



Solidarise With Militant Aboriginal Youth Against Racist Cop Terror!

Defend Redfern Aborigines— Mobilise Union Power!

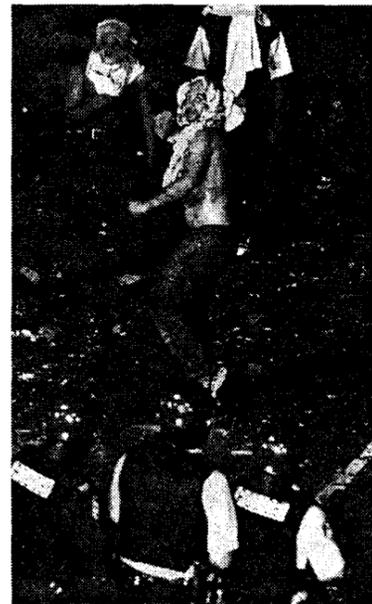
We reprint below a Spartacist League leaflet distributed at the march to commemorate the death of Aboriginal youth Thomas "TJ" Hickey on 24 February. Some 300 people, including Aborigines, anti-racist youth and supporters of leftist organisations came together to oppose police attacks on Aborigines in Redfern. Spartacist supporters faxed this leaflet to a number of unions the day before the march and distributed it to Aborigines and to workers at some industrial sites in Syd-

ney. We received a warm response from many people thanking us for our forthright defence of the Aboriginal people. The march was organised by the community and partly led by Aboriginal activists Lyall Munro and Kevin Smith. But the strategy the demonstration leadership put forward was dead-end demands on the police and calls for a Royal Commission into the death of Thomas Hickey. It was supporters of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs who uniquely

argued for an independent proletarian-centred strategy. We carried signs calling to "Drop the Charges! Hands Off Redfern Militants!" and "Honour Thomas Hickey By Mobilising Labour & Minority Defence of Aboriginal People!"

SYDNEY, 22 February—The long-felt anger of the Redfern Aboriginal community at their brutal racist oppression erupted on the evening of Sunday 15

continued on page 2



Edwina Pickles

Australian Troops/Cops Out of East Timor, PNG, Solomons!

U.S./Australian Imperialists Get Out of Iraq!

Over 800 Australian troops remain part of the U.S.-led imperialist force that is brutally occupying devastated Iraq. While some Australian companies such as Patrick Corporation, SAGRIC and the Snowy Mountains Engineering Corporation have won a small slice of lucrative reconstruction contracts in Iraq, the Australian ruling class' main purpose there is to do what it can to slavishly assist its U.S. ally. Decisive sections of the Australian bourgeoisie calculate that backing the U.S. in strengthening its current domination of the world means increased U.S. protection for Australian capitalism's own neocolonial looting in this region. Meanwhile Australian forces are directly enforcing imperialist overlords in the South Pacific. The Australian military currently leads occupations of East Timor and the Solomon Islands and a large contingent of cops are set to stage something approaching a direct takeover of the PNG police force (see page 6). We demand: *U.S./British/Australian and all allied troops out of Iraq! Australian and New Zealand troops, cops out of East Timor and the Solomon Islands! Australian cops out of PNG!*

The central target of the U.S./Australia alliance is the Chinese and North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers states. Australia has now signed up to the U.S.-led missile defence program (Japan has also agreed to join), which is squarely aimed against China. The imperialists want to overthrow the

collectively-owned property forms in China returning the country to the status of a giant sweatshop for neocolonial exploitation. *Defend the gains of the anti-capitalist revolutions in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba! Down with the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance! Not one person, not one missile, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!*

At home, the murderous occupation of Iraq continues to spark outrage amongst youth. Chanting "End the occupation, troops out now," 3,000 protesters

marched in Canberra last October against the visit by prime minister Howard's godfather, George Bush. But the ostensible left groups involved in organising the protests tied anti-war activists to formations—centrally the pro-capitalist Labor Party and the bourgeois Greens—which are completely loyal to Australian imperialism and its marauding around this region. Fêted on the speakers platform of the rally were ALP parliamentarians like current ALP president Carmen Lawrence, "former" intelligence agent Andrew Wilkie, a Catholic bishop and

Greens leader Bob Brown. But for the likes of the ALP, which ran Australia's participation in the 1991 Gulf War, and the Greens, the invasion of Iraq was but a tactical error. In the run-up to the invasion of Iraq Brown had argued against Australian involvement because he wanted Australian imperialism more aggressively focussed against North Korea! And in the days preceding his speech at the anti-Bush rally, Brown was again trying to outdo Bush and Howard in anti-communist hawkishness towards the deformed workers states in Asia. Brown raved that he was more concerned about the overlapping visit to Australia of Chinese leader Hu Jintao than that of war criminal Bush, adding that "America is a democracy and China is not" (*Australian*, 22 October 2003).

When the U.S.-led assault on Iraq began last March, the ALP and Greens rushed to reaffirm their absolute support for "our loyal troops," which means they fully side with the blood-soaked U.S. and Australian armies against the anti-occupation insurgents. It is impossible to fight against neocolonial terror and plunder in alliance with forces loyal to the capitalist military and the capitalist state—the bourgeoisie's instrument for violently enforcing its interests. Yet the reformist left's fêting of pro-imperialist politicians at the October anti-Bush rally was fully in keeping with their actions in

continued on page 5



Imperialist "liberators" train tank guns on Shi'ite Muslims demonstrating in Baghdad.

Reuters

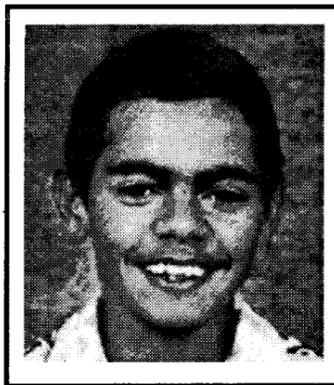
Redfern...

(continued from page 1)

February, as Aboriginal youth fought a nine-hour pitched battle with marauding cops. This explosion, which made headlines around the world, was sparked by the death that morning of popular 17-year-old Aboriginal youth, Thomas "TJ" Hickey. The previous day, while fleeing from police, Thomas was impaled on a steel fence, reportedly catapulted from his bicycle. Residents living in the Redfern Aboriginal community known as The Block, told a public meeting that Thomas' bike was struck by a police car. Witnesses described how, contrary to normal medical practice in such cases, police simply wrenched Thomas from the fence causing him to bleed badly. With obscene callousness, they then proceeded to search him, reportedly pinning him to the ground with their boots. It was up to a witness to call for an ambulance.

Thomas, like all Aboriginal youth, had cause to be fearful of the racist cops. Indeed he had been beaten by a group of police only last December in what the cops described as a case of "mistaken identity." Speaking of the police, Thomas' distraught mother, Gail, declared: "They're nasty. ...they man-handle our kids, they treat them like dogs.... They've got to stop chasing our kids and hurting our kids" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February).

Immediately following Thomas' death the police waged a series of vile provocations against the Aboriginal community. As early as midday on Sunday locals say



Sydney, 15 February: Community anger over racist oppression erupted following horrific death of Thomas "TJ" Hickey (above); courageous Aboriginal youth battled cops in Redfern (right).



Bill Hearne

from the Carr state Labor government's cops, up to one hundred and fifty Aboriginal youth, many of them friends of Thomas Hickey, fought back and defended themselves throughout Sunday evening against phalanxes of police "stormtroops." The Aboriginal youth defended themselves with great tactical nous. And this time the strutting arrogant "bluecoats" got more than they bargained for. Up to 50 cops were injured during the clashes.

However, by 1 a.m. on Monday morning some 250 police assembled in riot gear. They attacked and dispersed the

girlfriend, April, who was arrested after his memorial service and charged with resisting/hindering police and possession of cannabis. We say: **Drop the charges now! Free all those arrested! Defend Redfern Aborigines!**

The reactionary bourgeois media, notoriously anti-immigrant racist Carr and his cops, and Liberal opposition leader, John Brogden, are now in overdrive fueling and promoting an outpouring of violence baiting and hate against Aborigines in Redfern. Immediately after the incident Carr announced his "full confidence in the way police tackled this incident" while Brogden, with icy racism, called for The Block to be razed. "I'd bring the bulldozers in," he said.

Following the clashes, Carr quickly announced on Monday morning no less than three inquiries, while some so-called Aboriginal "community leaders" sought to stifle the just anger of Aboriginal youth. While accusing the police of provocations, Ray Jackson, Indigenous Social Justice Association president and a member of Socialist Alliance, also outrageously condemned the actions of the Aboriginal militants as "stupid."

In stark contrast, a spokesman for the mourning Hickey family, Lyall Munro, said of Thomas Hickey's death, "as far as we're concerned, it's an Aboriginal death in custody." Speaking to a gathering of some 150 residents on Monday morning, Munro to his credit solidarised with the actions of the Aboriginal youth: "A stand had to be taken and it was taken by some very brave young people..." (*Daily Telegraph*, 17 February).

But to prevail against the might of the capitalist state requires a political program to mobilise the social power of the working class. **For union/minority/black mobilisations to defend Aboriginal people against racist state terror! The besieged and marginalised Aboriginal people should not be left to fight alone!**

Carr's cops provocatively seek to prevent a proposed march on Redfern police station next Tuesday. To ensure that it goes ahead and to protest the racist state attacks on the Redfern Aboriginal community, we say the social power of the working class should be mobilised in strikes, walkouts and demonstrations. This is no pipe dream. In 1989 when police in Sydney gunned down and killed Aboriginal worker David Gundy, hundreds of building workers downed tools and joined the subsequent protest outside special weapons police headquarters. These workers formed a defensive perimeter around the demo, facing off the assembled cops who would have loved nothing more than to riot against the protesters. Today such union actions would give pause to the vicious NSW Labor government and their police.

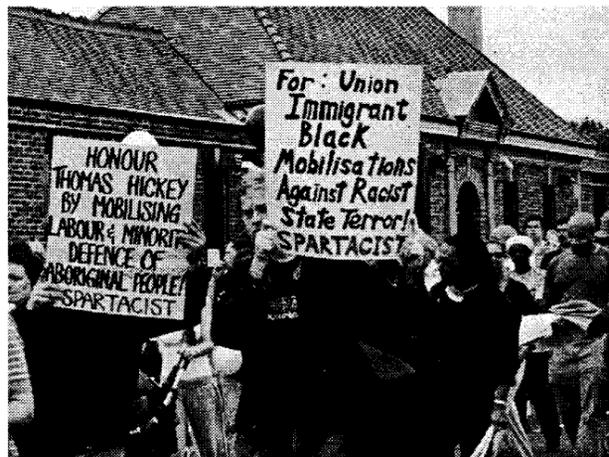
It is the same police who assault Aborigines, who also attack anti-racist youth and workers picket lines, like at nearby Morris McMahon factory last year. Last October, thousands of outraged building workers marched through the streets of

Sydney following the death of 16-year-old Joel Exner, who died as a result of his boss's failure to provide him with a safety harness. Both Joel Exner and Thomas Hickey are victims of capitalist rule. We fight to weld the social power of the organised working class to the just anger of oppressed minorities forming one giant hammer to beat back the attacks of their common enemy—the bosses and their repressive state with its cops, courts and prisons.

Far from such a proletarian perspective, Socialist Alliance in an 18 February statement call for the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, which concluded in 1991. This whitewash by the bourgeois state endorsed the police and coroner verdicts of "suicide" and "death by natural causes" in all 99 cases it reviewed. In other words all the killer cops walked! Their verbiage about police violence notwithstanding, Socialist Alliance, in pushing the royal commission findings, give authority to this whitewash of state killings of Aborigines and sow illusions in the main force for racist oppression—the capitalist state. It was the Spartacist League who warned from the first that the royal commission would be a whitewash, just as Bob Carr's so-called inquiries will be used to protect the cops and target Aborigines today.

While correctly recognising that the royal commission into deaths in custody was a whitewash, some outraged Aborigines are now calling on individual representatives of federal and state governments, including the NSW Police Commissioner, to conduct an "independent" inquiry by Aboriginal consultants into Thomas Hickey's death. Any inquiry set up by the racist capitalist state can only serve the interests of the ruling class against the interests of the working class and oppressed. The truth of police terror has been repeatedly written in blood for more than two centuries! There is, and can be, no justice from the capitalist state. Indeed promoting illusions in the capitalist state is counterposed to the urgently necessary working class mobilisations in defence of Aboriginal people.

