

Australasian SPARTACIST



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U.S./Australia Out of Iraq!

Australian Imperialist Troops/Cops Out of the Solomon Islands, East Timor!



Left: Australian imperialist troops stride ashore at Guadalcanal to take over the Solomon Islands. Above: U.S./British/Australian rape of Iraq has provoked outrage throughout the country. April 28 protest outside the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad under guns of U.S. military.

AUGUST 29—An Australian-led military force is now occupying the Solomon Islands and authorised to kill. Following this takeover, prime minister John Howard set about bullying neocolonial leaders at this month's Pacific Islands Forum into accepting the appointment of an Australian secretary-general to push forward the training of an Australian-funded regional police force operating out of Fiji. Behind these strong-arm tactics are Australian imperialism's plans to trample over even the nominal political independence of these horribly subjugated neocolonies. The leaflet reprinted below was produced on 7 August.

Two weeks ago, Australian forces began a colonial occupation of the Solomon Islands. Australian troops and police form the bulk of the 2,225-strong force including contingents from New Zealand, PNG [Papua New Guinea] and Fiji in what is the biggest military deployment in the South Pacific since World War II. The right-wing Howard government has been enthusiastically backed in this action by the Labor Party (ALP) and Greens. Under the guise of "saving" the Solomons from becoming a "failed state," Australia will effectively take over the administration, filling key positions in the judiciary, prisons and public service. Even independent MP, Manasseh Sogavare, a former head of the servile Solomons government, declared, "It'll be nothing short of recolonising the country."

The racist Australian capitalists make huge profits from pillaging their Pacific island neocolonies. For example, the Australian owners of the recently closed Gold Ridge mine, which had generated

more than half the islands' GDP, plundered a full 97 percent of the mine's revenue. Colonial domination in East Timor and now the Solomons is being enforced by direct Australian military force. **Australian, New Zealand and allied troops/cops out of the Solomon Islands and East Timor!**

Pumped up by its participation in the bloody invasion of Iraq and by the ever more aggressive behaviour of its lead cowboys in Washington, the Australian ruling class is using the occupation of the tiny Solomons as a showcase for its "new doctrine" of unabashed colonial overlordship in the South Pacific, according to which, in foreign affairs minister Alexander Downer's words, "sovereignty in our view is not absolute." Already military intervention in Australia's PNG neocolony is being mooted. A taste of what this would mean was seen two years ago when the PNG puppet regime's Australian-trained security forces shot dead six people who were protesting against the IMF and Australia for imposing job-slashing privatisations.

The U.S. and Australian imperialists are also intervening more strongly to shore up the highly unstable, anti-working-class regimes—and hence their lucrative investments—in East Asian neocolonies like Indonesia and the Philippines. Australia is resuming links with the Indonesian police and military and funds the latter's murderous "peace-keeping" operations in the rebel Aceh province. **Indonesian troops out of Aceh—Australian imperialism hands off!** Meanwhile in Iraq, Australian forces continue to assist the U.S. in carrying out bloody colonial murder, despite continu-

ing resistance by the Iraqi masses. **U.S./British/Australian troops out of Iraq! Racist Australian imperialism hands off the South Pacific! Get out of PNG!**

The announcement of the Solomons expedition coincided with a further escalation in anti-communist propaganda and provocations against North Korea. On 9 July an international conference, held in Brisbane, discussed a U.S./Australia plan to interdict North Korean ships in international waters. Such action would in effect be an act of war! The strategic goal of the imperialists is to overturn the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions in North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba. They seek to smash the collectivised property forms in China through a combination of military pressure and imperialist economic penetration, the latter criminally driven forward by the Chinese Stalinist misleaders' pro-capitalist "market reforms."

Canberra's pronouncements over the Solomons of its "readiness" to "save" countries from "money launderers, drug traffickers—and terrorists" are in part aimed at preparing the population to sup-

port future U.S.-led moves to further encircle China, including through possible military action against North Korea. **Imperialist pirates keep your bloody hands off North Korean ships! For North Korea and China's right to nuclear weapons! For the unconditional military defence of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies!**

**For Class-Struggle
Opposition to Racist
Australian Imperialism!**

It is in the direct interest of the working class to mobilise in class-struggle actions against the colonial occupations of the Solomon Islands, East Timor and Iraq. As we repeatedly stated on the eve of the invasion of Iraq, every success for the imperialists in their military adventures emboldens them to administer more colonial terror abroad and strengthens them to jack up austerity and repression at

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"Left" Mouthpiece for Imperialist
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Solomons...

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home. In the wake of Iraq's occupation we are seeing a renewed union-busting drive against the CFMEU construction union, full-frontal assaults on public education and health and ever more vicious racist scapegoating of Aborigines. Draconian new anti-"terror" legislation has bolstered the powers of ASIO to secretly detain anyone indefinitely and without charges.

The potential for mobilising class-struggle opposition to imperialist deprivations was seen in the participation of tens of thousands of trade unionists in the massive protests against the war on Iraq. But this potential was betrayed by the Laborite social-democratic misleaders of the working class, who channelled proletarian anger at the war into support for the UN, a tool of the imperialists, and into nationalist appeals for predatory Australian imperialism to pursue its interests more independently of the U.S.

As was the case throughout Europe, the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist social democracy and bourgeois liberals over the anti-war movement was bolstered by

thoroughly counterposed to any alliance with those, like the bourgeois Greens and the pro-capitalist ALP and their left tails, who uphold the capitalist order. As Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin explained in *Socialism and War* (1915):

"To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism—such is the task of the day."

Today, SA whines that "...Greens leader Bob Brown's support for the [Solomons] invasion is a tragic reminder of how easily those who are anti-war campaigners one month can flip over to becoming champions of militarism the next..." (*Socialist Alternative*, July). In fact Brown never had to "flip"! Like the ALP, he initially wanted troops brought home from Iraq so that they could be used more aggressively in this region. Last October, Brown called for "Australia to have a policy of regional defence..." Once the invasion actually began, he stated that "the hope must be that the war will be short and swiftly remove Saddam Hussein". (Greens media release, 21 March)! No amount of shabby rewriting

Imperialist marauding abroad means deeper racist repression at home. Autumn protest in Darwin against increasingly vicious laws targeting homeless Aboriginal people.



Delsey Tamiano

intervention including military. This was seen in Somalia in 1993 when famine was used as a pretext for the blood-soaked UN occupation.

As Leninists we understand that the capitalist state apparatus was created, its armed thugs recruited, trained and indoctrinated, for the very purpose of defending capitalist rule over the working class. In imperialist countries, the state also serves to defend the plunder of natural resources and the superexploitation of labour in the neocolonies. Every action of this state, from police attacks on picket lines, to foreign "aid" to colonial military expeditions serves the goal of enforcing capitalist exploitation at home and abroad.

Based on their faith in the capitalist state, the fake left criminally supported the 1999 Australian/UN colonial invasion of East Timor. The DSP openly called to "Send Australian/UN Troops NOW!" While the ISO, SP and SA made mealy-mouthed statements that the UN "are not the answer" and the centrist WP even slipped in a call for Australian troops out of East Timor, the *action* of all these groups was to march behind the ALP parliamentary and union misleaders in the September 1999 demonstrations that screamed for Australian "peacekeepers" to "save" East Timor (see "Australian/UN Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!" *Australasian Spartacist Special Supplement*, December 1999).

But as thousands of youth took to the streets at the start of this year to protest the impending invasion of Iraq, the fake-revolutionary groups desperately scrambled to cover their tracks over East Timor. SA even took "most of the left" to task for having "cheered on Australian troops as they set off to 'liberate' East Timor," noting that "the slogan 'Troops in NOW!' had been taken up by tens of thousands on demonstrations" in September 1999 (*Socialist Alternative*, February). But at the time, SA's orientation to these pro-imperialist rallies was not only to enthusiastically participate in them but to

call to "build bigger and more militant demonstrations in the streets" (*Socialist Alternative*, September 1999)!!

In contrast, from the very beginning the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs in word *and deed* campaigned *against* the Australian imperialist intervention. When the troops were moving in we held protest speakouts and forums against the expedition. As the imperialists intensified their repression in East Timor last year and cranked up their war drive against Iraq, the SL/SYC initiated a spirited united-front demonstration on 21 August at Sydney University which demanded "Down with Australian imperialism's plunder of East Timor's oil/gas! Australian/UN troops out of East Timor!"

The reformist and centrist lefts' support for "human rights" colonialism over East Timor has not only greased the skids for the imperialist military expeditions to Afghanistan and Iraq but has paved the way for the Australian takeover of the Solomons. This betrayal was preceded by their decades-long promotion of "democratic" capitalism against the dictatorship of the proletariat, shown most graphically by the fake lefts' criminal support to the reactionary, imperialist-backed forces that were unleashed against the former Soviet degenerated workers state. When in 1979 the Soviet Red Army heroically intervened into benighted Afghanistan to defend the then modernising left-nationalist government against CIA-armed, anti-woman cutthroats, the ISO criminally sided with the latter, who spawned both the Taliban and the gangs of fundamentalists currently in power in Afghanistan. The ISO (from which their SA clones later emerged), SP, DSP and WP hailed Yeltsin's US-backed counter-coup in August 1991, the pivotal event in the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution that has plunged the Soviet peoples backwards into hideous poverty and destitution. Today these groups treacherously line up leftists behind the imperialist drive to overturn the gains of the 1949

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Asp photos

Sydney, September 1999: Socialist Alternative were prominent at pro-imperialist rally which called for Australian/UN "peacekeepers" to East Timor, screamed that Howard had blood on his hands...for not sending troops in sooner! SA supported chauvinist union bans on Indonesia that were ALP union tops' big contribution to "Troops In" campaign.

fake-revolutionary groups. Socialist Alternative (SA), the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and the Taaffeite Socialist Party (SP) joined the Victorian Peace Network, a cross-class coalition dominated by Laborite forces and the bourgeois Greens and calling for the disarmament of all Middle East states under UN resolutions. This was an openly pro-imperialist call to disarm Iraq on the eve of the imperialist onslaught against it.

In contrast, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs fought for the military defence of semicolonial Iraq against U.S./Australian imperialist attack, while giving no political support to the bloody Hussein regime. We insisted that since imperialist wars are caused by the decaying capitalist system, the fight against imperialist barbarism can only be victorious if it becomes a struggle against capitalist class rule. This program is

of history can mask the fact that SA joined coalitions with long-standing champions of Australian imperialism, who are predictably gung-ho for today's colonial takeover of the Solomons.

Meanwhile, at a 9 July Melbourne demonstration on the Solomons which they initiated, the reformist Socialist Alliance, which includes the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), ISO, Freedom Socialist Party and the centrist Workers Power (WP), had placards pleading for development and aid not military intervention. This call for the racist killers of Aboriginal people and the prisoners of refugees to give "aid" to the dark-skinned people of the Solomons, promotes the illusion that the imperialists can play a progressive role, thus buttressing the military expedition that Socialist Alliance claim to oppose. Imperialist "aid" is always a bridge to greater colonial

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Nick Moir

Sydney: Union pickets at Morris McMahon factory under police attack during recent militant 16-week strike initiated by largely female, immigrant workers. As part of struggle against their capitalist exploiters, integrated working class must champion cause of women, minorities, neocolonial peoples.

Defend Chinese, North Korean Deformed Workers States!

Socialist Alternative: "Left" Mouthpiece for Imperialist Drive Against China, North Korea

Following their one-sided slaughter in neocolonial Iraq, the U.S. and Australian imperialists have further zoomed in their gun sights on the North Korean deformed workers state. As the U.S. Bush regime ominously threatens "regime change" in Pyongyang, the Australian ruling class whips up anti-communist hysteria over alleged drugs and weapons smuggling by North Korean ships. In April, Special Air Services troops seized a North Korean vessel, the *Pong Su*, off the east coast of Australia. Her crew has been detained ever since. An outpouring of anti-communist bile followed, including Labor Party calls on the government to expel the North Korean Ambassador. In mid-September, the U.S. and Australia will hold joint naval exercises to practice implementing a plan to systematically intercept North Korean ships on the high seas. It has been the Australian government, backed by the ALP, which has for months been pushing this plan, which if carried out would be an act of war!

