

# Australasian SPARTACIST



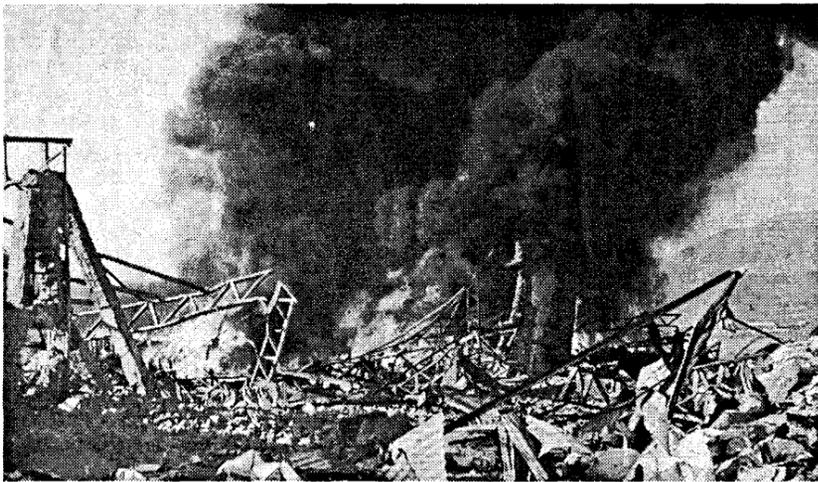
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## U.S./UN/NATO/Australia Out of Afghanistan and Central Asia Now!

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AFP

Red Cross warehouse in Kabul destroyed by U.S. bombing. U.S./Australia-backed Northern Alliance troops murder wounded Taliban soldier on road to Kabul.



Hicks/Getty

NOVEMBER 28—As we go to press, U.S. troops are landing near the southern Afghan city of Kandahar. Already British forces are positioned at the Bagram air base near Kabul while French troops are slated to move into the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif. Australia's SAS killers are on their way. Two weeks ago, surprising even their U.S. imperialist patrons, Northern Alliance forces seized Mazar-i-Sharif and then Kabul as Taliban troops retreated from one town after another.

Hailed as "liberators" by Washington and the Western media, the Northern Alliance cutthroats are already displaying the internecine feuding and murderous barbarity of their four years in power in the mid-1990s. Based largely on the minority Tajik and Uzbek peoples, Northern Alliance forces have reportedly massacred hundreds of ethnic Pashtun and other Taliban prisoners.

Mostly in order to maintain liberal support at home for the war in Afghanistan, the imperialists and their media mouthpieces have portrayed the Northern Alliance as bearers of "freedom" for the Afghan masses, especially women. The display of crocodile tears for the enslaved women of Afghanistan is the most repulsive hypocrisy. The Taliban, Osama bin Laden and the rest of the Islamic fundamentalist killers were unleashed by the U.S. (and, among others, Australia) in the 1980s against the Soviet Red Army, which brought the only hope of emancipation for the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the downtrodden, impoverished Afghan peoples.

The forces that make up the Northern Alliance constituted the bulk of the anti-woman cutthroats bankrolled by the CIA to kill Soviet soldiers. During the four years those same forces ruled Afghanistan, they killed countless civilians, perpetrated mass rapes and enslaved women in the veil. After a bloody year-long civil war in which 50,000 Kabulites were slaughtered and the city reduced to

**For Class-Struggle Against the  
Capitalist Rulers at Home!**  
**Defend Afghanistan Against  
U.S./Australia Imperialist Attack!**

rubble, the mainly Tajik forces of recently assassinated Northern Alliance leader Ahmed Shah Massoud took control of Kabul in 1995, expelling the Shi'ite Muslim Hazara minority from the capital.

Even as they land troops in Afghanistan, the war-crazed American imperialists have already begun plotting "Phase 2" of the "war on terrorism," which U.S. Vice President Cheney has warned "may never end, at least not in our lifetime." The London *Guardian* (17 November) reports: "The ease with which Kabul has fallen has encouraged hawks within the U.S. administration who are keen to extend military action, particularly against Iraq." On 27 November U.S. President Bush directly threatened Iraq. Australian warships have been in the Persian Gulf for over a decade, helping first the "Desert Slaughter" 1991 imperialist attack and then the starvation blockade against the Iraqi people. *U.S./Australia/All imperialists hands off Iraq!*

In moving into Kabul, the Northern Alliance forces openly flouted U.S. diktat. Now the imperialists are scrambling to conjure up a "broad-based" government under United Nations auspices, drawing in particularly the predominant Pashtun tribes. According to the London *Independent* (17 November), U.S., British and French strategists worked out a plan where "Afghanistan will be divided between the three countries into 'zones of influence'." Kabul is supposed to be occupied by "a strong international

Muslim presence" dominated by Turkish troops, who are seasoned in the slaughter of the Kurdish national minority in Turkey.

Now that the U.S. and West European imperialists are in the region, they will doubtless try to grab whatever they can get their hands on, including the vast oil and natural gas reserves in Central Asia. But as one Afghan intellectual recently observed, "It is impossible to predict what is going to happen in this country in an hour." Having stoked all manner of ethnic and regional antagonisms, the imperialists have opened up a Pandora's box that they may not be able to seal with their schemes for "zones of influence" and the like. And whatever they do, their presence will only deepen the misery and destruction already wreaked upon benighted Afghanistan. *U.S./UN/NATO/Australia out of Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Near East!*

In Australia, on 10 November the pro-war, racist Liberal/National Coalition was re-elected, defeating the pro-war, racist Australian Labor Party which received its lowest vote in 70 years. The campaign was an outpouring of nationalist jingoism with the outright capitalist parties and the social democrats competing in bellicose support to the imperialist attack on Afghanistan and to forcibly driving away or hijacking boats carrying desperate refugees. While virtually every self-proclaimed socialist group sought an ALP government, the Spartacist League

proclaimed at our speakouts and forums as well as at meetings and demonstrations organised by others: No Vote to the ALP, Party of Racism and War! No Vote to Socialist Alliance, Lackeys for Labor! Build a Revolutionary, Internationalist Workers Party!

The article below, "For Class-Struggle Against the Capitalist Rulers at Home! Defend Afghanistan Against U.S./Australia Imperialist Attack!", was issued as a 6 November *Australasian Spartacist* supplement.

On 22 October the ALP joined with union-busting prime minister John Howard to "farewell" Australia's SAS elite killers, part of the 1,550 troops the Australian bosses are contributing to the vicious imperialist attack on Afghanistan. For weeks U.S. and British planes have bombed mosques, hospitals and Red Cross aid facilities, killing hundreds of civilians. As residential neighbourhoods of Kabul and other cities are hit with cluster bombs and villagers wiped out by flying gunships, hundreds of thousands of Afghans are being made refugees and facing starvation in what is already a terribly war ravaged country.

This monstrous imperialist terror has *nothing* to do with "freedom" for Afghans chafing under theocratic Taliban tyranny or with "justice" for the 11 September killing of thousands of working people in the World Trade Center. Rather, the world's most powerful imperialist state, having taken hits on its own territory, is lashing out to assert its unchallenged supremacy. In the first instance its target is Afghanistan—one of the most economically backward places on earth—but Iraq or some other "rogue state" could well be next.

The Australian imperialists, with the loyal ALP "Opposition" cheering them on, have enthusiastically sent ships, planes and troops to back the U.S.-led war, just as they have backed the U.S.

*continued on page 4*

# CIA Backed Islamic "Holy War" Against Afghan Women

## Trotskyists Said: No to the Veil! Hail Red Army!

The following are excerpts from the article "Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank" published in Spartacist [English-language edition] No. 29, Summer 1980.

Afghanistan is a flash of lightning which illuminates the real contours of the world political landscape. It has exploded the last illusions of détente to reveal the implacable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state. It has stripped away all diplomatic cover for Washington's alliance with Maoist/Stalinist China. And it has confronted the left inescapably with "the Russian question": the nature of the state originating in the Bolshevik Revolution and its conflict with world capitalism.

For revolutionary socialists there is nothing tricky, nothing ambiguous about the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies are fighting an anti-communist, anti-democratic mélange of landlords, money lenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs committed to mass illiteracy. And to say that imperialist support to this social scum is out in the open is the understatement of the year. U.S. "national security" czar Zbigniew Brzezinski actually traveled to the Khyber Pass and rifle in hand incited the insurgents: "That land over there is yours and you will go back one day because your cause is right and God is on your side." The gut-level response of every radical leftist should be fullest solidarity with the Soviet Red Army.

Yet much of the left, with the Maoists leading the pack, has joined the imperialist crusade against "Soviet expansionism." In fact, the official pro-Peking group in the U.S., the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) attacked the Carter Doctrine from the right as too soft on the Russians. Likewise, the "Third Camp" social democrats, like the British Cliff group, which could maintain a certain left posture in the days of détente, stand once more revealed as State Department socialists. Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who deny that the Soviet Union is a proletarian state power (albeit bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves, some more, some less willingly, on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism.

It is not surprising that the Maoists and social democrats should rally to imperialist anti-Sovietism, although some may bridle at making common cause with the crazed anti-communist Brzezinski and his Afghan cutthroats. But for Trotskyists, support to the Soviet army in Afghanistan should be an elementary political reflex. Trotsky's last great factional struggle,

against the "Third Camp" Shachtman/Burnham opposition in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1940, was provoked by the imperialist campaign against the Soviet invasion of "little, democratic Finland." Drawing the hardest line against social-democratic anti-communism, Trotsky declared: "The safeguarding of the socialist revolu-



Reuters  
Women's militia fighters in Kabul in late 1980s. Soviet intervention opened road to women's liberation.

tion comes before formal democratic principles."...

With its massive intervention in late December, the Soviet armed forces became the dominant power in Afghanistan, whose present fate will be decided in Moscow, not Kabul. Of course, the conservative bureaucrats in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 troops into Afghanistan to effect a social revolution, but simply to make secure an unstable, strategically-placed client state. No doubt Brezhnev & Co. would prefer a friendly bourgeois state like Finland. But Afghanistan is not Finland. There is no way that country can sustain anything remotely like a stable bourgeois democracy. In any case, the rightist insurgents and their imperialist backers are intransigent against any coalition government the Russians would accept. It is possible the Kremlin could do a deal with the imperialists to withdraw, for example, in return for NATO's reversing its decision to deploy hundreds of new nuclear missiles in West Europe. That would be a real counterrevolutionary crime against the Afghan peoples.

More likely is the Soviet army's prolonged occupation of Afghanistan and

with it the possibility of its transformation along the lines of Soviet Central Asia or Mongolia. Social revolutionary measures (e.g., land to the tiller) would be necessary to erode and win over the poor peasant supporters of the reactionary insurgency. Only those leftists poisoned by bourgeois-nationalist ideology could deny that such a social revolution, although imposed from without and bureaucratically deformed, would have an enormously liberating effect for the Afghan masses. Even the *New York Times* admits that Soviet Central Asians regard their country's military intervention in Afghanistan as support for the liberation of their backward, oppressed neighbors. (See "Soviet Central Asians Back Afghan Intervention," *Workers Vanguard* No. 254, 18 April.)

The difference between Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan is to be measured not in decades but in centuries. While Afghanistan is over 90 percent illiterate, neighboring Soviet Uzbekistan probably has a higher literacy rate than Jimmy Carter's Georgia. The average life expectancy in Uzbekistan is 70 compared to 40 in Afghanistan. A major reason for this is that in Uzbekistan there is one doctor for every 380 people and in Afghanistan one doctor for every 20,000! All social and economic comparisons show the same thing.

Marx and Engels, following the French utopian socialist Charles Fourier, maintained that "in any given society the degree of women's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation." The status of women in Soviet Central Asia is not only higher than in any Islamic bourgeois country (let alone Afghanistan), but in some areas (e.g., representation in the government) compares favorably even with the advanced bourgeois democracies. For example, 18 percent of all judges and 45 percent of all legislative members from the village level



As U.S. launched Cold War II, Trotskyists fought for military defence of Soviet Union.

up in Uzbekistan are women.

To be sure, the workers and peasants of Soviet Central Asia suffer the same inequalities and bureaucratic oppression as their class brothers and sisters in Great Russia. There is some pressure for Russification in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Khirgizia, etc. and, of course, the Moscow Stalinist regime denies all nationalities the democratic right of self-determination, i.e., the right to secede and form a separate state. Should Afghanistan be transformed into a Soviet-satellite deformed workers state, it is possible a future revolutionary crisis could find the Afghan workers and peasants battling against a Soviet army under command of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy. And in general proletarian political revolution within the Soviet bloc will be interwoven with the struggle for the right of national self-determination and other democratic rights and freedoms. But to raise the banner of "national self-determination" for Afghanistan today is to provide a democratic cover for imperialist-backed social counterrevolution of the most brutal, barbaric kind....

For unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies! Extend the gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! ■

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War and Revolution

II. Trotskyists Said: No to the Veil! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!  
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## SPARTACIST

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## Spartacist Speakout:

# Down With Racist Australian Imperialism! Defend Afghanistan!

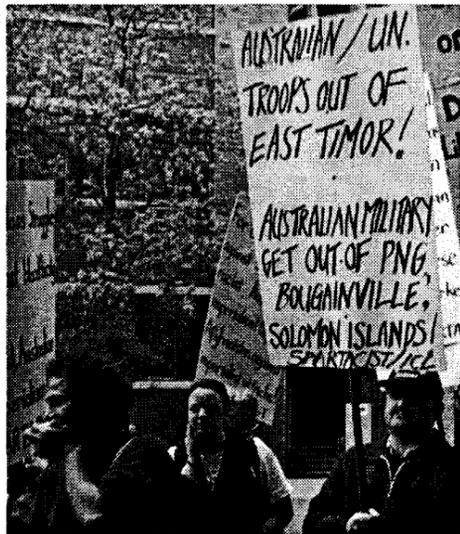
On 31 October at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) city campus, facing down incessant harassment from campus cops, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club held a highly successful speakout calling for defence of Afghanistan against imperialist attack through working-class struggle against the vicious capitalist rulers at home. In eloquent testimony to the fact that many at this heavily immigrant campus don't buy the imperialists' "war on terrorism"—and indeed know they are its targets—a group of immigrant students solidarised with us, helping spike the attempt by campus security to silence our protest.

On the same day as our protest the frigate *Sydney* left Darwin for the Persian Gulf to join the U.S./UN starvation blockade which has killed well over one and a half million Iraqi people. The Australian ruling class, fully backed by the Labor Party, is eagerly joining the slaughter against Afghanistan, but they worry about the capacity of the Australian Defence Force to do this while also occupying East Timor and maintaining troops in the Pacific and Southeast Asia to "protect" Australian imperialist investment.

An SL speaker exposed the bankruptcy of those phony leftists who two years ago fully backed the Australian occupation of East Timor:

"You can hardly fight the war moves of the capitalist rulers against Afghanistan if you support their troops in East Timor. The same military that is carrying out the racist neocolonial occupation of East Timor, that kidnaps refugees on the high seas, hijacks their boats and fires on them, has now been sent against Afghanistan. Not one cent, not one person for the racist Australian military! Australian and UN troops out of East Timor! Australian military get out of PNG, Bougainville and Solomon Islands!"

As bombs rained death on Afghanistan, both the capitalist Liberals and social-democratic ALP were vying over who would win the spoils of office and continue the imperialists' war of terror abroad and the racist war on immigrants and workers at home. As one of our placards proclaimed, "No vote to ALP—party of racism, depression and war! Build a revolutionary workers party!" Emphasising that the fight against capitalist war and oppression is a *class* fight, our comrade explained, "The working class is the only international class with the material interest to do away with capitalism. We remember the Australian waterside workers' strike in protest against the imperia-



Revolutionary opposition to imperialist militarism and predatory aims of Australian bourgeoisie, Melbourne, 31 October 2001. Asp photos

list attack on Iraq in 1991. We remember the Italian COBAS workers' strike in defence of their Serbian sisters and brothers facing NATO bombs two years ago." He concluded:

"We fight to forge a revolutionary leadership of the working class that will turn the unions into weapons of struggle that fight in defence of all the oppressed. The main obstacle to this is the ALP which poisons the working class with all sorts of backwardness from racism to nationalism. The ALP chains the working class to their rulers by saying that they have a common interest with their exploiters."

Workers Power, usually quite active at RMIT, did not come to our speakout despite their paper position of "Defend Afghanistan." WP's militant-sounding line is just empty rhetoric: they call on the working class to vote for the ALP who are every bit as eager as the Liberals to see Afghanistan reduced to rubble.

However a group of students, among them youth from Muslim countries, including women in headscarves, watched with interest as we built our speakout. When we raised our placards they rushed to tell their friends and some applauded parts of our speeches, joining our chant "1,2,3,4, Defend Afghanistan in this war! 5,6,7,8, Fight the Australian ruling class!" We highlighted the fact that it was the 1979 Soviet Red Army intervention, urgently requested by the then left-nationalist Afghan government, that opened up the possibility of social liberation for the horribly oppressed peoples of Afghanistan, especially women. Our placards included "Trotskyists hailed Soviet Red

Army intervention against CIA-backed Afghan reactionaries!" and "Woman-hating Northern Alliance/Taliban: Product of imperialism's war against USSR's progressive intervention in Afghanistan!"

From the outset RMIT security guards tried to silence our protest. We expected this because RMIT security has "priors." They harassed our 1999 speakout demanding Australian troops get out of East Timor. They tried to shut us down in May when, responding to escalating war threats against the Chinese deformed workers state, we organised a speakout, "Down With Imperialist Military/Spy Provocations! Defend China!" On 31 October, as before, we continued our revolutionary chants and speeches as the security guards used two-way radios to gather their forces to try to enforce the *diktat* of "silence" against us. As a young SYC comrade was speaking, at least six of these uniformed thugs moved in. She stood her ground and completed her speech (printed below).

At this point the group of students watching moved towards us, mocking and arguing against the campus cops while we continued to chant and speak. Outrageously, as our photographer was changing his film, one of the guards snatched the film roll from his hands. As our comrade shouted "Thief! Thief! He stole our film!"—and only after we loudly exposed this sinister police-state act—the film was returned. In spite of these attempts to intimidate us, our placards remained raised and our speeches and chants rang

out over the campus. The students who had joined us continued to mock the campus security guards, who eventually backed off. We sold 36 revolutionary newspapers and gave out many more leaflets to interested passers-by.

We are proud that our speakout attracted some enthusiastic attention at this racially integrated campus that includes students who face vicious racist oppression and are from countries that either suffer under the yoke of imperialist exploitation or are in the gun-sights of imperialist militarism. Working-class students also struggle to survive in the increasingly exclusive user-pays "public" education system, often with no job prospects at the other end. We ended the event by chanting a slogan that codifies our fight against racist decaying Australian capitalism: "For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!"

We print below the edited speech of a high school student who recently joined the SYC.

We are here today to present a program that is absent from the demands of the other left organisations. They are calling for "peace" and an end to Australian military involvement. But the Spartacus Youth Club fights for class struggle against the racist capitalist rulers here at home, just as our section in the U.S. struggles against U.S. imperialism.

American imperialism, backed up by British and Australian imperialism, is bombing a country that is already desperately impoverished. That the Taliban are shockingly oppressive does *not* mean that we should leave Afghanistan open to imperialist bombardment and degradation. We will defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack because it is in the material interests of the working class and all the oppressed to take this position against imperialism.

The imperialists' war inevitably means repression at home, especially directed at the new perceived enemy, which is anyone who appears to be of a Near Eastern or Islamic background. During World War II, Japanese people, as well as Jews, Germans and Italians, were rounded up and locked in concentration camps here. Will the Afghan or Iraqi people now suffer the same fate in the imperialist centres?

Who here has not noticed the sharply increased racism that is so prevalent around them? Here in Melbourne two Islamic secondary school students were literally thrown off a tram, an event that has not been met with any official union reaction despite the fact that the tram drivers want to fight against such racist attacks. In Brisbane a bus of Islamic school children had rocks pelted at them. Here at RMIT, a student had her headscarf viciously ripped off her. Down with racist attacks on Arab and Muslim people, at RMIT and everywhere! For working class mobilisations against racist terror! The attacks against minorities on the streets have been fuelled by Howard/Beazley's war on immigrants and refugees in which they are subjected to horrible treatment, captured in international waters and sent away, as happened to the *Tampa* refugees. Down with Liberal/ALP racist war on immigrants! Asylum now for refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Close the deportation camps!

This war is not a war between rival imperialist powers, e.g. America and Japan, but a war of the imperialist powers against a weak, desperately impoverished country. Although inter-imperialist war is not immediately posed, the capitalist system inevitably does lead to world wars where imperialist rivals try to redivide their colonies and spheres of exploitation. Only workers revolution can destroy the capitalist system to lead the way for a fair, just communist society that is based on economic abundance for all. The SYCs seek to win youth to build a workers vanguard party to fight for socialist revolution. Capitalism breeds imperialist war! Only one solution, socialist revolution! ■

## Japan: Dock Workers Black Ban Warships

Some 200 dock workers at Sasebo port in Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan have been refusing to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese navy ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror on Afghanistan. The workers have vowed to continue this action indefinitely and are holding a one-hour strike every morning against Japan's participation in the war on Afghanistan and the enactment of domestic "anti-terrorism" laws. This class-struggle action by members of the Zenkowan (All Japan Dockworkers Union) has more potential to thwart Japanese

imperialism's military ambitions and plans for increased domestic repression than the dozens of "antiwar" demonstrations recently held across the country.

The actions of the Sasebo dockers challenge the "national unity" phrasemongering of the Japanese bourgeoisie which seeks to bind workers and bosses together under the banner of the "war against terror" and "aiding refugees." These actions are a concrete example of the slogan being raised by every ICL section—"Defend Afghanistan Against Imperialist Attack! For Class Struggle

at Home!" Our Japanese comrades have fought to win workers, minorities and youth to the Leninist understanding that recession, increased nationalism and war are an integral part of capitalist society. The Spartacist Group Japan demands: Not one person, not one yen for the imperialist military! For workers revolution!

We fight for Japanese and Australian workers to join their class brothers and sisters from Indonesia to the Philippines in the struggle for a socialist federation of Asia. ■

# Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

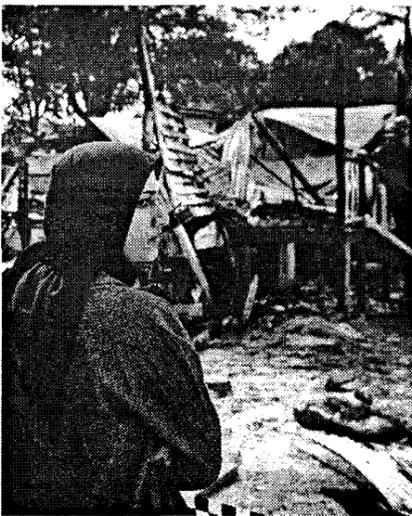
from Korea to Vietnam, from Iraq to Serbia. America's junior partners in Canberra are also aggressively pursuing their own interests: neocolonial plundering of Indonesia, East Timor, PNG and the South Pacific.

Seizing upon the widespread outrage and horror at the criminal attack on the WTC, the capitalist rulers throughout the world seek to secure their rule through "rally around the flag" patriotism in the name of the fight against terrorism. As we wrote in our statement of 13 September:

"Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!"

If the attack had only been against the Pentagon, the headquarters of the murderous U.S. imperialist military machine and a genuine military target, the American rulers would have had more difficulty in whipping up a jingoist frenzy. With the world capitalist economy already going into a tailspin before 11 September, the imperialists are all too eager to use the bodies of those killed on the planes and at the WTC to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of society away from themselves as they slash jobs, ratchet up the rate of exploitation of the working class and reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression.

We fight to mobilise the working class in this country in struggle against the war aims and military adventures of its capitalist exploiters. The U.S./Australia "Joint Facilities" at Pine Gap are used



David Kelly and Campbell Scott

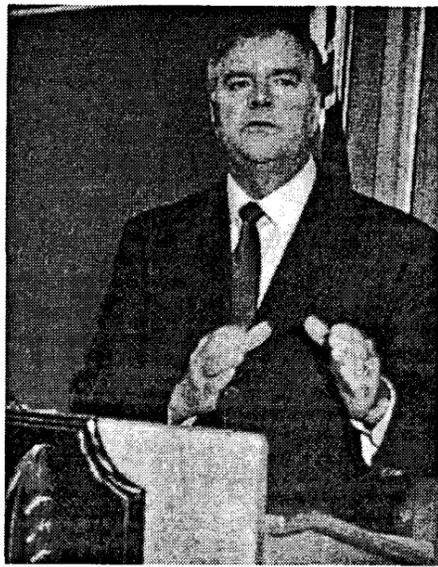
**Charred wreckage of Brisbane mosque firebombed in racist attack.**

for directing missiles and bombs at Afghanistan and Iraq. We say: Close Pine Gap and all the spy bases! Down with the counterrevolutionary ANZUS pact aimed particularly at the Chinese workers state! *For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!*

## Khaki Election

In the campaign for the 10 November federal election the ALP social democrats are standing "shoulder to shoulder" with Howard's right-wing Liberal/National Coalition not only in supporting the brutal war on Afghanistan but also in whipping up intense White Australia anti-immigrant/anti-refugee racism. Both parties push "Fortress Australia" nationalism. Their purpose is to divide the working class, channeling the deep anger at the capitalists' union-busting, massive job shredding and destruction of social services and toward foreign "enemies" as well as minorities at home.

The ALP's call for "security abroad, security at home," means war on the peoples of small, dependent countries and escalating racist attacks on immigrants and refugees. ALP leader Kim "Bomber" Beazley brags of his war credentials—during the Hawke federal Labor government Beazley sent helicopter gunships to terrorise the oppressed people of



West Australian photos  
**Shoulder to shoulder for bloody Australian imperialism, Perth, 22 October: Beazley, Howard "farewell" SAS killers. SL said: No Vote to Labor!**

Bougainville. Founded on the White Australia policy, the ALP is "at one" with the Howard government (and the fascistic One Nation) in driving away desperate asylum seekers. The ALP parliamentary and trade-union misleaders are the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class. They are based on a thin layer of privileged workers and the labour bureaucracy who scavenge crumbs from the super-profits derived from brutal Australian imperialist exploitation.

