of the bourgeoisie is the defense of the capitalist order; the program of the proletariat, its overthrow. The intermediary classes, however they may try to escape it, always in actuality support one side or another in the basic conflict.

In the light of these elementary first principles of Marxism, the Comintern division of the world into "war makers" and "peace lovers," its statement that the two great hostile camps are "democracy" and "fascism," its contention that the issue is "between democracy and fascism," are seen to have nothing in common with Marxism. Its propagation of a program for the defense of capitalist democracy represents merely the extension of one type of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of the working class....

Bourgeois democracy, Marxism teaches further, is a form of capitalism, one of the political forms through which the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat is exercised. It is, in a sense, the "normal" form of bourgeois dictatorship during the progressive phase of capitalism. But Marxism is as unalterably opposed to *bourgeois* democracy as to any other form of capitalist rule; it is opposed because it is opposed in general to capitalism and to bourgeois rule, and aims at the overthrow of capitalism and the defeat of the bourgeoisie....

The Peoples' Front has not, of course, advanced as far in the United States as in France or Spain. In the formal sense, there is not yet in the United States an established "Peoples' Front." The United States is not faced with a developing rev-

a conscious mass revolutionary party of struggle.

But just as the issue of state power can be settled in favor of the proletariat only by the independent revolutionary class struggle of the workers, and is lost for the proletariat through the reformist strategy of the Peoples' Front; in the same way, at the more elementary stages, the interests of the proletariat can be served only by the appropriate methods of class struggle, and are fatally undermined by the class collaborationist methods of the Peoples' Front. The Peoples' Front in this country, seeping into the labor movement under the sponsorship of the Communist Party, has made considerable headway; and already its disastrous effects are

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ICL Trotskyism vs. Mandeliste "Left" Polish Nationalism

Introduction
On the Spartacist Renegades
Report of a polemic by a supporter of the NLR (Revolutionary Left Current), undated, distributed in December 1939
For New October Revolutions!
ICL Trotskyism vs. Mandeliste "Left" Polish Nationalism
Reply of the Spartacist Group of Poland, 14 March 1939

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"Terrorism" ...

(continued from page 1)

weeks aboard cargo ships literally packed into shipping containers.

The campaign against "terrorism" and the broader assault on immigrant rights are part and parcel of the drive by both the Democratic and Republican parties to regiment the population and beef up the repressive powers of the capitalist state. This drive is a reflection of sharp shifts in the profile of the American capitalist system, whose massive redistribution of wealth over the past two decades has impoverished whole layers of the population and made the filthy rich far richer. Today the U.S. has the greatest disparity of income and wealth of any major industrial country, and correspondingly the largest number of people—overwhelmingly black and Hispanic—behind bars anywhere.

Fearing explosions of discontent, the capitalist rulers bring the iron heel of repression down ever harder. That is what's behind the "war on drugs" which targets ghetto and barrio youth and the

Death Penalty Act" and the "Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act" in particular have led to an enormous increase in deportations, reaching nearly 180,000 last year. In addition, the bipartisan axing of welfare deprived hundreds of thousands of impoverished immigrants—both "legal" and "illegal"—of even the most meager social benefits.

The immigration "reform" act created the "expedited removal" process by which asylum-seekers and others entering the country can be instantly expelled without any legal recourse. A little-known provision of that law, brought to light by the December arrests, mandates the "tracking of every foreigner entering the United States" as of next year (*Washington Post*, 26 December 1999).

More than 62,000 people, many of whom had lived in the U.S. since childhood, were deported in the year ending June 1999 for having been convicted sometime in the past on charges as petty as shoplifting or turnstile-jumping. Among the 14,500 who are currently imprisoned without bail is 37-year-old Maria Wigent of Rochester, New York,

she has long upheld the formal (and mythical) separation of the military from domestic repressive duties as a benefit of bourgeois democracy," we warned that the Oakland exercise represented "an ominous display of the state forces to be mobilized against the working class, blacks and all of the oppressed in the event of any perceived challenge to the rule of racist American capitalism" ("Marines Invade Oakland," *WV* No. 710, 2 April 1999).

Recently, the head of the Senate Y2K committee asked Deputy Defense Secretary John Hamre if the armed forces would be ready "in the event of a Y2K-induced breakdown of community services that might call for martial law" (*Soldier of Fortune*, January 2000). Now the *New York Times* (9 January) reports the creation of a "sensitive new military operation" to be deployed domestically in response to a "terrorist" attack.

Unions Must Organize Immigrant Workers

The fight against anti-immigrant racism is critical to the defense of the interests of the entire working class



In 1994 protest against California anti-immigrant Prop. 187, Latino truckers' sign reads, "Long Live the Immigrant Workers' Struggle—United Against Racism and Discrimination." Teamsters tops' anti-Mexican protectionism is poison to class solidarity and undermines union power.

"war on terrorism" which is particularly aimed at immigrants. The rulers calculate that they can get away with going after the most vulnerable layers of society, who have little or no social power and often few formal rights. But the intensifying repression is ultimately aimed at the workers movement, as seen not only in the massive growth of professional strike-breaking outfits but also in the draconian measures wielded against NYC transit workers last month.