The next day Spartacist salesmen went to Redfern to solidarise with the Aboriginal community. We distributed *Australasian Spartacist* featuring the backpage article "For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights!" Key to our perspective is the struggle to break the working class from racist Laborite nationalism and reliance on the capitalist state. Only in coming to the defence of the most oppressed against capitalist rule can the working class liberate themselves. It is urgently necessary to build a Leninist/Trotskyist party, a tribune of all the people, to overthrow this brutal capitalist system through workers revolution. Only then will the desperation and poverty imposed upon the indigenous peoples, and increasingly felt by all, be eliminated once and for all. ■



Asp photo

Redfern, 24 February: Spartacus Youth Club supporters join march in memory of Thomas Hickey, raise necessity for a working-class centred strategy to fight racist state terror.

patrolling police taunted Aboriginal youth with racist epithets. Mobilising to defend themselves, some in the Aboriginal community began pasting up posters with pictures of police and headlined "Wanted Child Murderers." The leaflet defiantly stated: "There is a gang of child killers operating in the Redfern area. They can be easily identified as they all dress the same. They are serial killers and will reoffend. Do not approach them as they are armed. Report any you see..."

A woman who has lived in the community for nine years, Victoria Dunbar, described the police provocations that day: "We kept going up [to look] and there were hundreds of them, arms locked, visors down. I've never seen so many police. Finally the kids started yelling, 'C'mon, bring it on'" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February). Fed up with years of systematic racist terror

Aboriginal protesters using shields and fire hoses and occupied the top of The Block in Eveleigh Street. A number of people have already been arrested and the police, itching for retaliation, are planning a "sweep" of up to 40 arrests—doubtless via gestapo-style raids for which they are notorious in Redfern. David Webb, a cousin of Thomas Hickey, was one of the many who quickly sent his children away from Sydney. He said: "Everyone is taking their kids out.... The TRG [Tactical Response Group] will kick in doors, I don't want my kids around it" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 February). Already police from strike force "Time Piece" have arrested Thomas' 37-year-old aunt, charging her with riot, affray, violent disorder and throwing a missile. She has been denied bail to attend Thomas' funeral. Despicably the cops have also targeted Thomas' 14-year-old

Australasian

SPARTACIST



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

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

EDITOR: P. Balasubramaniam
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Wallace
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Glenn Blackall
Printed by trade-union labour.

Published quarterly by Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001.
E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com. Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7.

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

No. 186, Autumn 2004

Date of issue: February 2004

Break with Laborism! Build a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!

Racist "War on Terror" Opens New Front Against Embattled Immigrants/Minorities

On 7 October last year, Hussein Farah, a student from Somalia, was picked up by transit cops in Melbourne for "ticket violations" and taken to Footscray police station where he was racially abused and called "Osama bin Laden" and a "terrorist." Hussein was beaten unconscious and dumped on the street, left for dead. A passer-by found Hussein and took him to hospital where he was treated for head and arm injuries. This is the type of viciousness that state Labor governments throughout the country are dishing out to Aboriginal, Asian, Arab, African and other non-white youth. For its part, the Liberal/National coalition federal government continues to escalate its crusade against asylum seekers. Last November, 14 Kurdish refugees arriving aboard the *Minasa Bone*, just north of Darwin, were towed away by the Australian navy to Indonesian waters. Like capitalist governments from the U.S. to France to Japan, both Liberal and Labor governments are using the cover of "fighting terrorism" to justify ever more brazen racist brutality.

The right-wing federal government's anti-immigrant drive has been buoyed by the vigour with which the new Mark Latham-led ALP federal leadership has reaffirmed ALP support for the mandatory imprisonment of refugees. With crucial assistance from their social-democratic ALP lackeys, the capitalist rulers are whipping up racism in order to divide the working class and divert it from struggling against the bosses' attempts to squeeze ever greater profits from working people. The relentless

drive for capitalist profits means not only union busting and deadly cuts to workers safety conditions but the running down of public schools and hospitals and the further erosion of affordable childcare places already in scarce supply. But the working class is itching for a fightback. This is seen from actions by power workers in Victoria, where the Bracks Labor government is gearing up for an anti-union offensive, to strikes and bans by rail workers and postal drivers in Sydney. Immigrant workers, who are a key component of the working class, have been at the forefront of many of these struggles.

As an integral part of the struggle to defend themselves, the trade unions must mobilise in defence of immigrants and their children and must champion the cause of the oppressed Aboriginal peoples. Only in this way can the multiracial working class gain the unity and unshakeable authority necessary to prevail against the bosses. And in struggling against anti-immigrant laws and racist discrimination, the organised proletariat will help to unleash the full fighting potential of immigrant workers—who also form a living link to working-class allies abroad. We say: *Close the hellhole deportation camps in Australia, Christmas Island, Manus Island and Nauru! Asylum for the Minasa Bone Kurdish asylum seekers and other refugees! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For trade union protest actions against racist state terror!*

Labor's Bob Carr—Frontrunner In Racist Pack

The Carr NSW Labor regime has long been at the forefront of racist scapegoating of minorities. It has subjected the Arab and Asian populations of the working-class south-west of Sydney to a truly vicious campaign of police terror under the banner of "fighting gun crime" and "war on drugs." Spurred on by hysterical racist scaremongering of the Murdoch *Daily Telegraph*, no less than five "strike forces" have been set up by the Carr government and NSW police since 1999 to specifically target people of Asian and Arab appearance. Last October, following shootings reportedly involving Lebanese immigrants, Carr disgustingly declared: "Obey the law of Australia, or ship out of Australia. We're not going to see, step by step, our civilisation dragged back to medieval standards of revenge cycles." (*Daily Telegraph*, 16 October 2003). Lebanese community leaders angrily denounced Carr's racism.

The governmental racism of Carr, Howard and Latham has spurred a rise in fascist, terrorist attacks. On 1 February, three Chinese restaurants in Perth were firebombed and daubed with Nazi swastikas, symbol of racist murder. We fight for united-front union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists, who are a deadly danger to Asians, Abor-

igines, immigrants, gays and all workers organisations.

What is needed to put an end to the racism, unemployment and war which is intrinsic to capitalism is a proletarian revolution, which sweeps away the entire rotten system. In such a revolution the

repression. Last December, the Howard government, with ALP support, pushed through legislation giving still greater powers to the ASIO secret police. Under draconian laws passed earlier, ASIO is already able to detain "terrorist" suspects for seven days. Now the secret police are



Jeff Darmanin

Six-tonne Bearcat used in raids on homes in working-class, immigrant south-west of Sydney. Racist NSW Labor government has established squads to specifically target Asian and Arab youth.

working class will expropriate the mines, factories and banks from the exploiting class and construct a planned, collectivised economy that will operate not for capitalist profit but for the needs of all. This will enable jobs for all, free quality health care and education for all and free 24-hour childcare. A workers government will thus lay the economic basis for an egalitarian society not only free from poverty and inequality but liberated from racial oppression and the subjugation of women. *For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!*

Down with Repressive "Anti-Terror" Laws!

When George Bush declared "war on terrorism" following the criminal September 2001 WTC attack, bourgeois rulers everywhere rushed to sign on. They saw it as a chance to curtail the democratic rights of their populations. They also saw it as a chance to whip up reactionary patriotic fervour and racism, which serve not only to scapegoat minorities for the unemployment and growing poverty caused by capitalism but also to line up the population behind military adventures abroad.

In this country, the capitalist rulers have eagerly seized on the horror over the Bali bombing atrocity to justify ramming through further legislation and other "anti-terror" measures, augmenting the legal and physical forces of state

able to seize passports. Those who have been "interviewed" by ASIO, including their lawyers, could go to jail for up to five years if they divulge details of their experience. And one of Latham's first acts as opposition leader was to signal likely ALP support for legislation, which they had rejected only weeks earlier, allowing the attorney-general to single-handedly proscribe organisations.

While immigrants are the immediate target of the "anti-terror" laws, these are also aimed at laying the basis for suppressing leftist organisations. With notorious redneck Phillip Ruddock as attorney-general, refugee advocate groups had better watch out too! And with the Australian Defence Forces involved in enforcing neocolonial subjugation from Iraq to East Timor, opponents of imperialist militarism will no doubt also be in the crosshairs.

Ultimately, the target of the "war on terror" is the organised working class. Indeed, the newly passed laws could well be used against unionists taking determined action against scabs. And the plethora of new security agencies, "counterterrorism" helicopters and enhanced electronic spying give the bosses greater capacity to attack workers picket lines and disrupt strike organising. Under capitalism, the state—with its cops, military, prisons, secret police, courts and laws—is devoted to maintaining the rule

continued on page 4



Paul Jones

October 2003: Thousands of angry unionists rally outside NSW parliament against attacks on workers safety following death of 16-year-old worker Joel Exner. Struggles of workers and oppressed racial minorities must go forward together.

"War on Terror" ...

(continued from page 3)

of the capitalist exploiters over the working class and oppressed. Today while the federal parliament has been passing repressive "anti-terror" laws, the Howard government has been planning legislation that would severely restrict building workers' right to strike. This Building and Construction Improvement Bill would also further restrict the right of union officials to enter construction sites and ban union struggles for industry-wide working conditions. **Down with the Building and Construction Improvement Bill! Down with the racist "anti-terror" laws!**

The recent charging of the first person under the 2002 laws, and the ASIO and police surveillance and harassment that preceded it, represents an escalation in state attacks on democratic rights. Twenty-year-old Zak Mallah, a very isolated Islamist, has long been in ASIO's crosshairs. In 2002 his passport application to visit Lebanon in order to marry was denied after ASIO alleged that Mallah told them he could not rule out joining a *jihād*. Then, last December, he was brought before the courts charged with committing actions in preparation for a terrorist attack. This offence is deliberately so vague that the government could potentially use it to charge almost anyone it wanted. It is a step towards the type of incarceration occurring for example at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay,

and sometimes violence, from hordes of yobbo mates acting "true blue" at workplaces, in clubs, schoolyards and on sports fields. But, as was evident during the huge protests against the war on Iraq a year ago, a significant percentage of the population dislikes the increasing militarism, racism and all-round bigoted atmosphere in this country. The heavily minority student mobilisations last year against the invasion of Iraq, where high-school student strikes were courageously defiant in the face of state repression, showed the depth of alienation felt by working-class, non-white youth within this decaying, racist society.

While the politics dominating pro-refugee and anti-war protests was one of liberal appeals for a nicer capitalist Australia, many of the more politically thoughtful activists wanted the power of the organised working class to be mobilised on their side. Indeed, the felt sentiments of the most class-conscious workers were such that some union leaders promised strikes against the war on Iraq and had threatened industrial action in defence of refugees. In February last year, a couple of hundred workers at the Bayview building site in Port Melbourne chanted "Chinese workers here to stay. CFMEU here to stay" in response to an immigration raid at their worksite. Armed cops and immigration officials swarmed onto the workplace and detained all Asian workers on the site, throwing 19 of them into the hellhole Maribyrnong detention centre.

But the hoped-for class-struggle actions in defence of refugees have not occurred and the promised mass strikes



Australian

Western Australia: Refugees imprisoned at Port Hedland concentration camp. Imprisoned immigrants in Port Hedland, Nauru and elsewhere have continued to undertake desperate protests and hunger strikes.

Cuba, where hundreds of prisoners in the "war on terror" have been held in barbaric conditions without charge and deprived of legal rights.

However, the degree of repression that the bourgeois rulers can get away with depends on the level of social and class struggle within the society. It is urgently necessary for the working class, minorities and leftists to mobilise in determined opposition to the new laws that are aimed against them. A taste of what is needed was seen on 9 February 2002 in Oakland, USA, when the Partisan Defense Committee and Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense (both fraternal organisations of the Spartacist League/U.S.) initiated a powerful union-centred mobilisation against the anti-immigrant witch-hunt. The demonstration opposed U.S. "anti-terror" laws—the USA-Patriot Act and Maritime Security Act.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership of the Unions!

In this country racism and male chauvinism take on a particularly raw form. This reflects the brutal origins of capitalist rule in Australia and the xenophobic fears of a bourgeoisie that rules over a white imperialist enclave in Asia. Minorities here face daily racist bullying,

against the invasion of Iraq were demobilised. This has played a role in demoralising some young activists. Today, as federal elections loom, there is little talk by union leaders of strike action in defence of immigrants and even less about class struggle against the "anti-terror" laws. It is crucial to understand why.