What passes for the left in this country is almost unanimously for a Labor government. Their pretensions to be against the war and to stand in defence of immigrants is about the shabbiest fraud going. We say: No vote to the racist, pro-imperialist ALP! Workers need a revolutionary, internationalist party! Only socialist revolution can free humanity from capitalist slavery!

The war frenzy has further intensified the vicious bipartisan racist campaign against minorities. In August the Howard government's use of the military to forcibly prevent the mostly Afghan refugees on the Tampa from landing threw an international spotlight on the racist capitalist rulers. Today the government, echoed by the ALP, are out to brand refugees, including those fleeing the Taliban Afghanistan regime, as having "links" to Osama bin Laden. Meanwhile hundreds more asylum seekers are being kidnapped on the high seas and dumped on desolate islands like Nauru. In late October over 350 refugees drowned when their boat sank trying to make it to Australian territory.

The racist drive, fuelled by Rupert Murdoch's tabloid newspapers, to equate Arab/Muslim with "terrorist" has also fed into a years-long campaign by the Carr NSW state Labor government against Arab and Asian youth. Emboldened by this climate, racist thugs have carried out firebombings of mosques and a wave of bashings of Muslim, Arab and Asian men, women and children.

Having in the lead-up to the 2000 Olympics given the army shoot-to-kill powers against domestic "disorder," now the Australian rulers, again with the aid of the ALP, are pushing through draconian "anti-terrorist" legislation that gives the capitalists' state—especially their ASIO secret police—unprecedented powers, including the "right" to jail people for five years for refusing to answer questions and to detain people for 48 hours without charge. In a chilling example of what this means, in October an Australian convert to Islam had a gun held to her head when ASIO raided her house.

The multiracial working class, in which immigrant workers form an important and combative section, has the power to throw back these attacks which go hand-in-hand with union-busting and strikebreaking. Political strike action, hitting the bosses' profit ledgers, is urgently necessary to demand asylum and full citizenship rights for refugees and all immigrants, no deportations, close the hell-hole concentration camps. There needs to be a class-struggle fight



against the bosses' attempts to step up domestic repression. The rights of workers, immigrants, Aborigines—all those under attack by the capitalist state—will go forward together or will be thrown back separately.

As is to be expected in the initial stages of a war mobilisation, in Australia wide sections of the working class have been swept up by the jingoist propaganda. But this is hardly uniform or stable—it is not the people of Afghanistan who have been laying off tens of thousands of workers at Ansett, Telstra, HIH, One.Tel, Bradmills and more. Despite the patriotic gore of the past weeks, workers across Australia—nurses, steelworkers, construction workers and more—have waged defensive strikes.

The pro-capitalist trade-union leadership, however, works overtime to direct the anger of the working class into nationalism and protectionism, which targets workers in other countries, and support to the ALP. The ACTU tops are all for imperialist "military action taken against the Taliban," but want it to "avoid causing civilian casualties." Aware that there is suspicion of the bourgeoisie's war drive within the proletariat, especially its volatile immigrant component, Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) secretary Leigh Hubbard spoke at a Melbourne "anti-war" rally recently, condemning "US industrial imperialism" and "politicians" who are "captors of the US" (*Green Left Weekly*, 31 October). He then proceeded to organise a get-out-the-vote rally for the war-mongering ALP.

In Australia, as in France, Germany and elsewhere, anti-Americanism serves to cover the trade-union tops' capitulation to their "own" bosses whose interests they defend against their capitalist rivals in other countries. Supposed "lefts" (such as in the VTHC and the AMWU) have long played an important role in mobilising the population behind Australia's imperialist adventures, such as in East Timor, while they have demobilised the working class in the face of the hammer blows of the bosses.

To defeat the one-sided class war against the workers and to mobilise the working class against the bosses' imperialist terror abroad requires breaking the chains of Laborism and forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions, linked to a revolutionary workers party. A tribune of the people, such a party will lead the working class in socialist revolution to overthrow the racist, war-crazed capitalist rulers.

Throughout the world working and poor people are hardly all lined up behind the "national unity" jingoism which means bosses profit while workers pay. There have been large demonstrations in Britain as well as protests in the Philippines, Mexico, South Africa and elsewhere. In Italy, the syndicalist COBAS unions have called for a political general strike against the war on Afghanistan on 9 November.

In Indonesia Megawati Sukarnoputri, having risen to power with Washington's

backing, rushed to express her support for the imperialists' "anti-terrorism" war drive. However, when the bombing of Afghanistan began she backtracked. As a spate of largely Islamic demonstrations have shown, any involvement by Jakarta in Washington's war drive against Afghan Islamic forces would threaten to set off a powder keg in this country, home to the world's largest Muslim population. Ruling over a desperate population made more desperate by a four-year-long economic crisis, the Megawati regime rests on the support not only of the blood-drenched military but of increasingly assertive Islamic political forces.

The rise of political Islam, leading to an increase in bloody communalist attacks, is a deadly threat to the multi-ethnic Indonesian proletariat and especially to the deeply oppressed women of the archipelago. Bourgeois nationalist leaders such as Megawati, incapable of alleviating mass poverty or making any advance towards social justice, push chauvinism and religious obscurantism. For the masses religion becomes not only a consolation but an illusory opposition to an unbearable status quo which is easily put to the service of capitalist reaction. In 1965-66 Islamic gangs—with the direct assistance of the American CIA and Australia's ASIS—joined with the military in carrying out the massacre of a million Communists, ethnic Chinese and others.

## Trotskyists Hailed Soviet Red Army Against Afghan Reactionaries!

Osama bin Laden, and the Afghan Taliban government, are now the all-purpose enemies of U.S. imperialism and its Australian junior partners. But bin Laden and his ilk (including the U.S.' Northern Alliance allies) are the creatures of the American and other imperialist rulers who bought and paid for their services in the Islamic "holy war" against the Soviet Union whose army moved into Afghanistan in 1979 at the urgent request of the Kabul government. We Trotskyists hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan, noting this was a genuinely progressive act by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, which overthrew capitalist rule, particularly to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan.

In contrast, virtually every other self-proclaimed Marxist organisation lined up behind their own imperialist rulers against the Soviet intervention. Foremost among these was the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) who cheered on the anti-woman Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats as "freedom fighters" and "welcome[d] the defeat of the Russians." The Workers Power (WP) group denounced the Red Army intervention as "counterrevolutionary" while arguing that it would be "tactically wrong" to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from

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Afghanistan where they were fighting against CIA-funded and armed Islamic reaction. A decade later they denounced the withdrawal of Soviet troops as also "counterrevolutionary"!

Contrary to self-serving fake-left and bourgeois propaganda, the Red Army was *not* militarily defeated in Afghanistan, but rather then-president Mikhail Gorbachev's withdrawal of troops in 1988-89 was a concession to imperialism which presaged the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR itself. We denounced the withdrawal as a criminal betrayal not only of Afghan women and leftists but of the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state.

Today, whatever countries Washington chooses to target in the coming months, the strategic goal is still the smashing of those remaining states where capitalism has been overthrown. Just as we defended the Soviet Union, today we fight for the unconditional military defence of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—deformed workers states—against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies—that undermine the defence of those states and the collectivised economies on which they are based—must be ousted through proletarian political revolutions. As it did in the USSR and Eastern Europe, capitalist counterrevolution would bring back untold misery for hundreds of millions.

Unlike Cuba, China has offered its support to the U.S. "war against terrorism," urging only that Washington act under the auspices of the UN. While the Bush administration currently seeks to enlist Beijing's diplomatic support, it is steaming ahead with plans for a "national missile defense"—the chief, ultimate aim of which is to facilitate a nuclear first strike against China. Australian imperialism deeply supports these counterrevolutionary designs. Just as the federal ALP in government ran point for U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War drive during the 1980s, today it is equally committed to the capitalists' attempt to overturn the social gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Two years ago it was the ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy who beat the war drums for Australian troops to occupy East Timor. And almost all of the "left" in this country cheered them on, rallying and marching for "Troops In." Most of them also hailed the chauvinist trade-union bans against Indonesia. We Spartacists campaigned in word and deed against Australian intervention in East Timor, demanding that the Australian imperialists, the U.S., the UN and all their lackeys get out of East Timor and stay out. We called for Australian workers to black ban arms and supplies to the Australian-led military forces. Today the Australian troops are a racist occupation force and a dagger against the Indonesian working masses. The demand for the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops was, and is, the precondition of the fight for East Timorese independence.

Now the fake lefts are reaping what they helped to sow as their backing of the "human rights" credentials of the Australian imperialist state has directly assisted the racist rulers and their Laborite frontmen as they campaign for the imperialist attack on Afghanistan and racist, anti-immigrant hysteria. These pseudo-socialists long ago made their peace with capitalist imperialism, howling with the anti-Soviet wolves over Afghanistan and cheering on Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolution in the USSR.

Today some nine of these outfits—including the Democratic Socialist Party, the ISO, WP, Socialist Alternative, Freedom Socialist Party, Workers Liberty—are sharing the sheets as "Socialist Alliance" (SA), an electoral bloc that seeks to corral militant workers and others outraged at the ALP's pro-war racism back into the fold. With a grab bag of lowest-common-denominator appeals to the capitalists for various reforms (such as "slash the defence budget"), SA pos-

tures as an "alternative" to Labor while calling to elect it.

According to them, "the best chance of getting rid of the Coalition is to build the movement against the war.... The result will be a Labor government, but a Labor government elected in spite of its war and refugee policy, and a Labor government facing a confident and growing anti-war and pro-refugee movement. That's the best possible scenario for Australian politics after November 10."

—*Green Left Weekly*, 31 October

In other words, "the best possible scenario" is a capitalist government administered by the racist, pro-imperialist ALP which SA believes will be open to their pathetic cap-in-hand appeals and petitions. We say no vote to these Laborite lackeys!

Pretty much these same groups make up the "NO WAR" coalition in Sydney and the "ANSWER" outfit in Melbourne. Flowing from their Labor loyalism, these groups peddle little Aussie nationalist anti-Americanism, pleading with the Australian bosses to not dirty their hands and to stay out of "Bush's War." They

ries to boycott and sabotage imperialist war production." They also call (*Workers Power* [Australia], November) for the formation of "independent workers and peasants militias" in Afghanistan, a country that has essentially *no* working class!

These opportunists don't mean a word of it. This is meant, not for the class struggle, but for London pubs and Melbourne cafes. Indeed, in Britain the real substance of Workers Power's activity right now is captured in their organising to "LOBBY PARLIAMENT as it debates the war" while in Australia they call to vote ALP while marching with signs reading, "Stop the Bombing Now! NO to Ground Troops, YES to Aid." This gulf between word and deed is the crystallised expression of centrism.

For WP, the Leninist-Trotskyist principle of defence of weak, dependent and semi-colonial countries against imperialist attack is rhetoric to be turned off like a tap in the service of getting behind the war aims of their "own" ruling class. During the massive 1995 NATO bomb-

opposing the vanguard party on principle, have no means of establishing a coherent strategy towards leading the real-life struggles of the workers and the oppressed to worldwide victory.

The Love and Rage (L&R) group in Australia, self-described as a "Collective of the Autonomous Left," for example, declares in a recent leaflet ("No wars between Nations: No peace between Classes") that "Our war lies at home: a war with bosses, governments, rulers. Our war is a class war: against the property and system of bosses, not against people." But L&R says that all states are the same, equating the workers states (such as China) with capitalist states, thus making a complete mockery of their "class war" rhetoric. Further, their declaration that "We see no nation worth fighting for" is not a statement of proletarian internationalism but rather an outright *refusal* to defend Afghanistan against rapacious imperialism. Two years ago L&R equated imperialist Australia with impoverished Indonesia and declared "it does not seem unreasonable to anyone—not even to Love and Rage—the need for an Australian led UN force to take over East Timor" ("East Timor: Explaining the Crisis—a *Love and Rage/Red and Black* position paper," undated). Thus these "autonomists" ape their reformist rivals like the DSP and line up behind their own imperialist rulers.

Imperialism is not a policy but a system in which the handful of the richest, most powerful countries must ruthlessly compete with each other for the "right" to plunder and exploit the peoples of the world. The fake lefts peddle the deadly illusion that the capitalist rulers can be pressured into acting in the interests of the workers and the oppressed or that the imperialists can forsake war. This is deadly dangerous and, as our supporter stated at a 31 October Spartacist speak-out in Melbourne, "can only deceive the working class as to the real nature of the capitalist beast they confront and paralyse their will to struggle against and overcome it. To stop imperialist war requires workers revolution to sweep away this system of war, racism and exploitation."