Historically, the American ruling class has exploited racial, national, ethnic and religious differences to divide the working class, pitting one section against another. Today, anti-black racism and anti-immigrant chauvinism are used to hold down the most oppressed, impoverished and exploited sections of the proletariat. Immigrants, mainly from Latin America, the Caribbean and East Asia, make up a large pool of low-wage labor whose intense exploitation depresses the living standards of working people as a whole. Thus it is vitally necessary for the labor movement to take up the struggle for immigrant rights. This in turn requires a fight within the trade unions against the racist and chauvinist policies of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Moreover, immigrant workers are not simply powerless victims of capitalist exploitation. They often bring with them a tradition of class-struggle militancy as well as far fewer illusions in the "benevolence" of the capitalist state. **No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!**

Bipartisan War on Immigrants

Especially following the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing—when the Feds carried out a racist dragnet against Arab Americans before two white, right-wing "militia" types were finally arrested—the Clinton White House used the spectre of "international terrorism" to push through laws vastly expanding the state's repressive powers against immigrants and the rest of the populace. The passage in 1996 of the "Anti-Terrorism and Effec-

who, after several shoplifting convictions, faces deportation to Italy, a country she left when she was five. Another of the numerous cases publicized by liberal *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis is that of Mary Anne Gehris of Georgia, who has lived in the U.S. for 33 of her 34 years and is the mother of a child with cerebral palsy. Gehris faces deportation to Germany because she pleaded guilty in 1988 to pulling someone's hair in a spat over a boyfriend!

The 1996 "anti-terrorism" law, in addition to vastly expanding the use of the death penalty, sets up immigrants for prosecution in special courts on charges and "evidence" kept secret even from their lawyers. The new law expands the provisions of a witchhunting law adopted during the 1950s Cold War. An example of how such measures are used is the case of the Los Angeles Eight—seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman who have been threatened with deportation since 1987 simply for their alleged political sympathies for the nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Under the new law, the L.A. Eight would have been thrown onto a plane in 1987 without ever even knowing the charges against them. We demand: No deportation of the L.A. Eight!

A document leaked during one proceeding in this case revealed government plans to herd Arab residents into concentration camps in the event of a "national emergency." Under the Reagan administration, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, originally charged with disaster relief, was transformed into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection, with the power to set up concentration camps for those the ruling class deems "undesirable."

In addition, as seen in the Operation "Urban Warrior" exercises carried out by the Marines last year in Oakland and other cities, there is growing evidence of plans to deploy the armed forces for domestic use. Noting that "this would be a significant step since the U.S. bourgeois-

against the capitalist exploiters. The capitalists manipulate the flow of immigration as economic need demands, allowing large-scale immigration when they require new sources of low-wage workers, who have few rights and are deemed more disposable in times of economic contraction. At the same time, the exploiters foster anti-immigrant chauvinism to pit native-born workers—black as well as white—against immigrants. In racist America, where black oppression is the cornerstone of the capitalist system, such chauvinist bigotry redounds heavily against black workers and the ghetto masses.

With low-paid immigrant workers from Latin America and elsewhere making up a growing sector of the unorganized workforce, any serious union organizing drive immediately poses the need to fight against deportations and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. And that means taking on the chauvinist policies of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, which has often been in the forefront of promoting anti-immigrant legislation.

A recent article in the *Washington Post* (6 December 1999) reported on a union organizing drive among miserably exploited maids in a Minneapolis hotel last year. After the union won recognition, the employer, invoking a 1986 law requiring employers to verify the immigration status of their workforce or face penalties, called in the Immigration and Naturalization Service which arrested half the workers involved. The article went on to note: "In 1986, the AFL-CIO pushed Congress to pass the employer sanctions law on the grounds that undocumented workers steal jobs from American workers and undermine labor standards. But this summer, a series of local labor councils passed resolutions calling for a repeal of employer sanctions and an amnesty for the nation's estimated 5 million illegal immigrants. In response, at the AFL-CIO's annual convention in Los Angeles in October, federation leaders

for the first time debated the issue."

While AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney and others now occasionally talk about defending the rights of immigrant workers, the union tops' support for the 1986 law was no aberration but rather an expression of the labor bureaucracy's program of class collaboration. The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions, which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. This layer is beholden to the capitalist system because it derives its privileged position from the superprofits reaped by the U.S. imperialists through their exploitation of workers around the globe. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the "national interests" of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party.

Exemplifying the AFL-CIO tops' allegiance to corporate America are their ongoing appeals for protectionist measures which pit workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters in other countries. The flag-waving protectionism expressed in calls for import quotas and chauvinist tirades against "foreign workers stealing American jobs" is aimed at bolstering the interests of U.S. imperialism against its rivals. Such poison is directly counterposed to the need for international class-struggle solidarity.

Carrying on where his predecessor Ron Carey left off, James Hoffa Jr.'s most concerted effort as Teamsters president has been to demand that Washington keep U.S. borders closed to Mexican truckers. On January 1, Hoffa issued a grotesque statement hailing Clinton's ban on "unsafe" Mexican trucks from U.S. highways as a "bold step" to "protect American families." Last week, to the cheers of the Hoffa bureaucracy, Clinton extended the ban on Mexican trucks in a move to curry support for Al Gore's candidacy.