Behind this imperialist campaign lies a broader strategy of encircling the Chinese deformed workers state, an encirclement that extends militarily from Central Asia through to the Philippines and there is talk of U.S. Marines and F-16 fighter jets being placed in northern Australia. The strategic goal of all the imperialists is the restoration of capitalism in those countries where it was overthrown—particularly China but also North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. We say: *Imperialist pirates keep your bloody hands off North Korean ships! For the right of North Korea and China to develop and test nuclear weapons! For the unconditional military defence of the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution!*

Laborism and Anti-Sovietism

You might think that groups claiming adherence to socialism would oppose their own ruling class and fight to defend states where capitalism has been overturned. Nothing could be further from the minds of much of the fake left, especially those who pay occasional lip service to Trotsky. Having criminally hailed the capitalist counterrevolutions that destroyed the Soviet and East European degenerated and deformed workers states,

these traitors have concocted an assortment of rationales to justify their support to the imperialists in their counter-revolutionary drive against China and North Korea. While the right-centrist Workers Power rush to declare that capitalism is restored in China, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Socialist Alternative (SA) absurdly deny that an anti-capitalist revolution ever took place there.

SA was formed in 1995 by elements expelled from the ISO, an affiliate of the

and Cuba among leftist youth by branding these countries exploitative societies "essentially no different from the West." Promoting the "Free Tibet" rallying cry of the CIA and other forces intent on fomenting counterrevolution in China, SA denounce China's "invasion and occupation of Tibet" fulminating that it is "one of the more horrific and barbarous examples of national oppression in the modern world..." (*Socialist Alternative*, January 1998). In fact, despite the Han chauvinism of the ruling Stalinist

advocated "to grit our teeth" and vote for the pro-capitalist ALP (*Socialist Alternative*, October 2001). And in embracing Laborism, SA from their very inception signed on to Laborism's innate hatred to any country where the working class holds state power.

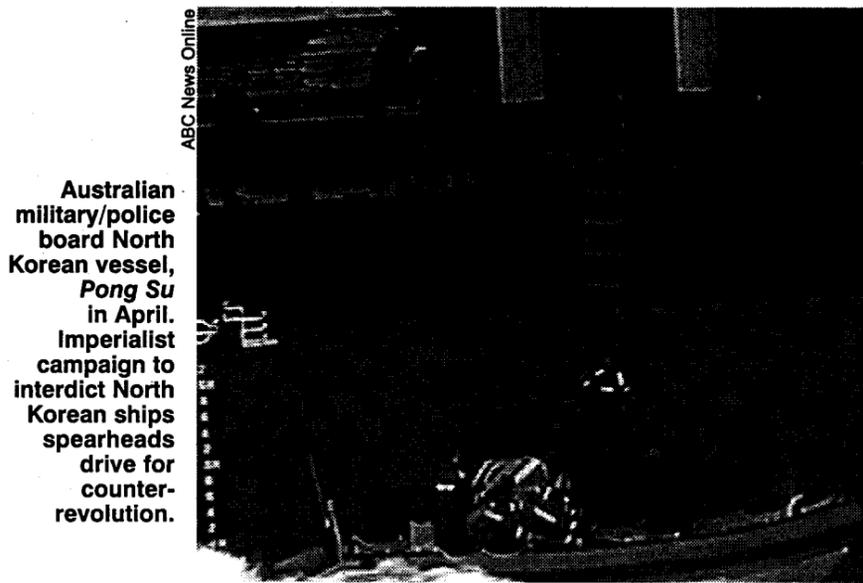
SA uphold the treacherous role of their erstwhile organisation, the ISO, which tailed the anti-Soviet, union-busting Hawke/Keating Labor regimes throughout the 1980s Cold War. From Afghanistan and Poland to East Germany and the Soviet Union, the ISO embraced every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary force. They championed the "trade union" credentials of Solidarność—the instrument of the Vatican, Wall Street and Western social democracy for capitalist counterrevolution in Poland. They positively grooved on the 1991 ascendancy of the imperialist-backed Yeltsin forces in the Soviet Union, declaring: "Communism is dead'.... It's a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*The Socialist*, September 1991).

In contrast to the Cliffite renegades, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (ICL) fought tooth and nail against capitalist counterrevolution. When the anti-Semitic, anti-woman and anti-worker Solidarity (Solidarność) made its bid for power in Poland, we forthrightly said: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" In late 1989, the ICL intervened into the incipient workers political revolution in the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state, uniquely fighting for the revolutionary reunification of Germany and against the capitalist *anschluss* that eventually swallowed up the DDR. In Moscow in 1991-92, we fought to mobilise proletarian opposition to the impending catastrophe including distributing over 100,000 Russian-language leaflets calling for "Soviet Workers! Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

The 1949 Anti-Capitalist Chinese Revolution

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was a world historic event which smashed the power of the landlords, overthrew capitalist property relations and liberated the Chinese masses from imperialist subjugation. The construction of a planned,

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Australian military/police board North Korean vessel, *Pong Su* in April. Imperialist campaign to interdict North Korean ships spearheads drive for counter-revolution.

anti-communist tendency led by the late Tony Cliff and centred on the British Socialist Workers Party. They are proudly loyal to their Cliffite "heritage" of virulent opposition to every workers state. Immediately upon foundation, SA gave its loyalty oath to "democratic" Australian imperialism—then administered by Keating's ALP—against the workers states. They fed into anti-communist bellicosity over Chinese nuclear testing and into the chauvinist orgy over nuclear testing "in our backyard" by Australia's French imperialist rival. The very first issue of their paper screamed: "with China & France testing more nukes, there's...50,000 nuclear bombs waiting to explode!" (*Socialist Alternative*, August 1995).

In every issue of their paper, in their "who are Socialist Alternative?" column, this outfit promotes hostility to China

bureaucracy, the overthrow of the feudal society of the Tibetan "Lamaocracy" following the 1949 Chinese Revolution brought real gains for the Tibetan masses. Slavery and forced peasant labour were abolished, modern health care was introduced and a modicum of education was established—which lowered the level of illiteracy from 90 percent to roughly 45 percent.

As the imperialists' counterrevolutionary drive against the deformed workers states heats up, SA even more echo the right-wing Murdoch media empire as they rail against "hideous regimes" in China, North Korea and Cuba. And they have long promoted open enemies of the Chinese deformed workers state such as Han Dongfang, who is tied to the pro-capitalist Hong Kong labour bureaucracy. In the April 2001 issue of *Socialist Alternative*, at the time of imperialist provocations against China over Taiwan (including Australian warships sailing through the Taiwan Strait), SA trumpeted the website of the Hong Kong-based journal, *China Labour Bulletin*, published by Han, as "a fantastic opportunity to hear the voices of Chinese workers." This journal which claims to fight for "independent" trade unions in China, baldly admits that its chief editor has been featured on radio broadcasts of the *Voice of America* and *Radio Free Asia*—both of them official anti-communist mouthpieces for U.S. imperialism.

SA's "socialist" and "anti-imperialist" rhetoric—including their claim to stand for "revolution to overthrow this rotten system"—is a sham. What really drives SA is simple left Laborism: that is, support for the existing capitalist state, only preferring that it be administered by an ALP government which they would hope to influence through mass pressure. Thus at the last federal elections, in 2001, while "Bomber" Beazley's ALP sought to outdo Howard in support to the war on Afghanistan and the war on refugees, SA

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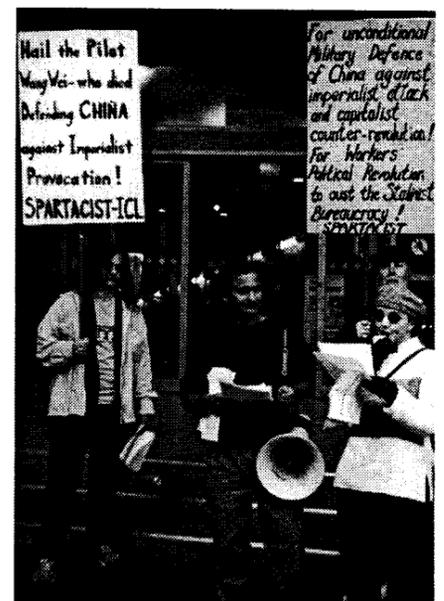


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ASp photo
Melbourne, 3 May 2001: Spartacist protest defends Chinese deformed workers state, opposes imperialist military provocations.

China, North Korea...

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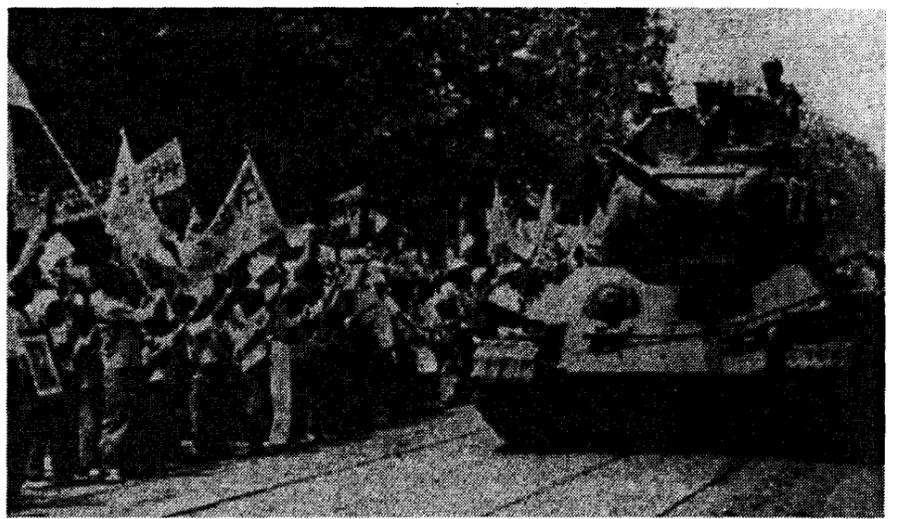
collectivised economy resulted in enormous social progress for the working and peasant masses. The "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed employment, stable wages, free medical care at factory clinics, free childcare centres for working mothers and more, enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous miserable status, symbolised by the barbaric practice of footbinding.

However, unlike the Russian Revolution of 1917 which was carried out by a class-conscious proletariat and led by a Bolshevik party dedicated to proletarian internationalism, the 1949 peasant-based Chinese Revolution was *deformed* from its inception. China under the rule of Mao Zedong's CCP regime, became a state qualitatively similar to that in the USSR following the Stalinist *political* counterrevolution, that is, one based on

to aid the Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats who fought against the Soviet army in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The Chinese bureaucracy's sabotage of revolutionary struggles abroad and its criminal support to the imperialist drive to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state has, today, opened the road to more aggressive capitalist military encirclement and economic penetration of China itself.

State-Capitalist "Theories" and Hallucination

No doubt aware of the sympathy felt by some leftist youth today for North Korea's refusal to accept imperialist diktats to disarm, SA attempt to veil somewhat their blatant embrace of bourgeois anti-communism with calls to "oppose US imperialism, whether it rears its ugly head in Iraq, Syria, Iran or North Korea." While aiming all their fire at the U.S., SA omit any mention of, let alone *opposition to Australian imperialism* and its bi-partisan hostility toward North Korea. Moreover, SA's lumping together of a deformed workers state with capitalist



A North Korean tank drives past cheering civilians in Seoul, 1950. Worker and peasant uprisings in capitalist South Korea greeted Northern forces.



Shanghai Century Publishing



Joseph Abeles Collection

Chinese Revolution of 1949 liberated women from centuries-old bondage, symbolised by crippling footbinding (above), provided opportunities for women to gain university education.

proletarian, i.e. collectivised, property forms, but where a conservative, parasitic bureaucratic caste has deprived the working class of political power. The misrule of the Chinese Stalinists, with their suppression of workers democracy and their criminal driving-forward of pro-capitalist "market reforms," has greatly endangered the very existence of the Chinese workers state.

The nationalist Chinese bureaucracy has opposed the struggle for socialist revolution internationally on the basis of the myth of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism and the profoundly anti-Marxist idea that socialism—a classless egalitarian society based on material abundance—could be built in a single country. In 1972 Mao embraced U.S. president Nixon in Beijing at the very moment that U.S. warplanes were bombing Vietnam! Later, the Deng Xiaoping regime worked in tandem with the CIA

dictatorships in the Near East is deliberately designed to erase the need to stand for the *unconditional* military defence of the North Korean workers state against both imperialist powers *and* the blood-soaked capitalist regime in the South.

Indeed the origin of the Cliffite tendency lies in capitulation to social-democratic Laborism, in this case the British variant, over the Korean War. In 1948, bowing to the pressures of the Cold War, Tony Cliff latched on to the "theory" of "state capitalism" promoted by earlier social democrats who had opposed the Russian Revolution of 1917. Two years later, he acted on the real purpose of this bogus anti-Marxist theory by refusing to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea against imperialism during the Korean War. This was nothing but a cowardly capitulation to the British bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lackeys, the British Labour Party government, which at the time was the main U.S. imperialist ally. Cliff and his followers were rightly expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International for this treachery.