At demonstrations, speakouts and forums we Spartacists proclaim: Down with U.S./Australian imperialism! Defend Afghanistan! For class struggle against the capitalist rulers at home! We fight for a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia. As the Australian section of the International Communist League, our purpose is to build the proletarian, internationalist revolutionary party that will infuse the working class with the understanding of its social power and historic interests as the gravedigger of capitalism, part of the struggle for workers revolution worldwide. Join us! ■

**Melbourne: Workers picket Feltex in defence of entitlements. Immigrant workers are key to class struggle against racist Australian imperialism.**



demand not the defence of Afghanistan against imperialist attack but "No Australian Involvement" combined with bourgeois-pacifist appeals to "Stop the War." Melbourne's ANSWER is even grotesquely calling for a "Peace Vigil at the Shrine" (a monument to bloody Australian imperialism) on Remembrance Day!

Bolshevik revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin ridiculed those who promote the reactionary illusion that their precious clean little countries can remain outside the vortex of world economy and politics. He wrote scathingly of "The petty striving of petty states to hold aloof, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history" ("The Disarmament Slogan," October 1916).

Meanwhile, in their Socialist Alliance guise, these groups "Demand that the US ratify UN conventions against terrorism and abide by international law." Parliamentarist cretins that they are, they also plead to "Make the UN Security Council representative of and accountable to the UN General Assembly...." What planet do these people live on? The UN is a den of imperialist thieves and their victims. It has, among other things, overseen the decade-long imperialist blockade of Iraq leading to the deaths of up to one million Iraqis. It's no surprise then that the fake lefts in NO WAR seek to build a bourgeois-pacifist movement that includes the capitalist Green Party, whose only complaint about the imperialist attack on Afghanistan is that it isn't sheathed in a UN condom.

Workers Power, part of the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI), try to distinguish themselves from their bloc partners in SA by calling to "Defend Afghanistan. Defeat imperialism." The r-r-revolutionary rhetoric of the LRCI's 9 October statement is hot air, its unseriousness well captured in the call on "soldiers to organise and to rebel against the imperialists and their mass-murdering Generals" and on "workers in the munitions facto-

ing of the Bosnian Serbs, WP refused to stand for their military defence (leading to a split in the LRCI). During the 1999 Balkans War, the LRCI sometimes called for the defence of Serbia while simultaneously calling for victory to NATO's KLA military allies and marching in demonstrations supporting the NATO bombing!

Throughout the world many militant youth in the anti-"globalisation" milieu have been repelled by ostensible "Marxist" groups who prostrate themselves before the bourgeois state and its parliamentarist facade, especially after many such "Marxists" joined in witchhunting anarchists to alibi the murder of Carlo Giuliani by the cops in Genoa. We in the International Communist League solidarise with leftist militants under attack by the bourgeois state. Anarchists,

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## Barricada: Which Side of the Barricades Are You On? Trotskyism vs. Anarchism

The article below is reprinted from the Young Spartacus pages of Workers Vanguard (No. 769, 23 November 2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

The following leaflet by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club was distributed on November 10 at an antiwar teach-in organized by anarchists, including the Barricada Collective, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Spartacist comrades intervened in the conference despite bombastic pronouncements by organizers that "absolutely no party groups" would be allowed. During the previous week, the SYC also spoke out at a New England-wide anarchist book fair in Amherst and at a lecture on Emma Goldman at Boston's Lucy Parsons bookstore, where we counterposed our Marxist politics to anarchism. Reeling from these interventions, the organizers sent us an e-mail warning we would be excluded if we tried to "hijack" their teach-in, and went on MIT radio whining about trouble with us Spartacists.

When our team arrived at MIT they were greeted with shocked faces and murmurs of "I can't believe the Sparts are here!" Believe it! Unable to defend their rotten politics, fake leftists like the International Socialist Organization are well practiced at excluding revolutionary Marxists from their events. Now it looks like the anarchists are taking a cue from their would-be coalition partners in the stinking swamp of the liberal-reformist "antiwar movement." In opposition to the fake lefts and their anarchist "shock troops of reformism" we fight to win youth to the program of international socialist revolution.

\* \* \*

"Anarchism, if it does not live within the four walls of intellectuals' cafes and editorial offices, but has penetrated more deeply, translates the psychology of despair in the masses and signifies the political punishment for the deceptions of democracy and the treachery of opportunism," wrote Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution ("The Strangled Revolution," February 1931, in *Leon Trotsky on China* [1976]). Today, anarchism is again fashionable among young radicals. As befits a trendy college town, Boston has more than its share of such tendencies—everything from pompous old windbags like Noam Chomsky, whose "anarchist" veneer is an excuse for vicious anti-Communism and egotistic lust to be a foreign policy adviser to the U.S. and its creature the UN, to far more radical-sounding "revolutionary anarchists" like the Barricada Collective, which claims to reject reformism in all its forms.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union a decade ago and the imperialist rulers' triumphalist, lying "death of communism" propaganda has obviously had its stupefying effect on left consciousness. It was the Russian Revolution which swept aside anarchism as a serious contender for political allegiance among militants, winning over the best syndicalists and anarchists of the time to the red banner of international Communism, by showing in the real world how a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class could seize



Workers Vanguard  
San Francisco: 20 October antiwar protest. Marxists call to defend Afghanistan from imperialist attack through class struggle at home; anarchists of Barricada refuse to defend Afghanistan, equating victims with their oppressors.

and hold power, abolishing exploitation and establishing its own class dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Today, those lessons must be relearned if radicals are to find the road from militant protest to working-class power.

Boston's Barricada Collective has done us the favor of publishing a journal presenting a very left-sounding anarchist worldview. For example, they write: "unlike many other anarchists today, we have no interest whatsoever in reformism.... An 'anti-globalization movement' does not appeal to us. We are not interested in trying to find the (non-existent) human face of capitalism." They write that they want "a movement...satisfying itself with nothing less than the total destruction of capital and the state" ("Lessons of Genoa," *Barricada* No. 8, September 2001). However, in concrete struggles of the working class and oppressed, the question of which side of the barricades Barricada finds itself on is not so clear-cut, as we will see.

### Defend Afghanistan Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!

A key question today for revolutionaries is the current U.S. war against Afghanistan. We Marxists say, "For class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers—Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!" In contrast, Barricada and other anarchists refuse to take sides. In Boston protests against what Barricada calls "America's New War," Boston Anarchists Against Militarism (BAAM, in which Barricada is active) carried banners reading, "Neither State Terrorism nor Religious Terrorism: Against Bush and Bin Laden" and "No War Between Nations, No Peace Between Classes!" While superficially this may seem rather radical, it's an excuse for neutralism, a confession of impotence in the face of imperialist onslaught, and as a political program is fully compatible with mainstream liberalism.

We say it is the simple duty of revolutionists to stand in military defense of small countries like Afghanistan against the most deadly imperialist power on the face of the planet, not to equate the already devastated victims with their oppressors. We would welcome a defeat

of U.S. imperialism as a victory for the oppressed of the world, while giving no political support to the reactionary, women-hating Taliban murderers.

Barricada states: "We are opposed to nationalism and other artificial divisions of the working class. However, we are also anti-imperialists and as such support oppressed peoples in their struggles of national liberation providing that they maintain a revolutionary leftist character" ("Barricada Collective Statement," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001). This statement collapses the difference between military defense of a people from imperialist subjugation and political defense of a particular regime. What this means on the ground is that they will politically support the nationalist leaders of some movements and abandon the rest to military repression by the imperialists. Marxists on the other hand understand the difference between military and political support, for instance, we have consistently defended the anarchists against state terror from Gothenburg to Genoa, but anyone reading this leaflet can tell we don't share their politics.

### Spartacists Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Showing their contempt for the gains made by the working people of the world, Barricada explains the resurgence of anarchism in the misery brought by the counterrevolution in the Soviet

Union. "We as anarchists are being presented, thanks to the current global situation, the decay of the welfare state, and the bankruptcy of authoritarian and statist alternatives to capitalism, with yet another opportunity to present people with the possibility of a different world," they write ("Lessons of Genoa," *Barricada* No. 8, September 2001).

Far from a "statist alternative to capitalism," the Russian Revolution was the first, and to date only, successful workers revolution in history. By taking Russia out of World War I and expropriating the Russian capitalists as a class, it was also the greatest anti-imperialist action ever undertaken (a point that could be learned by many of today's "anti-globalization" protesters!). The Russian Revolution not only meant the liberation of the myriad of oppressed peoples in the former tsarist empire, but also the birth and growth of a genuine and revolutionary communist movement in the "third world." In China and elsewhere, not only the advanced workers but also anti-colonialist students, emancipated women and leftist intellectuals saw for the first time a way forward from the hopeless perspective of looking to the backward, imperialist-dependent colonial bourgeoisies as a force for liberation.

Among those who rallied to Bolshevism were many of the best left-wing anarchists of the time. Although hostile to this trend, Barricada still has to admit it. For instance, in an article on early Argentine anarchism they write, "Sadly, with the rise of Lenin and his authoritarian brand of communism in Russia, so called anarcho-bolshevik groups formed all around Argentina, advocating for the dictatorship of the proletariat and justifying the state as a vehicle to an anarchist society" ("Anarchism in Early 20th Century Argentina," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001).

Even as degenerated as the Soviet workers state became under the misuse of Stalin and his heirs, it continued to obsess the imperialist powers because it ripped whole swaths of the globe from their hands. Not least of these were the various deformed workers states that arose in this period and continue to exist—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—states whose very existence has become increasingly threatened after the fall of Soviet power in Russia, whom many, in particular Cuba, were dependent on for aid. The Soviet Union also gave some modicum of maneuverability to nationalists in the "third world," who

AFP  
Italian riot police attack Genoa protester, July 2001. Police attacks in Genoa illustrated repressive force of capitalist state; rejecting vanguard party, anarchists have no program to smash capitalist state.





VAAP

December 1917 Russian workers demonstration banner includes call: "Long Live Soviet Power Which Has Paved the Way for Peace Among Nations." Bolsheviks led workers to power in greatest victory for proletariat ever.

Barcelona, July 1936 (right): During Spanish Civil War, anarchists joined coalition government with bourgeoisie, betraying revolutionary workers.



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were able to jockey for position between the world's two "superpowers."

In contrast, the imperialist ruling class cements its rule through supporting the most reactionary tinpot dictators and religious fanatics the world over. The U.S. armed and funded the *mujahedin* during their dirty proxy war against the USSR in the late seventies and eighties. The best hope Afghanistan had at modernization (especially for its horribly oppressed women) was the Soviet Red Army intervention in 1979. The USSR gave women not only the ability to read and write, but weapons and training in order to defend themselves. So we uniquely said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" In contrast, the social-democratic reformists around the world and their left tails, like the ISO, SWP, etc., joined in the imperialist crusade against the USSR.

By 1988 in Afghanistan 15,000 women served in the armed forces. Forty percent of doctors and 60 percent of teachers at the University of Kabul were women, and 440,000 female students were enrolled in educational institutions. That's all shattered today. When in 1989 the Stalinist bureaucracy betrayed the Afghan peoples by pulling the Red Army out, we offered to raise an international brigade to fight to the death against the U.S.-backed *mujahedin* scum. Most anarchists at the time in practice abandoned Afghan women to the mercies of the U.S.'s murderous "freedom fighters" in the name of fighting "Soviet imperialism." Why? Because anarchists share the anti-Communist hostility of the bourgeoisie to these "authoritarian" states. If your only criteria are "authority" and "democracy" as abstract phrases floating above social reality, you end up in the camp of the "democratic" imperialist ruling class. As opposed to this "radical democratic idealism," Marxists, as materialists, understand that class struggle is the motor force of history.

We Trotskyists unconditionally militarily defended the Soviet Union, as we continue to defend the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, because of the gains made by these states in overthrowing capitalism and establishing collective property forms. We call for the overthrow of the venal and brutal Stalinist bureaucracies through proletarian political revolution, because Stalinism, in pursuit of the illusion of peaceful co-existence with imperialism, undermines the gains of those social revolutions. Stalinist bureaucracies must be replaced by workers political rule in order to defend these revolutions and extend them throughout the world.

## The "Anti-War Movement": Liberal Reformism or Class Struggle?

Noting the opportunism of much of the so-called "left" in the face of renewed patriotic frenzy and domestic repression, Barricada asks in "Cowering in the Wake" (*Barricada* No. 9, October 2001):

"should we as anarchists cut off our links to groups that display these attitudes?... A possible answer might be that, we should not for the moment, as an objective observation of North American anarchism would most likely reveal a movement still too weak to stand on its [sic] own.... unsettling attitudes of others aside, how do we, as anarchists react in a positive and constructive manner to this new situation?"

The first point here is that, independently of anarchists' attitude, the reformists have already given their answer. From attempts to harass the anarchist contingent at the Boston September 20 march to the Workers World/ANSWER organizers' attempts to play off the police provocation against anarchists in Washington on September 29 as an attempt by anarchists to join "their" march, the reformists and their liberal masters will alternately attempt to co-opt radicals as a "left" cover for their rotten politics and then offer them as cannon fodder to the capitalist state and disown them. The latter point was most brutally brought home in the blood-drenched streets of Genoa.