Fundamentally the Laborite union tops and their ALP mates in parliament believe that what is good for White Australia capitalism is good for them. These Laborite tops base themselves on a thin upper layer of the working class who have been conservatised by the crumbs thrown to them from the superprofits the Australian capitalists derive from imperialist pillage within the region. Serving the bourgeoisie by demobilising proletarian struggles, the bureaucracy seeks to maintain its status as a relatively privileged layer within capitalist society. They sell the fraud of a better life for workers if only an ALP government—returning to its "traditional values"—were administering capitalism. But the "traditional values" upon which the ALP was founded are White Australia, the subordination of workers struggles to the bosses' arbitration courts and the lie that workers and their capitalist exploiters at

Soviet Power and the Rights of Immigrants



LENIN

1918, explicitly granted full rights of citizenship to all toilers in its territory.



TROTSKY

Anti-immigrant hysteria has been on the rise in the United States, Europe and Australia, wielded by the bourgeoisie as a club against the working class and the oppressed as a whole. The fight for citizenship rights for immigrants is part of the struggle for the unity of the international proletariat. This was underlined by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. The Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, adopted in

20. Proceeding from the principle of solidarity of the working people of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic grants full political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners residing in the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment, and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing the labour of others: and it empowers the local Soviets to grant to such foreigners, without any cumbersome formalities, Russian citizenship rights.

21. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic grants the right of asylum to all foreigners subjected to persecution for political and religious crimes.

22. The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, recognizing the equality of rights of all citizens, irrespective of their race or nationality, declares the establishment or toleration on this basis of any privileges or advantages, or any oppression of national minorities or restriction of their equality, to be contraventions of the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic deprives individuals and groups of rights which they utilize to the detriment of the socialist revolution.

—"Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the RSFSR," printed in Yuri Akharkin, ed., *First Decrees of Soviet Power* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1970)

home have a common "national interest." While today the ALP parliamentary and union leaders no longer formally subscribe to White Australia, they continue to act as a direct transmission belt into the workers movement of the poisonous bourgeois ideologies of nationalism and racism.

Averse to a program of hard-fought strikes and factory occupations against job losses, the Laborites only "offer" the working class measures to protect Australian industries from overseas producers—through tariffs on imports and subsidies for local bosses. Such protectionism only serves to line up the working class behind their exploiters at home while dividing them from their true allies: the working classes of all countries. It also serves to encourage racist scapegoating of immigrants who become branded as local allies of foreign producers. At the recent ALP conference it was the "Left" factions, led by AMWU manufacturing union head Doug Cameron, which successfully pushed for a renewed protectionist focus. We say: **Down with racist protectionist poison! For international class-struggle unity to smash the greedy bosses' attacks on the jobs and conditions of all workers!**

While union ranks are quite distrustful of many of their misleaders, the more militant social-democratic bureaucrats—like the leaders of the Victorian branch of the CFMEU—have a bit more authority. A campaign of strikes and demonstrations saw the Victorian CFMEU successfully defend their leader, Martin

Kingham, from charges stemming from his refusal to hand over the names of militants to the Howard regime's union-busting Cole Royal Commission. And while the NSW CFMEU tops disgustingly bring immigration cops onto building sites and do as in undocumented workers, Kingham forthrightly denounced the armed raid on Asian workers at the Bayview site last year. However CFMEU tops directed the workers there to return to work the next day instead of shutting down the building site until their comrades were freed. And they failed to shut down other sites in support of the seized workers and in protest against the armed cop raid.

Ensnared in the ALP, Kingham & Co. share the same fundamental political basis as more right-wing bureaucrats—acceptance of capitalist state power. While most of the rhetoric of Victorian CFMEU literature is phrased in terms of workers interests, it also feeds into the sham of the "national interest" by proudly proclaiming in bold type: "Our construction unions working for Australia." In September 1999, the Victorian CFMEU tops were at the forefront of the pro-imperialist trade union bans and actions that demanded speeding up the dispatch of Australian troops to "Save East Timor"—an invasion which has meant racist neocolonial suppression of the East Timorese and plunder of that country's oil resources. By promoting the lie of the "benevolence" of the Australian capitalist state, the Laborite tops also give authority to the same courts that carried out a

continued on page 9



John Morzycki

Perth, February: Thomas Wai points out smashed window at his restaurant. Three Chinese restaurants were simultaneously set alight and painted with swastikas. Racist campaigns of Liberal/ALP governments have emboldened fascist terrorists.

Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

the massive anti-war protests a year ago. Then Socialist Alternative, the International Socialist Organisation and the Socialist Party joined with the Greens and Laborite forces in "no war" coalitions like the Victorian Peace Network (VPN). The VPN called for the disarmament of all Middle East states under UN resolutions—an openly pro-imperialist call to disarm Iraq on the eve of the imperialist onslaught against it.

In contrast to the fake socialist groups, the Trotskyist Spartacist League consistently stands on a program for combining the fight against racism and union busting at home with *class-struggle opposition* to imperialist pillage abroad. In our interventions in protests against the occupation of Iraq, the Spartacist League of Australia and other national sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fight for the understanding that the struggle against imperialist barbarism can only be victorious if it becomes a fight against the increasingly violent capitalist order as a whole. We reprint below an article from *Workers Vanguard* (No. 817, 9 January), newspaper of the U.S. section of the ICL.

JANUARY 5—The media blitz celebrating the capture of Saddam Hussein could not disguise the fact that the American military occupation of Iraq is not going well for U.S. imperialism. The resistance continues, chalking up losses for the American side every day. The Iraqi people are seething with anger at the strutting U.S. "liberators" who can't even turn the lights back on in Baghdad some nine months after the end of the war. (It took Saddam Hussein all of three months to restore the power grid and services after the first Gulf War in 1991, despite crippling United Nations sanctions.) The only weapons of mass destruction to be found in the region are in the hands of the Pentagon bombers, their British allies and the kill-crazy Zionists.

Meanwhile, back on the "home front," New Yorkers partied in the New Year as military helicopters swooped overhead carrying marksmen with automatic weapons trained on the revelers. Holiday travel was turned to chaos as "intelligence sources" forced the cancellation of flights bearing passengers with "suspicious" (i.e., Arab) names. If U.S. government "intelligence" is often an oxymoron, their latest provocations prove they are just plain morons. Their list of suspected "terrorists" spells Arab names phonetically, leading to the harassment of anyone whose name sounds like anyone else's! One "terror" suspect on a passenger list turned out to be a five-year-old child!

Over the opposition of international pilots unions and foreign governments which argued that shootouts in airplane cabins at 30,000 feet did not make safer skies for passengers, the U.S. insisted that undercover armed marshals be stationed aboard. Some flights have been "escorted" by fighter jets whose only purpose can be to shoot down civilian airliners! In response to the blatantly racist plan to photograph and fingerprint foreigners entering the U.S., Brazil retaliated by fingerprinting every U.S. citizen who entered the country.

America's rulers are in a bit of a pickle over how to try their prize captive, Saddam Hussein. His capture is a potential media coup for Bush's domestic campaign to recapture the White House in the presidential election in November. Yet alive and well, Saddam Hussein poses a potentially huge political embarrassment for the Bush gang even in a highly orchestrated trial only simulating "fairness." Any open court testimony on any charges against Hussein could reveal how fully George Bush Sr., Vice President Dick Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld (to name but a few) fully backed Hussein and his butchery of the Iraqi left, the workers movement and the Kurus, not to mention the millions of



Lirio Da Fonseca/Reuters

December 2002: Combined forces of UN/Australian police force and East Timorese police rampage in Dili. Cops opened fire on high-school students protesting police violence, shooting 18 demonstrators.

Iranians and Iraqis killed in the senseless Iran-Iraq War in which the U.S. helped to arm and finance Iraq.

It will take some fancy footwork to try Hussein for the poison gas attacks which killed up to 5,000 Kurdish villagers in Halabja in 1988 without revealing the response of the imperialists who posture today as the saviors of the Iraqi people. Bush Sr. extended \$1.2 billion in credits to Hussein and Britain granted another \$500 million after the Halabja atrocity. As we stated last issue, "When workers tribunals of a victorious socialist revolution in the United States try America's capitalist exploiters for their crimes against the oppressed masses of the world, black America, labor, immigrants and the poor, and when Iraqi Kurds, leftists and workers rip the oil wealth out of the hands of the military occupiers and judge them and their former henchmen, *then* we can start talking about justice."

A high-profile trial means that Washington's former ally, Saddam Hussein, will be spared the abuse and torture meted out to less famous captives rotting in the U.S. concentration camp in Guantánamo and in prison camps throughout Iraq. A lawyer for two Australian prisoners at Guantánamo was the first civilian lawyer allowed to meet any of the prisoners and described the camp as "a legal and moral black hole." Prisoners have been tethered to stakes, forced to kneel in the blazing sun for hours, while guards fire rubber bullets at them. Some 32 prisoners have attempted suicide in the past 18 months. Back in Iraq, children and the elderly are rounded up in huge prison compounds, such as in Umm Qasr where approximately 10,000 are held. Two Palestinian students who were held for two months described their ordeal in a *Nation* (22 December 2003) article titled, "Guilty of Being a Palestinian in Iraq": "For the first seven days we were given no food or water.... All the time they were pointing their guns at us. They made us feel that we are going to die now, they gonna kill us now." Before being released, the two students were compelled to sign a document stating that "the U.S. military bore no responsibility for what had happened to them while they were in custody."

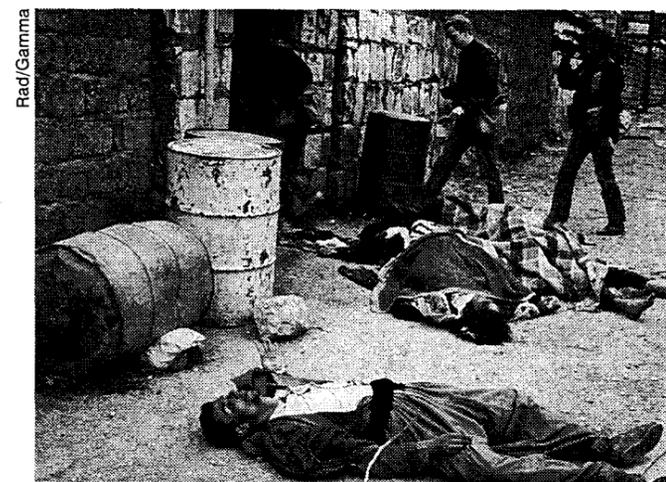
Yet, to be out of jail and "free" in occupied Iraq is also to suffer a terrifying daily gauntlet of privation and provocation. Iraq's Labor Ministry has estimated that as much as **70 percent** of the workforce is unemployed. The capital city is blacked out **16 hours a day** and the lights are no brighter elsewhere in the country. To the lack of electrical power and potable water, add the absence of phone lines, the broken sewer lines, the schools reduced to rubble, the uncollected garbage, the **three-kilometer queue** (an overnight wait) for gasoline sold at extortionist prices by Kellogg, Brown & Root—a subsidiary of Halliburton, which bilked the U.S. government for more than \$120 million in scams whose costs are passed on to U.S. and Iraqi workers—and you get a glimmer of the physical suffering of the Iraqi people today. And that's just the objective hardships.

The population also seethes under the daily insult and terror of foreign occupation. Israeli commandos are training U.S. special forces units in what's euphemistically called "preventive manhunting": i.e., killing civilians in search-and-

destroy missions. Entire neighborhoods are raided or flattened, families torn apart and jailed, the less fortunate shot on sight. Borrowing a page from the infamous Israeli wall cut through Palestinian territory, Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Sussaman commanded a battalion to surround the town of Abu Hishma with a razor wire fence. Aping Dr. Strangelove, Sussaman explained: "With a heavy dose of fear and violence, and a lot of money for projects, I think we can convince these people that we are here to help them" (*Asia Times*, 13 December 2003).

We had a clear side in the war: *for the military defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialism and its allies*. Today we take a clear stand for the military defense of those who resist the imperialist occupation of Iraq. We lend not one iota of political support to remnants of the Ba'athist regime or Islamic fundamentalist forces seeking to impose their own reactionary agendas on Iraqi women, workers, ethnic and religious minorities. But we understand that there will be no freedom or justice for the long-suffering Iraqi people until the imperialist occupiers are driven out! We fight for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. imperialist and allied troops and we unconditionally oppose their replacement by UN blue helmets! As communists here in the belly of the beast, we have a special responsibility to make working people in this country conscious of the intrinsic connection between the attacks

Halabja, 1988: Kurdish victims of poison gas attack by Saddam Hussein. U.S. and British governments rewarded Hussein with millions in aid following this atrocity.



