



US troops out!

IMF "bailout" means misery for South Korean workers



Reuters photos

South Korean workers protest against IMF-dictated austerity measures (left). US president Clinton at the 38th parallel dividing North and South.

DECEMBER 20 — Former "dissident" Kim Dae Jung was elected president of South Korea two days ago amid one of the sharpest crises in the country's history. As the series of financial collapses which first erupted in Thailand this summer engulfed the world's eleventh-largest economy, South Korea has been thrown into turmoil. December 3, the day outgoing president Kim Young Sam acquiesced to the onerous terms of a \$57 billion "bailout" proposal by the US-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), has been dubbed "National Humiliation Day" and com-

For revolutionary reunification of Korea!

pared to the Japanese colonisation which ended in 1945. Among the working class, there is widespread fear and anger over the threat of massive wage cuts and even more massive layoffs — as many as one million in the coming months.

Even as the IMF deal was being pushed through, the imperialist-imposed partition of Korea was again highlighted, as the

US, South Korea, China and North Korea began the first-ever "peace" talks aimed at bringing to a formal close the 1950-53 Korean War. For the past half century, the Korean peninsula has been divided at the 38th parallel between a capitalist police state in the South and a bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North. To this day, close to 40,000 American troops

remain on South Korean soil — including a mammoth garrison right in the heart of the capital, Seoul — for which the US demands some \$350 million a year from the South Korean government. The North Korean delegation at the talks rightly demanded the removal of this imperialist occupation force. As proletarian internationalists, the Spartacist League/US has consistently called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US military forces from Korea.

The conditions imposed by the IMF, *continued on page 5*

Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Labour government fuels racist frenzy

We publish below a slightly edited transcript of a presentation to a Spartacist League (SL) public forum in London on 15 November titled "Fighting racism and anti-immigrant frenzy in Blair's 'New Britain'" by SL spokesman Ralf Eades. The Labour government's anti-immigrant racism (alongside their cruel austerity attacks on "welfare benefits" that target the most vulnerable, like single parents and the disabled) emboldens and provides the breeding ground for the growth of sinister fascist groups like the National Front (NF), Combat 18 and the British National Party (BNP). The fascist paper *White Dragon* now boasts of the return of the NF's "paper sale" to Brick Lane in London's East End (with its

large Asian community) from where the fascists were driven out in 1993, by Youth Against Racism in Europe and the Anti Nazi League.

Fascist groups recently seized on the anti-Roma racist frenzy whipped up by the government and the media, to carry out attacks on asylum-seekers in Dover. On 15 November they staged a march along Dover's sea-front heavily protected by the cops who escorted them back to their coaches. This was not a victory for the small anti-fascist counter-mobilisation as proclaimed by the journal *Searchlight* and *Socialist Worker*. The fascists' provocation, and the cop's protection of them, can only embolden these scum. Reliance on the capitalist state and their

cops is suicidal. Yet this is the "strategy" of the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) Anti Nazi League, who in 1993 called on London's Bexley Council to close down the BNP headquarters and channelled mass anti-fascist outrage into a campaign to vote Labour in the council elections of 1994. The SWP's poster at the time, titled "Don't vote Nazi", was an appeal to "soft" racists, claiming a vote for the fascists meant no NHS, trade unions or rock music but refusing to say the BNP and NF are genocidal racists. *The SL fights for militant mass trade union and minority action to crush the fascists!*

Comrades, we have a report from our team in Dover where the National Front

today staged a fascist provocation against the Roma refugees. The ANL which called this demonstration mobilised about 50 people or so, to oppose these fascists, who are heavily defended by the cops who needless to say defended the fascists and attacked anti-fascist demonstrators. They showed up with just 50 people. And that is a crying disgrace. Bear in mind that at the time of the Labour Party conference down in Brighton, they showed up with 8000. They put 8000 out to lobby Blair, "their" prime minister. But when it comes to defending brutally oppressed refugee Gypsies, they show up with 50 people.

In the Nazi Holocaust in World War *continued on page 8*

Racist popular front government

Italy: mass deportations of Albanian refugees

On 3 December 1997, the Ulivo (Olive Tree) coalition government of Prime Minister Prodi and D'Alema's Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) carried out dawn raids on asylum centres in order to deport thousands of Albanian refugees. This racist capitalist government relies on the active parliamentary support of Bertinotti's Rifondazione Comunista (RC) (a successor, like the PDS, to the reformist Communist Party) whose "left" wing includes the fake-Trotskyist Proposta group. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia, section of the International Communist League, responded with an immediate leaflet, translated below, demanding, "No to the deportations of Albanian refugees!"

November 30 was the expiration date set by the government for temporary visas issued to Albanian refugees last March. Four days ago, refugees living in the "welcoming centres" (read: concentration camps) went on a hunger strike at Casano delle Murge (Bari province), Caraffa (Brindisi province), Sarnano (Macerata province), Borgo Mezzanone (Foggia province) and Falerna (Catanzaro province). The refugees barricaded themselves inside the centres, refused to accept food and turned away Red Cross ambulances. Despite their meagre forces, they were prepared to put up as much resistance as possible to the expected intervention by the Carabinieri [police] and army to de-

port them by force. The refugees said, "It's better to die in Italy than to return to Albania," and threatened to use Molotov cocktails against a possible police attack.

The PDS is the core of the racist bourgeois Ulivo coalition government and it enjoys the full support of RC. This is the same regime that [last spring] sent the Navy destroyer *Sibilla* to sink a ship carrying Albanian refugees fleeing desperate poverty, drowning 89 of them. Then under the fig leaf of "humanitarian aid", it sent imperialist military forces (the first such expedition undertaken by the Italian imperialists since Mussolini) to that tiny Balkan country to prop up its faltering puppet regime. Their aim was to defend the interests of Italian capitalism — threatened by the social chaos that came in the wake of the outrageous Italian/Albanian monetary speculation — and to increase the exploitation of the impoverished Albanian masses. Now the government wants to ship back into this nightmare those few refugees who escaped and made it to Italy.

Just yesterday the government promised a 300,000 lire bribe to any refugee who agrees to leave, announcing that only those who "find a job...have family...or are under medical treatment" will be allowed to stay. "As for the rest — nothing doing." Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano pronounced, "We will help support them for six months so that they can find work" (*Corriere della Sera*, 2 December 1997). Despite this, today at dawn police carried out violent assaults on the centres, forcibly evicting all the refugees and taking them under guard to the Falconara Marittima airport and to Brindisi where two Navy ships awaited them. We say: *Italian troops out of Albania! Full citizenship rights for all Albanian immigrants and refugees!*

The Italian bourgeoisie has used the spectre of an "Albanian invasion" to foment racism against all immigrants, to divide the working class and create a scapegoat for rising unemployment. The resurgence of aggressive Italian imperialism goes hand-in-hand with the Ulivo government's anti-worker, anti-woman, racist austerity. The drowned Albanian refugees are victims of the same bourgeois regime that is responsible for the suicides of desperate unemployed workers in the South and the rising toll of workers killed in "industrial accidents", a toll that will increase with the signing of the "labour pact" by Ulivo, RC and the trade union bureaucracy.

Ulivo: imperialist murderers with RC and Proposta in tow!

Rifondazione Comunista is a pillar of support for the Ulivo government, whose foreign minister, Lamberto Dini, demanded the construction of concentration camps in Albania to imprison the deported refugees. On 24 July, RC's Senate fraction voted for a 45-day extension of "Alba 2" (Dawn 2), which stationed the Italian troops in Albania. Many of these are the same units which perpetrated torture and rape in Somalia. The Ulivo/RC coalition covered up for these sadistic beasts in order to give them a free hand in Albania in the interests of Italian imperialism. Just a few weeks ago, RC voted in favour of the racist Napolitano law that further restricts immigration and makes it easier

for the state to deport immigrants. Thanks to this new law approved by RC, over 200,000 immigrants face immediate deportation. Under the Ulivo/RC coalition government, immigrants make up over one third of the Italian prison population.

This past summer and autumn, the Ulivo/RC regime used police to carry out military-style, house-to-house "anti-Albanian" roundups. On 13 May, Fausto Bertinotti had a friendly, one-and-a-half-hour chat with [National Alliance] parliamentarian Gianfranco Fini, a fascist in a suit, on the *Maurizio Costanzo Show*. Rather than fight to unionise all immigrants and for jobs for all, RC supports the Treu Agreement, which imposes a lower wage scale in the South and increases the number of jobs not covered by union contract. At the same time they support the racist laws and deportations.

On 7 April, the fake-left RC, with *Proposta's* support, voted in favour of a leadership motion calling for "postponing the projected military mission to Albania", and for carrying it out under a UN fig leaf. This motion supported by *Proposta* also called for "limited and temporary visas [for Albanian refugees], to be renewable until the end of the emergency in Albania, with provisions for the prosecution and expulsion of all criminal elements". RC/*Proposta's* motion implicitly guarantees the deportation of the Albanian refugees!