Trotsky always fought intransigently for the defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state and its collectivised property forms while fighting for a proletarian *political* revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic *caste*. As we detail in "The Bankruptcy of 'New Class' Theories" (*Spartacist* No. 55, Autumn 1999), Trotsky countered the anti-Marxist claims that the Stalinist bureaucracy had transformed itself into a new exploiting class, with the fact that the parasitic bureaucracy was compelled to base itself on the proletarian property forms that issued out of the October Revolution. He insisted, "The attempt to represent the Soviet bureaucracy as a class of 'state capitalists' will obviously not withstand criticism. The bureaucracy has neither stocks nor bonds. It is recruited, supplemented and renewed in the manner of an administrative hierarchy, independently of any special property relations of its own" (*The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937).

The bureaucracies holding political power in the deformed workers states are a brittle, contradictory layer. The bureaucracies act as transmission belts for the pressure of world imperialism on the workers states. At times they direct actions in defence of the workers states—such as the Chinese People's Liberation Army's (PLA) heroic support to North Korea against U.S. and Australian imperialism during the 1950s Korean War—while at other times carrying out brutal anti-proletarian repression as with the massacre in Tiananmen Square in 1989. But when the Beijing bureaucracy ordered its bloody 1989 crackdown against Chinese workers—who joined student protests in anger at the inflation and corruption wrought by "market reforms"—it faced resistance not only by PLA ranks but by sections of the officer corps, which split in the face of the insurgent proletariat. The first major PLA unit called in to the city, the 38th Army, refused to move against protesters. In his book, *The Deng Xiaoping Era—An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978-1994* (Hill and Wang, 1996), Maurice Meisner notes:

"On May 21 seven prestigious retired PLA leaders, including former Minister of Defense Zhang Aiping and Navy commander Ye Fei, wrote an open letter to Deng Xiaoping, addressing Deng in his

can rely on its military generals to try and crush an insurrectionary proletariat. A military where significant elements of its top brass demand the government not fire on insurgent workers, as in China in 1989, hardly sounds like a capitalist army!

Yet SA brand China not only capitalist, but an imperialist power! In order to "explain" the evident imperialist hostility towards China, they even label China the chief "competitor" of the U.S. in Asia! Writing of U.S. militarism, SA note "whilst those in the immediate firing line remain small to middle-sized countries, unable to pose a real military or economic threat, the longer term targets are the US's imperialist rivals, major powers like Europe, Russia and China" (*Socialist Alternative*, May 2003). This comparison of China to an imperialist "major power" is ludicrous! In *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin wrote that "imperialism of the beginning of the twentieth century completed the division of the world among a handful of states, each of which today exploits (i.e., draws superprofits from) a part of the 'whole world'...."

If China is imperialist today, where are her neocolonies that she supposedly exploits? Where are the supposed PRC "state-capitalist" equivalents of BHP, Rio

Liaoyang, China: Workers protest mass layoffs, carry portrait of Mao. In fight for political revolution, Trotskyist party would harness proletarian sympathy for 1949 revolution, combat illusions in bankrupt Mao-Stalinism.



AFP Photo

capacity as Chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission. 'The People's Army belongs to the people,' they reminded China's paramount leader. 'It cannot stand in opposition to the people, much less oppress the people, and it absolutely cannot open fire on the people and create a blood-shedding incident'...."

In contrast, in a capitalist country, while ranks of a conscript army may be won to actively siding with the proletariat in the event of an uprising, the capitalist class

Tinto, Exxon-Mobil and Halliburton making superprofits from the exploitation of the toiling masses and the plunder of natural resources in the "Third World"? And where has the Chinese state intervened, or threatened to intervene, militarily abroad to guard such non-existent PRC imperialist profits?

In fact the real crime of the Chinese Stalinist leaders is that they have allowed chunks of the Chinese collectivised

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Der Spiegel photo

CIA-backed reactionaries in Afghanistan shot schoolteachers for teaching girls to read (right). Cliffites cheered mujahedin cutthroats against progressive Soviet intervention, supported capitalist counterrevolution in former Soviet Union which brought unprecedented social devastation.



DPA

economy to be bought up by the *actual* imperialists abroad and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie based in Taiwan, Singapore and elsewhere. And China's ruling bureaucracy has also sought to pressure the Pyongyang regime as part of its ongoing criminal appeasement of the rapacious imperialists, which simply emboldens the latter in their drive to foment counterrevolution in China itself. If capitalist counterrevolution were to triumph in China, it would return China to being a huge neocolonial sweatshop for untrammelled imperialist exploitation.

Resistance by Chinese workers has so far thwarted the bureaucracy's attempts to carry through the dismantling of the core of the collectivised economy. It is urgently necessary to forge a genuine Bolshevik party that can mobilise the Chinese working class in a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away the venal bureaucracy and brings workers and peasants councils to political power. Chinese workers must fight for class unity with the beleaguered working masses of North Korea, which has faced a dire economic situation and intensified imperialist belligerence ever since the destruction of its chief ally and economic lifeline, the USSR. We stand for the revolutionary reunification of the Korean peninsula, through *socialist* revolution in the South to overthrow the brutal capitalist dictatorship and workers *political* revolution in the North to oust the cultish and repressive Kim Jong-Il bureaucracy. In seeking to defend and extend the anti-capitalist revolutions, Chinese and North Korean workers must seek to link up with the proletariats in imperialist U.S., Australia and Japan (the industrial powerhouse of Asia), and with the combative proletariats of Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea.

Reforge the Fourth International!

In recent years, the ISO and their international affiliates have suffered a series of splits and defections. Smelling blood, and

no doubt hoping to recruit out of the ISO's recent massive haemorrhaging, SA critiques: "...the degeneration of the ISO began a decade ago with the adoption of 'the 1930s in slow motion' perspective that wildly overstates both the degree of radicalisation in Australia and the possibilities for rapid growth of a small revo-

lutionary group..." (Socialist Alternative National Executive statement, June 2003). Of course they don't dare mention that this crazed "1930s in slow motion" analysis was the very direct product of hailing capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as a victory for the proletariat!



Spartakist

East Berlin, 3 January 1990: Spartacists initiated 250,000-strong Treptow demonstration against fascist desecration of Soviet war memorial. We stood for a red soviet Germany in a socialist Europe and fought against capitalist reunification.

"The creation of new states out of the old republics is a gigantic victory against the world's second most powerful imperialists..."

"What we are witnessing is the begin-

ning of a whole new period of upheaval and class struggle, not the end."

—*The Socialist*, September 1991

But what counterrevolution ushered in was...counterrevolution! Not only has this led to massive immiseration within the ex-USSR but, as we warned at the time, it has engendered an all-sided

Russia simply went from one form of capitalism to another in 1991-92. And today SA are at it again, treacherously pushing the forces of capitalist restoration in the remaining deformed workers states.

Social-democratic traitors in the workers movement have always manufactured "theories" to cover their betrayals of the working class. In 1940, as part of a series of devastating polemics against petty-bourgeois renegades—led by Max Shachtman—who abandoned defence of the USSR in the midst of the anti-Soviet furore over the Stalin-Hitler pact, Trotsky wrote:

"The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

—*Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events*

The defence of the gains of the remaining deformed workers states is an integral part of the struggle of the ICL to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognise as his own. In the recent anti-war demonstrations, as the Greens and Laborites leading the "peace" coalitions called for Australia to concentrate on North Korea and not Iraq (!), we prominently raised the defence of North Korea, including its right to nuclear weapons. On 3 May 2001, after a U.S. spy plane invaded Chinese airspace and killed a Chinese pilot, and after Australian warships provocatively sailed through the Taiwan Strait, we held a demonstration at Melbourne's RMIT campus calling for the unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed workers state. This is what it means to be in the ICL: fighting to build parties, like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, which can lead the toiling masses in new October Revolutions to open the road to a classless communist society. ■

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Gon Artists Get Conned

Chickens Come Home to Roost in Kiev

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 808, 29 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/US.

A couple of years ago, a plethora of opportunist "internationals" proclaimed their new Ukrainian sections on the Internet. We smelled a rat. Now, a new round of announcements has appeared on the Internet by many of these groups explaining they'd been hoodwinked. Typical was the following admission by the Bolshevik Tendency (BT) in a 21 August statement titled "BT Conned in Kiev":

"The International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT) is one of a number of left-wing organizations fooled by a gang of con artists in Kiev, who fraudulently posed as supporters of different international political tendencies....

"We have established, beyond any doubt, that the same collection of people presented themselves as multiple groups, each with an international affiliation."

On the same day, the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) Web site confessed that they also had been conned, writing that "a group of purported 'revolutionaries' in Ukraine has perpetrated a fraud upon at least ten far left organizations internationally, and probably far more." An earlier admission was posted by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

A "Cast List" on the BT's Web site names five of their Ukrainian "comrades" as simultaneously belonging to the putative Ukrainian section of Jan Norden's Internationalist Group/League for the Fourth International. As *WV* closes, the Nordentles have said nothing. By various accounts, other international patrons of the Ukrainian Potemkin village included the British Workers Power and Alliance for Workers' Liberty groups and the News & Letters group and DeLeonist Socialist Labor Party in the U.S. One thing that all accounts seem to agree on is that Oleg Vernik, long the leader of the Taaffeite Committee for a Workers' International (CWI) group in Ukraine, is a central figure in the scandal. Since early August, a statement has been circulating on various Internet sites, purportedly in the name of the Committee for a Workers' International, claiming that their Ukrainian section has been suspended, pending an investigation.

We are not privy to the sleazy details, and we have no confidence in anybody's

account of what happened. But by their own words these so-called "victims" stand condemned as utter frauds and conspirators with their Kiev con men! Now they scream, "We wuz robbed!" But they were more than happy to perpetrate their con on the left public by trumpeting their fraudulent Ukrainian sections. Proclaiming the Ukrainian "fusion" as the centerpiece of its "Third International Conference" two years ago, the BT sang the praises of its supposed comrades for their "grasp of the complexities of the national question" and for "seriously studying the issues confronted by revolutionaries during the past six decades."

For its part, the LRP loudly crowed that "joining forces with a large group of young revolutionary workers from the former Soviet Union, the land of the Russian Revolution, is an inspiring step. It confirms our confidence in the correctness of our struggle" ("RWO-Ukraine Joins COFI," *Proletarian Revolution* No. 67, Spring 2003). The LRP boasted:

"The RWO is now, after the CWI and LRCI [Workers Power's international], the third-largest left group in Ukraine (outside of the open Stalinists). The RWO consists of several dozen workers not only in the center in Kiev, but also with groups of several workers each in no less than half-a-dozen other key cities."

It all brings to mind the movie *Billion Dollar Brain*, where a group of Baltic hustlers sucker a Texas billionaire into a plot to invade the Soviet Union. These cyberspace internationals who conduct fusions in virtual reality didn't care what their "sections" were actually doing in Ukraine—what they wanted was a new Internet address to impress unwary people far away from the scene of the crime. The BT still hasn't even bothered to remove documents from their Ukrainian and Russian Web pages that they now denounce as fraudulent!

W.C. Fields once observed that "You can't cheat an honest man." Con men prey on desperate people and those who want something for nothing. These phony "internationals" obviously never so much as bothered to ask if anybody in Ukraine or Russia had ever heard or seen their Ukrainian "section." The BT now says it noticed its Ukrainian group's "failure to produce any substantial original propaganda, and the marked absence of internal political and perspectives

documents," meaning that "we certainly could have moved sooner to tighten up what appeared to be a largely dysfunctional organization." And the LRP now meekly confesses that "reports and articles that we have published by or about the RWO of Ukraine, as well as its affiliation," the RWO of Russia, are at best unreliable." The LRP lamely adds, "Its 'members' and 'leaders,' some of whom we had met more than once [!], were part of the overall scam."

Perhaps we should congratulate the Ukrainian con artists for having the perspicacity to see that these disparate groups belong together. All these renegades unite around the rejection of Trotskyism on the Russian question and they unite in slanders and hatred for the Spartacists. We follow James P. Cannon's injunction in his 1939 "Speech on the Russian Question" (*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*): "...Who touches the Russian question, touches a revolution. Therefore, be serious about it. Don't play with it."

In contrast to the Potemkin village bargain hunters, we fought to the last barricades against Yeltsin-Bush capitalist counterrevolution and fought to build a real organization in the USSR. And we paid the price. The Kremlin bureaucracy and then the capitalist regimes that replaced it knew the ICL was for real and witchhunted us with a vengeance. Our comrades were arrested, terrorized, attacked and hounded by the fascists and Stalinists alike. In 1992 the senior leader of the ICL's Moscow Station, Martha Phillips, was murdered at her post; the authorities stonewalled while we tried in vain to find out who killed her. In 1995, we were repressed and officially banned from Ukraine.