Rad/Gamma

on their living standards, their right to strike and their basic democratic rights by the U.S. government on the "home front" and the imperialist occupation of Iraq. We say: *Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! U.S. troops out of Iraq!*

Military Occupation of Iraq Targets Labour

On 6 December 2003, the American occupation forces attacked the headquarters of the Iraqi Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) in Baghdad; eight of its leaders were handcuffed, kidnapped and held overnight. The office was ransacked, IFTU banners, posters and other possessions were destroyed, the IFTU's name and that of the General Union of Transport Workers on the front of the building was smeared with black paint, and the windows were smashed. The international labor movement protested this outrage with statements issued by the powerful South African COSATU federation, the Italian CGIL and British trade unions. On November 23, the occupation forces raided the office shared by the

Union of the Unemployed in Iraq (UII) and the Worker-Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI). When a WCPI and a UII leader turned up, as requested, at occupation authority headquarters, they were arrested. During July and August 2003, some 54 UII members and the union president were arrested for sit-in protests.

Meanwhile, the U.S. occupation forces have enthusiastically embraced torturers, spies, police and other government agents of the Hussein regime to "stabilize" Iraq. They even resurrected a labor law from the old regime which forbids workers in the state oil industry from organizing a union. To back up Hussein-era anti-worker laws, U.S. occupation chief Paul Bremer issued a new regulation about "prohibited activity," which is defined as encouraging anybody to organize any kind of strike or disruption in a factory or any kind of economically important enterprise. The penalty for breaching labor law in occupied Iraq is to be arrested by the occupation authorities and treated as a prisoner of war!

Those Iraqis who find employment literally work under U.S. guns. An Iraqi construction worker at the Baghdad airport, Muiwafa al Saïdy, described how "soldiers aim guns at us wherever we go, even to the toilet." Workers are paid \$5.00 per day but \$2.00 is skimmed by their "translator" who tells them they will be turned in to the soldiers as "terrorists" unless he gets his cut. Adding to the tension is the continual roundup of new prisoners brought to a fenced area of the airport compound, including "children brought in from the soccer fields, balls in hand, old men in their 80s, and even hospital patients carrying their drip bags." A 20 October 2003 Internet article by David Bacon titled "The Occupation's War on Iraqi Workers" stated that al Saïdy has seen the prisoners' food thrown on the ground and also seen them beaten with sticks.

More than half the recruits for the new imperialist-sponsored Iraqi army walked out because the pay was so low and the treatment so bad. The soles of their boots flapped and fell off and their uniforms are pink and green and brown camouflage and shrink dramatically if washed. An Iraqi major said, "The men ask me, 'Are

we really going out in these clothes?'" Attempts to make the new army a "rainbow coalition" of Iraq's diverse ethnic groups blew up in a cauldron of tensions. One hundred Kurds quit in the first few weeks.

Occupation Is Big Bu\$ine\$\$

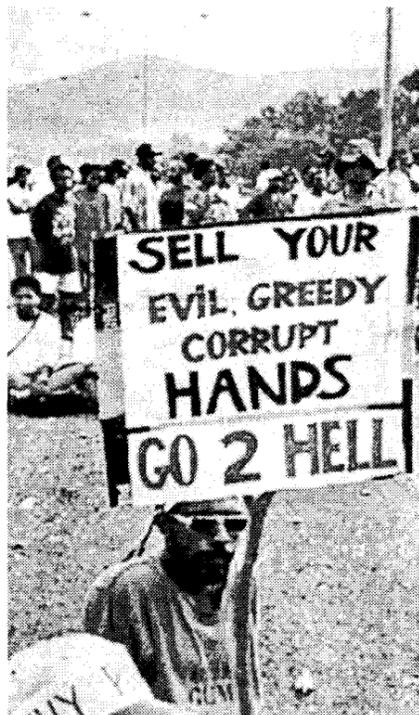
How is it that a company like Bechtel, which built the Hoover Dam, can't turn the light switch on in Iraq? Answer: they don't want to. An article titled "Iraq Reconstruction's Bottom-Line," (*Asia Times*, 25 December 2003) states: "Another popular explanation making the rounds alleges that sabotaging the reconstruction is a conscious and deliberate effort on the part of the occupation forces to make the Iraqis completely dependent and subservient." The press conferences where Bush and Cheney promised that American troops would be greeted as liberators were a line of crap designed to whip up domestic support for and disguise the American rape of Iraq. But it's

continued on page 8

Young Spartacus

Down With Racist Australian Imperialism's Re-Colonisation of PNG!

Emboldened by recent imperialist adventures in the Near East and the Solomon Islands, Australian imperialism, having received blessing from the U.S. to run roughshod over the South Pacific in reward for participation in the bloody Iraq slaughter and subsequent occupation, is now gearing up for a deployment of up to 300 police to Papua New Guinea. These armed representatives of Australian imperialism will be sent to prop up flying squads of Australian government "administrators," judges and public sector "specialists" who, under the pretence of restoring "law and order," "budgetary management" and "fighting corruption" are about to embark on a plan of intensified re-colonisation in this



Sydney Morning Herald

PNG students protest Australia/IMF-imposed austerity, 2001.

already terribly subjugated neocolony. Such an intervention effectively claws back any semblance of sovereignty arising out of independence for the former Australian colony in 1975.

On top of the initial 300 cops slated to be sent, deployment at short notice of a 2,000-strong, heavily armed "regional taskforce" is being mooted by the government to either PNG or other regional "troublespots." Such is the open and

Troops/Cops Out Now! Hands Off the South Pacific!

unabashed bellicosity of this endeavour that Prime Minister Howard was prepared to spell out the future of PNG in saying "It's our patch" (*Weekend Australian*, 27-28 December 2003). Even the pro-intervention record of Australian capitalism, the *Australian Financial Review* (20-21 September 2003) had to admit "It would be easy to caricature Foreign Minister Alexander Downer as a pith-helmeted district commissioner heading into the jungle to impose order on restless natives." In response to these moves we say *Australian cops/troops out of the Solomon Islands, East Timor and PNG!*

Australian Imperialism and the Ugly Legacy of Colonial Rule in PNG

Brutal Australian imperialist overlordship is nothing new to the people of PNG. If the maxim of British imperialism was "divide and conquer" then that of its Australian progeny could be said to be "neglect and plunder." Under direct colonial rule in Australian Papua, the Papuan labourers fortunate enough to survive massacres of government "patrols" designed to extend the imperialists' area of control, could not wear clothes above the waist without permission lest they appear too like their "lords and masters." In instances of disobedience, the Papuans were strung up by their wrists and left to dangle. Such cruelty was similarly employed by Australian "diggers" in the fight to keep PNG from Japanese imperialist rivals during WWII. Contrary to popular nationalist mythology, Papuan men were *compelled* to support the Australian army. Where they refused, they were punished with reprisals such as the drum beatings of Kerema, involving the flaying of a man over a 44-gallon drum fresh from a fire. Nor is the imposing bloody hand of Australian imperialism a legacy of the distant past. Two years ago, six

people were slain by Australian-trained PNG security forces when protesting IMF and Australian-imposed job-slashing privatisations, and today the stepping up of those same austerity policies, such as the privatisation of PNG's telecommunications, are at the forefront of demands of



PNG Post-Courier

Foreign ministers Alexander Downer (Australia) and Rabble Namaliu (PNG) sign off plan that will see up to 300 cops enforce Australian imperialism's ongoing rape of PNG.

the Australian imperialist expedition. These plans are but a continuation of a long history of systematic racist abuse of PNG's population in the service of unbridled rape of her resources.

The push for re-colonisation has been further bolstered by the servants of Australian imperialism, such as former prime minister of PNG and Australian puppet of preference, Mekere Morauta, who parroted the jingoism of the intervention saying "I urge Australia to become more involved, more direct, in making sure that Australia's money is spent for our good, because we appear to be incapable of doing it ourselves. We need another helping hand" (*Australian*, 24 November 2003). Meanwhile, the so-called father of PNG "independence" and current prime minister, Michael Somare, has dropped his initial reservations about Australia's intervention with great haste, and is presently working tirelessly to find a means to ensure legality for the invasion in the absence of a parliamentary vote!

Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union: Setback for Subjugated Peoples of the World

Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which reversed the remaining gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution,

was a historic setback for the international proletariat and all subjugated peoples of the world. The destruction of the Soviet Union, which previously stayed the hand of respective imperialists, has meant a resurgence of interimperialist rivalries which were previously subordinated to a common fight against the first workers state. In the Pacific, there has been friction between French and Australian imperialism of late over the more aggressive stance of the latter. French president Jacques Chirac in August last year invited regional leaders to Tahiti to make known its continued presence in the region. This took place at a time of French disenchantment over their exclusion from playing a role in the Australian-led re-colonisation of the Solomon Islands, reflecting wider imperialist divi-

sion coming off the Iraq war where Australia enthusiastically lined up behind the U.S., putting it at odds with most continental European imperialist powers.

By the same token, where the existence of the Soviet Union created the

Spartacist Forums

Solidarise With Militant Aboriginal Youth Against Racist Cop Terror!

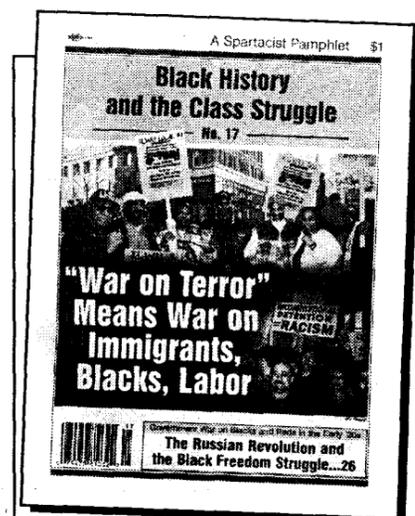
Defend Redfern Aborigines— Mobilise Union Power!

Melbourne

6.30 p.m., Wed., 31 March
Evatt Room, Trades Hall Building
(upstairs), corner Victoria and
Lygon Streets, Carlton

Sydney

7 p.m., Fri., 26 March
Humanist House
10 Shepherd Street
Chippendale (off Broadway)



Black History and the Class Struggle No. 17
\$1 (48 pages)

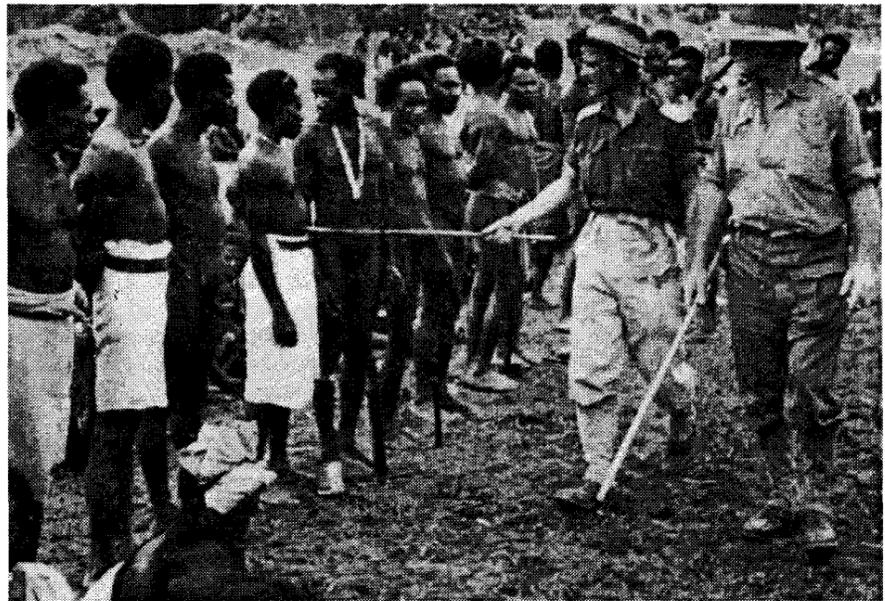
Mail/make cheques payable to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

possibility for "Third World" nations to play off one superpower against the other in an effort to get a semblance of independence, today, kowtowing to imperialism by petty-bourgeois nationalists is a prerequisite for the retention of power.

One point of unity, however, amongst rival powers of the Pacific is their common desire for counterrevolution in those countries that have successfully shaken off the yoke of imperialist domination and overthrown capitalism. In a blatant display of hostility towards the bureaucratically deformed workers state of North Korea, the composite powers of rule in the Pacific—Australia, France, Japan and the U.S.—participated in joint "counterterrorist" activities last September which were thinly veiled as a practice exercise to interdict North Korean ships on the high seas and deprive that country of its ability to trade and possess weapons under an already debilitating embargo. The imperialists target North Korea because it is a workers state (albeit a bureaucratically deformed workers state), i.e., a state based on proletarian, that is, collectivised property forms. But it is

"humanitarian" strain of the system which Bolshevik leader, V.I. Lenin famously termed "the highest stage of capitalism." So it was in 1999 that organisations such as the Democratic Socialist Perspective (then Democratic Socialist Party) criminally called to "Send Australian/UN Troops NOW!", lining up behind the ALP in marches which promoted Australian imperialist marauding under the guise of "saving" the East Timorese. The principal obstacle to the mobilisation of the working class in its true interests is the Laborite, nationalist, trade union tops and their ALP parliamentary brethren, who, together with their tag-alongs of the left, dupe the working class with the idea that they have a commonality of interest with the bourgeoisie.