Proposta never fights for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, for the unionisation of immigrant workers, nor against the deportations. In *Proposta* (January 1996), they write that "the right to vote in administrative [local] elections should be granted after one year, and full suffrage should be granted after three years residence in our country", openly opposing full citizenship rights for immigrants. *Proposta* accepts the racist status quo of this capitalist society, especially under this bourgeois, racist Ulivo coalition. Any RC member who wants to be a communist must break with this party which supports the bourgeois government, its anti-immigrant laws and its capitalist austerity! Break with the popular front!

It is necessary to fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and against the divisions introduced by the bourgeois state with the classifications of "legal" and "illegal" immigrants! Wherever there are immigrant workers, it is necessary to fight for their union organisation in order to strengthen the workers movement and defend their rights. It is a basic principle for any class-conscious worker that the rights of the workers and those of the most oppressed layers of society will either go forward together or be driven back separately. But parties like Rifondazione Comunista, in allying with the imperialist bourgeoisie, necessarily trample on the struggle for the liberation of women and the struggle for the rights of immigrants and all minorities.

What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics of RC which, in the name of a "lesser evil", subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. Break with class collaborationism! Stop the racist, capitalist austerity of Prodi, D'Alema, and Bertinotti! No to class collaboration with the bourgeoisie!

We of the LTd'I/ICL struggle to forge a Bolshevik party that fights for workers power! *Build a revolutionary workers party, tribune of the oppressed! For worker/immigrant mobilisations to smash racist terror! Unionise all immigrants! For workers strikes and actions against the imperialist intervention in Albania and the deportations! The main enemy is at home!* ■



TROTSKY

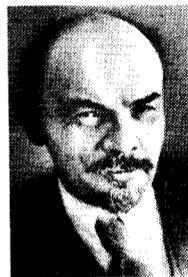
The profit system, barrier to economic productivity

Under the capitalist system, production is driven by the need of competing companies to maximise their profits, not to maximise the output of goods and services. Given the historic tendency of the rate of profit to fall, as Karl Marx explained in his three-volume work on the nature of the capitalist system (and recognised even by such perceptive 19th-century bourgeois economists as David Ricardo), this acts as a barrier to

the expansion of production, generating periodic depressions and wars, mass unemployment and the immiseration of the working class. This underscores the Marxist understanding that the profit system cannot be reformed but must be uprooted through socialist revolution. Only a planned, socialised economy can utilise the most advanced science and technology to bring about the highest possible levels of labour productivity and a society providing for the needs of all.

The rate of profit, i.e., the relative increment of capital, is above all important to all new offshoots of capital seeking to find an independent place for themselves. And as soon as formation of capital were to fall into the hands of a few established big capitals, for which the mass of profit compensates for the falling rate of profit, the vital flame of production would be altogether extinguished. It would die out. The rate of profit is the motive power of capitalist production. Things are produced only so long as they can be produced with a profit. Hence the concern of the English economists over the decline of the rate of profit... Development of the productive forces of social labour is the historical task and justification of capital. This is just the way in which it unconsciously creates the material requirements of a higher mode of production. What worries Ricardo is the fact that the rate of profit, the stimulating principle of capitalist production, the fundamental premise and driving force of accumulation, should be endangered by the development of production itself. And here the quantitative proportion means everything. There is, indeed, something deeper behind it, of which he is only vaguely aware. It comes to the surface here in a purely economic way — i.e., from the bourgeois point of view, within the limitations of capitalist understanding, from the standpoint of capitalist production itself — that it has its barrier, that it is relative, that it is not an absolute, but only a historical mode of production corresponding to a definite limited epoch in the development of the material requirements of production.

— Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume III (1894)



LENIN

WORKERS HAMMER

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For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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Hate Trotskyism – Hate the Spartacists

Workers Power's "united front" with counterrevolution

The following article is reprinted from Australasian Spartacist no 162, Summer 1997/98.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group is clearly in turmoil. By their own report (*Workers Power* [Australia], October/December 1997), the phoney "League for a Revolutionary Communist International" (LRCI) emerged from their August conference deeply divided over the class nature of the state, the overturn of capitalism in Eastern Europe and elsewhere after World War II and the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

common front of resistance, a military and class struggle bloc with those forces and with their leaders.... A part of this united front call would have been to fight alongside the 'democrats' and the Yeltsinites to defend all the centres of resistance to the coup including the RSFSR parliament (the 'White House')" (*Workers Power* [Britain], November 1991). One of their members literally stood on Yeltsin's White House barricades. They did so "no matter what the socially counterrevolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades...."

say, is a "moribund workers state", a peculiar, classless formulation invented by Workers Power to deny that capitalist counterrevolution has taken place as a cover for their support to the restorationist forces. This position has made WP look foolish as it obviously flies in the face of reality — so they have begun to modify it, declaring that most of Eastern Europe, which they also labelled "moribund workers states", are now capitalist.

For Workers Power, the essential feature of a workers state is the degree of nationalisation. Claiming that the class nature of the state is merely a reflection of

dismantled." So now they are forced to fall back on an absurdity: "difficulties in constructing and enforcing capitalist credit mechanisms mean that thousands of firms continue to operate when the domination of the law of value would dictate that they should be closed down. In no capitalist country would loss-making production be tolerated on such a scale." Have they never heard of corporate bailouts?

The Russian question point blank

WP sneeringly mocks as "one of the most memorable pearls of Spartacist wisdom" our statement that the August 1991 events "appear to have been decisive in the direction of development of the SU, but only those who are under the sway of capitalist ideology would have been hasty to draw this conclusion at the time" (*Spartacist* no 47-48, Winter 1992-93). For WP, this means we say "Yeltsin's August coup was decisive but it would have been wrong to have recognised it at the time!" Only those who forsake the proletariat as incapable of becoming a class mobilised for itself through the instrument of a Leninist party would have instantly written off the Soviet degenerated workers state.

For WP, Yeltsin's triumph was a foregone conclusion. We however, stand with American Trotskyist James P Cannon who wrote:

"We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. We have an interest! We take part in the fight!"

— "Speech on the Russian Question", *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, 1939

The ICL distributed tens of thousands of leaflets proclaiming: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" Ours was the first statement widely distributed in the Soviet Union in opposition to Yeltsin's restorationist drive. We said that what was necessary in August 1991 was a call on Moscow workers to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. Such an independent mobilisation of the workers could have opened the road to political revolution through a showdown with the imperialist-backed forces of capitalist restoration. While recognising that the state power had been effectively fractured we looked to spark working-class action in defence of collectivised property.

Unable to conceive of an independent proletarian policy, Workers Power claims that if "Yeltsin taking power was decisive in the restoration of capitalism, then surely the Spartacists made a mistake. They should have blocked with the Stalinists who opposed him." Spicing up their polemic with a falsehood, WP claims we have never explained why we didn't.

This was an all-sides squalid affair in which neither side opposed capitalist "market reforms", ie counterrevolution. The "coup plotters" only wanted a more gradual, controlled introduction of capitalism, without the democratic trappings of

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Spartacist

Workers Power described Yeltsin's barricade as manned by "spivs and racketeers" but stood shoulder-to-shoulder with them anyway. ICL statement said "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!"

For Marxists, these are fundamental and defining questions, at the core of a revolutionary programme. But for the LRCI they are merely academic debates. Thus "changes in analysis" can be safely relegated to a future issue of their international journal, not due for publication until January 1998. Yet, as a companion article marking the 80th anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution ("The Left and Capitalist Restoration") makes clear, WP still seeks to justify their sordid history of support to various forces of capitalist counterrevolution, especially Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup of August 1991.

Seizing on the pathetic "coup" attempt by the "gang of eight" Kremlin bureaucrats, Yeltsin's ascendancy, backed by the US and every other imperialist power, subsequently proved to be the key event in the destruction of the Soviet Union. In the absence of mass working-class resistance, the period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Yeltsin culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state. Capitalist restoration was and is an unparalleled catastrophe for the working class, not only in the former Soviet Union but internationally, freeing up the imperialists to unleash attacks on the working masses of the advanced industrial countries and the already savagely oppressed peoples of the semi-colonial world.

In 1991 Workers Power called for a "united front with the Yeltsin forces" declaiming "...it was necessary to form a

We Spartacists of the International Communist League denounced WP and its ilk as "Traitors, not Trotskyists" for this criminal betrayal. It is no surprise, therefore, that in seeking to "justify" their actions WP aims its polemical fire largely at the Spartacists.