The pro-imperialist chauvinism of the trade-union bureaucracy was on full display in the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO). Encompassing everything from the CIA-sponsored "Free Tibet" crowd to ecology types and phony "socialists," these protests were politically dominated by the AFL-CIO tops, who mobilized thousands of union members to promote "America first" protectionism shot through with anti-Communism directed against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, including dumping Chinese-made steel into the harbor (see "Seattle: National Guard, Cops Attack WTO Protesters—AFL-CIO Tops Push Anti-Communism, Protectionist Poison," *WV* No. 725, 10 December 1999).

The Spartacist League had nothing to do with this chauvinist mobilization, which served to renew the labor tops' ties to Clinton's Democratic Party while fomenting counterrevolutionary agitation against China. We call for the unconditional military defense of China against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The working class in China and internationally must rally to the defense of the gains, however attenuated, of the 1949 Chinese Revolution which swept away capitalist exploitation. As Trotskyists, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing, which pushes entry into the WTO to further its drive for the restoration of capitalism in China.

We seek to mobilize the American proletariat *against* its "own" bourgeoisie. What is needed is a new leadership of the unions committed to the class independence of the proletariat from the bosses' government and from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. We fight to forge a workers party which would combat every manifestation of racist discrimination and chauvinist bigotry in the course of mobilizing the multiracial proletariat for socialist revolution. Those who labor must rule! Workers of the world, unite! ■

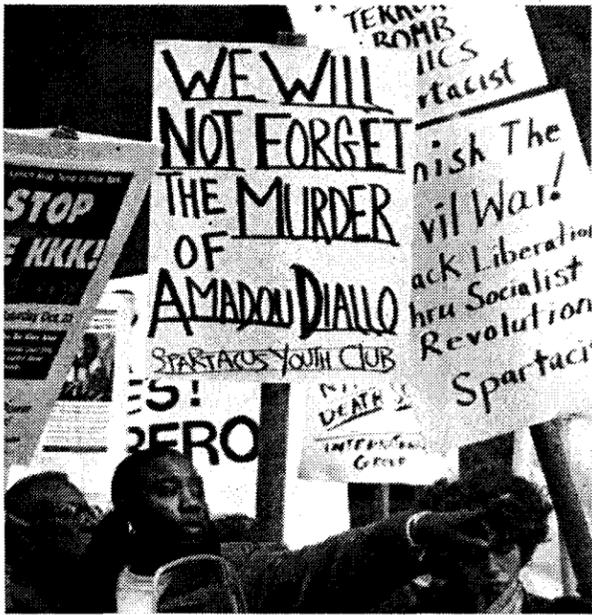
Diallo...

(continued from page 1)

Bronx (and out of the hands of a black judge) and sent it to a place where all the judges and nearly all of the potential jurors are white." The court ruling is a replay of what happened following the brutal videotaped beating of black Los Angeles motorist Rodney King, when the trial of his cop tormentors got moved to lily-white Simi Valley. When those cops were acquitted in 1992, L.A. was rocked by a huge, multiracial explosion of anger, and cities across the country were hit by massive protests.

Serving the interests of the racist rulers, Sharpton and the other black Democrats are working precisely to prevent such an upheaval in the center of world finance capitalism. Joined by Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel, Sharpton is pushing for Janet Reno's Justice Department to take over jurisdiction of the case. Meanwhile, the *Amsterdam News* (23 December) reports that New York State NAACP spokesman Hazel Dukas argued "that if the public is to give full faith to legal proceedings and their outcome, the trial must be held in Bronx County." While there would in fact be no more fitting place to pick a jury for this case than the Bronx, where the vast majority have daily, firsthand experience with the racist NYPD, the capitalist courts exist not to mete out justice to the killer cops but to protect them. It was a Bronx judge who last summer acquitted off-duty cop Michael Meyer, tried for pumping a bullet into the chest of defenseless "squeegee man" Antoine Reed when he tried to wash Meyer's windshield.

Democratic Senate hopeful Hillary Clinton has also chimed in, saying it was "unfortunate that the trial, apparently for legal reasons, had to be moved." But the



Sign at October 23 NYC anti-Klan mobilization. In wake of Diallo killing, SL fought for mass labor-centered protest against racist cop terror.

main instrument through which they chain labor to the capitalist class enemy.

During the Diallo protests last spring, SEIU Local 1199 hospital workers union head Dennis Rivera, himself a former co-chairman of the state Democratic Party, said baldly, "The terror that some of us have is that if we don't channel this into a solution, this will fizzle, and there will be a sense of frustration and an increased polarization." A polarization between the working masses and the racist rulers is the last thing the pro-capitalist labor tops want. Their job is to preserve the capitalist status quo, and thus their "solution" is to try to channel the outrage against the cops into support for the Democrats and the preservation of police-enforced "law and order."

Cops: Enforcers of Racist Capitalist Rule

To this end, Rivera joined with Sharpton last spring in pushing a ten-point program for police "reform" which included

Diallo Killing: Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks," WV No. 710, 2 April 1999).

At the same time, we noted: "But a massive mobilization of labor would give the cops some pause." Against the Democrats and their reformist hangers-on, we fought for mass labor protests against racist cop terror:

"The mass outrage against the cops *does* need an organized political expression. Not one aimed at strengthening the hand of the Democrats, the political tool of the very capitalist rulers whose interests the cops 'serve and protect,' but one which provides a proletarian class axis that can weld the social power of the multiracial working class to the anger of the inner city through mass labor-centered protest against cop terror.