The ALP has a particularly ugly history with regard to PNG and the Pacific at large. They were whole-heartedly behind the occupations of East Timor and the Solomon Islands and are similarly excited by the present expedition into PNG. It was the Hawke and Keating governments of the ALP in federal power during the



Taim Bilong Masta

Racist Australian imperialism has brutalised the peoples of Papua New Guinea for over 100 years.

company CRA (today part of Rio Tinto) who were, not coincidentally, simultaneously on a union-busting offensive against the mining unions in Australia. In a continuation of this decades-long oppression, the plans of this latest Australian intervention point to Bougainville as being the first beachhead—a move that can only be interpreted as a prelude to the forced re-opening of Panguna.

Notable attendances in the 1999 "Troops In" to East Timor marches included the International Socialist Organisation, Socialist Alternative, the Socialist Party and Workers Power. The legacy of this ugly capitulation in the face of petty-bourgeois public opinion is still very much a reality. None of these groups have called for troops out of East Timor with the exception of Workers Power, whose anti-troop rhetoric is meaningless in light of their *actions* of marching for troops in! East Timor is a country which rates worst on most social indices of countries in Asia and is presently being pillaged of its oil and gas reserves, principally by Australian companies such as Woodside Petroleum.

Socialist Alternative in an article titled "Crisis in Papua New Guinea: Australia to blame" concluded "Anyone who supports human rights must oppose *any and every* intervention in PNG by Australia" (*Socialist Alternative*, December 2003). Apart from their use of the term "human rights," a well-worn rallying cry for imperialist intervention, their conclusions are two-faced when viewed in light of their participation in the aforementioned

pro-imperialist marches, which they applauded and sought to make "bigger and more militant" (*Socialist Alternative*, September 1999). Socialist Alternative would have us believe that "*any and every*" does not include those interventions with mass support.

Today, as in 1999, we are unique in our principled opposition to Australian imperialism and demand *Australian imperialist troops/cops get out of East Timor!*

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

Against the tide of reformism pervasive amongst the left, the Spartacus Youth Club, youth organisation of the Spartacist League, seeks to present a program to youth which is at once revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist. Only with the working class having seized state power in the imperialist centres such as Australia, New Zealand, France and the U.S., and the implementation of a planned, collectivised economy, will the subjugation of PNG and the rest of the Pacific be ended. Only through our program of principled opposition to one's "own" ruling class can the proletariats of the nations of advanced capitalist development link up with the proletariats of Asia and the South Pacific and reverse the centuries of imperialist pillage and resultant poverty and backwardness. *Down with Australian imperialism's re-colonisation of PNG! Racist Australian imperialism hands off the South Pacific!* ■



ASp photo

Sydney University, August 2002: SYC raises opposition to Australian military in PNG, Bougainville and Solomon Islands at SYC-initiated united-front demonstration demanding Australian troops get out of East Timor.

undermined by a conservative, nationalist, bureaucratic caste, qualitatively similar to the Stalinist leadership of the former USSR, which holds political power.

Where the nuclear umbrella of the Soviet Union once stayed the hand of the imperialists from all-out destruction of those countries where capitalism has been overthrown, today their security is far less certain. The defence of the gains stemming from the anti-capitalist revolutions of the remaining workers states is bolstered where they are able to develop and test nuclear weapons. The Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League call for the right of North Korea and China to possess nuclear weapons! *For the unconditional military defence of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam against imperialist aggression and internal counterrevolution! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies!*

Fake Left: Laborite Apologists for Australian Imperialism in the Pacific

In opposition to the occupation of countries such as PNG, the Solomon Islands and East Timor, it is the elementary duty of Marxists to fight for working-class mobilisations in class struggle against colonialism abroad. Success of the imperialists in their colonial endeavours can only strengthen their resolve to attack the working class and minorities domestically.

But one could be excused for thinking that some ostensible "leftist" organisations are not opposed to the trampling of Australian imperialism over the region, merely seeking a more "benevolent" or

1980s and '90s which prosecuted the proxy war against the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, leaving up to 20,000 dead after the closure of the massively profitable, Australian-owned Panguna mine. At the time, it accounted for 45 percent of PNG's exports. In opposition to the ALP's bloodlust, *Australasian Spartacist* called for solidarity strikes with the people of Bougainville against the owner

Australasian Spartacist Subscription Drive

Quotas for 2004 (in points)

Melbourne	85
Sydney	165
Total	250

**1 March
to
7 April**



SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Workers Vanguard/Australasian Spartacist

Marxist working-class biweekly of the Spartacist League/U.S. and quarterly Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* plus another Spartacist pamphlet)

\$20 for 22 issues WV and 4 issues ASp

Australasian Spartacist

(includes English-language *Spartacist*)

\$5 for 4 issues Overseas: \$7

Workers Vanguard

(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)

\$15 for 22 issues

Name _____

Address _____ Suburb _____

State _____ P'code _____ Phone _____

Country _____ E-mail _____

186
Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

Iraq...

(continued from page 5)

not mainly psychological terror, it's just the best way for robber barons to make big bucks in the "free market" bonanza they drool for in Iraq. Yaarub Jasim, general director for the southern region of Iraq's electricity ministry, has been pleading with Bechtel to get urgently needed spare parts for Iraq's antiquated turbines. Parts are readily available from the companies which built the turbines—in Russia, France and Germany...the very countries banned from getting contracts in Iraq. (Washington has gone so loopy that even that notorious "rogue state" *Canada*, was banned from contracts in reprisal for its milquetoast opposition to the war!)

Bechtel could let the turbines rust and crumble until they are completely useless. Then they'll bid to build new billion-dollar power plants themselves. As company founder Stephen Bechtel quipped, "We are not in the construction and engineering business. We are in the business of making money" (*Asia Times*, 25 December 2003). And Bechtel stands to make a ton of it, perhaps \$20 billion or more in the pillage of Iraq. Ditto for Iraq's oil industry, which badly needs repair to refine enough crude for domestic consumption. Yet the U.S. is exporting Iraqi crude oil while giving Kellogg, Brown & Root, the company which is supposed to repair the refineries, the contract to import oil from Turkey and Kuwait. Charging more than twice what they paid for this imported fuel, KBR had no incentive to repair Iraq's refineries.

On 19 September 2003, the U.S. occupation authorities issued "Order No. 39," which permits 100-percent foreign ownership of businesses, including formerly state-owned industries, except oil, and repatriation of profits. This outright brigandage—a fire sale of Iraq's natural resources and the wealth created by the Iraqi working people to U.S. imperialist corporations, with a few crumbs tossed to allies—is so explosive that the U.S. is considering delaying their plans. A manager of the Al Daura refinery predicted that privatization would mean firing 1,500 of the plant's 3,000 workers. In light of the conditions in Iraq today, this manager said, "If I dismiss employees now, I'm killing them and their families."

Blood and Oil

Iraq's borders were drawn on a map by the British, who carved up the old Ottoman Empire after the First World War, forcibly compacting three different peoples together in an artificial "nation" for the benefit of imperialist exploitation of resources and labor and for diplomatic advantage. Together with the U.S., the British set up the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), which had exploration rights to practically the entire country. After the 1958 insurrection that installed Brigadier Abd al-Karim Qassim, Iraq took back 99.5 percent of the land originally allocated to the IPC. In 1972, Iraq national-

ized the IPC and became the first Arab country to take over a Western-owned oil corporation. Nationalization of the oil was a hugely popular move and possession of Iraq's most precious resources provided the Ba'athist authorities with the wealth to build an extensive social infrastructure including free public services—something the Gulf monarchies, Iranian Shah or Ayatollahs surely never did. Oil wealth also provided the Ba'athists with the economic clout to build a massive arsenal of police-state repression which was brutally deployed against the workers movement and the left.

The U.S. now has its hands on the oil spigot in Iraq and Kuwait, and the "Seven Sisters" are ready to leap back into Libya now that the U.S. has morphed Qaddafi from "international outlaw" to a reasonable man to do business with. Secret negotiations between Qaddafi and British agents began as soon as the U.S. rained its devastating "shock and awe" on Iraq. Qaddafi decided to avoid "regime change" U.S.-style and made a deal to pay \$2.7 billion to the families of victims of the 1988 Pan Am jet bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland, and allow UN weapons inspectors to strip Libya of whatever defense capacity it has, in exchange for a relaxation of economic sanctions. Ever the grandstander, Qaddafi says he hopes that his move will encourage Israel to disarm its doomsday machine. Fat chance. Arming Israel to the teeth is a linchpin of U.S. policy in the region.

A top-secret document declassified in Britain on January 1 reveals that U.S. president Richard Nixon considered launching airborne troops to seize oil fields in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi in response to OPEC's oil embargo launched in retaliation for America's support to Israel in the 1973 Near East war. Another document reveals that Nixon put American forces on a *global nuclear alert* during the 1973 war. We've said that the Near East could be a trip wire for World War III. Today the U.S. arsenal of death so vastly outstrips the capacity of any other imperialist power that no country is eager to spark a war in which they're out-gunned. But this situation will not last forever, and the American machinations in the Near East and the "Bush doctrine" of "pre-emptive war" without a UN cloak or European allies have strained the old NATO alliance. The heightened inter-imperialist rivalries outline new wars to come. Gulf War Two was as much or more intended to "shock and awe" America's imperialist rivals as it was about oil.

To very little fanfare in the bourgeois press, the U.S. passed a bill in early December that puts the U.S. openly and officially back in the business of developing and testing nuclear weapons for the first time since the Cold War ended with capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The bill funds research for so-called "mini-nukes" with an explosive power described as "only" up to a third that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima! The bill also funds development of "bunker buster" warheads designed to go deep into the earth and destroy buried bunkers or command centers. To explode nuclear bombs the size the U.S. is projecting in "bunker busting" groundbursts will irradiate densely populated cities.

The "bunker busters" are part of the U.S. nuclear threat against the North Korean deformed workers state. Following the devastation of the Korean War, North Korea built its military apparatus as deeply underground as possible because anything visible could easily be wiped out by the U.S. again. As Bruce Cumings, a scholar of Korea, points out, "The only problem with Rumsfeld's war plan is that no technology yet developed or imagined can penetrate the earth's surface for more than about fifty feet, which is why cruise missiles could not eliminate Saddam Hussein on the night the Iraq invasion began.... The only answer is larger and larger warheads, so that you target Kim Jong Il and wipe out a large urban neighbourhood, or maybe a city" (*London Review of Books*, 4 December 2003).

As the American empire redraws the



Tamara Dean

Sydney, March 2003: Thousands of students carry out defiant strikes in protest against invasion of Iraq.

map of the Near East, using the United Nations to disarm its targets, it could not be clearer that nuclear weapons are the only effective guarantee of national sovereignty. With the North Korean deformed workers state in Washington's cross hairs, as part of the U.S. drive for capitalist counterrevolution there and in China, we Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of North Korea and its right to possess nuclear weapons. From the former Central Asian Soviet republics and Afghanistan to U.S. forces in the Philippines, the Chinese deformed workers state is now literally ringed by the worldwide expansion of U.S. military bases. China is the ultimate prize the imperialists are after, and they are applying pressure militarily and through massive encroachments of capital in "free trade" zones which are criminally encouraged by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. The fate of the Chinese workers state will have a profound impact on humanity, far greater even than U.S. imperialism's rape of Iraq. Capitalist counterrevolution would pauperize the most populous country on earth and further devastate the masses of Asia. What's needed is a workers political revolution to defend the Chinese workers state and institute workers democracy, which would be a huge defeat for imperialism and encourage proletarian struggle around the globe. *We stand for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!*

The Left Between Iraq and a Hard Place

Shamelessly, the Iraqi Communist Party (CP) serves in the "Governing Council," the facade of stooges hand-picked by the Americans to lend legitimacy to the occupation. The Iraqi CP boasts on its Web site of "serious and frank discussions" held between the secretary of its Central Committee and the American top cop in Iraq, Paul Bremer, and his deputy, British Ambassador John Sawers. As if fronting for the occupation wasn't bad enough, the Iraqi CP calls on "activating the role of the United Nations"—the agency that murdered more than one and a half million Iraqi civilians with its sanctions—"in guiding the on-going political process in Iraq, as well as its role in relief operations and reconstruction" (18 October 2003 statement by the International Department of the Central Committee).