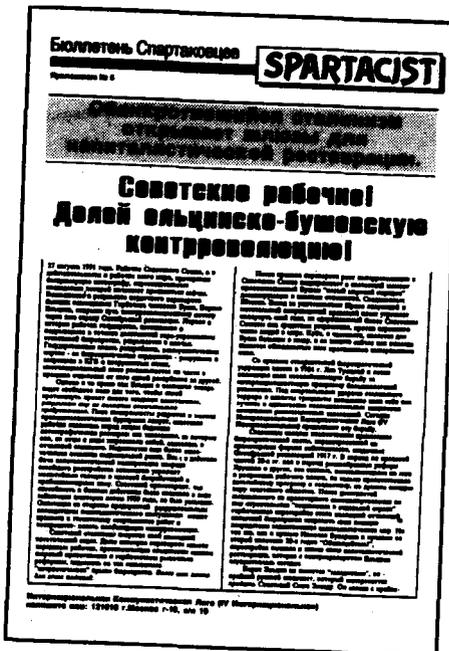
WP adamantly denies that they "supported Yeltsin" or had "illusions in bourgeois democracy" as the Spartacists are so fond of claiming". But why was WP "for blocking with all those forces opposing the coup makers (CSE)"? "It was because the CSE represented the most serious immediate threat to the meagre democratic gains that the workers had wrung from the bureaucracy over the previous years." Thus in the name of defending "democratic gains" WP blocks with... US imperialist chieftain George Bush who certainly was among "all those forces opposing the coup makers"! "Democracy" versus "Stalinist totalitarianism" was precisely the counterrevolutionary rallying cry of the capitalists and their social-democratic frontmen.

Indeed, WP views Yeltsin's counterrevolution purely through the eyes of a Labourite parliamentarist. Against "the politically bankrupt Spartacists [who] argue that Yeltsin coming to power... was the decisive turning point in the restoration of a capitalist state", WP paints Yeltsin's countercoup as "a simple change of government". To this day they deny that capitalism has been restored in the lands of the former Soviet Union. Russia, they

the economy, WP tries to make an ally of Trotsky, quoting (more or less) his statement that "the nationalisation of the land, the means of industrial production, transport and exchange, together with the monopoly of foreign trade constitute the basis of the Soviet social structure". State-owned collectivised property, central planning and state monopoly of foreign trade are indeed the defining features of proletarian property forms — the necessary economic foundations for the development of a classless, socialist society on an international scale. But widespread nationalisations alone do not equal the destruction of capitalism. And in general, in periods of revolution or counterrevolution, the economic forms can be, and often are, at variance with the political character of the state. Trotsky specifically addressed this question in "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937):

"Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalised economy. But what does such a type of temporary conflict between the economy and the state mean? It means a *revolution* or a *counterrevolution*. The victory of one class over another signifies that it will reconstruct the economy in the interests of the victors."

Even by WP's own false criteria, they have a problem, and are obliged to admit that "The monopoly on foreign finance and trade, the planning ministries and many state-owned industries have all been



Workers Power...

(Continued from page 3)

glasnost (openness). As we said in a polemic against the pseudo-Trotskyist apologists for Yeltsin:

"The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defence of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions."

— "Cheerleaders for Yeltsin's Counterrevolution", *Australasian Spartacist* no 143, Summer 1991/1992

WP recalls that "after only three days we immediately called for a breaking of the united front with the Yeltsin forces and advocated mobilising opposition to their 'seizure' of power". They sniff that this "falsifies the Spartacist claim that we politically supported Yeltsin". Actually, it proves exactly what we said of them: during the most critical moments of August 1991, they knowingly supported Yeltsin's forces of imperialist-backed capitalist counterrevolution. Now, with boundless cynicism, they try to claim they politically opposed it.

WP's "Solidarity with Solidarność counterrevolution"

WP's road to Yeltsin's barricades was well-prepared. As we have said:

"While formally adopting a position of Soviet defencism in 1980 over Afghanistan, WP condemned the Soviet intervention against imperialist-backed feudal reaction as 'counterrevolutionary' (later also denouncing the Soviet withdrawal as 'counterrevolutionary'). In 1981, they 'critically' championed Solidarność even while admitting that Solidarność in power would mean capitalist restoration. In 1989, while claiming to be against the capitalist annexation of the former DDR by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, Workers Power sided with counterrevolution at every crucial stage. The following year, they supported the anti-Soviet, fascist-infested nationalist movement in Lithuania and were caught out collaborating with Russian fascists in sponsoring a 'trade union' speaking tour by one Yuri Butchenko."

— "Chickens Come Home to Roost Over Balkans Betrayal", *Australasian Spartacist* no 157, Summer 1995-96

Today WP is particularly sensitive on the question of Polish Solidarność. In an anti-Communist lie that could just as easily have emanated from the "free trade unions" gang at ASIS [Australian Secret Intelligence Service] or one of the CIA's labour fronts, WP says that we were in "support of the murder of Polish workers by Stalinists in 1981". By WP's lights, opposition to this capitalist-restorationist "union" (favoured by the CIA, the pope, Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and then Labor prime minister Bob Hawke) could only be Stalinist. Acknowledging that all the "dominant tendencies" in Solidarność sought the restoration of capitalism, WP concluded that this did "not mean that we do not solidarise with Solidarność".

At its 1981 congress it was clear that Solidarność had consolidated around a programme of clerical reaction and capitalist restoration. It took up the CIA-inspired calls for "free elections" and "free trade unions". We Spartacists said that this company union for the Vatican, CIA and Western bankers was now making an open bid for power based on a programme for capitalist restoration. We said, forthrightly, "If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene

militarily... we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution" (*Workers Vanguard* no 289, 25 September 1981).

While we stood militarily with the Polish government in spiking Solidarność's bid for power, we said that the Stalinist crackdown would only delay the day of reckoning, for Solidarność would have to be defeated politically within the working class. Thus our call to stop Solidarność counterrevolution was integrally linked to the need to forge a Trotskyist party that could lead a proletarian political revolution to oust the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy. WP is so warped by the pressures of bourgeois society that they scream bloody murder over our defence of Soviet tanks that were never sent to Poland, but they cheered the Yeltsin counterrevolution which has brought a real living hell to workers and especially women in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Eu-



Workers Hammer

rope—the dramatic plunge in life expectancy, the rise of pogroms and communal fratricide, the rollback of abortion rights.

Centrist confusionism and Cliffite recidivism

WP originated in Britain in a 1975 split from Tony Cliff's virulently anti-Soviet International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party). Born of capitulation to the imperialists' genocidal war against North Korea, the Cliffites labelled the Soviet Union "state capitalist" to deny any basis for its defence. In 1980, a month after the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, WP rejected "state capitalism" and characterised the USSR as a degenerated workers state, a step to the left. A classic example of what Trotsky called the "crystallised confusion" of centrism, WP wrote that "We oppose the invasion of Afghanistan" while opining that it would be "tactically wrong for revolutionaries... to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops."

After a decade of Cold War anti-Communism, and especially now in this period of "death of communism" bourgeois triumphalism, WP has moved increasingly to the right. Hailing "an end to decades of Stalinist dictatorship", their statement that "All genuine revolutionaries rejoiced at the downfall of these bureaucratic, totalitarian monstrosities" is of a piece with the SWP's obscene gloating that "Communism has collapsed... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991).

In the spirit of its Cliffite heritage, the LRCI's August congress took up the question of "the nature of the state form in the degenerate workers' states" involving "the question of whether the state machine was smashed, in the Marxist sense of the term, during the post-war overthrow of

capitalism in Eastern Europe, China, Indochina and Cuba, and the related question of whether the state machine had to be smashed to allow capitalism to be restored in the post-1989 period". In a word, their answer is, "No."

WP recognises that Cuba, China and Yugoslavia became workers states. Nevertheless WP's long-standing position is that "Castro and co, like Mao and Tito before them, carried out a counterrevolutionary overthrow of capitalism" (*Trotskyist International*, Summer 1988). So imbued is WP with social-democratic horror of their own bourgeoisie's hue and cry about communist "totalitarianism" that they ludicrously claim that every overthrow of capitalism since the Russian Revolution has been "counterrevolutionary". And what could a counterrevolutionary overthrow of capitalism mean—except, perhaps, a return to feudalism?

Two years ago, WP's refusal to take a stand for military defence of the Bosnian Serbs under massive NATO bombing blew apart the LRCI as most of their New

of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and various bourgeois formations—a popular front. In Australia WP shores up the hold of the racist Labor Party on the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, claiming that workers' illusions in the ALP can only "be broken by putting Labor to the test of office", ie vote ALP, no matter what.