Precisely because we are serious about the question of revolution and forging a truly democratic-centralist International on a solid programmatic basis, we suspected something was up when this "Cambrian explosion" in Kiev first emerged two years ago. On 20 August 2001, an ICL comrade from the former East German (DDR) deformed workers state with extensive political experience in Ukraine noted in a letter:

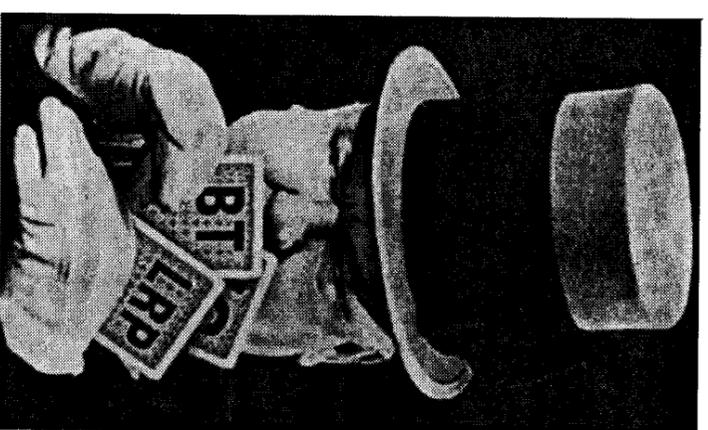
"I wonder whether P. and his lieutenant got access to the internet and posted on eBay something like 'Trotskyist group in Ukraine for sale. Make your financial

indigenous Guadalcacanalans, organized in the Isatabu Freedom Movement, and Malaitians, who formed the Malaitan Eagle Force.

During World War II, it was the rival imperialist worldwars of the U.S., Japan and Australia who devastated the island of Guadalcanal during a massive, bloody, battle. Today, the Solomons, located on strategic sea lanes, remains a theatre for inter-imperialist intrigues. In the context of jacked-up tensions between the U.S. and the continental European powers over Iraq, it was notable that Bush's man John Howard coldly responded to an "offer" from its French rival in the South Pacific to participate in the Solomons adventure.

It is the working classes of France, Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. that have the key role to play in the liberation of the South Pacific peoples from the desperate poverty and backwardness enforced by imperialist domination. As we stated in the leaflet building for last year's 21 August anti-imperialist demonstration:

"Only by implacable opposition to the racist rulers and their predatory designs in the region, can the Australian working



WV Graphic

offers to the following email address: P. certainly was keen on getting money and I wonder whether he's the Ukrainian section of WP, ITO [International Trotskyist Organization], IG and BT at once."

The ICL sent an e-mail dated 31 August 2001 to Oleg Vernik in Kiev to see if he could provide any information on the sudden emergence of numerous new "Trotskyist" groups in Ukraine. Vernik apparently knew who were likely customers for what he was selling and who weren't; he never replied to our letter.

For all their protestations of being "shocked, shocked," this is hardly the first time the anti-Spartacist opportunists have knowingly bought tainted goods. In March 1990, the German section of the ICL issued a public warning about a couple of ex-DDR hustlers who had left our organization, taking with them various assets, including a car and money. The BT's German allies, the GIV1, rushed to embrace these bandits, even issuing a joint May Day statement with them. A few weeks later, the GIV1 announced a break in relations, complaining that "principles of the revolution were sold for a contemptible petty-bourgeois project" in which "a lot of party money is involved." What made these hustlers irresistible to the BT in the first place was their shared anti-Spartacism. At the 1990 Lutte Ouvrière Fete in Paris, the GIV1 circulated a letter that makes clear what attracted them to these elements:

"The stand taken for workers democracy against the bureaucratic Robertson regime, your subsequent rightful actions against the ICL standers—these were your only connection to Trotskyism."

Today the BT complains that their Kiev partners in crime "are so thoroughly corrupted and cynical that they can only serve as an instrument for the enemies of the workers movement." Well, they should know! ■

class forge anti-capitalist class-struggle unity with the proletariats of Indonesia, Philippines, Japan etc., and effectively fight against the increasingly violent union-busting and destruction of their jobs and livelihoods at home. Such a perspective requires a political struggle against the thoroughly pro-imperialist ALP and its White Australia, social-democratic program, in the fight to build a leadership that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist."

Only when the workers seize state power and establish a planned, collectivised economy can the enormous resources of this country be used to help repair and develop the South Pacific island economies ravaged by more than one hundred years of brutal imperialist subjugation. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! ■

Solomons...

(continued from page 2)

Chinese Revolution, by promoting a lie that China has always been (in the case of the ISO and SA), or has recently become (in the case of WP), capitalist.

Imperialist Terror, Plunder and Neglect

The Australian/UN occupation of East Timor gives a taste of what is in store for the peoples of the Solomon Islands. While Australian-owned BHP Billiton and Woodside Petroleum have begun stealing Timor's oil and gas wealth, even the UN's own Food and Agriculture Organisation reported that many East Timorese have been reduced to eating rats, cats and dogs and that half of all children there are "moderately or severely" stunted. On 4 December last year, the combined forces of the UN/Australian police force and the then UN-controlled East Timorese police opened fire on unarmed high-school students protesting against police violence, killing

up to five demonstrators.

The Solomon Islands itself is a case study in ruthless colonial oppression. In the late nineteenth century, the Australian rulers, then nested under the wing of the British Empire, kidnapped people from the Solomons into slavery to work the sugar fields in northern Queensland, before later expelling the enslaved labourers under the White Australia policy. In 1927 an Australian warship, the *Adelaide*, provided the military material to drown in blood an uprising against the British colonial rulers on the island of Malaita.

While ethnic warlordism in the Solomons is today used as a pretext for the Australian takeover, the communal strife can be traced back to the legacy of colonial subjugation. In a classic imperialist "divide and conquer" tactic, the British imported Malatan labourers to work the plantations of Guadalcanal. More recently, the abject poverty engendered by neocolonial pillage and IMF-dictated job slashing in the wake of the 1997-98 Asian economic crisis, fueled horrid communalist bloodletting between

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AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Bill Logan: One Sick Puppy

BT: A Walking Provocation

Lately we in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been on the receiving end of a collective howl slandering us as "chauvinists" coming from putative leftist organisations including the U.S.-based League for the Revolutionary Party and the Internationalist Group. Now this chorus has been joined by an outfit with a pathology all its own, the so-called International Bolshevik Tendency (BT).

We reprint below an article from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 808, 29 August) responding to the most recent slanders and provocations against our organisation by the BT. Founded by a handful of people who individually quit our international tendency with the onset of anti-Soviet Cold War II in the early 1980s, the BT has throughout its existence pursued an unnatural obsession with our organisation. This includes a rather consistent history of staging provocations against us just when other forces, ranging from the reformists straight up to the agencies of the bourgeois state, are gunning for us. The addition of Bill Logan—a twisted sociopath who was expelled from our organization in 1979 by the unanimous vote of the delegates to our first international conference for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate elementary human decency"—added a whole new dimension to the BT's obsession with getting us by any means necessary.

This year the BT offered its services to the Socialist Workers Party (British co-thinkers of the International Socialist Organisation here) at its "Marxism" conference in London, appearing with a leaflet smearing Jim Robertson, one of the founding leaders of our international tendency with the charge of "vulgar chauvinism." And no less than that, an American whose supposed "self-satisfied great-power chauvinism" is aimed at peoples from the Near East, specifically the Kurds. This was a real gift to goons and censors of the SWP which seeks to salvage the "good name" of British imperialism (and above all its "honorable" Labour Party representatives) by denouncing "Bush's war" against Iraq.

As *Workers Vanguard* wrote in our first response to the BT's despicable claim that comrade Robertson had characterized Kurds as "turds":

"Only in the minds of those genuinely inspired by chauvinism could 'turds' be seen as referring to Kurds! And that is the BT. Insofar as this organization has taken any note of the national oppression of myriad peoples around the globe, and that isn't much, the BT has been strident in declaring its opposition to the exercise of their right to self-determination—with the exception of Kosovo just at the time when Kosovo Albanian separatists were acting as bomb-spotters for the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia. For the BT, the Kurds number among those whose demands for independence get in the way of the 'struggles of the workers and peasants against the existing oppressor states.'"

—"BT: Renegades for Hire,"
WV No. 807, 1 August

It should be noted that slanders against communist leaders are commonly flung by anti-Marxist opponents (Marx as a "chauvinist," Lenin as a "German agent," Trotsky as a "bloodthirsty butcher," Cannon as a "window-smasher," etc.) These attacks are not "personal"—they are meant as attacks on the very existence of the Marxist movement and have always been rightly viewed as such.

In "BT: Renegades for Hire" (WV No. 807, 1 August), we documented the Bolshevik Tendency's role as a walking provocation against the Spartacist League and exposed the manipulative sociopath it

embraces as its leader, Bill Logan. Defending its "chauvinism" slanders against our party, the BT replied with a letter posted on the Internet titled "The Truth Hurts" (8 August). It sure hurts them. Despite being at the center of the events they distorted to spin their lies, Logan, the

the Kurds." The latter is absolutely correct. Robertson and the rest of the international leadership saw to it that our best-informed comrade on the question, Samuels, flew to London, not once but twice, in order to give a "good educational" on the struggle against Kurdish

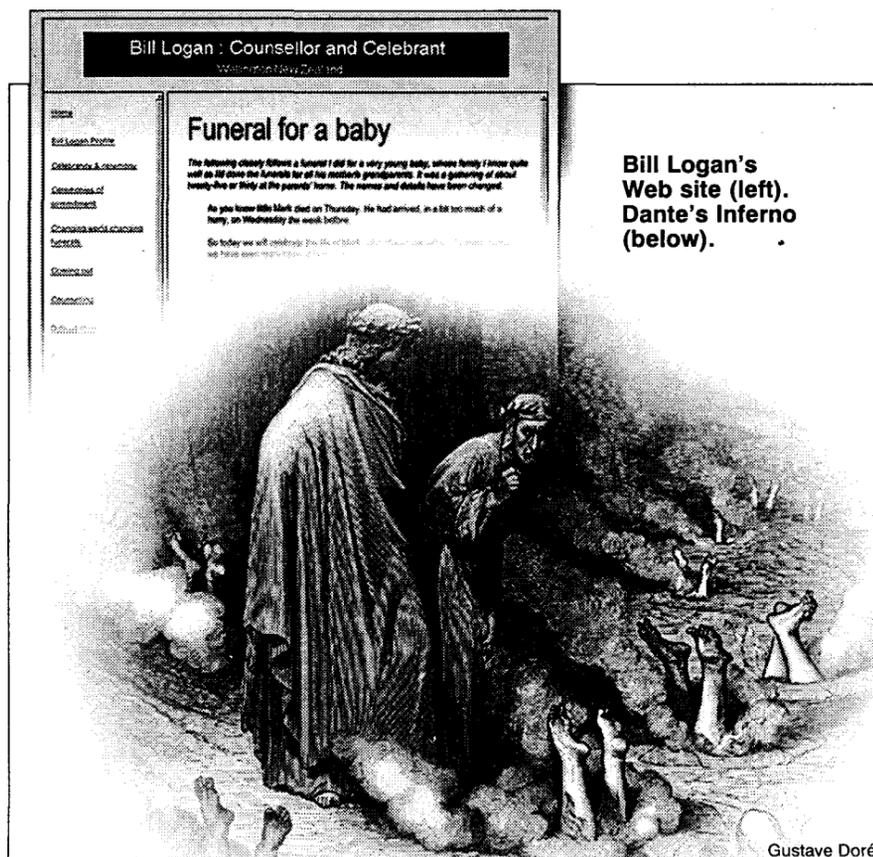
against a sick character who tried to destroy comrades. Those who were in the room recall being elated at the end of the report, because we had won a fight to save our British section and prevented a serious setback in our struggle to build an international. To assert that a hundred communists would not have reacted with hostility and indignation to a chauvinist slur is a slander of all of our comrades. To believe the BT, the members of the International Communist League to whom it makes its unctuous appeals to break with the ICL are worthless as any kind of communists but are rather merely obedient tools, fools and perhaps racists themselves. But then what does that make the BT's own "founder-leaders," who were around at the time of Robertson's New York presentation and said not a peep? They indict themselves on the charges they falsely fling at us.

For the 20 years of its existence, the BT has specialized in lying diatribes against our organization. The bulletin containing Robertson's presentation was made publicly available by us over two decades ago. Yet only now has the BT surfaced its "recovered memory" that the fight against Logan was really a cover for anti-Kurdish chauvinism.