The real question here is what attitude should would-be revolutionaries take toward them, and this is not an organizational question, but a political one. Immediately after Genoa, Barricada wrote: "we have no interest whatsoever in reformism," noting, correctly, that "we do not believe...that a collection of groups, organizations, parties, and whatnot, whose only common bond is the opposition to a certain facet of capitalism... qualifies as a 'movement'" ("Lessons of Genoa"). Fine, but now BAAM, Barricada, et al. find themselves again immersed in precisely such a "movement." Despite Barricada's admission of the "unpleasantness of a lot of the attitudes of the WWP (and a fair amount of the politics as well)" ("Thousands Demonstrate Against Capitalism and War in Washington, D.C.," *Barricada* No. 9, October 2001), it ends up acting as a left cover for reformism, praising the WWP demo for its "extensive outreach work" and for creating "the basis for a strong and combative anti-war movement." But the only real "anti-war" movement is one that aims at overthrowing capitalism, the basis for wars in the imperialist epoch. Barricada shares the reformists' belief that the capitalist state can be pressured to end the war, if only enough people fill the streets. They simply want these to be more "militant" demonstrations.

So it's no accident that anarchists are being sucked into the orbit of the liberal-reformist "anti-war movement." Barricada's latest issue ("Opposition to 'America's New War' Grows in Boston," *Barricada* No. 10, November 2001) approvingly notes that "the groundwork is certainly present for a strong anti-war movement in Boston. It is now simply a matter of learning to accept some of the differences and working together." Meanwhile, on the very same page, Barricada advertises an "Anti-War Teach In" at MIT presenting "Anarchist and Radical Perspectives" on the war which snarlingly concludes with "Absolutely no party

groups." So, anarchists, while you project "working together" with reformists in a red-white-and-blue "antiwar" movement, you suggest that you're going to practice the same political censorship against communists that they do?

The job of revolutionaries is to politically struggle against these reformist tendencies by exposing their rotten class-collaborationism and counterposing a strategy of class struggle. A revolutionary movement is not built by seizing on the existing consciousness of the class in times of crises, it is built by exploding this consciousness and instilling revolutionary consciousness, the consciousness of the working class as a class for itself with its own interests and power diametrically opposed to that of the ruling capitalist class. This means organizing the working class independently of the capitalist class. Does this sound like a vanguardist approach? It should! This is the essence of the vanguard party, to bring consciousness to the working class.

## Class Struggle in the U.S.: The Fight for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution

Barricada is for "class war," yet its concept of this reduces itself to individualistic protest, not a struggle for power: all that's offered is "direct action, workplace sabotage, property damage, mass confrontation, and civil disobedience" ("Barricada Collective Statement"). "When 'social turbulence' becomes strong enough to topple the status quo, revolutions occur" ("Cowering in the Wake"). Revolutions do not just occur; they must be made by a working class conscious of its historic mission of liberating all of humanity. Barricada writes in "Lessons of Genoa" that they want to create "anarchist alternatives" to "parties, NGOs, and unions" in order to "render the NGO/party/boss union apparatus irrelevant."

But trade unions are not "irrelevant," they are in fact the first line of working-class defense against capitalist exploitation. Anarchist dismissal of unions as "irrelevant" essentially leaves the most organized sector of the proletariat in the hands of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats. The main obstacle to revolutionary consciousness in the U.S. is the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which ties workers to their enemies in the capitalist Democratic Party. The Barricada Collective "opposes electoral politics, [and] the party system" but does nothing to concretely overcome this because it refuses to engage in political battle with the current misleaders of the working class.

No one seeking to be a revolutionary in the United States can succeed without understanding the strategic nature of the fight for black liberation, about which Barricada has basically nothing to say. Ever since the defeat of Reconstruction in the 1870s, U.S. capitalism has been based on the special oppression of black people, who today form a race-color caste, economically integrated into strategic sectors of the working class but socially segregated at the bottom of American capitalist society. This racist oppression of the black population is a foundation stone of

capitalist exploitation, as the rulers have long played the race card to obscure the class divide between labor and capital. We agree with Marx that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." We call to finish the task of the Civil War through putting the working class in power: black liberation through socialist revolution. If labor is to free itself from the chains of capitalist exploitation, it must champion black freedom.

The capitalist rulers also seek to pit all "native" workers against their desperate immigrant brothers and sisters—we fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants as a basic democratic demand. Especially in the current climate, it is the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to oppose anti-immigrant repression. Many immigrant workers bring with them the class-struggle traditions of their homelands. Rather than being helpless victims, black and immigrant workers will be central leaders of the revolutionary fight for the emancipation of the working class as a whole and all humanity.

## From Protest to Power

In "Lessons of Genoa," Barricada states of other "left" groups: "All others, being in authoritarianism and/or reformism are bound to sooner or later betray us, either due to pure ideological incompatibility or for political gain." By dismissing all parties as "authoritarian," they miss the key difference between Stalinists and reformists of all stripes on the one side and revolutionary Trotskyism on the other—which is implacable hostility to capitalist class rule. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have never flinched from our duty to defend all leftists against state terror—from the Weathermen of the 1960s/1970s to Black Bloc activists today. In the immediate aftermath of the brutal police killing of Carlo Giuliani, the ICL issued an urgent call for "workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression," in contrast to reformist

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

## MARXISM VS. ANARCHISM

THE ROOTS OF ANARCHISM  
From Bourgeois Idealism to Green-Racistism

FROM 1848 TO THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

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# Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation"

# The World Trade Center Attack

SEPTEMBER 13—The attack on the World Trade Center, carried out through the hijacking of civilian airliners that killed hundreds of passengers and crew, was an indefensible act of criminal terror. While it may be viewed as a symbol of the wealth and global reach of U.S. imperialism, the World Trade Center had workers of all races, ethnicities and religions who were employed there. And at 9 a.m. on a workday morning, thousands of other workers—transit, construction, office and countless others—were travelling through or in the vicinity of the Twin Towers.

It is not simply that the target wasn't even an institution representing the brutal and murderous U.S. imperialist rulers. Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*

The American imperialists—Democrats and Republicans—and their lackey Australian partners are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle "one nation indivisible" patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign "enemy," as well as immigrants, and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people. This is particularly convenient as massive numbers of jobs are being axed—adding to the mountain of human poverty, misery and all-sided degradation that has been created by the capitalist ruling classes over the past decade with the destruction of social services benefiting the working class, minorities and the poor.

In the U.S., the theme is "rally 'round the flag" as Republican president Bush, with complete bipartisan support from Congress, readies the Pentagon war machine for terror attacks and worse against the people of those countries they claim "harboured" the terrorists. The last such "retaliation," following the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, rained 80 cruise missiles down on Afghanistan and on a pharmaceuticals plant in Sudan. Previous to that, there was the all-out war against Iraq in 1991, a war which continues with regular U.S. bombing raids, while over one and a half million Iraqis have been killed by the UN starvation blockade. The capitalist media recalls "Pearl Harbor" in blaring headlines. But it was U.S. imperialism, backed by their Australian allies, that was the first and only country in the world to use atomic weapons in the 1945 nuclear incineration of a *quarter-million people* in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And the U.S. and Australian imperialists killed three million Vietnamese in their dirty, losing war against the heroic workers and peasants of that country.

The Australian ruling class rushed to declare their support for the U.S. imperialists as they vowed to wreak bloody revenge. The Australian government activated a secret "counter-terrorism committee" and beefed up security at the Pine Gap spy base. Both prime minister John Howard and Australian Labor Party leader Kim Beazley, who have been loudly hailing the 50th anniversary of the counterrevolutionary ANZUS treaty, have declared in advance they will assist and support whatever mass terror the blood-soaked U.S. imperialists perpetrate. Howard's call for a "lethal response" was

quickly echoed by Beazley. The "Joint Facilities" at Pine Gap will no doubt once again target the workers and oppressed of the world, as they did in the bombing of Iraq in 1991. Close Pine Gap—Smash ANZUS!

As communists, we fight to mobilise the working people here in opposition to the war aims and military adventures of the Australian rulers abroad. We opposed the Australian-led occupation of East Timor—cheered on by virtually the entire fake left—and demand they get out now. We stood for the military defence of Iraq against U.S./Australian imperialism during the Gulf War and in the face of the subsequent terror bombing, and opposed

Europe where, for example, the French government has flooded the subways with paramilitary police forces to terrorise those of North African and Near Eastern origin.

The racist Australian rulers, fully supported by the ALP, have seized upon the attack on the World Trade Center to further intensify the racist hysteria against immigrants and refugees. Having previously sent warships against boats carrying desperate refugees, including those fleeing the Taliban Afghanistan regime, today the government, echoed by the ALP, are out to brand refugees as having "links" to bin Laden. Vilified by John Howard's Liberal/National government

society grows exponentially, the rulers fear a social conflagration. Building up their forces of domestic repression, which they have long deployed against viciously oppressed Aborigines and immigrant communities is crucial to maintaining their class rule. Now Queensland ALP premier Beattie has tarred planned protests against the October Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting with the same brush as those who attacked the World Trade Center, a justification for murderous state repression against the demonstrators.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union, a workers state which however bureaucratically



Australian



Jane Therese

Imperialist "war on terror" means war on immigrants, refugees. Left: Gun-toting Australian SAS terrorise child refugees. Right: U.S. New Jersey cops surround bus passengers seized because they spoke "little English."

the starvation blockade—an act of war—from the outset. Likewise, in the face of the U.S.-led NATO onslaught against Serbia two years ago, which destroyed the entire infrastructure of that country, we raised the banner: Defeat U.S./Australian imperialism through workers revolution! Defend Serbia! In the case of both Iraq and Serbia, we said that it was the task of the workers of those countries to overthrow the bloody nationalist regimes that oppress them.

The attack on the World Trade Center has been attributed to the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic groups like Hamas, the Afghan Taliban government and Osama bin Laden. All have vehemently denied any responsibility. But even if it were bin Laden, now the all-purpose enemy of U.S. imperialism, he is the creature of the American and other imperialist rulers who bought and paid for his services in the Islamic "holy war" against the Soviet Army in Afghanistan. We hailed the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, noting that this was one of the few genuinely progressive acts by the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, offering the possibility of extending social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution particularly to the hideously oppressed women of Afghanistan. The purpose of bin Laden and his CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists was to perpetuate barbarity and enslavement in Afghanistan.

But it is not simply the apparently ubiquitous and unidentifiable "enemy without" that they are gearing up to brutally repress. The capitalist rulers will also seize on the attack on the World Trade Center to dramatically increase the powers of their state—the cops, courts, prisons and armed forces—against the "enemy within." The most immediate targets of the forces of repression will be any and all people of Near Eastern descent, as this chauvinist hysteria goes into overdrive. This is true not only in the U.S. but in Australia and West

and ALP state governments, in the wake of the attack on the World Trade Center, immigrants are now the target of violent abuse on the streets. In Brisbane a mosque was firebombed and a bus of Muslim school children pelted with rocks and bottles. In Sydney Muslim women have been assaulted, spat on and their headscarves torn off. A Perth mosque was defaced with human excrement. The equation of Arab = "terrorist" is a racist lie! We Marxists say: Down with the racist Liberal/ALP war on immigrants! Asylum now for the refugees! Close the detention centres, no deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

The purpose of the chauvinist hysteria is to intimidate and constrain the multiracial working class from any social struggle. In Australia, the biggest political obstacle to mobilising the working class against the capitalists' attacks is Laborism which ties the working class to the exploiters using the lie of a "common national interest." It was the ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy which led the chauvinist campaign for Australian imperialist troops to East Timor. Proving their allegiance to the capitalist rulers the Laborite union tops called off a Qantas airlines strike yesterday. But as the gap between the handful of filthy rich who profit from the increasingly brutal exploitation of labour and the rest of the

degenerated did represent an alternative to capitalist exploitation and oppression, the U.S. boasted of being the "world's only superpower" and the American imperialist rulers thought they would face no challenge as they run roughshod over the rest of the world. It is a measure of the intense hatred for U.S. imperialism that the destruction of the World Trade Center, at the cost of likely thousands of innocent lives, could be greeted enthusiastically by many around the world. It is also a measure of the lack of any perceived possibility of defeating U.S. imperialism from within. The men who run Wall Street and Washington, and their junior partners in Canberra, can and must be swept away *from within* by the multiracial working class.

The Labor-loyal reformist "left" in this country is particularly typified by the International Socialist Organisation (ISO). Their statement, "Horror in the United States: Bitter fruit of US policy" notes that refugees are fleeing brutal regimes, such as in Afghanistan, but they do not mention that the Afghan *mujahedin* from which the Taliban emerged, were backed as "freedom fighters" by the imperialists during the Cold War. Also left unsaid is the ISO's *own support* for these reactionaries against the Soviet Red Army. The ISO's railing against American imperialist "policy" is simply an alibi

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# Class Struggle...

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exploitation and oppression, which requires the overturn of the imperialist order through workers revolution. The task is to educate and mobilize the proletariat to that end. And that requires breaking the allegiance of the workers to their class-collaborationist, social-chauvinist leaders.