At root, the anti-Sovietism of WP expresses their acceptance of the "democratic credentials" of their "own" bourgeoisie as good coin. Indeed, they have deeply imbibed the values of the Australian ruling class, not least its profound anti-woman bigotry. At a large workers demonstration on 12 November in Melbourne, a Workers Power leader, Lloyd, responded with vile misogynist epithets to political debate about their position on the former Soviet Union and their Labourism, twice hurling the word "C-T" at our comrades. This illustrates that the leadership of Workers Power will try to use the most grotesque means to draw a blood line to seal off political



Workers Power in the "third camp": at anti-Communist "picket" outside Soviet consulate in London, 16 May 1990. Newspaper banner headline, May 1990 (right).

Zealand group and all of their Latin America supporters split away. Revealing a continuing political schism, Workers Power reports that "At the Fourth Congress, the former minority position secured a narrow majority. The Congress adopted the view that the bureaucratic Stalinist overturns took place without the smashing of the bourgeois form of state apparatus." Does this mean that capitalism was not really destroyed in Eastern Europe, Cuba, etc (à la Cliff)? Or does it mean that capitalism can be overthrown without smashing "the bourgeois form of state", an open repudiation of Leninism (à la Karl Kautsky)?

Specifically against the German Social Democrat Kautsky, who opposed proletarian revolution, Lenin said that "the proletariat cannot simply win state power in the sense that the old state apparatus passes into new hands, but must smash this apparatus, must break it and replace it by a new one" (*The State and Revolution*). By asserting that workers states could come into existence without smashing "the bourgeois form of state apparatus", the latter-day Kautskyites of Workers Power reveal their true programme—pushing social-democratic parties like the Australian Labor Party or the British Labour Party into getting rid of capitalism.

Indeed, WP's Stalinophobic support to every sort of counterrevolutionary scum in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a reflection of, and capitulation to, the pro-imperialist social democracy, which since 1917 sought the destruction of the October Revolution. From Australia to Europe, wherever the social-democratic parties are fronting for the capitalist offensive, Workers Power can be found behind them. In Britain, they backed Tony Blair's Labour Party, while in the French elections last May they openly called for a vote to the class-collaborationist alliance

discussion. We won't fall for it—we will continue to pursue open political debate because it is through the clash of opinion and test of competing programmes in action that Leninist parties are forged.

Workers Power are counterfeit Trotskyists who deny in practice the necessity of building a revolutionary vanguard party to bring to the working class genuine class consciousness—the understanding that it is their historic mission to take state power in their own name. WP fatuously denies the devastating effects of the destruction of the Soviet workers state, saying "the worst of the counterrevolutionary effects of those defeats have already been experienced in the previous period, and do not lie ahead". That's easy for them to say from where they sit in comfort in the West!

On the contrary, we of the ICL recognise that this is a new period in world history, one conditioned by colossal defeats for the proletariat. As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1937 article, "Stalinism and Bolshevism":

"In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly purchased experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy 'sectarian.' Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide."

Workers Power members who seek Marxist clarity and a forward, revolutionary perspective, the fight for new October Revolutions, would do well to undertake a serious investigation of the Trotskyist politics of the International Communist League. ■

Korea...

(Continued from page 1)

under direct US diktat, are clearly designed to undermine South Korea's capacity to compete economically — even as a weak rival — by clipping the wings of the high-flying industrial/financial conglomerates, the *chaebol*, and limiting exports of cars and other manufactured goods. With the South Korean *won* plunging in value against the dollar, the IMF deal also opens the way to a stream of imperialist takeovers, as former constraints on foreign investment and banking operations have been pried wide open. This has provoked a tide of nationalist sentiment, with middle-class housewives taking to the streets to protest imports of foreign luxury items and to collect donations to keep the *won* afloat. That wide layers of the South Korean population see the IMF accord as a plot to enforce neocolonial dependence speaks to the history of the country this century, subjugated first by Japanese colonialism and then by US imperialism.

While South Korea's capitalist rulers are far from happy about having to bow before the IMF, they are sure to use this opportunity to go after the combative independent labour movement organised in the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU). With the *chaebol*'s profit margins squeezed by competition on the international market and their attempts to intensify exploitation at home frustrated by the power of the unions, already a year ago the Kim Young Sam regime tried to ram through laws codifying the illegal status of the KCTU, allowing mass layoffs and strengthening the draconian National Security Law. This provoked an upsurge of workers' struggles, which could well happen again in response to the imposition of IMF-dictated austerity measures.

If the South Korean workers go into battle, they will not be fighting alone. Throughout Southeast Asia, economic crisis has impelled workers onto the streets. Suharto's Indonesia has been hit by strikes on almost a daily basis (see "Capitalist Greed Fuels Worker Unrest — Crisis Rocks Southeast Asia", *Workers Vanguard* no 678, 14 November 1997). Meanwhile, the question being asked everywhere is, "Will China be next?" As the venal Stalinist regime ruling the deformed workers state accelerates capitalist "market reforms", it faces enormous pressures on all sides. Foreign investment has plummeted this year, helping to undercut Beijing's designs for a "cold" restoration of capitalism, while strikes and protests against layoffs and falling living standards have mounted. The alternatives posed point-blank in China are proletarian political revolution, creating a regime based on workers democracy and proletarian internationalism, or bloody capitalist counterrevolution and untrammelled imperialist exploitation.

The workers of South Korea can play a leading role in the fight for a socialist Asia. Proletarian revolution in South Korea would not only sweep away the bloodsucking *chaebol* capitalists and their police-state terror but, together with workers political revolution in the North to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, would bring about the revolutionary reunification of Korea. This fight must be based on a perspective of internationalist unity with Chinese workers facing the threat of capitalist counterrevolution and with the proletariat of Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. The International Communist League fights to forge Bolshevik parties in Korea and around the world in struggle for new October Revolutions.

"Democratic" police state

The South Korean bourgeoisie prides itself on performing a "miracle on the

Han" in developing the country's industrial base over the past three decades. But there was nothing miraculous about this; rather, it was based on grinding exploitation of the proletariat enforced by an enormous police-state apparatus backed up by the US military gendarmerie. Writing about backward countries in the epoch of imperialism, Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his 1940 article, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

"The feebleness of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of traditions of municipal self-government, the pressure of foreign capitalism, and the relatively rapid growth of the proletariat, cut the ground from under any kind of stable democratic regime. The governments of backward, i.e., colonial and semicolonial, countries by and large assume a Bonapartist or semi-Bonapartist character; they differ from one another in that some try to orient in a democratic direction, seeking support among workers and peasants, while others install a form close to military-police dictatorship. This likewise determines the fate of the trade unions. They either stand under the special patronage of the state or they are subjected to cruel persecution."

South Korea is a prime example of this. For years, independent trade unions were completely outlawed, while the proletariat was saddled with a corporatist formation, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, which was set up under the auspices of the Korean CIA (now named the Agency for National Security Planning) and under the tutelage of the Cold War AFL-CIO bureaucracy. It was only as a result of a wave of militant workers' struggles in 1987 that the South Korean bourgeoisie abandoned open military rule and proceeded to implement presidential elections every five years. It was out of this upsurge that the KCTU, which now has over half



London, January 1997: Spartacist contingent at protest against Kim Young Sam's police state repression of Korean workers and their unions.

a million members, emerged.

These developments have fostered illusions in the democratic credentials of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie, which are promoted as well by self-styled leftist organisations like the United Secretariat. Recently, these fake Trotskyists claimed: "Ten years after the end of authoritarian rule, the political landscape in South Korea has changed enormously. The country is no longer a police state" (*International Viewpoint*, 15 July 1997). This will come as news to the many radical students and trade-union militants who continue to be imprisoned by the regime. The National Security Law, which bans even vaguely leftist activity as aiding the North Korean "enemy", continues to be wielded by the regime against militant workers and political opponents, including during the recent elections. In July, the government used the law to outlaw the Hanchongnyon student federation after riot cops had brutally suppressed a series of student

Newly elected president Kim Dae Jung, touted as "democracy campaigner", with electoral ally Kim Jong Pil (far right), founder of murderous KCIA.



protests. And in November, members of a youth group which calls for organising a working-class party were rounded up, while 500 cops invaded Hanyang University Hospital to crush a strike and drag away the union leaders.

Korea and permanent revolution

A prime beneficiary of "democratic" illusions in South Korea is newly elected president Kim Dae Jung, who was jailed — and nearly assassinated — under the former military dictatorship of Park Chung Hee. In the past, much of the petty-bourgeois nationalist student left has looked to Kim, as has the KCTU leadership. They are echoed by the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK), tied to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain and the International Socialist Organization in the US. An interview with a "South Korean socialist" in the British *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1997) parroted the standard liberal refrain that Kim "was a democracy campaigner in the 1970s and 1980s", while complaining that he has since "moved to the right". In fact, the

1997) noted that the South Korean leader's "credibility with the unions" places him in a "good position to convince his followers that they need to endure a year or two of pain". And the return to government of Kim Jong Pil underscores that this will involve intensified repression against the workers movement.