In our article last issue, we noted that the BT had omitted any mention of Logan either in its "P.S." or in a 4 July leaflet titled "Robertson's Vulgar Chauvinism" distributed for the benefit of Stalinophobic thugs and Spartacist-haters at the British Socialist Workers Party's "Marxism" event in London. The BT couldn't even manage to give the main title of the *International Discussion Bulletin* it quoted from, "On the Logan Regime Part I." "Why has Logan become the equivalent of that empty space on retouched photos?" we asked. "What is the BT hiding?"

The BT's latest letter mentions Logan's name a few times in passing, including the enigmatic statement that Robertson "had decided to topple the Logan regime." Why was Logan "toppled"? Not a word. The BT is also silent on the monstrous crimes that were

continued on page 8



Bill Logan's Web site (left). Dante's Inferno (below).

líder maximo of the BT since 1990, still remains the black hole in their latest "reply."

As detailed in our last article, in a "postscript" to its 12 June letter nominally on the Kurdish question, the BT presented a short quote dragged out of context from a presentation the SL's national chairman, Jim Robertson, made 25 years ago to our New York local. Reporting on the party's fight to remove the brutal and nasty regime Logan had been running as leader of our British section and the manifold ways in which Logan manipulated the internalized oppression of particularly young women and minority comrades, Robertson raised a criticism of a leading comrade, Reuben Samuels, for absenting himself from this fight:

"Criticism of Reuben: the whole time, where was Reuben? He was off in the library, studying about the Turds for his class. Right? He wasn't playing any role. George and I looked at each other and we said, 'We don't think it's going to be exactly the kind of educational weekend that we had in mind...'. We're going back next month to have the educational. Good educational."

As we wrote in our last article, "Only in the minds of those genuinely inspired by chauvinism could 'turds' be seen as referring to Kurds!" For all its oh-so-indignant and consummately disingenuous charges of "vulgar chauvinism," the BT introduces this quote by saying, "Robertson teased Samuels for having been left out of the loop and missing the excitement." Far from teasing, this was a serious indictment of a senior leader of our international for having his head in the toilet when what was posed was a fight to save our British section from Logan. Now the BT opines that the proof that we are covering for "vulgar chauvinism" is demonstrated by the fact that our last article didn't mention that Samuels "had been flown in from Toronto specifically to give his talk on

oppression—a need particularly posed by the recent recruitment of Turkish comrades to our British section. And that's what the BT calls "chauvinism."

More than a hundred opinionated, argumentative young communists of many different ethnic backgrounds heard Robertson's presentation. They understood it for what it was: a powerful indictment of the all-sided oppression of capitalist class society, and a record of the struggle

Special ICL Bulletins

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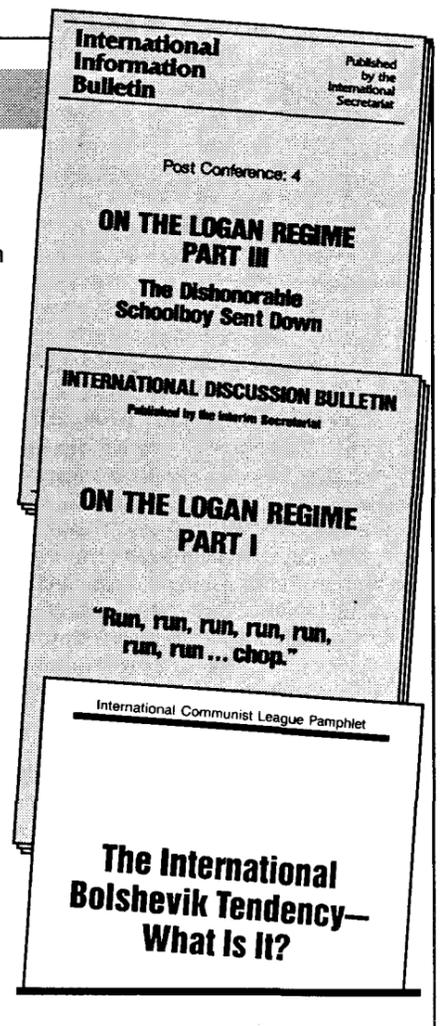
In 1979, Bill Logan was expelled from the international Spartacist tendency for crimes "against communist morality and its substrate human decency." Logan is now the leader of the "International Bolshevik Tendency." As a service to the workers movement we have made our international bulletins documenting Logan's crimes publicly available.

- Part I \$4 (82 pages)
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- Part III \$4 (79 pages)

The International Bolshevik Tendency—What Is It?

International Communist League pamphlet, August 1995
\$1.50 (10 pages)

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New Legal Papers Filed

Free Mumia Now!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 805, 6 June), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

On May 23, attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal filed a 43-page motion demanding that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court order Mumia's former lead counsel Leonard Weinglass to testify in court. In a blistering indictment, the document cites the "complex web of duplicity and sabotage" and the "conflicts of interest" of Weinglass and his cohort Daniel Williams, who "were responsible for their intentional burying of evidence that proves" Jamal's innocence in the December 1981 killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner. The new motion sets forth 15 specific charges against Weinglass, including his scrapping of the 1999 confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Jamal, shot and killed Faulkner.

The new papers rely heavily on the work of Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, who both resigned from Jamal's legal team in July 1999 rather than be complicit in Weinglass and Williams' betrayal. Wolkenstein provided a detailed account of Weinglass'

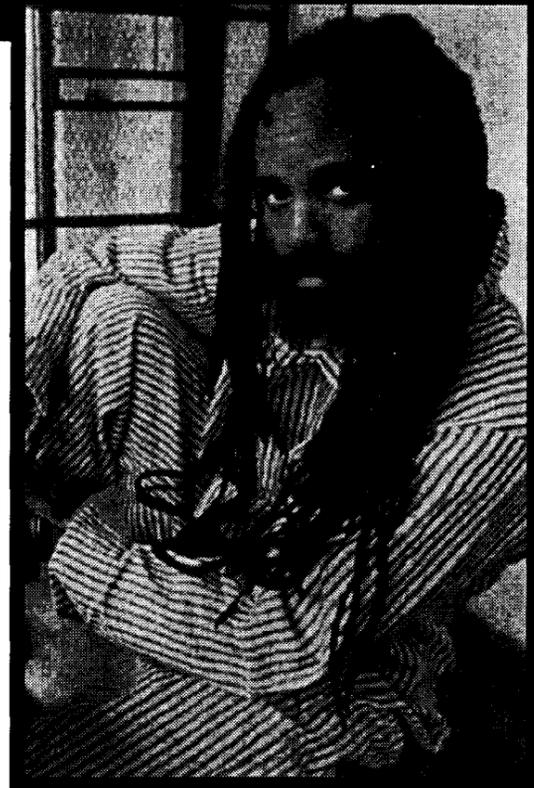
treachery in a July 2001 affidavit (reprinted in the September 2001 PDC pamphlet, *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*). The new legal papers describe how Weinglass refused to investigate evidence proving Jamal's innocence and then actively suppressed Beverly's confession. Referring to "a wealth of evidence...in the possession of Weinglass which corroborated Beverly," the papers declare: "A stack of memoranda approximately the size of a New York City phonebook were written by attorneys Wolkenstein and Piper and their investigative staff detailing how this evidence corroborated the Beverly confession."

The disloyalty of Weinglass and Williams was made clear with Williams' publication—just before the release of the Beverly confession—of his scurrilous book *Executing Justice*, which purported to be an "inside account" of Jamal's case. Written with Weinglass' knowledge, the book falsely presented the facts of the case, disclosed confidential information and repeatedly implied that Mumia was guilty. In a letter to Mumia, Weinglass acknowledged that the book was a "pre-emptive strike" against use of Beverly's

confession—and that is precisely how it has been used by the prosecution in preventing the admission of this crucial evidence in court for over two years.

In December 2001, a federal court overturned Jamal's death sentence while affirming the frame-up murder conviction, condemning Mumia to a life behind bars. The state appealed to reinstate the death sentence, while Jamal's attorneys appealed to have the conviction overturned. Both appeals are on hold pending a Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruling on another appeal by Jamal's attorneys against the barring of Beverly's testimony.

From the time the PDC took up Jamal's case in 1987, we have sought to ensure that every legal avenue was pursued to free him while fighting against illusions in the capitalist state. As stated in the introduction to *Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!*: "The long hidden and suppressed evidence of Mumia's innocence is the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insuffi-



Saul/Philadelphia Inquirer

cient to secure Jamal's freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. It is elementary that if labor's power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on Jamal's behalf, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up and kill this innocent man." *Free Mumia now! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

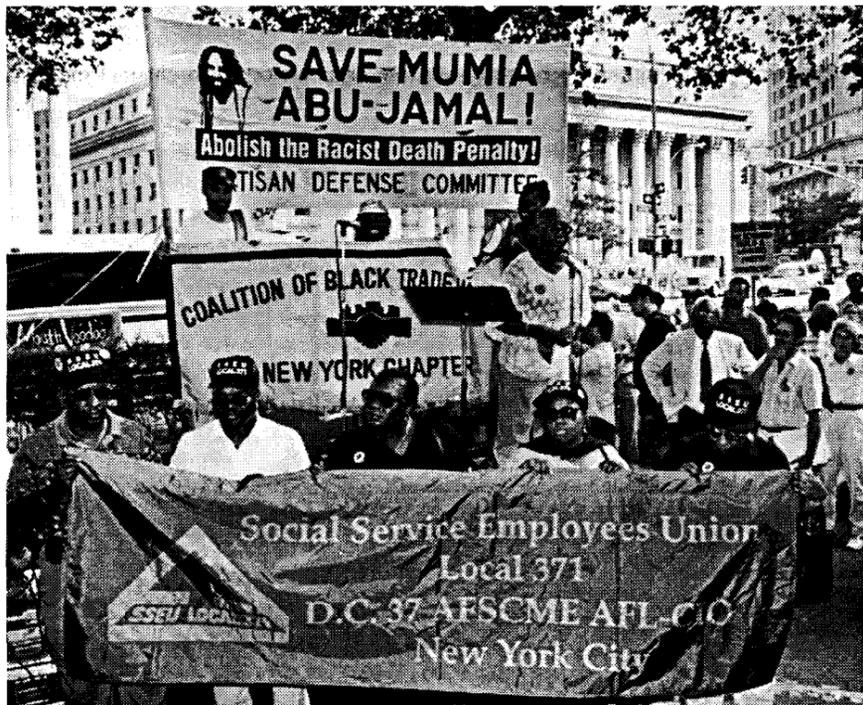
BT Renegades...

(continued from page 7)

reported by comrades in our Australian section, where Logan had previously been national chairman, once the lid had been pried open by the fight in Britain. Logan willfully broke up couples and pressured comrades into sexual relationships. He pressured a young comrade to have an abortion, and when she refused, he made her put the child in a foster home, ultimately driving her to an attempted suicide. We convoked a trial body at our first international conference in the summer of 1979. Logan was expelled by a unanimous vote of the membership (including, again, those who would later form the BT). We made our bulletins on the Logan regime public in order to warn the rest of the workers movement about this sociopath.

The BT did not respond to our exposure of Logan's current vocation as a New Age snake oil salesman who peddles his grotesque services—as a "celebrant" and "counsellor" for baby funerals and "partnership break-up" among other things—on his Web site (bl.co.nz), which also features a link to a "Folksong Index" where you can listen to such "folk" classics as "Deutschland Über Alles," "The Swastika Song" and "Come All Ye that Hold True Communion with Southern Confederates Bold"! Here is a leader of a putative "Bolshevik" organization whose Web site speaks not of the influences of Marx, Lenin or Trotsky but of the "Anglican and Presbyterian influences of my childhood."

Now, as part of its escalating provocations, the BT claims that our last polemic "recalls the 1973 pronouncements of Lyndon LaRouche (then known as Lynn Marcus) when he was winding up his devotees for their 'Operation Mop Up' vendetta against the Communist Party." "Operation Mop-Up" was a campaign of murderous violence against Communist Party supporters by the LaRouchites as the latter exited the workers movement



WV Photo

As SL/PDC mobilised during worldwide protest campaign to stop execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1995, capitalists' house organ picked up BT's "cult" smear to vilify Mumia's supporters.

on their way to the fascistic right and links with various state agencies. So the BT is insinuating that we're crazed thugs and on our way out of the workers movement altogether.

We wrote in the 1987 SL/U.S. national conference document:

"The tiny Bolshevik Tendency (formerly External Tendency) composed largely of embittered Reagan-years quitters from the SL is not so much an opponent as a sinister threat of provocation. The Bolshevik Tendency (BT) exhibits an apparent disinterest in questions of importance to the working class except to go after the SL.... "Mainly the BT is a highly dubious and potentially extremely dangerous pest of the COINTELPRO type."