The Iraqi Communist Party used to be the largest, most proletarian Communist party in the Near East and recruited a large cadre of national, religious and ethnic groups. In 1958, a revolutionary upsurge was touched off when the Iraqi Free Officers movement overthrew the British-installed monarchy and brought the bourgeois nationalist Abd al-Karim Qassim to power. A revolutionary wave swept the countryside as peasants seized the land, and the Communist Party made spectacular gains in the cities. Workers revolution was on the order of the day, but the CP and Kremlin bureaucrats insisted that the party get no more than representation in the capitalist government. But Qassim and the anti-Communist nationalists knew the workers wanted more and so

took the offensive to repress the CP. This was but a prelude for the bloodbath to come at the hands of the Ba'athists, who brought down Qassim in 1963 and hunted down Communists with lists supplied by the CIA. An estimated 5,000 were killed and thousands more jailed and tortured. (For a full discussion, see "Near East, 1950s: Permanent Revolution vs. Bourgeois Nationalism," *WV* Nos. 740 and 741, 25 August and 8 September 2000.) The Iraqi CP's hatred for the Ba'athists is utterly correct, but to front for the American occupation against them is *class treason* and likely every bit as suicidal as the CP's earlier subordination to Qassim.

What about the ostensibly more leftist Worker-Communist Party of Iraq? While denouncing the "Governing Council" and opposing the U.S. occupation, the WCPI simply *equates* the imperialists and their stooges with Islamic and Ba'athist forces. The title of its article "'Occupation' and Resistance: Two Poles Within the Same Reactionary Camp" (*Forward*, 15 December 2003) gives the game away. The article condemns the resistance as "a direct declaration of a reactionary war, which is not in essence pertinent to demands and expectations of the masses in Iraq."

Like the Iraqi CP, the WCPI calls for UN forces to enter Iraq, insisting that this is necessary to "provide security and stability." Both the Iraqi CP and the WCPI are playing a reactionary role in telling the Iraqi masses that peace and stability demands tacit acceptance of foreign occupation and that salvation lies with the den of thieves in the UN. This is a reactionary call to accept the rape of Iraq by imperialist powers that are looting what's left of the productive capacity of the country, plunging the proletariat into further misery and impoverishment, while grabbing the natural resources for their own profits. The U.S. raids on the trade-union headquarters are just a hint of the terrible repression to come, including against "responsible" leftists who ally with the U.S. against the Ba'athists. In politics it is essential to know that the enemy of my enemy is not necessarily my friend!

Behind the CP and WCPI's reliance on the UN and/or U.S. imperialist troops to oppose the Ba'athists is their rejection of the politically independent mobilization of the Iraqi proletariat in struggle against imperialist domination, capitalist exploitation, religious obscurantism and reactionary bourgeois nationalism. It is urgently necessary to *forge Trotskyist parties* in the Near East, armed with the program of *permanent revolution*. There will be no emancipation of the women of the region, of the oppressed national minorities, of the exploited workers, short of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions which sweep away the sheiks, colonels and Zionists and imperialist occupiers, and which link up with proletarian revolution in the West. *For a socialist federation of the Near East! For world socialist revolution!*

The Enemy Is the Capitalist Ruling Class at Home

Wall Street likes the Iraq occupation: the Dow Jones stock market index topped

In Arabic
Down With the Colonial Occupation of Iraq!
Statement of the International Communist League, 17 April 2003

\$0.25
Order from/pay to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

“War on Terror”...

(continued from page 4)

royal commission witchhunt against the CFMEU, the cops that attack picket lines and seize Asian workers at work sites, and the likes of the Building Industry Task Force that targets union militants.

To unleash the power of the working class in its own interests and those of all the oppressed, workers need to cohere leaderships in the unions that understand that the capitalist state is the enemy of working people. In the struggle for such leadership, revolutionaries will intersect the palpable anger of workers at the betrayals of the Laborite bureaucrats. In Sydney, train drivers acting in defiance of the rail union tops have staged wildcat overtime bans that have shut down some suburban services and forced some back-downs from the Carr government.

But class-struggle leaderships must be based not only on greater militancy but on a conscious program for proletarian state power. That means a fight to root out from the workers movement the nationalism and bigotry that currently undermines its strength. Such revolutionary leaderships will be forged in the struggle to build a multiracial Leninist party—a party that can only be built in political struggle against all wings of the Laborite misleaders. While the ALP is based on the most highly paid, male-dominated and whitest sections of the proletariat, a revolutionary workers party will draw support from all layers of the working class. And in such a party proletarian women and workers from racial minorities will play a leading role.

For Socialist Revolution!

Despite occasional rhetoric about the need for working-class defence of minorities, ostensible socialist groups in fact act to reinforce the current grip of Laborism over the working class. A case in point is Socialist Alternative (SA). At the 2001 federal elections, SA called for a vote to Beazley’s ALP, at a time when the ALP was supporting the imperialist bombing of Afghanistan and the hijacking and incarceration of refugees. But for a period following this, SA sought to play down their Laborite parliamentary cretinism in order to attract radicalised youth. They postured as an on-the-streets opposition to racism and war. Now with federal elections looming and with new right-wing ALP leader Latham appearing

to pose a threat to Howard, the SA leadership has moved to reassert in their newspaper some fundamental principles of SA politics...like vote Labor!

While noting that Latham is “right-wing, racist and economic rationalist,” SA state:

“It does matter who you vote for....

“Voting Labor—as most workers do—is one of the most basic expressions of class allegiance. If the Liberals win again, it will mean that more workers voted for the open party of the bosses than for one which has links to the union movement.”

— *Socialist Alternative*,
January 2004

This is a clear expression of Laborite bankruptcy. In SA’s schema, workers do not become conscious of their historic class interests. Rather they are left to show “class allegiance” by voting for



Craig Wood

Melbourne, 2001: Unionists at picket line during weeks-long Feltex carpet workers strike. Immigrant and women workers are key to class struggle against bosses.

their own misleaders to administer capitalism—no matter how reactionary the program the latter stand on.

In contrast we seek to win workers to opposing Latham’s program of anti-union populism, more vicious measures against “illegal” immigrant workers, scapegoating of poor parents and support for the U.S.-led provocations against the North Korean deformed workers state. And in opposition to Labor’s program, the Trotskyist Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs say: *No vote to Labor!*

For every leftward-moving worker that revolutionaries win to not voting Labor, the better politically armed the most class-conscious layer of the working

class will be. And thus the more able they will be to lead class battles against the inevitable attacks of any capitalist government, be they Liberal or Labor. Our struggle to win the most politically advanced workers and youth to a hard opposition to Labor’s program is key to advancing the fight to build a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist party. As for SA, their arguments for voting Labor serve to drag left-moving elements in society back to the Laborite swamp.

Unlike SA, the Socialist Party (SP), part of the fake-Trotskyist Committee for a Workers International, have an anti-ALP posture. But for all their more-worker-than-thou posture, their program is to call for a vote to the bourgeois Greens. Rather than fighting for proletarian socialist consciousness, SP has a program that amounts to reformist tinkering

specific purpose of enforcing racist capitalist rule. While militant proletarian struggles can win economic concessions from the bosses and their governments and in some cases make them back off from particular attacks, such concessions do not even in the slightest alter the class character and purpose of the bourgeois state. The police, and the rest of the capitalist state apparatus, cannot be controlled or reformed into becoming any less an instrument for enforcing capitalist domination. Any pretence of “community control” of the police would only serve to prettify the racist police force and thus *demobilise* anti-capitalist struggle and the necessary fight to dismantle the bourgeois state.

As our wall newspaper at last year’s Baxter pro-refugee protests declared:

“The capitalist state exists to dispossess and murder Aborigines, lock up refugees, beat and arrest leftist protesters, make war for profit and attack the unions to keep the working class down.... To end the system of war and profits it is necessary to overthrow capitalism.”

Our model is the 1917 October Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolsheviks where the working class and its allies took power over one sixth of the earth’s surface. The revolution ripped the productive wealth out of the hands of the greedy exploiters, took Russia out of the carnage of World War I, gave rights to long-suppressed national minorities and made urgent strides towards the liberation of women.

While the revolution underwent a bureaucratic degeneration under the pressure of imperialist encirclement, the terrible poverty and nationalist bloodletting unleashed by the 1991-92 capitalist counterrevolution shows just how progressive the planned, collectivised economy arising out of Red October really was. The ICL is fighting to build parties of the Bolshevik type around the globe to lead the working class, and behind them all the downtrodden, in new October Revolutions. As we stated in our *Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program*:

“The victory of the proletariat on a world scale would place unimagined material abundance at the service of human needs, lay the basis for the elimination of classes and the eradication of social inequality based on sex and the very abolition of the social significance of race, nation and ethnicity. For the first time mankind will grasp the reins of history and control its own creation, society, resulting in an undreamed-of emancipation of human potential, and a monumental forward surge of civilisation.” ■

with the capitalist state apparatus. This is seen by their demand for “community control” of the police, raised in the “What we’re fighting for...” section in each issue of their paper. In such demands the SP are not alone. The Freedom Socialist Party proclaimed the need for “elected civilian police review boards” following the beating of Hussein Farah and Socialist Alliance (which includes Democratic Socialist Perspective, the International Socialist Organisation and Workers Power) calls for “community control” of the police in response to the death of Aboriginal youth Thomas Hickey.

As a core part of the capitalist state, the police were created, and successive generations recruited and trained, for the

10,000, making a few more millionaires while the mass of American workers suffer through what the bosses cynically call “the jobless recovery.” The presidential campaign has swung into gear and that means that the treacherous trade-union leaders are plunking union funds not into strike war chests but chiefly into the coffers of the capitalist Democratic Party. Between the two parties there’s no choice for working people or minorities; indeed there’s not much difference between the two. The Bush gang in the White House received overwhelming Democratic support for the draconian Patriot Act, which sets the pretext for stripping away the democratic rights of all in this country.

So-called “antiwar” candidate Howard Dean explained his campaign to beat Bush as follows: “I’m going to outflank

him to the right on homeland security, on weapons of mass destruction and on the Saudis.... Our model is to get around the president’s right, as John Kennedy did to Nixon” (*New York Times Magazine*, 4 January). Not even Dennis Kucinich says he would withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq immediately. He says, “UN in, U.S. out” and projects a three-month plan for U.S. withdrawal.

There are seething discontents in this country, including in the military which is disproportionately black and Latino. Welfare has been slashed and as the 50th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision approaches, America becomes increasingly segregated. More black men in the U.S. are thrown behind bars than get into college. From growing anger with the war to fury over corporate greed and scandals reaching up to the White House while working people get layoffs, plant closings, bans on strikes, unaffordable health care, diminishing abortion rights, anti-immigrant racism and cop terror in the ghettos and barrios—class and social struggles over such issues would help crack the reactionary social consensus Bush has exploited since the September 11 attacks and the onset of the “war on terror.”

Our message to the American workers is that the same ruling class that is wag-

ing war on the people of Iraq is waging war on labor, blacks, immigrants, youth and women at home. The American proletariat has to understand that the purpose of the U.S. occupation of Iraq is imperialist plunder and global hegemony over the American rulers’ rivals. It is in the workers’ own class interest to oppose this. Every strike, every protest in Iraq that puts a dent in the American rulers’ war on Iraq is a victory for the side of labor here at home. Every victory for labor and minorities here at home is a blow to American imperialism’s attacks on working people abroad.

The excruciating contradiction is that American workers hold in their hands the potential power to save humanity from

the nuclear nuts in the White House and to use the tremendous wealth of this country for socially useful purposes worldwide. Yet thanks to the illusions promoted by the trade-union misleaders, there is little awareness in the proletariat of its position in this society and the enormous power it has if mobilized as a class in its own interest. The consciousness of the class that has the social power to change society lags behind its objective conditions and development. To resolve this contradiction it is necessary to build a revolutionary integrated workers party, and the Spartacist League is dedicated to this purpose. *Break with the Democrats! For a workers party to fight for socialist revolution! All U.S. troops out of Iraq now!* ■

Visit
the ICL
Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

Spartacist League of Australia

E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com Web site: www.icl-fi.org

Melbourne

GPO Box 2339

Melbourne Vic 3001

Phone: (03) 9654 4315

Sydney

GPO Box 3473

Sydney NSW 2001

Phone: (02) 9281 2181

International Communist League

Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

state and media harassment, who better than a black man who sounds very feminine, wears makeup, looks whiter than many "pedigreed" whites and openly professes a love for sharing his bed with pubescent, mostly white, boys?