Appealing to populist/nationalist sentiment, Kim Dae Jung vowed to "renegotiate" the terms of the IMF agreement during the election campaign, but backed off as soon as the imperialists put their foot down. Indeed, Kim had called for IMF intervention in early November, well before the regime did. A revolutionary workers government in Korea would cancel the imperialist debt outright as part of the expropriation of industry and infrastructure.

The fact that Kim Dae Jung and the other two leading presidential contenders were forced to drop calls for renegotiating the IMF accord underscores the dependent character of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Korea in this century is an archetypal example of uneven and combined development: modern industry coexists alongside rural backwardness, where many remain as impoverished tenant farmers, with a police-state regime, albeit with some trappings of parliamentary democracy. South Korea's political structure is manifestly closer to that of Malaysia and Indonesia than to Japan's.

As Trotsky explained in advancing the perspective of permanent revolution, in countries of belated capitalist development, the bourgeoisies — tied to the imperialist powers on the one hand and confronted by a growing proletariat on the other — are incapable of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and resolving the other tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. These tasks can only be accomplished by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and placing the proletariat in power. This was confirmed by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Socialist revolution in the backward countries would necessarily have to link up with — and would act as a powerful impetus for — the fight for proletarian power in the imperialist centres. In the 1938 Transitional Programme, Trotsky stressed that in backward countries "the struggle for the most elementary achievements of national independence and bourgeois democracy is combined with the socialist struggle against world imperialism". This is posed particularly acutely in Korea, where the imperialist-imposed partition places the question of national unification directly on the agenda. A proletarian vanguard party in Korea would be in direct competition with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists who seek to unify the country on a capitalist basis, destroying the collectivised foundations of the deformed workers state in the North. Trotskyists call for unconditional military defence of North Korea against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution as part of the fight for *revolutionary reunification* through socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North.

continued on page 10

What kind of "socialists" support counterrevolution?

We reprint below a leaflet first distributed at a 6 November 1997 Socialist Workers Party meeting in London on "80 Years since the Russian Revolution: The Fight for Workers' Power Today".

The spectacle of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "commemorating" the 80th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution and claiming the mantle of

own bourgeoisie.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is the touchstone for revolutionaries. For the first time the working class took power under the leadership of a proletarian revolutionary party. It was a beacon to the working masses around the world who saw in the victory of the Russian working class the possibility to prevail over their own capitalist oppressors. The Bolshevik

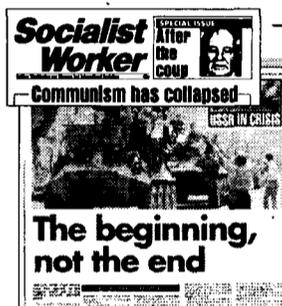
revolutionary internationalist struggle for proletarian rule. Stalin's reactionary "socialism in one country" rejected the essence of Marxism (the *Communist Manifesto* concludes, "Workers of the World Unite!") and thus the fight of Trotsky's Left Opposition was essential to preserve and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution. As Trotsky wrote in his searing analysis, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936),

Cliff's organisation was then nestled inside the ruling Labour Party, which swung in behind the US and sent troops to massacre the Koreans and later also the Chinese. Three million Koreans were slaughtered in this war.

Cliff flunked the basic Marxist acid test of opposing his own bourgeoisie and defending the deformed and degenerated workers states. Cliff was a certified renegade from Marxism but neither the first nor the brightest. Indeed the first "state capitalist" was the German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, whose 1918 polemic *Terrorism and Communism* was a sustained attack on the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Like the Social Democrat Kautsky, the Labour "Left" Tony Cliff and his "theory" reflected a thorough imbibing of the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist bourgeoisie as against "communist totalitarianism". SWP members could gain an understanding of the contradictions between Cliff's professed Marxist orthodoxy and his class treason against the interests of the proletariat by reading Lenin's delightfully savage 1918 polemic, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. SWPers interested in authentic Trotskyism would do well too to study Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* and his battle against defectors like Cliff in the volume of Trotsky's work titled, *In Defense of Marxism*.

Support for counterrevolution remained the hallmark of Cliff's SWP through every flashpoint of Cold War II. They hailed Polish Solidarność — a yellow company "union" which led capitalist counterrevolution in Poland with direct aid from Reagan, Thatcher, the Vatican and German bankers. In contrast the Spartacist League proclaimed, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution" and fought for the revolutionary unity of the Polish, German and Russian workers through political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies and opposition to imperialist-inspired counterrevolution, whose main agency in Poland was CIA-backed Solidarność, abetted by pseudo-leftists like the SWP.

The SWP cheered the bloody Afghan mujahedin butchers — armed and equipped by the CIA — who fought against the Red Army in a "holy war" to murder un-



— 31 August 1991



— 30 August 1991



Der Spiegel photos

Cliffites joined imperialists in hailing Yeltsin counterrevolution which ushered in misery and hunger for working people. ICL fought to mobilise Soviet workers in defence of gains of October Revolution.

Bolshevism is a grotesque farce. When the Soviet Union still existed, Cliff's SWP abetted the imperialist rulers' red-hot Cold War aimed at destroying the remaining gains of the 1917 proletarian seizure of power. In a rare moment of candour, Tony Cliff fulminated, "And I say no, no, we have nothing to do with bloody Russia, because it is not a source of strength" (*Leveller*, September 1979). The final undoing of the Russian Revolution, signalled by Boris Yeltsin's imperialist-backed 1991 "countercoup", was met with gleeful approval by the SWP in banner headlines proclaiming, "The Russian Revolution of 1991" and articles crowing that "Communism has collapsed.... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker*, 31 August 1991).

Today, Cliff boasts that the counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union demonstrates the correctness of his theory of "state capitalism", adding that "in a way you feel quite happy with it" (*International Socialist Review*, Summer 1997). But if the Soviet Union was already capitalist, how then does one explain the ravages of mass unemployment, starvation and bloody nationalist fratricide that came in the wake of the Yeltsin counter-coup? And what kind of self-proclaimed revolutionary would be "happy" with this outcome? The destruction of the Soviet Union placed an epitaph on the sordid history of Stalinism and the false "theory" of state capitalism behind which renegades from Trotskyism like Tony Cliff seek to mask their defection in the crucible of class struggle from the side of the international proletariat to the side of their

Party under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky understood that the preservation of the fledgling Russian workers state depended upon the international extension of their revolution, particularly to the more advanced capitalist countries. The extreme backwardness and impoverishment of the country combined with the failure of revolution in the West and the relentless onslaught of the world's imperialist powers led to the consolidation of a bureaucratic caste in 1923-24 headed by JV Stalin. Repudiating the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks the Stalinist bureaucracy retreated under the anti-Marxist nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country".

Leon Trotsky formed the Left Opposition to fight to return to the Leninist programme of authentic Bolshevism, the

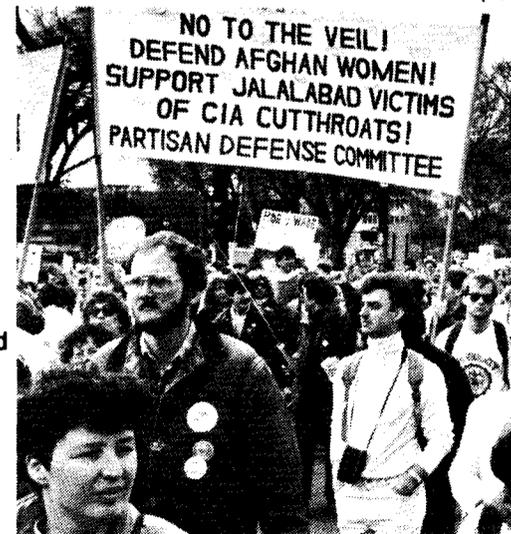
gains of the Russian Revolution had been betrayed but not yet overthrown. Analysing the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, the Trotskyists fought for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

As the Cold War military alliance of imperialist powers against the Soviet Union turned into a genocidal shooting war, Cliff's bogus "theory" of state capitalism served as his exit visa from the camp of revolutionary Marxism in abject capitulation to the anti-communist Labour Party leadership. In 1950 Tony Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International for publicly opposing defence of North Korea against US and British imperialism. Tony



Tass

1979 Soviet military intervention opened road to emancipation of Afghan women (left). Following 1989 Soviet withdrawal, Spartacists launched international campaign to aid embattled city of Jalalabad against mujahedin cut-throats.