In the Editorial Statement we published last issue, we acknowledged our mistake in excising the BT's "P.S." rather than exposing it for the contemptible lie it is when we published the exchange "BT Doth Whine Too Much" (WV No. 806,

4 July). In this statement, the BT can see only a "mea culpa" and a "public slap-down of the editorial board." The idea of basic communist honesty and integrity, the fundamental concept of speaking the truth and openly admitting a mistake to the working-class public, is something wholly alien to the BT charlatans. For them, it is simply evidence of "Obedience Training in the SL," as they called it in their luridly anti-communist 1985 account of the supposed Spartacist gulag, "The Road to Jimstown," a reference to Jonestown, Guyana, where a religious cult under Reverend Jim Jones carried out a mass suicide in 1978. In their latest letter, they write that the SL is a cult whose "central organizing principle is that founder/leader Robertson can never be wrong (unless he says so)." This is beyond stupid—since when do cult leaders admit to being wrong?

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

Not Much Left:
'The Movement' Is
Pretty Still Nowadays

Despite the GOP Revolution,
Radical Groups Can't Win
Converts to Their Brand

... by Angela Davis
... Communist Party USA member
The Spartacists are led by a man named James Robertson, prompting the International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists, to deride their old party as "Jimstown," a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide.

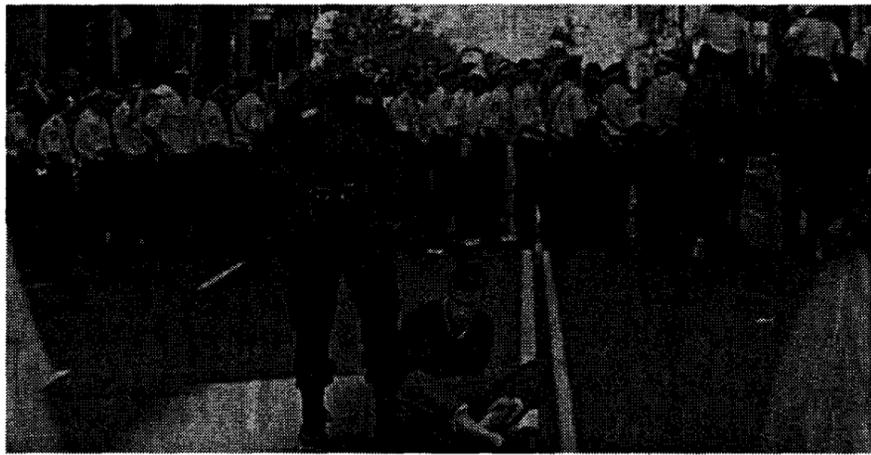
The BT acknowledges that the ICL preserved "the thread of revolutionary continuity after the degeneration of Cannon's party," i.e., the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, but claims that we in turn have degenerated. Well, we wrote in "From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning" (WV No. 349, 2 March 1984): "Yes, comrades of the ET, sooner or later and if we do not take state power first, a revolutionary Marxist organization outlives the effective political lifetime of its founding cadre; the defense of the party's original purpose and intent characteristically involves organizational discontinuity (i.e., split on behalf of the new revolutionary generation). But not yet for us, ETs, and in any case you stand in no relationship to that process." That was in 1984; today you stand among the enemies of revolutionary Marxism and of working-class victory. ■

Education...

(continued from page 12)

for students to rally behind the independent mobilisation of the working class in a class-struggle fight to defend and extend education together with public health care and social services. Students of themselves do not have social power. Rather, it is the working class with its hands on the levers of production and the ability to strike that has the means to take on the capitalists and fight for free, quality education for all.

For the working class to become champions of all the oppressed it is necessary to combat their illusions in the capitalist state and politically expose the nationalist ALP trade-union misleadership of the workers movement which perpetrates the lie that there is commonality of interest between workers and bosses. The ALP is a bourgeois workers party, that is, a party with a working-class base but a thoroughly pro-capitalist program and leadership. It promotes illusory reform within the capitalist framework, not least the dead end of parliament, as the only avenue for the disenchanted. Simultaneously, when the ALP is in government it administers the state for the bourgeoisie, wielding it against the struggles of the working class and youth. This was



Rick Stevens

March 26: Cops of NSW Carr Labor government arrest protesting immigrant youth in anti-war student strike. Labor in government administers state for bourgeoisie, wielding it against struggles of working class and youth.

to make the point that it was the Australian Labor Party in power in the 1980s and early '90s which paved the way for the current attacks by introducing racist up-front fees for overseas students and then HECS universally. In the current dire situation, strikes against union busting and education cutbacks are required to shut down campuses, with picket lines that no-one crosses. But this proposal raised by the SYC was largely argued *against* by Labor Party students, certain ostensible leftists and student bureaucrats

state to "Tax the rich." Placing reliance on the state, which administers society for the wealthy few, to re-prioritise against the interests of the class they serve is reformist to the core! It promotes the same illusions in the bourgeoisie which the ALP pushes. It is little surprise then that WP's article makes no mention of the crimes of the ALP on education and remains uncritical of the trade-union bureaucrats. The same strand of reformism is pushed by the ISO when they say "The funding crisis in public education could be addressed by a government that was prepared to seriously tax the rich..." (*Socialist Worker*, 8 August).

The fake left's class collaboration was applied with abandon during the anti-war movement earlier this year. Far from defending neocolonial Iraq from imperialist attack, Socialist Alliance and Socialist Alternative joined in cross-class coalitions such as the Victorian Peace Network, actively promoting the bourgeois Greens and Laborite forces. In helping build platforms for the parliamentary representatives of the capitalists, these groups worked to channel the discontent of thousands of angry anti-war youth back into bourgeois respectability, reaffirming the capitalist system in the process.

Since capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92 (which the aforementioned fake-left organisations cheered on!), the attacks on education, health, workers and minorities have had a massive impetus. The Australian ruling capitalist class no longer sees the need to keep even the limited reforms that it conceded during the class struggles of the 1960s and '70s when Australian imperialism suffered a resounding defeat at the hands of the revolutionary Vietnamese workers and peasants. The expulsion of capitalists and imperialists from Vietnam and the creation of a collectivised economy laid the basis for a free education system, to the extent possible in a poor, former neocolonial country. With significant sections of the working class in Australia making it clear that they identified with the Vietnamese Revolution (whose victory was only made possible by the

existence of the Soviet Union), the capitalists sought to try and appease the workers. (See "The Vietnam War, Class Struggle and the Capitalist Whitlam Government," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 182, Autumn 2003.)

We say: *Defend the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions in North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution! For a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies on a program of proletarian internationalism!*

The Capitalist State: Enemy of Unions, Radical Students

The capitalist state is not a neutral arbiter between classes but at its core consists of armed bodies of men employed to enforce the rule of the bourgeoisie. On campus, security guards and cops are not there to "protect" students, but to protect private property. They are there to break up strikes, demonstrations and occupations like the student Sydney University Senate occupation of 8 July. So too the army, which is not a benign organisation handing out degrees and building "leadership" skills, despite its attempts to appear so through slick advertising campaigns. It is the vehicle to enforce the capitalists' plunder and profiteering in neocolonial countries. We say: *Drive the army and ASIO recruiters off campus! Cops off campus! Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!* In March 2002, in an exemplary action, an SYC/Spartacist League initiated demonstration caused army recruiters to abandon a recruitment stall at RMIT university in Melbourne. Today, we say: *Bloody Australian imperialist military out of East Timor, Solomon Islands, Iraq!*

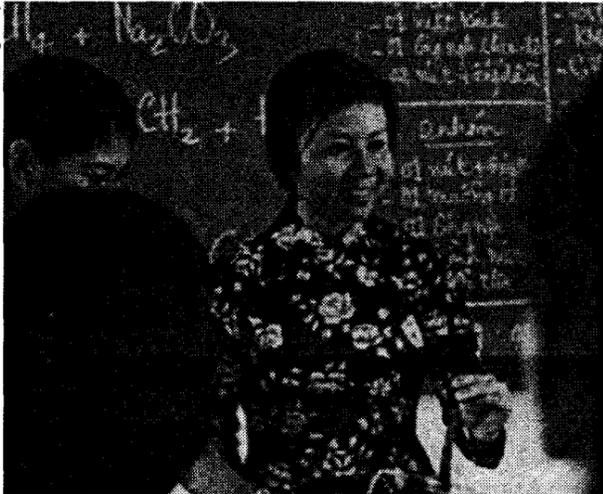
Cutting Against the Tide of Reformism: The Spartacus Youth Clubs

In contrast to the class collaborators who promote the illusion that capitalism can be reformed, the SYC understands that the capitalist class views working-class youth as wage slaves and cannon fodder for imperialist wars. Under capitalism, universities exist for the purpose of training the next generation of bosses, professionals and administrators of the capitalist system. The capitalists disperse education only to a requisite number of workers and their children and only to the extent that it brings skills needed for their profits.

The SYC is fighting, as part of the common movement of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), to build an international, revolutionary workers party that can lead workers in the struggle to overthrow this rotten capitalist system. Only with the replacement of the dictatorship of capital by the liberating dictatorship of the working class on a global scale will modern technique, science, culture and education be available to all! ■

Chemistry professor at work in Ho Chi Minh City. Creation of a collectivised economy in Vietnam laid basis for free education system, to extent possible in a poor, former neocolonial country.

Viet Nam News Agency



sharply illustrated recently when the NSW Labor government of Carr used its police in an attempt to break the Morris McMahon picket line in Arncliffe, not far from Sydney University. During the imperialist war on Iraq, the same repressive government ordered vicious police attacks on courageous striking anti-war students. A political break from the ALP and from the Laborite union misleaders is necessary to building a revolutionary class-struggle leadership of the unions.

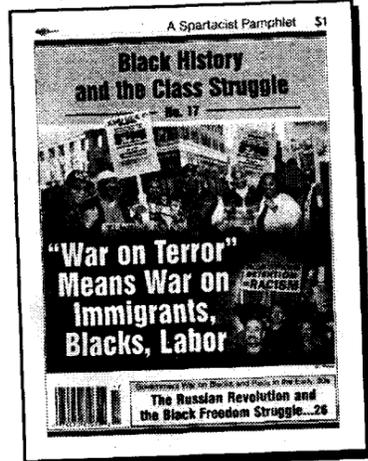
At an Education Action Group meeting of 19 August at Sydney University, it took the initiative of a speaker from the SYC

who said that the National Tertiary Education Union would likely not strike with students on 27 August because the union's Enterprise Bargaining Agreement was up for negotiation and political strike action would compromise their efforts! By buying into the program of the union bureaucrats, these individuals abandon the class struggle and invite failure in struggles against the bosses.

Raising Laborite obstacles to class struggle are pseudo-leftist organisations such as the Democratic Socialist Party, the International Socialist Organisation and Workers Power (which are all part of the electoral outfit Socialist Alliance) as well as Socialist Alternative. Supporters of Socialist Alliance act as the "left" servants of the bourgeoisie by giving preferences to their chosen pro-capitalist "darling" of the moment (alternating between the ALP and the Greens). For its part, Socialist Alternative called for a vote to Labor in 2001, at a time when the ALP was supporting the imperialist bombing of Afghanistan, the hijacking and incarceration of refugees, and offered the working class nothing but "anti-terror" state repression. We said: *No vote to the ALP!* The ALP is the party of White Australia racism and union busting!

The centrists (revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds) of Workers Power in their June 2003 issue's editorial, titled "Fight for Public Education!", talk about the need for "coordinated industrial action." However, such calls are worse than empty when they simultaneously breed illusions in the capitalist state and obscure the need for a political struggle against Laborism. The conclusion of the article makes an appeal to the capitalist

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Sydney Morning Herald/Edwina Pickles

Police break up Sydney University Senate student occupation, 8 July. Security guards and cops are on campus not to "protect" students but to smash strikes, demonstrations and occupations.

Iran...

(continued from page 12)

notably the powerful and strategic oil workers, while the more left-wing guerrillaist Fedayeen attracted tens of thousands of student youth to its banners. But these organizations literally handed the working masses, oppressed nationalities, women and youthful leftists over to the new torturers of the Islamic theocracy. Upon coming to power, the Khomeini regime embarked upon the mass slaughter of the Baha'i religious minority, Kurds and other national minorities, unveiled women, militant trade unionists and all oppositionists. An entire generation of left-wing militants was wiped out. Having waded through the blood of their comrades killed by a regime they helped to bring to power, the remnants who made it into exile were defeated, broken, demoralized and most became burnt-out cynics.