"The ranks of powerful unions like the Transport Workers Union in New York include thousands of black workers who know that it could just as easily have been them as Amadou Diallo. Our call for labor protest has found deep resonance among the transit union membership. They have the power to stop the world center of finance capital dead in its tracks."

That kind of organized political expression was seen a few months later in the mass labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee—endorsed by dozens of unions and union officials and built by hundreds of workers and others throughout the city—which rode the KKK out of New York City on October 23. The PDC's call to stop the KKK galvanized wide layers of NYC working people and minorities, who know they are all in the gunshots of the nightriding racist terrorists. It tapped into the accumulated anger, particularly among blacks and Hispanics, against the marauding, racist cops and more generally among working people who are fed up with being pushed around for years in the one-sided war against workers and the poor.

Working feverishly to try to prevent this mobilization of the social power of the working class against the KKK were the very Democratic Party politicians—joined by labor bureaucrats like Rivera—who tried to quell the outrage over the Diallo killing. Sharpton and the publishers of the *Amsterdam News* filed a "friend of the court" brief on behalf of the Klan's "right" to rally for genocide. Eagerly assisted by the social-democratic

ISO, Sharpton joined hitherto-unknown state assemblyman Scott Stringer and the rest of the state Democratic Party establishment in organizing an obscene demonstration of "tolerance" for the nightriding KKK in a failed bid to deflect the more than 8,000 people who turned out with the aim of stopping the KKK. And today, the man who served as lawyer for the KKK, New York Civil Liberties Union executive director Norman Siegel, worries that moving the trial of Diallo's executioners to Albany undermines the authority of the capitalist "justice" system, warning that the move "gives material to people who don't believe in the legal system or want to undermine the legal system."

Fight for a Workers Party!

The Democrats' role as the main force against the anti-Klan mobilization was simply an expression of the class interests that they represent, those of the racist capitalist rulers against the working class. But they did not succeed, and what was seen on the streets of New York that day was the microcosm of the kind of workers party needed to lead the struggles of the working class and the oppressed against the whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist injustice. The forging of such a workers party will go hand in hand with the fight for a class-struggle leadership of the unions, one built in opposition to the class-collaborationism of the pro-capitalist union tops. Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!

The bitter fruits of the union misleaders' class collaboration was seen recently in the betrayal of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 membership in the face of union-busting court injunctions brought by Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer. Both the TWU Local 100 leadership under Willie James and the New Directions "opposition" caved in to the injunctions, instructing transit workers not to even utter the word "strike." Both of these wings of the TWU bureaucracy support the presence of Transit Authority security cops in the union. And while James invited NYPD "union" spokesmen to speak from the platform at transit workers rallies before the contract expiration, New Directions' whole strategy has been to drag the union into the bosses' courts to further its own bureaucratic aspirations. The cops are not workers but racist, strikebreaking thugs for the bosses. They have no place in the labor movement. **Cops, courts out of the unions!**

The union-busting court orders and the army of cops unleashed against the TWU expose what the capitalist state really is: a machinery of repression for the defense of capitalist profits and power. That state cannot be pressured or reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed but rather must be smashed through a socialist revolution which sweeps away the racist capitalist system and erects in its place a workers government where those who labor rule. Under a government of workers councils, people's courts in the Bronx will surely be in the forefront of dispensing proletarian justice to those who had served as hired killers for the capitalist exploiters. ■



NYC, April 1999: Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera (far left) joined with black Democrats Al Sharpton and ex-mayor David Dinkins (at right) in pushing whitewash schemes to "clean up" racist cops, seeking to quell outrage over Diallo killing.

"more important issue," Clinton stressed, is "making sure we have good relations...with our police and law enforcement" (*New York Post*, 22 December 1999). Indeed, what these capitalist politicians are concerned about is any challenge to the institutions of racist "law and order" which the Democrats, under Bill Clinton's White House, have done more to augment and reinforce than even their Republican predecessors. It is the role of black Democratic politicians like Sharpton to quell the anger of the ghetto masses, while the labor bureaucrats act as the capitalists' political police within the trade unions. The union misleaders' allegiance to the Democratic Party is the

calls for more black and other minority cops, for a stronger civilian review board and for federal oversight of the NYPD. But the whole purpose of this ten-point program—as was clear from its demand for a pay raise for the cops—was to preserve the authority of the strikebreaking, racist "law and order" system by making it appear as if it is simply a matter of a few "bad apples" in an otherwise fine police force. Tailing the Democrats and their labor lackeys, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), operating through the instrumentality of a "City-wide Network Against Police Violence," put forward a virtually identical ten-point program for reforming the police, minus only the call for a pay raise.

Black or white, the cops are the armed enforcers of racist capitalist rule; they cannot be "reformed." From the federal government on down, whether under Democratic or Republican administration, the capitalist state—whose core is the cops, courts, military and prison system—is an instrument for organized violence against the working class and minorities. As we wrote at the time of the Diallo protests last year, "There will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as armed guard dogs" ("As New York Seethes Over

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East Timor...

(continued from page 5)

Labour government for doing too little too late in East Timor and complained that Britain had contributed only "a few Gurkhas"!