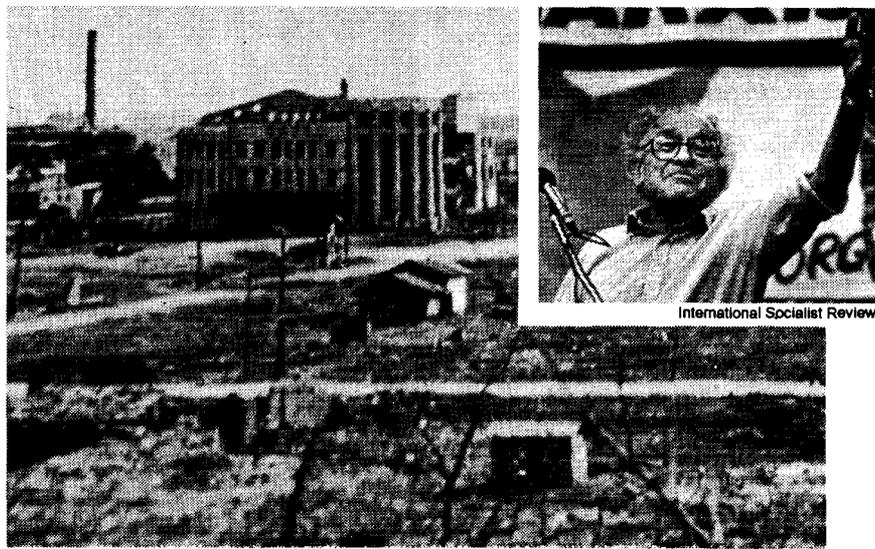


WV photo

veiled women and school teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read. The withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan was a direct prelude to counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself and this too Cliff's organisation foresaw *and criminally agitated for*. The SWP's American satellite, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) wrote, "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs" (*Socialist Worker*, May 1988). Tell that to the women, national minorities and leftists living in the utter hell of the Taliban's rule in Afghanistan today! In opposition to the pro-imperialist Cliffites, the International Communist League and Spartacist League/Britain proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend the gains of October to the Afghan peoples!" We also put our money where our mouth is and volunteered to form an international brigade to fight against the CIA (and SWP)-backed *mujahedin*. This offer was turned down by the Afghan government so instead we raised thousands of dollars of badly needed material aid for the victims of imperialism's anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan.

In 1989-90 the International Communist League mobilised our largest international intervention to bring the Trotskyist programme to the working masses of Germany. Against German imperialism's *anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany, we fought for revolutionary reunification of Germany — a red Germany of workers councils as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. While we took a side, an active part in the fight to defend and extend the gains of the international proletariat, Cliff's "third campists" backed imperialism, refusing to oppose counter-revolution in the East.

This class treason internationally is reflected domestically in the SWP's record of *scabbing* and *union-busting*. Cliff called the great British miners strike of 1984-85 prime evidence of his theory of the "downturn" in working class struggle, alibiing the Labour Party and TUC who were knifing the strike. We fought to spread the strike to other key industries, Cliff bragged about SWPers crossing miners picket lines: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe,



North Korean capital of Pyongyang devastated by US bombing during 1950-53 Korean War. Tony Cliff was expelled from Trotskyist movement for publicly opposing defence of North Korea, China against British and US imperialism.

they cross picket lines..." (Tony Cliff, speech at Conway Hall in London, 23 August 1984). Apparently this holds appeal for Pete Camarata, leading light of the American Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) which is a darling of the American ISO. This "opposition" in the Teamsters supported the election of Ron Carey, the "reformer" who gained office by bringing the capitalist government directly into the internal affairs of the union, *the better to bust the union*. In fact, in 1987 the TDU literally wrote — and sent to the Justice Department — the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganise" the union. We say: Government hands off the Teamsters! And we oppose all state intervention in the unions. In contrast the Cliffites have made themselves the cheerleaders for and in some cases the direct agents of capitalist state intervention in the union movement. The Cliffites' touching faith in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state to regulate "democracy" in the labour movement is of a piece with their appeal to cops and prison guards. Rejecting Lenin's clear description of the capitalist state's "armed bodies of men", the SWP whines, "Are all coppers really bastards?" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February).

Today, Blair's Labour Party also rejoices in the destruction of the USSR and pushes the imperialist myth that this means the "death of communism". This is the Labour government whose election the

SWP proclaimed itself to be "over the moon" about. Meanwhile back on earth, the Labour government the SWP campaigned for is carrying out its vicious and promised attacks on workers, minorities and immigrants for the benefit of City bankers. Blair's government drew first blood in Ireland, playing the Orange card against the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. The military provocations by Blair took place in the midst of the SWP's Marxism '97. But while the Spartacist League immediately issued a statement protesting this provocation, demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops, the SWP did nothing to mobilise against their new Labour rulers. Indeed, the SWP's capitulation to Labour has a long dirty history on the Irish question. When in 1969 a Labour government sent imperialist British troops to Northern Ireland, the Cliffites supported it with the grotesque justification that it would provide a "breathing space" for the oppressed Catholics! The SWP as a self-proclaimed "socialist alternative" to Labour is nothing but a pink fig leaf for British imperialism! As opposed to crawling for Labour, the Spartacist League follows Lenin's approach to split the base from the top of this bourgeois workers party and build an authentic Bolshevik Party which in Britain requires irreconcilable opposition to all forms of Labourism.

Today, the threat of capitalist counter-revolution looms over the Chinese deformed workers state. Decades of Stalinist misrule have severely undermined what remains of the planned, collectivised economy and have brought China to the brink of counterrevolution, which would mean bloody chaos and immiseration for a quarter of the world's population. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would heighten the imperialist scramble for the spoils and redivision of the vast markets and resources already being plundered by imperialism. These inter-imperialist rivalries have the very real possibility of leading to shooting wars, and this in the epoch of nuclear weapons. "Whither China?" is literally a question whose answer holds the fate of humanity in the balance.

There have been massive strikes against the impoverishment and immiseration of "market reforms", but time is short for the Chinese proletariat. The disaster of capitalist restoration can only be averted through the acquisition of *revolutionary political consciousness* and the mobilisation of the Chinese workers behind the Trotskyist programme of *proletarian political revolution*, to oust the pro-imperialist Stalinist bureaucracy and fight for socialist revolutions throughout Asia and beyond.

But for the SWP, China is just another "state capitalist" society, and once again

they scab on the struggle to defend the workers' gains from rapacious imperialism. After all, if you believe Cliff's fiction that the capitalists are already in power, then there's simply nothing there for the working class to defend. Scandalously, last year the SWP sided with the political heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who today run the brutal capitalist regime in Taiwan. As US warships plied the Taiwan Strait in a provocation against Beijing, the Cliffites claimed that "China's claim to Taiwan is a colonialist one. We would oppose any Chinese invasion of Taiwan as an act of imperialist aggression" (*Socialist Review*, April 1996). The SWP's support to their own bourgeoisie's bloody troops in Ireland and screaming opposition to China's self-defence against imperialist aggression exposes their hypocrisy and pseudo-socialist pretensions!

The origins of the Cliff tendency as renegades from Trotskyism come back to haunt the SWP today in the struggle against the South Korean dictatorship and the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in North Korea. Against the SWP's support to "democratic imperialism", we Spartacists fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea through a proletarian political revolution in the North against the grotesquely deformed Stalinist regime, uniting with the powerful proletariat in the South to wage a social revolution to rip the wealth out of the hands of the South Korean capitalists and bring down the dictatorship through the rule of democratically elected workers *soviets*. We fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 US troops from South Korea, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat to the deformed workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

To understand what kind of party the SWP is, it is necessary to recognise that there is a yawning gulf between the SWP's claim to be inheritors of Bolshevism and their actual programme and practice, which is social-democratic to the core. Hence they fear criticism from within their own ranks, and use lies, bureaucratic exclusionism, and violence against the Spartacist League in an attempt to censor the authentic politics of Trotskyism. Ironically, in this political cowardice and recourse to violence the Stalinophobic SWP apes Stalin's suppression of left opposition. We believe in the clash of opinion in open political debate. Those who joined the SWP looking for a revolutionary party, who don't want to spend the rest of their days voting for, pressurising and petitioning Labour ought to examine the programme and actions of Trotskyism as embodied in the International Communist League today.

We stand with James Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism, who said "We are the party of the Russian Revolution", and struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, necessary to fight for new October Revolutions. ■



Beijing, May 1989: Chinese workers rose up in opposition to Deng's pro-capitalist "reforms". Today China is at decisive turning point confronted with workers political revolution or capitalist enslavement.

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Labour...