Criminally, the re-emerging Iranian left today has gone from supporting Islamic reaction against the monarchy to blocking with monarchist and other pro-U.S. forces against the Islamic rulers. Many of the recent international protests in solidarity with Iranian student demonstrators,

young Iranian activists must assimilate the bitter lessons of the 1979 "revolution," including the betrayals of a whole host of leftist organizations in Iran and internationally.

In an article in *International Socialist Review* (August-September 2000), the International Socialist Organization (ISO) writes: "The failure of the left was also crucial in allowing Khomeini's forces to take power. The workers and the left could have challenged both the Shah's regime and the mullahs' leadership based on the power of the workers' strike committees. But their political strategy made this impossible.... Much of the left subordinated workers' interests to building a coalition with the clergy and liberals who were hostile to the working class. They argued that the main task was to maintain unity in the movement in order to get rid of the Shah's dictatorship."

The ISO's analysis is both correct and utterly cynical. The fake left in Iran and internationally—including the ISO—promoted the mullah-led reactionary movement, whose most prominent slogans were "God is great!" and "Death or the veil!" They dismissed the emancipation of women, along with every other revolutionary perspective, because they



Workers Hammer
January 1989
London protest
against mass
executions in
Iran, part of
international
campaign
initiated by
Spartacists
and Partisan
Defence
Committee.

coverage may have also conveyed the impression that the current Iranian regime, in a warped form, is a defender of the remaining gains of the revolution." Wonder why! The SWP has touted the Tehran regime's "gains" for years. When the mullahs came to power, the SWP, then associated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), ran the banner headline: "Victory in Iran!" (*Militant*, 23 February 1979), and declared some months later that "women are freer than ever before in Iran" (*Militant*, 14 December 1979)! Meanwhile, European USec leader Brian Grogan boasted of chanting "God is great!" in the streets of Tehran.

It was the betrayals of the left that ensured that the workers did not challenge both the Shah and the mullah leadership. The Shah's brutal regime remained in power solely through naked terror and the backing of American imperialism. Its days were numbered; the only question was, what would replace it—workers rule or Islamic reaction. It was powerful proletarian struggle, such as a sit-down strike by 37,000 oil workers, that led to the toppling of the tyrannical Shah. We stressed at the time:

"The hundreds of thousands who are now marching behind the mullahs are by no means all Muslim fundamentalists. Many are primarily motivated by hostility to the real crimes of the shah. Many leftist workers have probably joined what they view as a potentially successful opposition to the hated regime. But the masses, particularly the workers, who are now supporting the Khomeinis and the Shariatmadaris can and must be won away from the present Islamic reactionary offensive in favor of a *social revolutionary* opposition to the shah."

—"Iran in Turmoil" WV No. 215, 22 September 1978

As it does today, Iran in 1978-79 exemplified the Marxist conception of combined and uneven development. Alongside a sizable, militant and strategic industrial proletariat, particularly in the oil industry, were thousands of rural villages and impoverished urban shantytowns under the sway of the Shi'ite clerical caste. A chauvinist "prison house of peoples," Iran oppressed non-Persian nationalities like the Kurds and Arabs, who together make up nearly half the population. At the very bottom of the social ladder were millions of hideously oppressed peasant women. In these respects Iran resembled the tsarist empire on the eve of the Russian Revolution of 1917. But it lacked a revolutionary leadership like the Russian Bolsheviks, acting as a tribune of all the

people in the struggle to lead the working class to the conquest of state power.

All wings of the bourgeoisie in Iran and other countries of belated capitalist development are too backward and dependent on imperialism to play any progressive role. Only the proletariat leading the urban plebeian and peasant masses can lead a struggle for liberation from imperialist subjugation and reactionary traditionalism. In seizing state power and establishing their own rule, the workers will be compelled to institute socialist measures, expropriating the means of production and establishing a planned economy. At the same time, a victorious workers revolution in Iran would be immediately besieged by the imperialist powers. It could only survive and flourish by being extended internationally, not only throughout the Near East, but most crucially to the advanced imperialist powers of West Europe, North America and Japan.

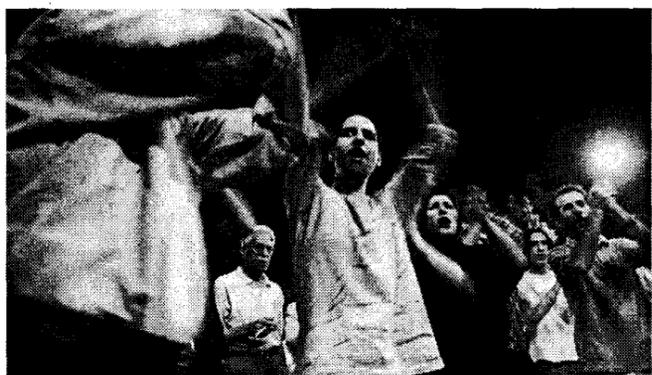
The "Islamic revolution" of 1979 represented a negative confirmation of Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. In countries like Iran, whose economic and social development has been retarded by imperialist enslavement, the historic tasks posed by the bourgeois revolutions of West Europe and North America remain on the agenda: equality for women, freedom for national minorities, agrarian revolution, social and economic modernization. From this, many self-styled leftists draw the utterly false conclusion that there must be a "two-stage revolution," with the first stage led by "anti-imperialist" elements of the bourgeoisie and limited to "democratic" capitalist rule. For much of the Iranian left, "anti-imperialism" meant unity between the working and oppressed masses and the "progressive" (and not so progressive) elements of the bourgeoisie. The outcome of this schema is that the "second stage" invariably means not the ascent of the workers but the massacre of communists and trade unionists, as happened in Iran. (See "Iran 1979: Proletarian Revolution or Islamic Reaction," WV No. 784, 12 July 2002.)

As we wrote in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program":

"The 1979 'Iranian Revolution' opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world, a development which contributed to and was powerfully reinforced by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Khomeini's seizure and consolidation of power in Iran was a defeat akin to Hitler's crushing of the German proletariat in 1933, albeit on a narrower, regional scale. The international Spartacist tendency's slogan 'Down with the Shah! No support to the mullahs!' and our focus on the woman question ('No to the veil!') stood in sharp contrast to the rest of the left's capitulation to mullah-led reaction."

—Spartacist [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998

Washington's current war on "Islamic terror" was preceded by decades of support to Islamic terror in the name of the war against "godless communism." Osama bin Laden and his fellow *mujahedin* are creatures of U.S. imperialism. Faced with a U.S.-backed Islamic insurgency on its southern flank in Afghanistan, in late 1979 the Soviet Red Army intervened on the side of the left-nationalist Kabul government that had tried to implement such reforms as lowering the bride price and setting up literacy programs for girls. We



Iranian students demonstrate against Islamic fundamentalist regime in June. Student protesters were thrown into Tehran's infamous Evin prison (below).



particularly in the U.S., saw leftist groups march alongside royalists and other pro-imperialist reactionaries. If you reject the possibility of bringing the working class to revolutionary consciousness, then you necessarily end up tailing one alien class force or another.

Uniquely, the International Communist League (then known as the international Spartacist tendency) warned from the outset of the 1978-79 upheaval that, absent a decisive break by the working class with the Islamic forces, the struggle would have a disastrous outcome. We raised the call: "Down With the Shah! Don't Bow to Khomeini! For Workers Revolution in Iran!" Today, again, we underscore that the only road to freedom for Iran's working people, women and oppressed nationalities lies in the independent mobilization of the working class and the fight for socialist revolution.

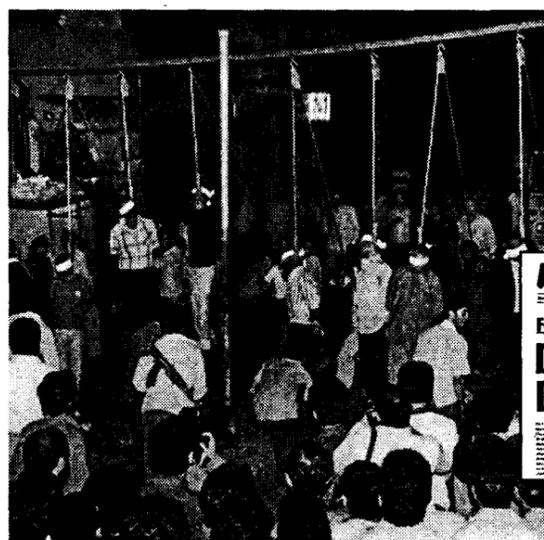
The 1979 "Revolution": Mass Struggle and Left Betrayal

The new generation entering into struggle today in Iran has a frame of reference vastly different than that of the 1970s. The Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, which bordered Iran and provided a global counterweight to U.S. imperialism, has been destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution, throwing back the consciousness and struggles of the working class and oppressed internationally. This effect is magnified in Iran, where Islamic terror physically annihilated the left.

If their struggles are to go forward, the most farsighted elements among today's

all, to a greater or lesser extent, *liquidated into the reactionary Islamic mobilization*, putting forward justifications such as "anti-imperialism" or claims that the "mass movement" encompassed a "revolution within a revolution" through which the "progressive" forces could "later" come to power!

The January 1979 issue of the ISO's *Socialist Worker* unabashedly hailed Khomeini's "mass movement" which aimed to enslave women and throw back social progress centuries, headlining one article: "The Form—Religious, the Spirit—Revolution!" In this, they were far from unique. Today, an editorial in the *Militant* (7 July), newspaper of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), squirms: "Some of the *Militant's* past



Victims of Islamic regime's terror are hanged in Tehran, July 1980. We uniquely fought to mobilize proletariat against both Shah and Khomeini's forces.



Trotskyists proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to extend the gains of the Soviet October Revolution to the peoples of Afghanistan. But rather than fighting to win, the treacherous Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy withdrew its forces from Afghanistan in 1988-89 to appease the U.S. imperialists, directly paving the way for the victory of Washington's Muslim fanatics and opening the door to capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR itself.

WCPI Calls for "Dialogue" with Monarchists

Today, the mullah regime in Tehran is widely despised, and the question of who will rule Iran could soon be posed again. Faced with broad unrest, the regime has fractured between hard-liners around Ayatollah Ali Khomeini, Khomeini's successor as the Islamic "supreme leader," and "reformers" around President Mohammed Khatami. The latter was first installed in office six years ago as a pressure valve to contain discontent. But popular illusions that Khatami would institute significant reforms have dissipated, as he works alongside the hard-liners to suppress discontent and enforce the stifling restrictions on social life. A spokesman for the main reform student group, the Office for Consolidating Unity (OCU), told *Middle East Report Online* (15 July):

"Previously, the students distinguished between the reformers in government, whom the students helped to elect and with whom they shared many concerns, and the hardliners, whom they had not elected and who were intent on maintaining their authoritarian grip on power....

"At a minimum, we want to ensure civil and social rights and liberties, and we want a democracy. But the students have lost any illusion that working for reforms within the system can bring this about."

But if Iranian student activists have lost their illusions in the Islamic "reformers," there are from all evidence widespread illusions that an idealized form of Western bourgeois democracy can provide an answer. Some look back to the bourgeois-nationalist Mossadeq regime in the early 1950s, which was propped up by the Tudeh Stalinists, who channeled a working-class upheaval against the Shah and the imperialists into support for the "progressive" Mossadeq. But Mossadeq called on the army generals, who were working with the U.S. to bring him down, to crack down on Tudeh. The army, in league with Mossadeq's former Islamic allies, then brought him down (see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," Part Two, WV No. 741, 8 September 2000). If the Mossadeq interlude demonstrates anything, it is that in a country like Iran, whose economic and social development has been stunted by imperialism, there can be no stable bourgeois democracy; under capitalism, Iran can never look like Western Europe or North America. Only workers rule can begin to lift Iran from its economic and social backwardness.

Today the fraying of illusions in Islamic "reformers" has provided an opening for the monarchists around Reza Pahlavi, exiled son of the former Shah, to sharply increase their activities toward and in Iran. These monarchists are based among the hundreds of thousands of mainly

right-wing Iranian exiles in Southern California. Their Farsi-language satellite TV stations and Web sites are a major source of information for many Iranians, given the widespread media censorship within the country. But these pro-U.S. royalists face major obstacles to winning widespread support in Iran. Iranians can look next door to Iraq and Afghanistan to see that the real face of Washington's vaunted "democracy" is naked colonial brutality. And memories of the CIA-organized coup that overthrew Mossadeq in 1953 run deep. In his *Middle East Report Online* interview, the OCU student leader commented, "For the students, at least, a monarchist alternative is taken as an insult.... Why should they go back to a monarchy, even a constitutional one, where a hereditary sultan is set to rule over them as subjects?"