Posturing to the left are the quirky reformists of the Communist League (CL), affiliated with the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. They condemned the pro-war mobilisations and union bans and demand, "Australian, U.S. troops out of East Timor now!" (*Militant*, 4 October). But the CL is hardly a political opponent of the pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucracy. Only a year ago they, with the rest of the left, hailed the sell-out of the waterfront struggle as a victory, alibiing the very same Maritime Union leaders who organised the chauvinist anti-Indonesian bans.

Long ago, the SWP/CL explicitly repudiated the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution in order better to tail all manner of "progressive" forces (among which they include the reactionary Iranian ayatollahs!). Under headlines such as "Deepening Struggles by Working People Mark Discussion on Indonesian Elections" (2 August), the *Militant* is full of reportage uncritically featuring people



AFP

assert "It was imperialism which lost the Cold War" (6 December 1999). That must certainly come as news to the people of the former Soviet Union, where capitalist counterrevolution brought mass unemployment, hideous impoverishment and plummeting life expectancy. One does have to ask, what planet does the SWP/CL live on? The SWP/CL's support to capitalist counterrevolution and their bizarre contortions ought to repel anyone looking for a revolutionary Marxist pro-

East Timor." The SEP knows full well otherwise because they were there, handing out leaflets from tables to people yelling, "Peacekeepers in now"!

Meanwhile, the SEP hid the fact that they *oppose* independence for East Timor. When the demand for national self-determination served as a "democratic" fig leaf for imperialist attacks on the Soviet degenerated workers state, North/Beams were unswerving in their support to "national rights." But now that the USSR is no more, they reject the right of self-determination for nations. The SEP denies the rights of East Timorese, Tamils, Québécois, Chechens and other oppressed nationalities. Thus they cover for the chauvinism of the oppressor nations.

Having for years demanded the trade-union bureaucracy and "left" wing of the ALP kick out the "right" and form a "workers government," today the SEP preaches that the unions are totally bourgeois institutions and that union struggles against the bosses' attacks are useless. The "politics" of these sewer "socialists" are based on opposition to almost all struggles of the oppressed.

For a Workers Republic of Australia, Part of a Socialist Asia!

However much they would like to disguise the fact, the Australian "left" today openly embraces the "national interest" of their "own" capitalist exploiters. Their backing of the "human rights" credentials of the Australian imperialist state has directly assisted the attempts of the bourgeoisie to overcome Australia's own "Vietnam syndrome": the bourgeoisie's humiliating memory of Australia and the U.S.' defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. The result is increased racist reaction and

militarist buildup.

Yet the same capitalist class, whether represented by the Liberals or ALP, that yearns to enslave the East Timorese is attacking the unions, women's rights, Aboriginal peoples, immigrant workers and youth. Many people want to fight back, and there have been a series of popular, defensive strikes. But under the leadership of the Laborite, pro-imperialist trade-union bureaucrats, these struggles have been demobilised, channelled into parliamentarianist lobbying, electoral campaigns for the ALP and the bosses' arbitration courts.

Our aim is to build a proletarian, revolutionary internationalist party, a tribune of the people, that seeks to transform the consciousness of the working class—to understand its social power and unique historical interest—in order to lead a socialist revolution to destroy the entire system of capitalist imperialism. This requires a fight to split the working-class base of the ALP away from its pro-capitalist tops, not least through forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions that opposes the ruling class all down the line.

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



Der Spiegel

Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 counterrevolutionary coup, supported by fake left internationally, ushered in misery and hunger for working people of former Soviet Union.



Mydans/NY Times

Workers at Indonesian Nike plant. Women workers will be in forefront of fight against capitalist exploitation and semifeudal enslavement.

lauding "reformasi," i.e., reforming Indonesian capitalism. Opposed to the fight for proletarian revolution, their be all and end all is extolling the virtues of opening up "political space." It was under the banner of widening "political space" that the Barnesites sided with imperialism in cheering the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe. While proclaiming themselves "Fidelistas," they supported and pushed the very forces intent on strangling the Cuban Revolution. Hailing Boris Yeltsin's American-backed power grab, their front-page headline said, "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (6 September 1991).

Incredibly, the SWP/CL blandly declared, "World capitalism has suffered an historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." Even today in a world of heightening interimperialist rivalries and increased imperialist military attacks on the peoples of the world, the Barnesites

gram of struggle to overthrow capitalism.

And then there is the Socialist Equality Party (SEP) of David North and Nick Beams. Sometimes capable of putting some orthodox-sounding lines on paper, the SEP are, to use Lenin's term, "political bandits"—that is, political pirates who will say and do anything to serve their grotesque opportunist appetites. Their "World Socialist Web Site" (into which they have liquidated all their newspapers) carried an item dated 17 September which states "its opposition to a military intervention in East Timor." They even write that "the Australian political and military elite owe a major debt of gratitude to the protest leaders" of the "troops in" demonstrations. At the same time, they deliberately cover up the anti-Indonesian racism that was the hallmark of the chauvinist mobilisations and portray the participants as people who merely wanted "to express outrage at the Indonesian military-organised carnage in

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South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

by the state, harking back to apartheid-era campaigns like Operation Khanyisa ("light up") and Vulamanzi ("open the tap"). There is also a call for the resignation of current township councillors who preside over the rate increases. But nothing will really change if these councillors are simply replaced by others less compromised in the eyes of the masses.