(Continued from page 1)

II, Hitler's genocidal "final solution" against the Jews was extended to the Gypsies: hundreds of thousands were slaughtered in the death camps. And today, in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the minority Gypsy peoples of Slovakia and the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Poland, forced into ghettos that are utterly impoverished, face the renewed all-sided racist onslaught. If you're a Romany you board up your windows because fascist skinheads come at night under cover of darkness, armed with petrol bombs, equipped for murder. Vaclav Havel's Czech Republic, the darling of capitalist "democrats", declared Romanies to be stateless, to be brutally driven out. Havel's spokesman told an American investigator that the Gypsies were, "an unclean race with no history, no culture, no achievements". The anti-Gypsy Republican Party newspaper proclaims, "We Republicans are guilty of being racists and fascists for three reasons: firstly, because we are Czech, secondly because we are white, and thirdly because we are patriots. Gypsies might have protection under the law but for true citizens, Gypsies have none" [quoted in *The Big Issue*, 3-9 November 1997]. And they say it gets worse the further east you go.

Now it's literally true that there's a blood line that leads from the race-hate fascist terrorists in the Czech Republic to Dover and right to the front door of Tony Blair at No 10 Downing Street. It's a division of labour, in fact, between the fascists and the capitalist Labour government. For the Labour government, murderous anti-Roma cop and skinhead terror in Eastern Europe does not constitute good ground for refuge in Britain. So Labour immigration minister Mike O'Brien slams the door in their face, warning on Czech and Slovak TV that asylum seekers were, "not welcome" in Britain. And the pro-Blair capitalist press takes up the racist hue and cry: the *Independent*, 20 October [1997], headlined, "Gypsies invade Dover, hoping for a handout".

Remember, Blair led Labour to office in May wrapped in the Union Jack and with the British bulldog to symbolise its willing subservience to the City, to British imperialism. For the working class, Labour in government means all the Tory anti-union laws are enforced to defend capitalist profits; it means prison ships for disaffected youth; for the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland it means British troops clearing the way for Orange reaction; for refugees it means the horrors of Campsfield detention centre and likely deportation; for minorities especially it means racist "law and order". In Blair's "New Britain" it's not polite to say that Labour takes up where the hated Tories left off but that was plain to all even before the May elections. We said, no vote to Labour, no support for Labour class-traitors!

Official counts of racist attacks—twelve and a half thousand in England and Wales in the period 1995-6 which of course is only a fraction of the truth—is the highest recorded in Western Europe. We're talking now about Stephen Lawrence whose killers are still free. Of Ronnie Hinkson, a young black father stabbed to death outside a Camden Town wine bar on 14 September by a 20-strong gang of white racists. Yet of the two people arrested, one of them was a black friend of the murdered man who had himself been beaten unconscious by the killers. And petrol bombings are not the prerogative of Czech fascist killers alone, the same goes on in Britain as well. And while the cops cover up for the fascists, the Labour gov-

ernment covers up for numerous racist beatings, killings and frame-ups by the cops themselves.

Black and Asian people came to Britain after World War II from the former Empire colonies to take the lowest paid jobs and the longest hours. But as the postwar labour shortage came to an end the capitalist rulers whipped up racist anti-immigrant frenzy which prompted the Labour government of Harold Wilson to introduce the so-called principle of "patriality". That is, you had the right to immigrate and work in Britain only if your grandparents were born here. The purpose of the immigration laws is not to eliminate immigration but to exclude blacks and Asians. The working class must fight all racist immigration laws which the bourgeoisie uses to pit worker against worker, to split the working class along national and ethnic lines. The Spartacist League demands: Asylum for the refugee Roma! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! This is a key democratic demand which is vital in the struggle for proletarian internationalism, genuine in deeds as well as words. We are intolerant of all white-skin privilege, we oppose all privileges for any nation or nationality, and against all stripes of nationalism we are for voluntary, mutual integration and assimilation.

In and of itself, of course, even full formal legal citizenship under capitalism will not stop racist oppression of minorities condemned to the bottom of the heap of capitalist society, and it will not stop racist cop and fascist terror. The fascist thugs who today target Roma refugees and minorities seek ultimately the destruction of the organised workers movement. That is why in France fascists have attacked truck strike pickets with iron bars. Strike pickets, as Trotsky said, are the nucleus of future workers defence guards: workers and minorities must mobilise now and crush the fascist scum in the egg! This is no pipe-dream. In the autumn of 1936, 250,000 workers in the heavily Jewish East End of London battled the cops and stopped Oswald Mosley's blackshirted fascists from marching. It will take nothing short of a workers revolution which expropriates the entire bloodsucking capitalist ruling class to finally put an end to all forms of racism, to achieve genuine equality for all peoples.

The Spartacist League looks to the model of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party which in October 1917 led the first and only victorious proletarian revolution in history, not for the Russian working class only but for the workers of the world and to liberate all those oppressed under the tsarist empire. When the Russian workers took the revolutionary road to power they crushed the proto-fascist anti-Semitic thugs of the Black Hundreds. Even bourgeois commentators acknowledge that, for instance, "Gypsies, perse-



Workers Vanguard

Five thousand strong labour/black mobilisation, initiated by Spartacist League/US, stopped the fascist KKK in Washington, November 1982.

cuted since medieval times, enjoyed some security under communism" [*Observer*, 26 October 1997].

The October Revolution was the defining moment of the 20th century. However, although the collectivised planned economy which issued out of the October Revolution—the necessary foundation for building a workers state—survived encircled by hostile capitalist forces until the beginning of the 90s, the political rule of the working class led by Lenin's Bolsheviks was overturned about the time of Lenin's death in 1924. Not by the capitalists directly but by a bureaucratic reaction within the young Soviet Republic which had just emerged from a devastating civil war which defeated the imperialist armies of counterrevolution. Joseph Stalin led a political counterrevolution which destroyed the Bolshevik Party and robbed the Soviet working class of its own political rule. Under the slogan of building "socialism in one country" the bureaucracy broke with the proletarian internationalism which inspired the revolution—as the first break in the chain of imperialism. It broke with proletarian internationalism to pursue an anti-Marxist, anti-working class policy of accommodating the imperialists which eventually under Stalin's heirs was to open wide the floodgates of capitalist counterrevolution. We Trotskyists fought for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers as the only way of stopping capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, as we do in China today.

It was not communism which collapsed, but Stalinism. But the destruction of the degenerated Soviet workers state was a world-historic defeat for the proletariat. It was the Soviet Red Army, despite Stalinist treachery, which took the fascists apart like they were never taken apart, on the Eastern front in World War II. Today,



Searchlight

Fascist groups stage anti-Gypsy provocation in Dover, 15 November 1997. Mass trade union/minority action is needed to crush fascist scum.

capitalist counterrevolution has brought back the most vile capitalist degradation to the peoples of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Nazi skinheads flaunt swastikas and boast of their crimes from eastern Germany to Moscow.

The imperialist New World Disorder means intensified capitalist exploitation and misery for workers. It means intensified racist reaction as living standards for working people are driven down and the capitalist rulers seek scapegoats to divide the working class. Capitalist competition for profit spurs on the same inter-imperialist rivalry which has already twice this century led to devastating imperialist world war. That is what "Fortress Europe" is all about and what Tony Blair's "brave New Britain" is all about. The Spartacist League fights for new proletarian October Revolutions to defeat the imperialists and open the road to the socialist future which is the only future for humanity if human civilisation is not to end in a new, nuclear barbarism. That fight is primarily a struggle to build a Leninist vanguard party of the working class. As Trotsky put it, "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

The party we fight to build is not a party like the Labour Party ever was. Lenin's model was the tribune of the people against every bourgeois injustice, in every field of struggle against the capitalist rulers. The Labour Party was never the "political arm" of the trade unions in parliament but the political expression of the pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy resting on a narrow, "aristocratic", white, upper-most layer of the working class, a bureaucracy saturated with the political prejudices of bourgeois society, and politically limited by what is acceptable to the capitalists. It was the Labour Party of Keir Hardie, Clement Attlee and Nye Bevan which betrayed the international working class and supported the British capitalists in two imperialist world wars. In every struggle against the yoke of British imperialism the Labour "leaders" were on the wrong side. They cheered when James Connolly was executed by the British after the 1916 Easter Rising. They opposed the very idea of the Russian Revolution, and after World War II they were architects of NATO, Cold Warriors against the Soviet Union. They set up a Rat Line to rescue Nazi "freedom fighters" against the Soviet Union. They sent troops to fight a bloody war in Korea to "save" the world from communism. The last Labour government enforced a wage-slashing Social Contract austerity programme, used the army to break strikes and mobilised the police to defend the National Front provocations just as Blair is doing in Dover today. It was under a Labour home secretary that Blair Peach and Kevin Gately were mur-

dered by the cops. It was also the last Labour government which introduced disgusting virginity tests against Asian women seeking entry into Britain and prepared the racist Nationality Act which Thatcher made law in 1981.