## Centrists and Renegades

Reformist groups like the International Socialist Organization and Workers World Party, who busy themselves attempting to enlist dissident Democratic Party politicians (currently with scant success) in building "peace" coalitions, offer up the pipe dream of an imperialist system cleansed of war and injustice. We Marxists say that only workers revolution can end imperialist war, and as part of that task we seek to break the proletariat from the chauvinist "national front" and to mobilize class-struggle opposition to the war. And while such a perspective may seem remote in the U.S. today, in Italy the COBAS (Rank and File committees) unions have called for a political general strike on November 9 in opposition to the imperialist war against Afghanistan and to the Italian government's assault on social benefits. Similarly in 1999, the COBAS launched a one-day general strike in opposition to the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia. Such labor actions against the war in this country would challenge the jingoist "national unity" used to cement the workers behind the war aims of their capitalist exploiters.

Our perspective is based on the experience of the October Revolution of 1917, which triumphed amid the slaughter of World War I because of the Bolshevik program of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. Proletarian opposition to the imperialist depredations of the

exploiters can, in the words of Leon Trotsky, be pursued "only through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, that is, by widening, deepening, and sharpening those revolutionary methods which constitute the content of class struggle in 'peacetime'" ("Learn to Think," May 1938).

This is the understanding we have propagated in our sales at work locations, in the ghettos and in all our interventions at antiwar protests and meetings. Nevertheless, the Internationalist Group (IG), a handful of centrist renegades who fled our organization in the mid-1990s under the pressures of imperialist "death of communism" triumphalism, have recently taken us to task for having "flinched" in the face of the jingoist warmongering now rampant in this country. In an Internet manifesto dated October 2001, the IG excoriates us for our supposed "opposition to calling for the defeat of 'their own' bourgeoisie in an imperialist war. All talk of socialist revolution comes down to 'pie in the sky in the sweet bye-and-bye' if you don't come out four-square for the defeat of 'your own' bourgeoisie in an imperialist war."

At bottom, the IG deliberately muddles the question of a military defeat in a particular war with the proletarian defeat of one's bourgeoisie through socialist revolution. The latter is the program animating any truly revolutionary party in peacetime as in wartime. The slogans used to proceed toward that end—to lead the working masses from their current level of consciousness to the seizure of state power—are, however, necessarily conjunctural. Thus, upon returning to Russia after the overthrow of the tsar in early 1917, Lenin had to fight against those in the Bolshevik Party who wished to lend support to the bourgeois Provisional Government. Having won this battle, he then had to caution left proletarian elements of the party who wanted to immediately call for the overthrow of the Provisional Government. On 5 May 1917, the Central Committee passed the following motion authored by Lenin: "The slogan 'Down with the Provisional

Government!' is an incorrect one at the present moment because, in the absence of a solid (i.e., a class-conscious and organized) majority of the people on the side of the revolutionary proletariat, such a slogan is either an empty phrase, or, objectively, amounts to attempts of an adventurist character."

The IG, in an effort to back up its empty phrasemongering, offers the following example: "The French defeat at the hands of the Algerian independence fighters culminating in 1962 demoralized the French bourgeoisie and helped lead



Perry/NY Times

**NYC, 2 November: cops attack firefighters protesting order to pull back from search through WTC ruins. Over a dozen firefighters, including union officials, have been arrested.**

to the worker-student revolt of 1968, which posed the first potentially revolutionary crisis in Europe in years." In reality, the eight-year-long colonial war in Algeria bears no resemblance to what is happening in Afghanistan today.

It is interesting to examine our position of defense of Afghanistan against the U.S. onslaught as compared to a situation which was, in some ways, similar: the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by imperialist Italy. Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie was a cruelly oppressive society—one of the world's last bastions of chattel slavery—characterized by tribal backwardness, subjugation of minority peoples and unremitting exploitation of the peasant masses. Revolutionaries defended Ethiopia against Mussolini's Italy because the latter was an imperialist power, regardless of the fact that the form of imperialist rule was fascist rather than democratic.

In calling on the working class to defend Afghanistan against U.S. imperialism, we apply the same Leninist principle of siding with backward countries against imperialist attack. That said, the U.S. war against Afghanistan is in important ways different from the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, which was aimed at realizing Italy's longstanding intention to

a strategy, even that which derives from real, if misguided, anti-imperialist impulses and takes as its target genuine institutions of state repression, which was manifestly not the case in the attack on the World Trade Center. Substituting individual acts, however heroic in particular circumstances, is counterposed to proletarian class struggle and the consciousness the working class needs if it is to stand at the head of all the oppressed in the revolutionary overthrow of the entire system of imperialist exploitation and repression. Rather, such terrorism serves mainly to provide a pretext for the bourgeois state to intensify repression.

In the aftermath of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, the imperialist rulers have sought to find a surrogate for the war against "godless Communism" in the spectre of "Islamic terrorism." This is the new external enemy against which they have sought to rally the population, and they aim to use the attack on the World Trade Center for furthering public support for their imperialist terror abroad. As in the U.S., the Australian rulers foster the lie that the working people have a common interest with their capitalist exploiters. We say: Down with U.S./Australian imperialism! The main enemy is at home! Our purpose is to build the proletarian, internationalist, revolutionary party that will infuse the working class with the understanding of its social power and historic interests as the gravedigger of capitalism, part of the struggle for workers revolution worldwide.

—Adapted from the 12 September statement by our comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S., writing under difficult circumstances and from inside the juggernaut of a wounded and dangerous imperialist beast. ■

colonize that country. The U.S. does not aim at an occupation of Afghanistan—at least not at this point—although now that they're in Central Asia the imperialists will grab what they can. In attacking Afghanistan, the U.S. seeks vengeance for the insult to its imperial might.

Such is not always easily available even to the mightiest imperialist power. In the 19th century, when Britain was the world's leading imperialist state, its ambassador to Bolivia disdainfully declined a cup of Bolivian beer. Bolivian officials were so offended by his condescending attitude that they dragged him through the streets of La Paz tied across the back of a donkey, then forced him to drink a whole barrel of the brew. Infuriated by this act of *lèse majesté*, Queen Victoria insisted that the Royal Navy bombard Bolivia in retaliation. When one of her advisers finally summoned up the courage to inform her that Bolivia was landlocked, the queen demanded a map and, dipping her pen in an inkwell, marked a bold X across the country, declaring "Bolivia does not exist!"

The IG's spurious analogy with colonial wars notwithstanding, it seems currently unlikely that the U.S. will launch a significant land invasion of Afghanistan. Indeed, its maiden efforts in this regard, a commando raid in October, led to results that must have induced nightmares of the humiliating American defeat in Vietnam among the Pentagon brass. The London *Independent* (30 October) reported: "The raid was a purely cosmetic one for the benefit of the media and the public on a target, which intelligence had claimed, would be poorly defended. The tenacity of the Taliban in fighting back has so alarmed the Pentagon that no further raids have taken place since."

Washington's most likely variant at this time is for continued, incessant and purposeless bombing for which the Taliban has no possible military redress. Again, this was not the case in the 1935 Italo-Ethiopian war. Italy was a second-rate imperialist power riven by sharp class contradictions and constrained in its intentions by its bigger imperialist rivals. Although in the upshot Italy was victorious after a seven-month-long ground war, it was not unreasonable for the then-Trotskyist U.S. Socialist Workers Party to project a possible military victory by Ethiopia:

"It can be said without exaggeration that a defeat of Italy and a revolution on the Apennine peninsula can have unforeseeable results. The whole European system of alliances and states would fall apart. The proletariat in Germany, Austria, Spain, on the Balkans, and not least of all in France, would receive an enormous impulsion; the face of Europe would be altered. That lies in the direct class interests of the international proletariat. But

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for their long-standing fealty to the social-democratic ALP which upholds and aims to maintain the Tories' racist war on immigrants and massive austerity attacks on the working class.

In the neocolonial countries, where the masses of people are confronted with the complete bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism, there has been a growth of religious obscurantism, particularly Islam. In the face of the armed might of the U.S. imperialists, and the genocidal Zionist rulers they bankroll and arm, some see little alternative than to strap their bodies with explosives and hurl themselves against their perceived oppressors.

Whoever the perpetrators of the suicide attack on the World Trade Center, it demonstrated the mindset of those who, typically religious fanatics, believe they have a god-given mission to exterminate all "non-believers." Such Islamic zealots see trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women as infidels deserving of god's wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S., where the domestic secret police, the FBI, was until recently headed by Louis Freeh, a member of the truly sinister Catholic Opus Dei. Nor is this outlook any different than that of fascist Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish "holy land."

Terrorist bombings tend to be carried out by nationalist or religious forces because they are at best indifferent or at worst hostile to the entire population they consider to be the enemy. The World Trade Center attack was and could only have been aimed at the indiscriminate slaughter of as many—ordinary, multi-ethnic, working—people as possible.

As Marxists, we oppose terrorism as

## Anarchism...

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and centrist "left" groups who sold their souls to the rotten Social Democratic-run capitalist governments now ruling most of Europe and joined the capitalist state's vicious, deadly vendetta against the Black Bloc anarchists. We defended the Black Bloc because we understand that all such attacks are aimed at stifling any and all extra-parliamentary dissent and struggles on behalf of the oppressed.

Again in the "Lessons of Genoa," Barricada admits: "the anarchist movement lacks the collective strategy, organizational capacity, and structures to attempt anything beyond a massive riot on a large scale." Well, chaos and ineffectuality are the inevitable results of disdaining the need for an organized political movement to fight for state power. Barricada further writes: "The police presence [was] too large and the reaction too forceful" at Genoa to accomplish some anarchists'

goals. Young protesters were deeply shaken by the murder of Carlo Giuliani, by the live ammunition fired at them in "socialist" Sweden, by the mass arrests and torture of militants, by the trail of smashed bones, teeth and blood left by police raids into supposedly "safe zones" in Genoa.

As Marxist communists, not idealists, we know revolution is no game, and we know we cannot create "autonomous" or "safe zones" in a world dominated by capitalism. Genoa revealed the murderously efficient force of the bourgeois state as an instrument of repression. That force is being shown in much bolder relief in Afghanistan today. Young activists today who are serious about prevailing against that might must break from petty-bourgeois individualist heroics that lead only to victimization. We Marxists offer a strategy for victory, through forging the most organized and disciplined vanguard party to mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule, the working class. Forward to the world socialist revolution! ■

# Class Struggle...

(continued from page 9)

still more. A defeat of Italy in Africa, a victory of Ethiopia, might deliver the imperialist bandits a terrific blow in Africa."

—"Questions of the Italo-Ethiopian War," *New International* (October 1935)

None of these factors currently constrain the U.S., although, to be sure, the war will exacerbate tensions among the imperialist powers, and its price in misery at home may awaken class combativity in the American proletariat. Thus, the call for a U.S. military defeat is, at this time, illusory and the purest hot air and "revolutionary" phrasemongering—and one which derives from forsaking the mobilization of the U.S. proletariat with the aim of the conquest of state power.

Unlike the IG, the SL is committed to breaking the American working class and the oppressed from their class-collaborationist bondage to the Democratic Party and to forging a revolutionary workers party to overthrow American imperialism through socialist revolution. While the IG waxes oh-so-revolutionary in the ether of cyberspace, we actually fight for a proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist perspective on the ground. In a recent intervention at a rally at the ILWU Local 10 longshore union hall in San Francisco in defense of the Charleston Five (see *WV* No. 767, 26 October), an SL supporter called for class struggle at home and for defense of Afghanistan against the imperialist attack. "Both ruling parties," she declared, "are fanning the flames of patriotic fervor to line up the population behind their military aims abroad and to further chain the working class to the interests of the bosses at home." She concluded as follows:

"For decades, the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leadership has tied workers to their class enemy through support to the Democrats....

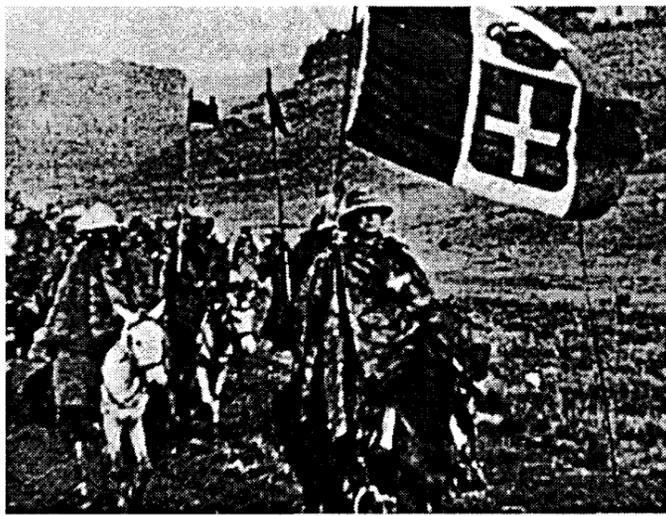
"For that reason, we believe it is necessary to wage a political struggle within the unions to forge a revolutionary workers party that will fight for black freedom, for immigrant rights and for our class brothers and sisters abroad against U.S. imperialism. Such a party will lead the fight to get rid of the capitalist order and create a workers government and a new society without exploitation. This is the only road to end racism and war forever. Those who labor must rule!"