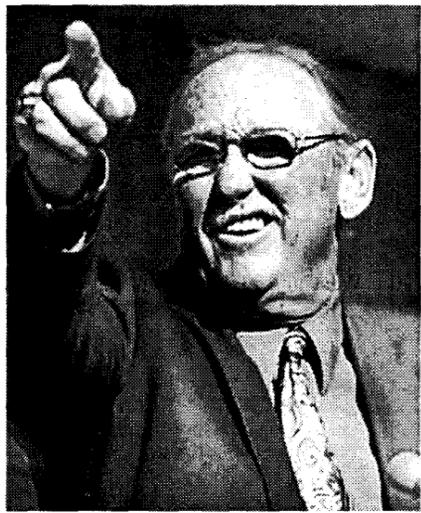
As we said a decade ago when Michael Jackson was facing similar accusations:

"Witchhunts like the one against Michael Jackson are manipulated for reactionary political ends and serve to reinforce the bourgeoisie's warped and indecent values through fear and intimidation."

—"Stop the Witchhunt Against Michael Jackson!" WV No. 592, 21 January 1994

These "morality" campaigns are really designed to prop up and glorify the repressive institution of the family, the main source of oppression of women and children under capitalism. They serve as battering rams for social reaction, from anti-gay bigotry to anti-abortion and anti-science campaigns. The state has no business interfering in people's private lives, much less in what goes on with people's crotches. *Government out of the bedroom!*

Much has been said about Jackson's bizarre appearance and lifestyle. He seems to commune with chimps and giraffes more than with human beings, loves children to the point of obsession, changes his facial features as one would change a cellphone plate. But despite



Obsessed Santa Barbara County D.A. Thomas Sneddon, who failed to get Jackson a decade ago, still pursuing his vendetta.

decades of criticism over his facial reconstructive surgeries which have given him an otherworldly (and decidedly non-black) appearance, Michael looks downright angelic compared to the truly ghoulish creep-meister, District Attorney Thomas Sneddon. Sneddon exhibited such unbridled glee over his chance to nab Jackson—almost foaming at the mouth in front of the cameras—that he later had to apologize for some of his remarks. These included referring to Jackson as "Jacko Wacko" in an interview with Court TV (20 November 2003) and urging the throngs of reporters and cameramen in town to report on the case to "stay long and spend lots of money

because we need your sales tax to support our offices" (Associated Press, 26 November 2003).

This is the same guy who tried to put Jackson behind bars in 1993, when an equally flimsy accusation of child molestation by a then-13-year-old boy led to an eerily similar media circus and subjected the artist to unspeakable humiliation, including having pictures of his genitals taken. Everybody now knows the outcome: after months of unbearable scrutiny and a career left in tatters, Jackson reached a settlement resulting in a reported 20 million dollar purchase of the accuser's silence.

But details that came out after investigation by *GQ* reporter Mary Fisher unveiled a very transparent frame-up by the accuser's parents and lawyers, including evidence that money had been asked for by the boy's father *before* the boy actually alleged any sexual abuse. Most damning was the fact that the child had been administered Sodium Amytal, a drug that puts people in a hypnotic state, before the first accusations of sexual abuse were made. As far back as 1952, studies have shown that false memories can be easily implanted in those under its influence. Fisher quotes Cleveland psychiatrist Phillip Resnick: "It is quite possible to implant an idea through the mere asking of a question.... The idea can become their memory, and studies have shown that even when you tell them the truth, they will swear on a stack of Bibles that it happened" ("Was Michael Jackson Framed? The Untold Story," *GQ*, October 1994). And this is what Sneddon wanted to use as "evidence," until the settlement denied him any witnesses to prosecute the case.

A Case Made in...a Hollywood Basement?

This time around, the prosecution's basis for a case, even using the current draconian, anti-sex laws being invoked, is running thinner than a Hollywood diet soup. In fact, new California laws on child molestation were passed specifically in response to the 1993 witchhunt of Michael Jackson. These include tougher sentencing and relaxed requirements for admitting evidence, including allowing "hearsay." Even if the child retracts his charges of sexual abuse, the prosecution of the defendant can still continue. Strangest of all, any prior *allegations* against the accused can be admitted into "evidence," even if the charges had been retracted or were shown to be outright lies, because they supposedly show a "propensity" to commit an offense—sounds more like a "propensity" to be framed up by vindictive prosecutors.

The current case itself is one of flimsy argumentation, unreliable characters and zero evidence. It turns out that between 14 and 27 February 2003 the accusing boy, his mother and his siblings were interviewed by Los Angeles County Department of Children and Family Services in an investigation following a British TV documentary aired on ABC last February which shows the boy saying he had slept over at the Neverland Ranch with Michael Jackson. The mother told the investigators that her children "are never left alone" with Michael, and when



Library of Congress

Internationally renowned Irish playwright Oscar Wilde was pilloried in Victorian England for homosexuality, "corrupting the morals of youth."

her son slept in Michael's bedroom, they never actually shared a bed. The boy and his brother explicitly denied any sexual contact with the pop star. His sister, who accompanied her brothers on sleepovers at Neverland, corroborated this, saying that she "had never seen anything sexually inappropriate between her brothers and the entertainer." The department and the police concluded the allegations were "unfounded" (www.thesmokinggun.com, 9 December 2003).

Sometime later, the boy's mother decided something "improper" indeed had happened. But as the *Observer* (30 November 2003) notes, the boy only revealed the supposed "improprieties" after seeing a therapist—and he was taken to the therapist *after* his family had already contacted a lawyer linked to the 1993 allegations of child molestation against Jackson. And despite the D.A.'s assertion that the sexual contact happened after the first investigation by the Los Angeles authorities, there's a curious overlap, since the charges state the "lewd acts" happened starting on February 7, that is, a week before the first investigation. As former L.A. prosecutor Chris Darden, of O.J. Simpson fame, said: "Apparently the D.A....expects us to believe that Michael Jackson not only molested this kid prior to the children's services investigation, but while the investigation was going on. And then continued to molest this child even after that investigation" (*CNN Legal Roundup*, 19 December 2003).

According to Harvey Levin, producer of *Celebrity Justice*, "This boy told a therapist that Michael Jackson fondled him in his private parts, but he's a very reluctant witness. He did not come out and spill his guts about what allegedly happened between him and Michael Jackson. We're told it literally had to be pulled out of him, first by attorney Larry Feldman and then by a therapist, who ultimately got the story from the boy" (Yahoo! India News, 29 November 2003). This all sounds like it's another of those cases of fake "recovered memories." What is clear is that whatever happened (if anything happened) between the two was entirely consensual.

Within the boy's family, accusations have been flying back and forth about the character of those involved. The boy's father, who lost custody of the children after he pleaded no contest to charges of spousal abuse and child cruelty, claims the mother made their kids lie about those charges and is now fighting to overturn them. He says he believes Michael Jackson's side of the story and is trying to get a separate lawyer for the kid in the case (*Celebrity Justice*, 1 December 2003).

A Modern-Day Lynching, Indeed

This case has garnered worldwide attention, as befits a record-breaking entertainer. Fans from Tokyo to Budapest have

held vigils and demonstrations in support of Michael Jackson. Even spunky Canadian Web site www.injusticebusters.com took time off from frigid Saskatoon, Saskatchewan for a moment to comment on this most evident of injustices, comparing it to the McMartin day-care case of 20 years ago in Los Angeles. Then, wildly fantasized tales of satanic rituals and sexual abuse of children led to a widespread anti-sex witchhunt and the destruction of dozens of lives; including those of the kids who were brainwashed into believing in their own victimization.

It is noteworthy that among American blacks, Jackson's support runs particularly strong. In the entertainment business, several high-profile black artists, from "King of Comedy" Steve Harvey to R&B diva Alicia Keys to rappers LL Cool J and Missy Elliott, have rallied in support of Jackson. Black Democrats Jesse Jackson Sr. and Al Sharpton have taken short breaks from their perennial gigs as fringe liberals selling illusions in the Democratic Party to address the clear sense of injustice around this case. Even the virulently anti-gay, anti-anything-sexual Nation of Islam of Louis Farrakhan has taken up his defense with a front-page article in their paper, where they summarize black activist Dick Gregory's reaction to Michael's arrest: "If they can do this to a Michael Jackson—with his money and stature—then they can do it to anyone in the Black community" ("Michael Jackson: Innocent Until Proven Guilty," *Final Call*, 4 December 2003). As his brother Jermaine Jackson so aptly put it, this persecution is a "modern-day lynching" (CNN, 20 November 2003).

Down With Puritanical Anti-Sex Laws!

There is a justifiable felt anger over seeing that, in racist America, having money does not exempt you from being a target for state persecution and frame-ups when you're born black. But many of those who are defending Jackson this time around would quite like the idea of incarcerating proven "pedophiles." People who normally embrace the most backward, anti-gay, anti-"pedophile" religious consciousness are embracing Jackson, and that is in fact a good thing for him. But unlike the myriad ministers and rap stars around who claim Michael could never be guilty of such a "heinous crime" as having sex with 12-year-old boys, we defend him against state persecution particularly because we fight for people's right to have consensual sex with whom-ever they choose. The only guideline that ought to exist in sexual relations is the rule of *effective consent*, regardless of age, gender or race. Michael Jackson's defense is also a defense of everyone's privacy and sexual freedom.

While it is possible that Michael Jackson has been thoroughly asexual in his relationships with boys, as he steadfastly maintains, to us that is irrelevant. Jackson has been charged under part of the

Women and Revolution

Bound Volume

We are proud to make available the first bound volume of *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S. Now incorporated into *Spartacist*, the theoretical and documentary repository of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), *Women and Revolution* reflects our commitment to the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The fully indexed clothbound volume contains issues No. 1 (May/June 1971) through No. 20 (Spring 1980).

A\$37 (includes postage)

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

Hong Kong...

(continued from page 12)

early 1990s also allowed the formation of a left-wing, pro-Beijing party, the Democratic Association for the Betterment of Hong Kong (DAB). Its founding leader was a self-described Marxist. Many of its leading figures were former Maoist "Red Guards" who had made much trouble for the British colonial authorities in the late 1960s. More importantly, from its inception the DAB has been largely based on a section of the working class through its close ties to the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (FTU), which with a combined membership of almost 300,000 in 2000 is the city's largest. Many DAB leaders are former union officials.

As the transfer of sovereignty to the PRC approached, the main body of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie decided it was tactically smarter to collaborate with the Beijing regime than to adopt a confrontational stance à la the Democratic Party. These "patriotic" financiers and industrialists did not join the leftist DAB but instead formed their own parties, most prominently the Liberal Party, with an explicitly "free market" capitalist ideology and program. Following the July 1 anti-Communist mobilization, which drew some 500,000, it was Liberal Party leader James Tien who reportedly convinced Hong Kong chief executive Tung Chee-hwa—and behind him the powers that be in Beijing—to drop the new "security" legislation.

The preservation of Hong Kong as a capitalist enclave within the PRC is in keeping with the more than two-decade-long policy of the Beijing regime of encouraging investment in the mainland by the offshore Chinese bourgeoisie. But the British, strongly backed by the Americans, also demanded that there should be no curbs on the activities of the political parties of the Hong Kong propertied classes, including especially the Democratic Party. This was not at all to the liking of Jiang Zemin and his cohorts.

As it was, a compromise was reached. Beijing appointed a "strong" executive in

Hong Kong headed by a former shipping magnate, Tung Chee-hwa. The city's legislative body was given quite limited powers, and elections to it were structured in such a way that the Democratic Party could not gain control even if it garnered a majority of the votes.

Since 1997, Hong Kong has experienced a certain shift in its social compo-



Hong Kong, 1 July 2003: Anti-Communist protest by 500,000 against proposed "security" law. Right: Demonstrators burn communist flag.



Reuters photos

sition which also affects the local political balance of forces. Hong Kong's capitalists have increasingly concentrated industrial investment on the mainland where labor is much cheaper. One consequence has been an increase in the relative social weight of the petty bourgeoisie, which benefits the Democratic and Liberal parties as against the mainly working-class-based DAB.

The Crisis over Article 23

The crisis last summer was set off when the Tung executive, certainly acting under the directions of Beijing, proposed new "security" legislation in the form of

implementing Article 23 of Hong Kong's separate constitution (the Basic Law). This would have broadened the powers of the Hong Kong executive to suppress "seditious" groups and individuals. Had the new "security" law been enacted, it would more likely have been used against militant workers and leftists, including dissident elements of the DAB/FTU,

and rural toilers of China as well as those in the rest of the world.