Yet the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI), which appears to be the largest and most influential force among the Iranian left today, openly seeks to accommodate such monarchist forces. The WCPI rightly denounces any idea of allying with any wing of the current regime, and is also unique on the Iranian left in its emphasis on women's rights, including forthright opposition to the veil. At the same time, the WCPI holds positions which are outright reactionary. This is shown clearly in its program "A Better World," which rails "against the act of abortion" and calls this basic, vitally necessary medical procedure "testimony to the self-alienation of people"! Far from upholding a perspective of proletarian class independence, the WCPI are in fact anti-clerical reformists who foster terrible illusions in "democratic" Western imperialism.

For years, one of the WCPI's main campaigns has been for imperialist governments in Europe and Canada to shut down the Iranian embassies in their countries. By raising this demand, the WCPI lends credence to the democratic pretensions of these imperialists and calls on them to act as cops of the world. The WCPI has also repeatedly called on the United Nations to intervene on behalf of the oppressed in the Near East. Its sister group in Iraq is currently agitating for a UN military intervention in that country, calling for the U.S. and British forces to be replaced by "the intervention of the United Nations" to "safeguard free and secure conditions" (*WPI Briefing*, 28 April). As was shown by its decade-long starvation embargo of Iraq, which killed at least a million and a half men, women and children, the UN is nothing more than an instrument for upholding the imperialist status quo against the oppressed masses of the underdeveloped "Third World."

The WCPI's grotesque accommodation to the Iranian monarchists was clearly seen at a 4,000-strong rally in support of Iranian students in Toronto on July 9, which featured a sea of monarchist and Iranian national flags interspersed with WCPI banners and placards. A WCPI representative spoke from the official platform and, far from even criticizing the monarchists, the WCPI's own statement for the event, titled "Resolution in Solidarity with the People's Struggle to Overthrow the Islamic Regime of Iran," avoided all mention of these royalists or of U.S. imperialism. For the occasion, the



Worker-Communist Party of Iran
Tehran, 8 March: Demonstrators defy Islamic regime by openly celebrating International Women's Day (top). In 1979, tens of thousands marched against reimposition of the veil in first mass challenge to Islamic rule.

UPI



WCPI even dropped the last part of its customary slogan, "Freedom, Equality, Workers Rule," as its banners in Farsi and English solely called for "Freedom, Equality!"

This transparent opportunism aimed at accommodating deeply reactionary forces is no accident. Two years ago, in an interview in *International Haftegi* (10 August 2001, summarized in English on the WCPI's Web site), WCPI founder-leader Mansoor Hekmat (since deceased) characterized the WCPI and "the pro-West nationalist current which has primarily gathered around Reza Pahlavi" as the "two main currents in the opposition demanding the ouster of the regime." While rejecting "unity" with the monarchists, Hekmat continued:

"What can be done is to establish an official dialogue among the opposition currents demanding the regime's overthrow. We do not have a problem with this. We invited all the opposition, from Left to Right, to our Third Congress. Not only do we not have a problem with setting up an official dialogue with any organization opposing the Islamic Republic, we welcome it and think it necessary."

The forces around Reza Pahlavi are the literal heirs of the bloody Shah and his henchmen who butchered Iranian workers, leftists and minorities by the thousands. In the late 1970s, the Iranian left allied with Islamic reaction against the hated Shah, with horrific results; now the WCPI wants a "dialogue" with the Shah's forces against the Islamic regime! Such a perspective expresses profound political bankruptcy. It would prove literally suicidal for a new generation of Iranian leftists.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Iran today is in the throes of a profound social crisis. The only road to genuine social emancipation, to freeing Iranian women from enslavement, to winning national self-determination for the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities, lies through the smashing of capitalist class rule. An Iranian workers revolution would send shock waves throughout the Near East, showing a way forward for the beleaguered masses who chafe under the grip of Islamic theocracies, military dictatorships and bloody imperialist overlordship. It would act as a spur to struggle, as well, for working people in the United States and throughout the imperialist world, who must be won to the perspective of proletarian opposition to their "own" ruling classes.

In the countries of the East, the ques-

tion of women's oppression is one of the most powerful motor forces of socialist revolution. Indeed, when the Bolsheviks arrived in Central Asia in the years following the October Revolution, it was among women that they found the main point of support for their program and won their key cadres. The same holds true for Iran. A Leninist-Trotskyist party, championing women's rights against the age-old stranglehold of religion and the family, will find its most loyal and courageous fighters among women.

In the wake of the mullahs' rise to power, we held forums across the U.S. under the title "No to the Veil! Down With Khomeini! For a Workers Revolution in Iran!" Defying attempts by Iranian Muslims and pro-Khomeini leftists to violently disrupt these meetings, the speaker, a Near Eastern Trotskyist of Muslim origin, told the simple truth that the veil is a prison, "a symbol of women's oppression under Islam and an instrument of that control" ("Fatima Khalil Tells the Truth on Iran," WV No. 230, 27 April 1979).

The emancipation of women not only from the veil but from the daily drudgery of hearth and home will only come about when the proletariat conquers state power and establishes a socialist society, which will lay the material basis for the replacement of the institution of the family through collective childcare, kitchens and other social institutions. As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (No. 18, Spring 1979) following the first challenge to mullah rule in 1979, with the outpouring of 100,000 women in Tehran on International Women's Day:

"The Iranian masses today urgently need an independent, working-class revolutionary party, capable of struggling in its own name against the reactionary social program of the mullahs. In this task, the question of women's oppression will play a major role. We salute the masses of outraged women who took to the streets in defiance of Khomeini, in defiance of 1,300 years of brutal institutionalized repression, in defiance of those 'leftists' who hail as liberators the clerical reactionaries who would keep women gagged, locked away and enslaved from birth to death. But unless the defiant women find a programmatic base of support in a class-conscious proletarian opposition to the mullahs, their militancy will be dissipated or smashed by the clerical reaction.... Only the perspective of a new, socialist order can show the way forward for the militant women. It is as cadres of a vanguard party of the Iranian working class, armed with the fighting program of revolutionary Trotskyism, that the courageous women of Iran will win their liberation and the liberation of all the exploited and oppressed." ■



Asparaghi
New York City, 9 July: Pro-imperialist monarchist forces were prevalent at recent demonstrations in the U.S. against the Islamic regime in Iran.



For Workers Revolution in Iran!

The following article is adapted from Workers Vanguard (No. 807, 1 August 2003), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Chanting "The clerical regime is nearing its end!" and "Down with the Islamic Republic!" thousands of students and other protesters took to the streets of Iranian cities this summer in another round of mass demonstrations against the bloody theocratic rulers. The protests began at Tehran University on June 10 when several hundred students denounced plans to privatize the universities. Within days they had spread to other cities and drawn in broader layers of society.

The regime cracked down with brutal ferocity, unleashing its police and paramilitary Ansar Hezbollah thugs to arrest at least 4,000. One demonstrator was killed in the southern city of Shiraz, while an Iranian Canadian photojournalist was beaten to death by authorities after taking photos near Tehran's infamous Evin prison. Another center of protest was Kurdistan University in Sanandaj, where troops besieged and occupied the campus, reportedly killing one student. Faced with the threat of more widespread protests on July 9 to mark the suppression of the 1999 student revolt, the government closed Tehran University and banned all public gatherings.

Twenty-four years after a reactionary Islamic movement led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini rode to power on the back of a popular upheaval against the despised U.S.-backed Shah and his SAVAK secret police torturers, Iran is again seething with discontent. The Islamic regime is facing all-sided social unrest, the impact of which will be felt throughout the Near East. In most of the region, the depredations of imperialism combined with the evident bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism and the betrayals of the Stalinist Communist parties have fueled the growth of Islamic fundamentalism. But in Iran, which has lived through 25 years of "Islamic paradise," the entire tendency of struggle is away from the forces of religious reaction.

While the deeply corrupt religious leaders live like kings, life is ever more miserable for the working class and

**Iran Fake Left:
1979: With the Mullahs Against the Monarchy
2003: With the Monarchy Against the Mullahs**

urban and rural poor. Real incomes have fallen by fully three-quarters since the onset of Islamic rule. Some 25 percent of the workforce is unemployed while at least a million workers with jobs have not been paid for months, in some cases for years. Despite this desperate economic situation, sections of the working class are becoming restive. Last July,

families backed the strikers, leading the regime to declare martial law in the city.

The population of Iran is very young, very highly educated and very repressed. Some 70 percent is under 30, in large measure the result of the slaughter of a whole generation of young men during the sordid 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War. That war was fueled by the U.S., which had



Workers demonstration in Behshahr in April.

Worker-Communist Party of Iran

20,000 workers demonstrated in Tehran against poor working conditions, low pay and a new labor bill that would make firings much easier. Thousands more defied a government ban to demonstrate this May Day. Around the same time, 2,000 textile workers in Behshahr went on hunger strike to protest non-payment of wages for more than two years. Rallies of up to 25,000 workers and their

anti-Iranian tilt. The struggle against the all-pervasive social restrictions of the Iranian regime finds its most explosive expression in the fight for women's rights—from being able to walk down the street without having to wear the stifling *hijab* (veil) to being able to choose your own partner. Barbaric punishments, including death by stoning, have been meted out to women, homosexuals and

others for "deviant" behavior. Hundreds of thousands of women have been driven into prostitution which, along with widespread drug addiction, has grown dramatically amid the economic and social devastation. According to the government's own estimates, *two million* women are homeless, including many teenage girls who have run away from home.

At the same time, unlike in many other Islamic-ruled states, women are not barred from higher education, and many are integrated in the workforce in fields like education and medicine. Women make up a majority of university students, and many are active in pro-reform movements. This spring, thousands of women defied the regime to publicly celebrate International Women's Day, and women have played a prominent role in the recent protests. The hold of the mosque over the population has drastically declined. Last year, the regime's own Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance admitted that 99 percent of the population no longer even bothers to attend Friday prayers.

With the fraying of Islamic rule, wildly diverse forces are now emerging to vie for leadership of the anti-regime struggle. These range from Islamic "reformers" to would-be communists, bourgeois nationalists and right-wing, pro-U.S. supporters of the former Shah. Bush cynically praised the recent student protests as "the beginning of people expressing themselves toward a free Iran." The Bush administration has vilified Iran as part of its international "axis of evil" and has more recently tried to whip up a furor over its supposed development of "weapons of mass destruction," demanding "regime change" in Tehran. And over 150,000 American troops are now directly across the border in occupied Iraq and Afghanistan. **U.S. hands off Iran! All U.S. troops out of Iraq and Afghanistan!**

The youth who spearheaded mass protests against the hated Shah 25 years ago overwhelmingly considered themselves leftists, avidly reading Lenin and chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism. The pro-Moscow Tudeh (Masses) Party had a mass base among the working class, *continued on page 10*

Young Spartacus

Free Quality Education for All! Down With Liberal/ALP Attacks on Education!

We reprint below a Spartacus Youth Club leaflet which was widely distributed at 27 August demonstrations in Sydney and Melbourne protesting attacks on higher education. In Sydney, the demonstration was thousands strong. In Melbourne, students confronted with police attempts to crush demonstrators chanted "Cops off campus!" Meanwhile, a 24-hour strike by teachers is planned for 17 September in the states of NSW, Victoria

and Western Australia over poor wages where Labor governments have massively understaffed and underfunded public education in high schools and TAFE institutions.

On 27 August university students across Australia will protest attacks on higher education by the federal Liberal government. Meanwhile state Labor governments, such as in Carr's NSW and

Bracks' Victoria, are zealously slashing public education. This all-sided reactionary offensive against students, workers, trade unions, Aborigines, immigrants and all the oppressed has become more acute in the context of recent successes for racist Australian imperialism, which now extends its bloody hand in colonial occupation from Iraq to the Solomon Islands to East Timor. Such victories abroad embolden the capitalists to step

up austerity and repression at home.

The outcome of the "reforms" on education will mean further exclusion of women, Aborigines and working-class youth from higher education. Proposed HECS increases of 30 percent, in conjunction with a 50 percent increase in up-front full-fee paying positions at the expense of deferred payment positions, serve only to sharpen the class bias of campus. Meanwhile, through tying funding to individual work contracts, the government is seeking to extend its union-busting campaign to the campuses—targeting academics and campus workers. The Spartacus Youth Club demands free quality education *for all*, including overseas students. We say: **No fees! Abolish HECS! For open admissions to open the universities to the working class and oppressed! For a full, living allowance for all!**

We Spartacists do not place faith in the capitalist class to behave in a more benevolent or "progressive" manner. Rather, we argue that what is needed is *continued on page 9*