In order to tell the truth about this imperialist war, our comrade had to battle the disruptions of one Jack Heyman, a left-talking ILWU local bureaucrat styled by the IG as a "workers leader," who was thwarted in his efforts by longshoremen in the audience.

## We Said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

The IG's r-r-revolutionary phrasemongering is shared by another clot of centrists, as exemplified by a 9 October joint statement signed by the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI, centered on the British Workers Power group), the Morenoite Fraccion Trotskyista in Mexico and the Communist League-Workers Power in Greece. They, too, are enamored with the call for "defeat of the imperialist forces." Where the IG attacks us for focusing on the indefensible nature of the indiscriminate attack on the World Trade Center, their centrist counterparts omit altogether any condemnation of the slaughter of thousands of ordinary working people and minorities in that attack, indicating a congruence with the worldview shared by U.S. imperialism's leaders and Islamic fundamentalists inspired by bin Laden—that entire peoples are responsible for the crimes of their rulers.

In the case of the LRCI et al., anti-Americanism is intermingled with preposterous slogans and some very red rhetoric to appeal to any and all who might read it, from the psychiatrically challenged to youth in search of an alter-



Dickinson College



Movietone News

Italian imperialist invaders (left) fought Ethiopian resistance forces for seven months in 1935-36 war of annexation.

native to pacifism and reformism. The red rhetoric is unserious bombast, as captured in the call on "soldiers to organise resistance in the armed forces...to rebel against the imperialists and their mass-murdering Generals" and on "workers in the munitions factories to boycott and sabotage imperialist war production." For these opportunists, words are meant not for the class struggle but for Greek tavernas, English pubs and Latin American cantinas. In Britain, the real substance of Workers Power's "revolutionary defeatism" is captured in their organizing to "LOBBY PARLIAMENT as it debates the war."

Indeed, voting Labour is just about the only "principle" the British Workers Power group adheres to. In 1997 as well as this year Workers Power voted for "Bomber Blair" and his Labour Party. In the 1999 NATO war against Serbia, the LRCI was marching in demonstrations shot through with placards reading "NATO Good Luck," championing the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army, which was then a pawn for NATO. Their current left posturing over Afghanistan is a function both of the growing unpopularity of the U.S. bombing among Europeans and the peripheral nature of Afghanistan from the standpoint of the European imperialists.

As to the preposterous, there is the call for "united action of all Afghan forces—including Islamist forces—to repel the imperialist assault," a task of interest to those who believe in alchemy. The notion that there can be any but the most ephemeral unity among the various tribes within Afghanistan's borders is belied by a history of constant internecine conflict. These peoples have no coherent national interest because Afghanistan is not a nation. The "Afghan forces" are today, as in the past, engaged in shooting at each other, with the Taliban, based on the dominant Pashtun people, arrayed against the largely Tajik and Uzbek Northern Alliance, which currently acts as a puppet of U.S. imperialism.

Declaring "Afghanistan has suffered over 20 years of war," the LRCI joint statement lumps together the CIA-backed *mujahedin* war against the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan with the later war among the rival *mujahedin* groups, the Taliban and the components of the Northern Alliance. In other words, the LRCI and its current bloc partners are united in hoping that no one will look too closely at where they stood on the U.S. proxy war in Afghanistan at the time! We hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan and fervently desired that Soviet commandos would take out the Islamic fanatics who threw acid in the faces of unveiled women and murdered those who dared teach young girls. Not so Workers Power, which condemned the Soviet presence while stopping short of echoing the imperialist cry for a Red Army withdrawal. The Morenoites openly backed the *mujahedin*. In France, they called for the Soviet Army to pull out of Afghanistan and leave its arms with the anti-Communist Islamic guerrillas. In Italy, the Morenoite group looked forward to "the possibility of extending the Iranian revolution within the borders

of the USSR" (*Avanzata Proletaria*, 12 January 1980)!

As a left cover for its opposition to the Soviet military presence, Workers Power at the time concocted an Afghan proletariat as an independent "revolutionary force." The current LRCI joint statement raises the demand for a "workers' and peasants' government" in Afghanistan, where there are no workers and not much of a peasantry. This idiocy is now echoed by the IG in its call for "socialist revolution" in Afghanistan. It was only the intervention of the Soviet Union that opened the possibility of bringing the Afghan peoples into the 20th century. That's why we raised the call, "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Today, social revolution can come to Afghanistan only through socialist overturns in those countries in the area with significant proletarian concentrations, from Iran to Pakistan and India. Central to a revolutionary perspective in such countries is the fight against the age-old subjugation of women. Indeed, the Afghan conflict in the 1980s was the only war in modern history fought centrally over the status of women.

In reality, the IG has little taste for the proletariat—whether in the U.S. or in the "Third World." Instead the IG peddles its wares to a variety of petty-bourgeois

leading the struggle for social and national justice. As Trotsky stressed, only proletarian revolution can break the imperialist yoke over such countries and, with its extension to advanced capitalist countries, end imperialism forever.

The growth of Islamic and other religious fundamentalism in backward countries is a measure of the bankruptcy of the post-independence bourgeois-nationalist regimes, which enforce imperialist starvation dictates while themselves promoting obscurantist backwardness. Take, for example, predominantly Hindu India, where the caste system and such hideous practices as *suttee* (the burning of widows) flourish after more than five decades of "democracy." The weight of social backwardness is evident in all aspects of the society. Some 70 million Indians are afflicted with goiter and 200 million are at risk of iodine deficiency, which is the single most preventable cause of mental retardation. Iodized salt is a cheap, ready means for combatting such medical disorders. Yet in the wake of a clamor by small-scale salt producers, Gandhians and fascist groups tied to the ruling BJP, last year Hindu-chauvinist prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee overturned a ban on the sale of non-iodized salt.

## For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

In Europe no less than in America, the working class has been subjected to a continuous attack on jobs, wages and benefits. In large measure these attacks have been carried out by governments led by social-democratic parties. In addition to the COBAS strike called in Italy, there is evidence of popular discontent throughout Europe. At the end of October, the giant IG Metall union in Germany called for a halt to the bombing, only to be reprimanded by "their" Social Democratic chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, who lectured: "Concern yourself with the living conditions of your members, but keep your fingers out of foreign policy, because you understand nothing about it" (*Spiegel Online*, 31 October). An IG Metall spokesman replied, "We're not about to let even Schröder shut us up."

While workers throughout Europe are no doubt suspicious that the war against Afghanistan may rebound to their detriment, the union tops also seek to voice the interests of their own bourgeoisies through appeals to anti-Americanism. Thus, the vice chairman of IG Metall warns against "blindly following orders from America." Such anti-American nationalism is also promoted by centrists like the LRCI, whose occasionally left-sounding rhetoric is mere window-dressing that serves to reinforce working-class illusions in the social-democratic labor lieutenants of capital. Only the Leninist commitment to drive the social-chauvinist misleaders out of the labor movement, to split the masses of workers from their social-democratic betrayers, can prepare the way for the long overdue and increasingly urgent socialist overturns necessary in Europe and elsewhere.

While in the U.S. the working class remains largely in support of the war, tears are beginning to appear in the fabric



ASp photo

Melbourne, 13 October: Australian Workers Power pushes reformist pacifism on the ground; centrists' "revolutionary" hot air is strictly for cyberspace.

nationalist audiences. In its latest Web posting, the IG sneers that "the SL presents itself as the vanguard fighter against Islamic fundamentalism." Its contempt for our unqualified opposition to Islamic reaction is a tacit rejection of our call for a Red Army victory against the mullahs in Afghanistan in the 1980s (which the IG feigns to stand on). It is also a promissory note to nationalists from those parts of the planet where Islam is dominant, in the name of a "united front" against American imperialism, to forswear the struggle for proletarian power in those countries. It is, in embryo, an abandonment of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which holds that the proletariat in the backward countries is the only force capable of

of jingoist "national unity." For many postal workers facing the threat of potentially deadly anthrax infection, Osama bin Laden likely appears as less of an enemy than their own bosses. The arrest of four firemen's union officials following last Friday's protest near the ruins of the World Trade Center will justly be taken as a warning by many workers that the bosses will crack down on any labor unrest. Beginning with the strikes last month by Minnesota state workers and at three General Dynamics tank plants, it is evident that many workers resent the losses to their living standards sustained during the recent nine-year boom and are dismayed by the prospects of further losses—including the loss of any paycheck at all—as a result of the recession and the war effort. The Republicans' plan to grant even further massive tax breaks to the rich will doubtless add kindling to these smoldering resentments.

Evidence of such dissatisfaction can be found in the fact that a layer of local trade-union bureaucrats is voicing opposition to the U.S. bombing. This also finds its echo among black Democrats. In September, Oakland Democrat Barbara Lee cast the sole vote against the Congressional war resolution; subsequently 66 Congressmen and one Senator voted against the "anti-terror" law. And Lee, who received death threats after her vote, was feted by a rally of several thousand hosted by local liberal Democrats and the ILWU tops.

Both the ILWU on the West Coast and a lash-up of more than 400 New York City trade unionists, including 12 local presidents, have come out in opposition to the war. A statement issued by "New York

City Labor Against the War" declares that war "will redirect billions to the military and corporate executives, while draining such essential domestic programs as education, health care and the social security trust. In New York City and elsewhere, it will be a pretext for imposing 'austerity' on labor and poor people under the guise of 'national unity'."

The black Democrats and oppositional trade-union tops are positioning themselves to get ahead of and contain the increasing discontents that the capitalist rulers' war at home and abroad, coming amid a deepening recession and the enduring character of racist oppression, will generate among working people and minorities. Selling themselves as the friends of labor and blacks is the long-standing card played by the Democrats, which is why they are historically the preferred party of the bourgeoisie when it comes to mobilizing the population for war. Jesse Jackson Sr. offers such services to his capitalist masters in an article in the *Chicago Defender* (15 October) headlined "Victory at Home, Victory Abroad!"—the NAACP's slogan during World War II. Trying to stoke support for the war among the black population, Jackson holds out the promise of a better future if they rally 'round the flag: "In many ways, we are two nations under one flag. We want to be one nation under one flag."

Black columnist Mary Mitchell captured some of the mistrust of the black population for the government's "war against terrorism," writing in the *Chicago Sun-Times* (9 October): "When black people think of terrorists, they don't immediately think of the Taliban or

Osama bin Laden. They think of the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nation, Southern slaveholders." Mitchell went on to complain that the same government that gutted welfare is now dropping "millions of dollars of food into the mouths of a people who live in the country ruled by a sworn enemy." Such anti-foreigner prejudices have their domestic reflection in anti-immigrant chauvinism, which is fanned by the likes of the black Democrats and Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, who seek to channel the anger of the ghetto poor into hatred for Arab, Korean and other immigrant shopkeepers. This is deadly poison which only serves the divide-and-rule schemes of the American bourgeoisie, whose rule is fundamentally premised on the subjugation of black people at the bottom of this society.

While the Republicans unabashedly enforce the interests of big business, the Democrats lie and do the same thing. As we note in the Programmatic Statement of the SL/U.S., "For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!":

"The shell game through which the Democratic Party—the historic party of the Confederate slavocracy—is portrayed as the 'friend' of blacks and labor has been essential to preserving the rule of racist American capitalism. Our principal task in the U.S. is to break the power of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy over the labor movement. It is this bureaucracy—itsself a component part of the Democratic Party—which politically chains the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and is the major obstacle to revolutionary class consciousness, to the forging of a revolutionary workers party."

While the Sweeney leadership of the AFL-CIO openly supports the imperialist

war, the antiwar union officials offer consoling words of opposition, but no deeds. A strike by the heavily black postal unions—in defense of the very lives of their members—to shut down anthrax-contaminated worksites would resonate widely among working people and minorities. But that would mean defying federal anti-strike legislation, challenging the government's proscription of strikes that it deems threatening to "national interests." In thrall to the bosses' laws, the postal union tops instead push fruitless court suits.

For America's capitalist rulers, workers are mere fodder for profit at home and war abroad. The callous indifference of the bosses and their government to the lives of postal workers only underscores that the interests of capital and labor are fundamentally counterposed. Such an understanding is the beginning of wisdom if the working people are to struggle successfully against this system of exploitation and war.

American "democracy" has been purchased through the brutal exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial masses around the world, generally through imposition of murderous anti-labor dictatorial regimes. Our task in the bastion of world imperialism is to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, section of a reformed Fourth International, that will lead the proletariat in the overthrow of the American capitalist order, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the establishment of a planned socialist economy. *For class struggle against capitalist rulers at home! Defend Afghanistan against imperialist attack!* ■

## Mundine...

(continued from page 12)

Center, an indefensible act from the vantage point of the working class.

A few hours later, noting he'd been set up, Mundine made crystal clear that he opposed the WTC attack:

"I condemn these things, on both sides, these killings, these acts of terrorism or whatever. Any form, any shape of violence or killing, I'm not for.

"My heart and soul goes out to their families. I've lost close ones myself and I know how it feels, especially in that situation [in New York], the grief and the sorrow would be unbearable and my heart and love go out to them.