Initially, the DAB/FTU leadership supported the proposed legislation out of loyalty to Beijing. In fact, the DAB and FTU staged counterdemonstrations, reportedly drawing 40,000, against the anti-Communists in July under the slogans "National security is the responsibility of everyone" and "Without the state, we don't have a home." In late August, however, the DAB leaders did an about-face and proposed that any new "security" legislation be postponed for at least a year. In contrast to the DAB/FTU leaders, a Trotskyist organization in Hong Kong would have opposed Article 23, seeking rather to expand the available democratic rights in order to mobilize the working class, especially supporters of the DAB/FTU, against the city's capitalist class in both its openly anti-Communist and "patriotic" wings.

The two organizations in Hong Kong misidentified with Trotskyism—the *October Review* and Pioneer groups—are in substance anti-Communist social democrats. The former actively mobilized for the July protest, calling for a "return of government to the people" (*October Review*, 31 May). The Pioneer group actually joined with the right-wing bourgeois nationalists of the Guomindang to protest against restoring Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China in 1997. This summer Pioneer was part of the "Civil Human Rights Front" that organized the July 1 anti-Communist demonstration, which Pioneer hailed as an "initial victory of people's power."

Although not now possible, the American imperialists would like to use Hong Kong as a staging point to replay in mainland China the same political strategy they used in East Europe and the former Soviet Union in the 1980s and early '90s: promoting a capitalist counterrevolutionary movement in the name of Western-style "democracy." Behind the facade of parliamentary democracy in the West and elsewhere is the reality of the political as well as economic dominance of the capitalist class—i.e., racial oppression, persecution of immigrants, brutal exploitation, etc.

As part of our struggle to defend and extend the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, we call for the expropriation of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, including their holdings on the Chinese mainland. But to carry out this task poses the need to sweep away the Beijing bureaucracy, which by its policies is undermining the defense of the Chinese workers state, through workers political revolution. We fight for a government of workers and peasants councils (soviets) such as was created by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. Such a government in China would seize the wealth of Hong Kong's financiers and other capitalists and use these resources in the interests of China's workers and rural toilers. ■

California penal code involving a "lewd act upon a child." It prohibits acts with the intention of arousing, appealing to, or gratifying the lust, passions or sexual desires of the person or the child. The state clearly and willfully does not distinguish between coerced and consensual sexual acts.

The capitalist state is intent on banning all sex for young people to prepare them for a life of unfulfilled desires and urges by imposing abstinence, guilt and fear about wanting to have sex. These laws have nothing to do with protecting children; all they do is enforce puritanical values pushed by religion, and provide a moral justification for government interference in all other aspects of life. As Marxists, we reject all laws that criminalize consensual sex for youth, with or without adult partners. **Down with all reactionary "age of consent" laws!**

The Jackson case represents an intersection of blatant anti-gay bigotry, the reactionary state-enforced stigma against intergenerational sex, and racial prejudice. And just as we defend Michael Jackson against this vicious vendetta, we have always defended the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA)—which advocates the right of men and boys to consensual sexual relations—against state repression. We oppose the government's Internet snooping and anti-child-porn dragnets, which criminalize not only sexual encounters but even the use of visual aids for masturbation.

In the horribly repressive, anti-sex United States of the 21st century, people like Jackson who dare to openly interact physically with children, whether or not there is sex involved, are stigmatized and persecuted. When Oscar Wilde was

sent to prison in 1895, by the standards of the narrow-minded, petty and intolerant morals of Victorian England he was "guilty" not only of "gross indecency" (homosexuality) but also of "corrupting the morals of youth." Today nearly everyone agrees that Wilde was brutally victimized by his puritan prosecutors. Yet his two-year hard-labor sentence would be considered far too lenient by modern American standards; many a convicted "pedophile" has been sent to jail for decades for charges similar to those against Jackson or Wilde. How far we've progressed in the last century!

Michael Jackson is also facing attempts to yank his three children from his custody, since anyone charged with "child molestation" ends up being considered an "unfit parent" by the courts. Publicity hound Gloria Allred, an attorney on a personal vendetta against Jackson ever since she briefly represented his 1993 accuser, has again asked child welfare officials to take his kids, claiming a "substantial risk that a child will be sexually abused by his or her parent" (AP, 21 November 2003). Allred, notorious for trying to take away O.J. Simpson's kids after his trial, has been gunning for Jackson ever since the odd (but hardly infanticidal) incident where he held his baby son over the balcony of a German hotel for the benefit of his fans. Anyone who has any knowledge about the horrors of "state custody" of children should see this as another example of the state's complete disregard for kids' welfare—and how these moral crusaders' "family values" have nothing to do with protecting kids, or anyone else for that matter. **Hands off Michael Jackson! Leave him alone!** ■

rather than against anti-Communist rightists. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we opposed this legislation, and we place no confidence in the bureaucracy to carry out genuine defense of the Chinese deformed workers state. Concretely, the Beijing bureaucracy has no intention of cleaning out the bourgeois counterrevolutionaries in Hong Kong because it is intent on maintaining Hong Kong as a capitalist enclave.

The July 1 protest had nothing to do with maintaining the legal status quo in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The Democratic Party has made no secret that its goal is to take political power in Hong Kong and transform it into an anti-Communist bastion from which to launch a "pro-democracy" movement on the mainland. On the eve of the protest, British foreign office minister Bill Rammell issued a statement denouncing the proposed "security" legislation as a violation of Hong Kong's "independent" legal system. Afterward, writing in no less an authoritative organ of American capital than the *Wall Street Journal* (10 July), James A. Kelly, Bush's assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, lauded the Hong Kong protesters for sending a "powerful message that freedom matters deeply to them." Needless to say, the only "freedom" that matters to the men represented by the *Wall Street Journal* is freedom to exploit the workers

Available in Chinese

<p>斯巴达克斯 SPARTACIST</p> <p>德国 1899-1900: 革命与反革命 的对立</p> <p>中国矿工暴动反对 "市场改革"</p>	<p>斯巴达克斯 SPARTACIST</p> <p>"市场社会主义"和毛泽东的遗产 中国往何处去?</p> <p>保卫中国反对帝国主义和反革命! 为工人政治革命而斗争!</p>
<p>Revolution vs. Counterrevolution in Germany, 1899-1900 Chinese Miners Revolt Against "Market Reforms" \$1.25 (24 pages)</p>	<p>"Market Socialism" and the Legacy of Mao Whither China? \$1.50 (24 pages)</p>
<p>Make cheques payable/mail to Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001</p>	



Hong Kong

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 814, 21 November 2003), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

This summer, Hong Kong was the site of a series of mass, anti-Communist mobilizations openly, indeed flagrantly, backed by American and British imperialism. The pretext for the protests was new "security" legislation introduced (and since withdrawn) by the Beijing-appointed and directed executive of this capitalist enclave within the People's Republic of China (PRC). These events clearly illuminate certain basic truths that have been obscured by the widespread notion that China has become or is fast becoming capitalist under the government of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

Despite more than two decades of market-oriented "reforms" by the Beijing Stalinist regime, the core elements of China's economy remain collec-

tivized. The 1949 Revolution, although bureaucratically deformed from the outset, liberated mainland China from the capitalists and landlords and their American imperialist masters. And they want to get China back. The conciliatory policies of the CCP regime, from Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping to Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, have allowed Hong Kong to become a bridgehead for the forces of capitalist counterrevolution within the PRC. A proletarian political revolution in China ousting the Stalinist bureaucracy would necessarily expropriate the Chinese capitalist class in Hong Kong, the imperialist-backed enemy within of China's workers and rural toilers.

When Mao's peasant-based Red Army marched into Beijing in 1949, a large body of China's capitalists fled to the offshore island of Taiwan where they have been protected ever since by American military power. A lesser though still significant number of

China's capitalists decamped to the British island colony of Hong Kong. The Mao regime, for all its strident Chinese nationalist rhetoric and pretensions to revolutionary socialism, never challenged British sovereignty over Hong Kong.

After years-long negotiations, Hong Kong was transferred to the sovereignty of the People's Republic in 1997. Under the formula "one country, two systems," the Jiang Zemin regime ensured there would be no infringement of the property rights of Hong Kong's wealthy financiers and other businessmen. We wrote at the time:

"The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) joined in cheering as the rotted British Empire finally lost its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People's Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong's capitalist system, the takeover of the

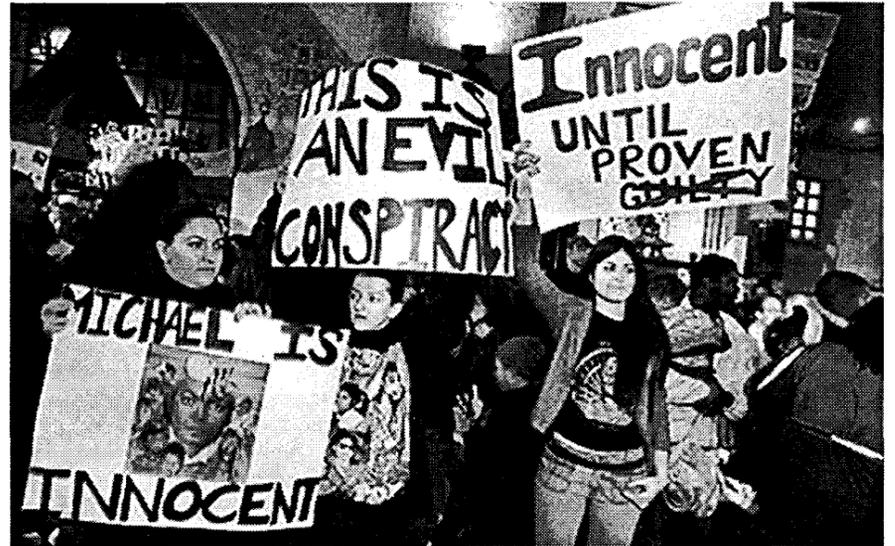
territory is a dagger aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution."

—WV No. 671, 11 July 1997

Throughout their occupation of Hong Kong, the British imperialists lorded it over the island as the racist and repressive overseers. It was only in the years leading up to reunification that the British imperialists started to install some trappings of "democracy" in Hong Kong. The last British colonial governor, Christopher Patten, actively promoted the formation of a militantly anti-Communist, pro-Western party, the Democratic Party. Supported by a section of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie, the Democratic Party acquired a mass constituency among the city's large petty-bourgeois population—e.g., the managerial and technical personnel of its banks, trading houses, industrial corporations, etc.

The political liberalization of the
continued on page 11

Stop Vendetta Against Michael Jackson!



January 16: Michael Jackson, accompanied by family members, leaves California court after pleading "not guilty" to charges of child molestation. Above: Protest on the Hollywood Walk of Fame defends Jackson.

The following is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 818, 23 January 2004), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Michael Jackson, the 45-year-old black megastar dubbed "King of Pop" for his stellar musical career, is once again being hounded by vicious state prosecutors and unscrupulous media vultures on yet another witchhunt over alleged "child molestation" charges, to which he entered a "not guilty" plea on January 16. Last November, Santa Barbara County District Attorney Thomas Sneddon announced an arrest warrant for Michael Jackson, a day after no less than 70 police investigators invaded Jackson's 2,700-acre Never-

land Ranch to conduct a privacy-busting search into his palatial estate. Set up for maximum humiliation, Michael Jackson surrendered himself to police for booking on November 20, and was released after posting an outrageous *three million dollar* bail, many times more than that set for high-profile murder cases. He was charged with seven counts of child molestation and two counts of administering alcohol to a child. After Jackson reported on *60 Minutes* that he was mistreated during the arrest, the Santa Barbara sheriff threatened further criminal charges against Jackson for daring to even speak out about his treatment.

Since then Jackson's life has been

plunged into chaos; reportedly already mired in debt, even if he wins this case, Jackson stands to lose millions of dollars in legal fees, not to mention what further impact it might have on his life and career. Should he lose, he could face the prospect of spending the rest of his life behind bars, as each charge carries three to eight years in jail.

This case is a government-sponsored anti-sex witchhunt, targeting a man who is famous for challenging both racial and sexual identities. It showcases the hell-hole that is capitalist America, where the government persecutes people for real or imagined sexual adventures—especially if they involve minors—while extolling

the virtues of "democracy" and "freedom" by bombing whole countries into submission. The capitalist media, whose main job is to indoctrinate the population with bourgeois values and prejudices such as anti-gay bigotry and racial stereotyping, advance like hungry hyenas on celebrities such as Michael Jackson whenever they dare break the "one man on one woman for life" (as long as they're "adults"!) ideal. "Deviance," as can be seen by watching most of the "celebrity" shows available, is punished with harassment, moral reprobation and, whenever possible, state prosecution, to set examples for the masses. And to be a target for

continued on page 10