Nor can the Pan African Congress (PAC), which has been a component of the leadership in the Ivory Park protests, provide a programme of struggle against the brutal attacks of the capitalist government. This is an anti-woman, anti-immigrant, anti-working-class and anti-communist nationalist formation seeking to refurbish its badly tarnished credentials in light of its dismal showing in last year's parliamentary elections. Politically, the PAC is substantially similar to the ANC, from which it split in the 1950s. The main difference is that it has relatively little popular support and authority. Hence these petty-bourgeois nationalists find it opportune to posture as a "radical" opposition to the ANC's neo-apartheid regime. But if the PAC leaders were offered a few government ministries, they, too, would quickly become murderous agents of the white capitalist exploiters.

As communists, we defend the struggles of township residents and squatters against the capitalists and their state. However, such struggles in themselves offer no solution to the desperate need for housing for the black populace. What is needed is to *nationalise all urban land* while launching a *massive construction programme for racially and ethnically integrated, quality housing*. The bourgeois-nationalist ANC is not merely incapable of carrying out such a programme but is fundamentally hostile to it.

But there does exist a force which has both the social power and vital interest to bring about the socialist reconstruction of South Africa: the predominantly black



SILVIA SYGMA

Immigrants from neighboring African states await deportation after being imprisoned by ANC government. Spartacist South Africa fights for labor to defend immigrant rights.

proletariat. Significantly, in a November protest against privatisations, the municipal workers union SAMWU mobilised 10,000-strong alongside more plebeian layers under attack, such as the Gauteng hawkers. In the aftermath of last year's public workers strike, there is heightened sentiment within COSATU to break with the tripartite alliance. But what then? It is certainly necessary for the unions to mobilise their social power in strike action against the attacks of the capitalists and their government. But especially under conditions in which 40 percent of the black labour force is unemployed, the working class cannot improve or even defend its economic conditions simply at the level of trade-union struggle. Class-conscious workers must fight to oust the pro-capitalist COSATU bureaucracy which preaches the lie of a partnership of capital and labour. It is necessary for the workers movement to fight against all forms of social oppression, such as the murderous attacks on squatters. This is key to the perspective of building a revolutionary workers party in South Africa.

Defend the Rights of Immigrants!

Parallel to the brutal repression of the squatters near Ivory Park was a vicious clampdown in the same area, where the cops rounded up "illegal" immigrants in pickup trucks. Ivory Park is a township with a significant proportion of immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe, similar to squatter camps like Madelakufa, Phomolong and one named after Winnie Mandela. Ivory Park is where

four immigrants were lynched last year by vigilante scum! And ominously, this year vigilante murders have been on the increase with the recent arrival in Gauteng of the previously rural, 35,000-strong Mapogo a Mathamaga, a vigilante army led by black businessmen with ties to hardline white racists.

To defend the interests of workers and the dispossessed masses, it is necessary to challenge and politically defeat the anti-immigrant poison which has surfaced in the squatters' protest. Some residents have reportedly complained that the Gauteng government has allocated land to "outsiders" who they claim are neither homeless nor without money. These "outsiders" are from the neighbouring, predominantly "coloured" (mixed-race) township of Rabbie Riche and nearby Ebony Park, which includes immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In 1994, Tokyo Sexwale, then ANC premier of Gauteng, denounced the coloured protesters' request to wipe out unpaid back rent, saying he wanted to "vomit." In 1997, the ANC government unleashed police and troops against protesters in the predominantly coloured townships of El Dorado Park, Westbury and Newclare in southern and western Johannesburg, killing four and injuring several others. At the same time, the anti-government protests, whose basic demand was entirely justified, were also marked by general hostility to blacks.

Like capitalist regimes everywhere, the ANC consciously plays off different

sections of the oppressed against each other—pitting blacks against coloureds and Indians, South Africans against immigrant workers—in order to divert attention from the main enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority of the population is kept in desperate poverty and blacks remain on the bottom. As Trotskyists, we fight for the forging of a Leninist party that acts as a tribune of the people, defending all sectors of the oppressed as part of the struggle for proletarian state power. Only such a revolutionary party can cut through the rising ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the capitalist class and its political front men. Under a black-centred workers government, there will be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people.

The SACP justifies its support to neo-apartheid capitalism with the claim that the ANC is carrying out a "national democratic revolution" which is supposedly the first stage of a reformist "two-stage" schema for socialism. This stagist programme undermines and paralyses the struggles of the proletariat and has historically led to bloody defeats.

South Africa, both under the former white-supremacist government and now under the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, offers a clear example of Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution: that in backward countries, economic and social modernization and genuine national liberation can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist (i.e., imperialist) countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. This underscores that the fight to build a revolutionary workers party must be waged as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution. This is the purpose of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League. ■

Archives...

(continued from page 7)

place Roosevelt at the head of the ticket nationally.... Would we have refrained from putting forward our own independent tickets and supported the Farmer-Labor party ticket even with Roosevelt at the head? I venture to say that under such circumstances we would almost surely have done so."

In point of fact, this was done in many localities either by the Communist Party officially, or by individual party members. In Minnesota, Washington, California, the Stalinists supported Farmer-Labor and "progressive" coalitions with no criticism of the fact that Roosevelt headed their tickets. In New York, the Stalinists gave full support to the American Labor Party, which entered the election campaign—as its leaders openly declared—only to gather labor votes for Roosevelt. Individual Communist Party members joined the American Labor Party, and spoke from its platforms in support of Roosevelt.