"Certain elements of the media made out as though I condone these things, they built me out to be quite a monster in which I ain't."

—*Daily Telegraph*,  
23 October 2001

This heartfelt statement didn't stop the capitalist media hacks as a tidal wave of foam-flecked invective crashed over Mundine. Talk-back radio, editorials and every chattering television head gleefully predicted he would never fight in America, that he was through as a boxer. The World Boxing Council, lying that Mundine had "justif[ied] the terrorist attacks and the consequent deaths of so many innocent victims that occurred on September 11 in New York" (*Financial Times*, 25 October 2001), indefinitely stripped him of his ranking. A *New York Post* sportswriter called Mundine the "abhorrent Australian." Not hiding their White Australia contempt for Aboriginal people, the local media spewed blatant racist garbage against him.

Against this tide, *Sydney Morning Herald* (24 October 2001) journalist Peter FitzSimons underscored that Mundine was being witchhunted:

"In the year 2001, in sunny Australia, it has been reminiscent of McCarthyism in the United States in the 1950s, when there was one, and ONLY ONE, view on the subject of communism. Anyone who didn't have that view became an instant enemy of the state."

Today, challenging the idea that the imperialist powers—robbers and plunderers of millions around the globe—are fighting for "freedom" and "civilisation" against terrorism can get you branded as

a supporter of terrorism. To set workers against each other, the rulers demonise desperate asylum-seekers as possible "terrorists." A construction boss in Perth recently labeled construction unionists terrorists for taking militant action against a scab construction site. The capitalist rulers want a docile, regimented population who will do what they're told and who will accept the bosses' sacred "right" to profit. Youth are to unquestioningly serve as cannon fodder in the imperialists' wars.

Aborigines have long been viewed by the bourgeoisie as a "fifth column," potential traitors to be treated with the same racist suspicion as Japanese, Jews, Germans, Italians and others who were interned in camps during World Wars I and II. For visiting Libya with other Aboriginal activists in the late 1980s, Michael Mansell, secretary of the "Aboriginal Provisional Government," was vilified as a dangerous subversive. No doubt reflecting his own experiences, Mansell's is one of the few voices to speak out for Anthony Mundine.

At the same time, however, Mansell pleaded, "Surely, Prime Minister John Howard and Opposition Leader Kim Beazley will contact the Americans on Mundine's behalf" (*Koori Mail*, 31 October 2001). This is absurd; it is precisely the pro-war Liberal/National coalition and the ALP who have been whipping up a jingoist hysteria to support the imperialists' attack on Afghanistan, setting the stage for this very much "Made in Australia" witchhunt. Howard is a stone-cold racist. And it's ALP state governments who send the cops to act as judge, jury and executioner of Aboriginal people in the jails and on the streets. In NSW, the ALP government has especially targeted Asian and Near Eastern youth for terror and harassment. The sham of "reconciliation"—pushed heavily by the ALP—means that Aborigines should meekly accept their oppression at the hands of the White Australia capitalists and be "grateful" to boot. Those, like Anthony Mundine, who have refused to be "reconciled" to Australia's racist status quo are special targets of bourgeois reaction.

Now the Pan Asian Super Middle-weight Champion, just 18 months ago

Mundine stepped into the boxing ring after a brilliant career as a rugby league player. Spectacularly athletic and unabashedly theatrical, Mundine was voted the "Players' Player" in 1996 and '98. He left rugby league largely because of the racism he met there and faced a vile racist backlash for doing so. His advance in the ranks of boxing has been remarkable, reflecting his exceptional talent and discipline.

Many white Australian athletes are internationally notorious for their racist, violent male-chauvinist piggery. But far from being driven out of their careers they are hailed as national heroes. Aboriginal athletes, however, are supposed to toe the line—be a patriotic "role model" draped in the Australian flag, not the red, black and gold Aboriginal (or any other) flag (as Cathy Freeman found out). No dissent, no drugs (except what the sports magnates consider "performance-enhancing"), and praise god (especially the Christian one) whenever possible. The racist witchhunt of Mundine, in the context of the imperialists' war, powerfully brings to mind the champion black American boxer Muhammad Ali. He was stripped of his boxing title (and millions in endorsements) when he refused to be drafted into the imperialists' war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, stating, "No Viet Cong ever called me n---r."

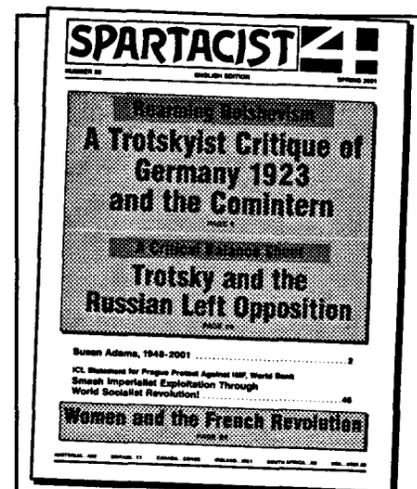
Australia was built on the dispossession and near genocide of the Aboriginal peoples. In all social indices—staggeringly high infant mortality, low life expectancy, massive under- and unemployment, lack of access to clean water, electricity, decent housing, education—the desperate condition of the Aboriginal peoples can be read. Many Aboriginal people face, or live in fear of, racist harassment and terror on a regular basis, whether from Ku Klux Klan terrorists or the capitalist state. Mandatory sentencing is but the tip of the iceberg of an entire repressive regime against Aborigines—racist murder is blandly described as "deaths in custody."

The Spartacist League fights to mobilise the social power of the integrated, organised labour movement, independent of the capitalist state, to

defend Aboriginal people against racist state terror, and to consistently champion their rights. We fight for complete legal equality; for jobs for all and equal wages; and massive health and education programs to address the oppression of the Aboriginal people on the reserves, in the wretched "fringes" and inner cities. As we wrote last year in our article "'Reconciliation' is a Racist Hoax—For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!" (ASp No. 171, Winter 2000):

"Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those Aboriginal people who desire it, and the fullest possible autonomy for those who do not, and make it possible to address the special needs created by more than two centuries of injustice and oppression."

As part of our struggle to build a multiracial, internationalist revolutionary workers party which fights all manifestations of capitalist oppression—a genuine tribune of the people—we Spartacists say: *Down with the racist witchhunt of Anthony Mundine!* ■



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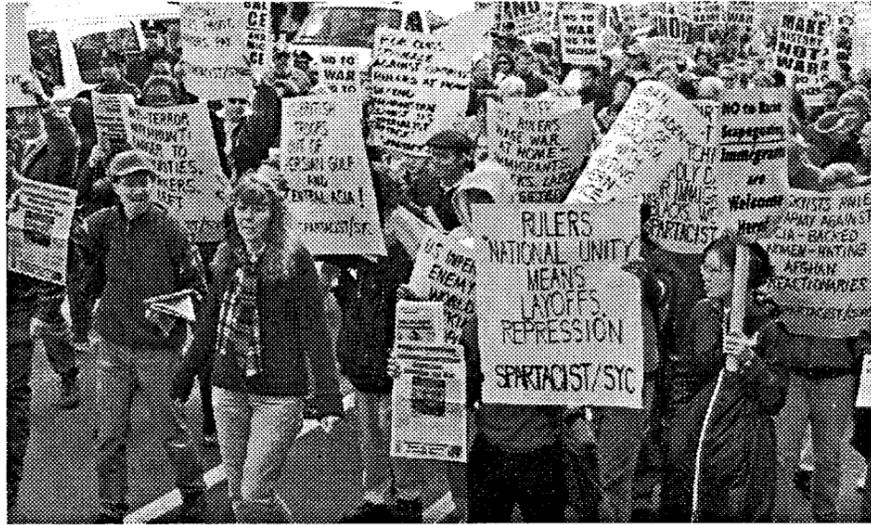
**No to Bosses' "National Unity"!  
For Class Struggle at Home!**

*We reprint below, slightly abridged, an article from Workers Vanguard (No. 768, 9 November 2001), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

NOVEMBER 6—The destruction of the World Trade Center was a criminal act that incinerated thousands of ordinary, innocent people. But it is not the death of ordinary people that moves America's rulers. After all, bin Laden is a Frankenstein's monster that turned on his creator, American imperialism, which unleashed him and other Islamic reactionaries, like the Taliban, against the Red Army in Afghanistan in the 1980s as part of its decades-long drive to smash the Soviet Union. In its crusade against "godless Communism," Washington readily accepted the re-enslavement of Afghan women as "collateral damage." A few years ago, Madeleine Albright also made clear that the death by starvation and disease of over a million Iraqis in the defense of U.S. imperial interests in the Near East was acceptable collateral damage. Using that brutal calculus, it is fair to ask if the thousands killed in the World Trade Center were also "acceptable collateral damage" for U.S. imperialism's victory in the Cold War.

The U.S. rulers seize on the real horror of the American people over the attack on the World Trade Center. But from the imperialists' standpoint, the "crime" of September 11 is the insult to their appetites for world domination represented by the attack on the nerve center of U.S. military power, the Pentagon. The Bush administration's response was to proclaim that the world had to decide: either for "us" or against "us" in a war scheduled to last, perhaps, a lifetime,



October 7: As bombs began falling on Afghanistan, SL contingent at New York protest fought for perspective of class struggle against U.S. capitalist rulers.

against any challenge to American imperialism. This is the response of a swaggering bully. America's rulers seek to assure that their drive for profits, based on the exploitation of the working class here and abroad, will encounter no obstacles.

The jobs that are, in the short run, sometimes available as a result of imperialist ventures and wars are today, in the context of a worldwide depression, not to be found. Over 600,000 jobs have been slashed nationwide just since September, and those unemployed will join the ranks of millions of others in the midst of a deepening recession.

Postal workers are ordered to work, the threat of anthrax notwithstanding, while the Senators, Congressmen and Supreme Court justices are carefully insulated from any possible exposure. On Friday, firemen in New York City fought through police barricades to protest against being pulled off the search for the bodies of

their own as well as other victims of the attack. One fireman hit the nail right on the head when he pointed out that the dead were being left as garbage for the power shovels now that the gold caches stored in the subbasement of the WTC had been found and secured.

It has only been a few weeks since the air war against Afghanistan began, and it is becoming increasingly clear to many poor and working people that they have everything to lose by supporting Bush's crusade for "Enduring Freedom," including such scant freedoms as are now accessible to them. As we said in our initial statement on the World Trade Center attack (WV No. 764, 14 September): "The ruling parties—Democrats and Republicans—are all too eager to be able to wield the bodies of those who were killed and wounded in order to reinforce capitalist class rule. It's an opportunity for the exploiters to peddle 'one nation indivisi-

ble' patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign 'enemy,' as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people."

Over 1,100 non-citizens have been rounded up and held, most deprived of access to lawyers or their families. The cynically labeled "USA-Patriot Act 2001" authorizes preventive detention of non-citizens for seven days without charges and effectively indefinitely once they are charged, legalizes FBI break-ins and authorizes the CIA to engage in domestic spying. It also defines "terrorist" to include anyone who is deemed an opponent of the government. The sinister nature of this is already apparent to many black Americans.

The federal "anti-terror" law is accompanied by a series of other proposed measures targeting port and maritime workers, airline workers and others for increased surveillance and victimization. Lest workers forget that labor militancy is not a right in the eyes of our bourgeois rulers, South Carolina's attorney general recently issued a chilling reminder. Referring to the Charleston Five, longshoremen who face prison terms for defending their union against the use of scab labor, he intoned, "I'm against forcing people to join unions in order to get a job. And so this whole idea of ends justifying the means, as we know these terrorists that killed so many people, that's exactly their argument."

The "terror" that concerns the U.S. imperialists is any resistance to their prerogatives and class rule. The defense of Afghanistan against imperialist attack is integrally linked to the defense of the working masses here against increasing

*continued on page 9*

**Down With Racist Witchhunt  
of Anthony Mundine!**

For publicly refusing to support the imperialists' "war on terrorism," Anthony Mundine, 26-year-old star Aboriginal athlete and convert to Islam, has been the target of a frenzied media attack spanning three continents. The viciously racist Australian ruling class has long hated Mundine. Not only is he a successful Aboriginal man, he's proud, confident and outspoken. He didn't buy their war-mongering, so now they are trying to falsely paint him as an apologist for the indiscriminate terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. But he's not, and he clearly said so.

In an ambush interview on Channel Nine's *Today* program on 22 October—the day Australian troops left for the Near East to join the U.S. imperialists' war on Afghanistan—Mundine was asked, "As one of Australia's

more prominent Muslims, do you support Australian troops going to Afghanistan?" He replied: "Do I support it? No, I really feel that it's not our problem." The interviewer pressed him: "So you don't support Australian—your Australian fellow countrymen going to the other side of the world standing up against the sort of terrorism we've witnessed in the past six weeks?" Answered Mundine:

"Well, it's—they call it—it's an act of terrorism, but if you understand the religion and our way of life it is—it's not about terrorism. It's about fighting for god's laws. And it's been brought upon—America's brought upon themselves, you know, and what they've done in the history of time."

Within minutes, the Australian media was spreading the lie that Mundine had alibied the destruction of the World Trade

*continued on page 11*