The Peoples' Front policy dictates a wholly anti-Marxist analysis of Roosevelt. He can no longer be treated as the chief executive for the dominant class. Criticism of him can only suggest that he is not responsive enough in carrying out the "peoples' mandate," that he cannot be relied on to take progressive steps unless a certain amount of pressure against him is generated. Even when, after the elections were safely under his belt, Roosevelt, at the bidding of his masters, ruthlessly cut the WPA rolls, even in the light of Roosevelt's attitude toward the auto strikes, the Stalinist criticism must remain mild and "loyal." The Communist Party, having abandoned the revolutionary aim of the overthrow of capitalist society, becomes the "party of Twentieth

Century Americanism"; its purpose as defined by the Peoples' Front, is to function within the framework of democratic capitalism, as a reformist "pressure group." It must strive to become "respectable," to ingratiate itself with the class enemy; to show that in return for vague promises of friendship for the Soviet Union and polite words against fascism, it is willing to do its part in smothering the class struggle and guaranteeing the protection of bourgeois democracy against the threat of proletarian revolution....

The basis of the Peoples' Front is class collaboration; and we know from past experience of reformism what this means on the trade union field.

Are the reactionary trade union bureaucrats agents of the class enemy within the working class? Do their policies act as the major brake to militant class consciousness within the unions? This is what Marxism has always taught, but no one could possibly learn this from the most detailed study of recent Stalinist literature. Nowhere is there any explanation of, or even reference to, the social function of the trade union bureaucracy. At the most, there is occasional personal criticism of some action too gross to ignore; but even this is kept to a minimum, in the interests of currying favor with the maximum number of the bureaucrats.

The policy of class collaboration forces the Stalinists to abandon more and more the fighting struggle for economic demands, and through that struggle the raising of the level of class consciousness for the attempt to come to agreements with the bureaucrats, to settle disputes through deals behind the scenes, to rely on governmental arbitration boards and mediators. The Stalinist work in the unions must be subordinated to the great aim of achieving in this country a mass, classless Peoples' Front. To secure the adherence of a union to a Negro Con-

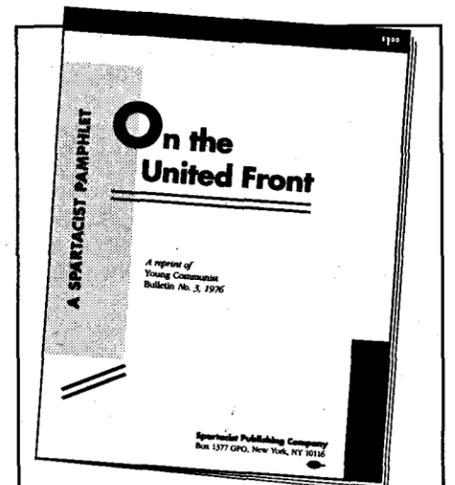
gress, or an American League Conference, or a Farmer-Labor-Progressive what-not, or a Social Security Assembly is far more important than to get it to prepare and win a militant strike....

In other fields of Peoples' Front activities, the same general trend is observable. For example, in youth work. Following the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and the subsequent Congress of the Young Communist International, proposals were made in this country—as elsewhere—for the liquidation of the proletarian political youth organizations into broad, classless, "non-political" (i.e., Peoples' Frontist) youth movements. When the position of the Young Peoples' Socialist League made this impossible, the Y.C.L. tried to gain the same end by the creation of the American Youth Congress on the same Peoples' Front basis. The Y.C.L. now devotes a major part of its efforts to conciliating Y.M.C.A. and religious youth groups so as to maintain a bloc with them against revolutionary socialists. In the student field, the Y.C.L. consistently attempts to manipulate the Peoples' Front program and organizational form.

Most significant of all is the application of the Peoples' Front policy to "anti-war work." Through a multitude of pacifist organizations, and especially through the directly controlled American League against War and Fascism, the Stalinists aim at the creation of a "broad, classless, Peoples' Front of all those opposed to war." The class collaborationist character of the Peoples' Front policy is strikingly revealed through the Stalinist attitude in these organizations. They rule out in advance the Marxist analysis of war as necessarily resulting from the inner conflicts of capitalism and therefore genuinely opposed only by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalist order; and,

in contrast, maintain that all persons, from whatever social class or group, whether or not opposed to capitalism, can "unite" to stop war.

What this "anti-war work" means in actuality is suggested by the fact that the Stalinists have abandoned attacks on the armament program of American imperialism; greet the Buenos Aires Conference (a mighty step forward in this country's preparations for the coming war) as a great advance toward "world peace"; and criticize revolutionary socialists as planning to sell this country out to Japan, when they call for non-support of the government in the war. The truth is, of course, that through the Peoples' Front, the Stalinists are making ready to support the government, and to recruit the masses for such support, in the new imperialist war. ■



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South Africa

ANC Regime Cracks Down on Township Poor

JOHANNESBURG—Following the throttling of the public workers strike last year—the largest strike since the African National Congress (ANC) replaced the white-supremacist apartheid regime in 1994—state repression is intensifying at an alarming pace against all sections of the working class and nonwhite oppressed. The war on labour waged by the government of Thabo Mbeki, Nelson Mandela's hand-picked successor as South Africa's president, is combined with all manner of attacks on the black plebeian masses. Electricity and water are cut off for non-payment of rent or utility bills. Squatters are set upon by police and private security guards.

In early November, the ANC provincial government of Gauteng province unleashed vicious state terror against a group of squatters near Ivory Park, a settlement adjacent to the Tembisa township near Johannesburg. A veteran black militant and supporter of Spartacist South Africa reported:

"Scores of people were seriously wounded following the shooting by police and security guards and an estimated 120 were arrested after ignoring cops' orders to stop erecting shacks on the land. When the first order was made earlier that day, community leaders heading the squatter 'invasion' requested an extension of time to allow them to address the people in order to persuade them to leave. When it was time for them to leave following a meeting of the community leaders and the cops, people refused to leave. Cops and security guards responded with brute force."

Why is this happening? The answer was given by Thabo Mbeki in a recent speech at a black management forum in Johannesburg, where he underscored the commitment of his government to the expansion of a layer of black capitalists and their enrichment at the expense of the toiling masses. The bourgeois-nationalist ANC represents the junior partners and black front men for the white capitalist class. They are abetted in this by the reformist South African Commu-



As murderous repression against squatters escalates, security cops demolish "informal housing" settlement in Lawley, south of Johannesburg.

Debbie Yazbek

nist Party (SACP). Long a part of the core leadership of the ANC, the SACP today encompasses everything from leading elements of the capitalist state appa-

tionary Marxists, we seek to break the black working-class base of the SACP from its reformist misleaders. We say: Break with the tripartite alliance!

Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

ratus and outright bourgeois nationalists to labour bureaucrats to militant workers at the base looking for a revolutionary perspective.

The "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, SACP and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—a nationalist popular front—binds the black working class and toiling masses to the system of neo-apartheid exploitation and oppression, from strikebreaking to the shooting down of squatters. As revolu-

Build a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to fight for a black-centred workers government!

ANC's War on Squatters

The economic basis of the apartheid system was the superexploitation of black labour (including from neighbouring African states) by the white owners of the country's factories, mines and agricultural land. While the white neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban resembled the most affluent suburbs of North America and West Europe, blacks were condemned to "Third World" squalor. One out of every four blacks lived in so-called "informal housing"—backyard shacks, garages and shantytowns constructed of cardboard and plastic. The figure was much higher in the main urban areas: almost 70 percent in Durban and almost half in the region around Johannesburg.

During the 1980s, white-supremacist rule was severely shaken by mass black struggle. A powerful and combative trade-union movement developed, exemplified by the 1987 gold miners strike, which was the biggest in South African history. The residents in the black townships refused to pay rent, property taxes, electricity bills, garbage fees, etc. The black revolt, organised through the South African National Civic Organisation, effectively took control of the townships.

In the early 1990s, the South African ruling class and its senior partners moved to restore political stability by *co-opting* the leaders of the ANC and SACP into

the government. Hence Mandela's election in 1994 as the country's first black president. The new government promised as part of its much-touted Reconstruction and Development Plan to build a million housing units in five years. But this was cynical demagoguery. A mere 11,000 new houses were built with government funds in the first years of the ANC-led regime. Moreover, these houses were so shoddily built that they fall apart in the heavy summer rain. Consisting of only one room, often without electricity, they are derisively called "Uno" houses after the tiny Fiat car which is popular in South Africa.

Mandela, Mbeki & Co., however, did keep their promise to defend the property rights of the white capitalists. Denouncing the "culture of non-payment," ANC/SACP cadre who previously led the black township revolt now became the chief rent collectors for the Jo'burg banks. The squatter camps have also been a source of hard confrontation between the new government and the impoverished black toilers. Believing that

Mandela's election opened a new era of freedom, blacks began constructing "informal housing" at a furious pace, extending far beyond the segregated townships.

Significantly, the hot seat of housing minister in the new government was given to the principal leader of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo (since deceased), for it was expected that here, along with the labour front, the sharpest conflicts between the ANC leaders and their mass base would take place. Using language identical to his white-supremacist predecessors, Slovo declared that the government was "committed to respect constitutional rights in land against any unlawful infringement and unlawful occupation. Squatting cannot be condoned."

The recent period has seen increasingly violent repression against squatters. In squatter settlements such as Khayelitsha near Cape Town, the city has set up a "land invasion" unit which patrols the township on a daily basis, painting yellow numbers on shacks and tearing down those that spring up overnight. In one neighbourhood in Springs on the East Rand, the government deployed not only police but army units to quell protests over the cutoff of electricity in October. That month, the housing department in Gauteng ordered the destruction of 400 shacks in Lawley, south of Johannesburg. At a protest against the demolition of these shacks, an 18-year-old youth, Makhetla Maphika, was shot and killed by a member of a private security outfit. In a related action, the cops beat hawkers and seized their goods in the city centre of Braamfontein, Johannesburg, carrying out government orders to remove poor people to make downtown "attractive" for businessmen.

Reacting to the heightened social misery and government repression, many black township residents are engaged in campaigns to reconnect services cut off

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Len Kumalo

Thousands of public workers took to the streets of Johannesburg in October to protest government plans for privatizations and layoffs.