The Labour Party is not just another party which supports capitalism but represents a reformist pro-capitalist tendency within the organised working class, a transmission belt for bourgeois politics within the workers movement which must be politically uprooted by the intervention of a revolutionary party in order to bring workers to a revolutionary consciousness of their historic interests as a class acting for itself. That is why our task as a revolutionary minority is to win the working-class base of the reformist misleaders — to split the working-class base from the top. Only when the trade unions are led by revolutionaries will they play the role of bastions of class-struggle unity.

The syphilitic chain of Labourism does not end with self-confessed Labourites. The Socialist Workers Party has recently been celebrating the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution with consummate hypocrisy, trying to palm themselves off as the Bolsheviks of our time. Much smaller, the Workers Power group claims the mantle of Trotskyism. The truth is that both of them supported Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary seizure of power in Moscow in 1991; both of them lined up to vote for Blair on May Day. Anti-Soviet abroad, pro-Labour at home, two sides of the same coin. The SWP don't like it when you point out that Labour in office is not some kind of workers government but a capitalist government. It's "their" Labour government, you see, that's why they're down at Brighton lobbying Blair to "tax the rich". Workers Power says that Labour must be forced to meet the needs of working people. But a Labour government can no more be forced to meet the needs of the working class than a Tory government: that's the problem with reformism. And it brings us to the crucial question of the capitalist state and how to crush fascism and racist terror.

The SWP peddles the myth that what took the wind out of the fascist National Front [NF] in the 1970s was its Anti Nazi League [ANL]. In fact the anti-immigrant racism of the National Front was channelled into support for Margaret Thatcher who now has confidence in Tony Blair, only unlike the SWP, Thatcher has not betrayed her class. The truth is, the ANL never stopped the NF and was never

intended to. It was set up by the Socialist Workers Party in late 1977 to court the support of "respectable" politicians from Neil Kinnock to outright bourgeois liberals in order to head off confrontations with fascists in the streets. The ANL appeals to the cross-class "anti-Nazi" myth which served British imperialism in World War II, which fought not to stop fascism but to despoil its rival, German imperialism, as in World War I. The real anti-fascist war was fought on the Eastern front and that war the SWP spits on. The ANL's appeal is social-patriotic, "socialism" maybe in words but essentially pro-capitalist and chauvinist. Look at the Anti Nazi League's call to demonstrate in Dover today: it makes no appeal whatsoever to defend the Gypsies against racism, no

against the fascists. 'We're black, we're white, we're dynamite', they sang. They stood in the sun together. Eighty thousand. No trouble. Magic" — *Socialist Worker*, 6 May [1978]. What they don't say is that next day, workers May Day, over a thousand fascists paraded unopposed through the streets of London for the first time in history. They could have been opposed, because the SWP leaders who knew the fascists were going to march, covered that up because they didn't want to alienate their social democratic and bourgeois liberal friends in the Anti Nazi League.

ANL Carnival number two was an even greater "success" for the ANL. Even more marched in the sun. Rock Against Racism. And this time, while the so-called anti-fascists were dancing in the sun in Brix-



Casablanca publications

Roma and Sinti people on pilgrimage to Auschwitz. Up to 500,000 Gypsies died in Nazi death camps.

appeal for the right to asylum. Instead it opposes the National Front for being Nazi, ie un-British, that is, German, get it? "Keep Dover Nazi-free." Actually the real flag of the British fascists is not, never has been the German swastika, but the bloody Union Jack, the same flag as Tony Blair. And that's the flag the National Front was waving around in Dover today.

Let's look at the three "great" events in the ANL's history. ANL Carnival number one: 30 April 1978 in London. Let's see what the SWP itself had to say about that. "Magic. They came in their thousands. They marched, they sang, they chanted. And more came.... Eighty thousand thronged the park, celebrating the rise

ton, the fascists were marching on Brick Lane in the East End of London, virtually unopposed, except for a few hundred anti-fascists including the Spartacist League, but without the strength to stop them. The fascists went largely unopposed because the ANL diverted the thousands to a carnival in Brixton while the fascists threatened the Asian community in Brick Lane in east London.

That is a history of betrayal. And the ANL today is no better. In 1993, against the BNP headquarters in Welling, the Anti Nazi League and the Militant's Youth Against Racism in Europe [YRE] paraded with 50,000 marchers. They demanded basically that the state shut down the BNP

headquarters. This is the banner the Spartacist League took on that demonstration: "Not wretched appeals to the capitalist state, but trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the fascists!" It is elementary for Marxists that you don't call on the capitalist state to stop your enemies, because the capitalist state is not neutral, as the SWP pretend. The SWP peddle a myth that the bourgeois cops and prison guards are in fact "workers in uniform". That's a lie. They're the capitalist state, and are necessarily brutal and racist to defend capitalist profits. It is criminal of Militant and the SWP to sow illusions that fascist terror will ever be stopped by the capitalist state.

The Anti Nazi League, whatever the good intentions within its ranks, is a popular-frontist, that is, a class-collaborationist, political obstacle to the struggle to crush fascist terror. The International Communist League fights for Trotsky's programme, his policy of the united front to mobilise workers and minorities, all the fascists' intended victims, to crush the fascists. The united front, unlike the Anti Nazi League, is an *action bloc* in which the opposing political tendencies and parties remain distinct, the revolutionary against the reformist. Then the workers and oppressed can learn in struggle that the only way to bury fascism for good is to make a revolution to overthrow the rule of capital and replace the shattered capitalist state with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, despite our sparse resources, the International Communist League has, over the years, been able to mobilise workers and minorities in exemplary actions which, in cities in the US and in Europe, have shown that the fascist hooligans can be stopped in their tracks.

To conclude. We are not in business simply to "oppose" the forces of racism and fascism: we mean to utterly defeat them. We take seriously the words of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels: "Workers of all countries unite." The Bolshevik party we seek to build will be an integrated party incorporating minority workers who we know will be the most steadfast fighters against capitalism. Our internationalist duty is clear to us: if and when Blair wages imperialist war against Iraq, we will again defend Iraq against the imperialists. We will lead the working class and the oppressed to crush the fascists and make a revolution precisely because we know who our enemies are — the British ruling class and its Labour lackeys. ■

Dublin...

(Continued from page 12)

this meeting, are looking for a "negotiated settlement" with British imperialism, pursued through the "good offices" of the southern Irish capitalist state and underwritten by US imperialism. The partition of Ireland and the resultant sectarian statelet of Northern Ireland, defined against the Catholic, clericalist state in the South, has served to reinforce the communal divide, and Protestant fears of incorporation into a Catholic state can well be utilised to precipitate a form of "ethnic cleansing". The situation is one of interpenetrated peoples, in which the Catholics are currently an oppressed minority, and the exercise of self-determination of one group can only be carried out at the expense of the other. Thus, there can be no just solution to the national oppression short of workers revolution. As proletarian internationalists, we oppose the nationalist, irredentist view that the Protestants should be forced into a unified Ireland. *We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles!* This will only come about by the

revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism, the Orange statelet and the clericalist state in the South.

Nationalism, the politics of Sinn Féin, is a bourgeois ideology, which is completely antithetical to our proletarian revolutionary strategy. Their destructive impact on any potential manifestation of Catholic and Protestant working-class unity was illustrated in 1993 when Hutchinson's UVF murdered a Catholic worker at Shorts factory in Belfast, and over 1000 mainly Protestant workers walked off the job in protest. Two weeks later the IRA was responsible for the criminal bombing of Protestant shoppers on the Shankill Road, with the result that the same Protestant workers went into the streets cursing the IRA and Catholics in general. There is a burning necessity for programmatically-based, anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror and imperialist rampage.

The need to mobilise the working class for its own independent class interest poses sharply the need for revolutionary leadership of the working class. The proletariat in the South can be an important lever in breaking down the sectarian divide in the North through intransigent

struggle against its own clericalist state, which is deeply oppressive of Travellers, immigrants and women. It is necessary to break the grip of Labourism on the working class, which means irreconcilable opposition to the politics of the Labour Party, its junior partners in Democratic Left and the trade union bureaucracy, including the DCTU. These misleaders tie the working class to the ruling class, pushing "social contract" deals and reactionary imperialist schemes for the North. The Irish Labour Party, with its long record of participation in capitalist governments, has been slavishly loyal to the clericalist state in southern Ireland.

The Socialist Party (SP) of Joe Higgins TD, which claims to be an "alternative" to Labour, has its own sordid record of publicly sponsoring Hutchinson in both Dublin and Belfast. Together with this outfit's scandalous refusal to raise the elementary call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland the SP exposes the *pro-imperialist* core of its politics! Given their pandering to such reactionary forces as Hutchinson, it is no surprise that the SP in the South supports the bourgeoisie's reactionary anti-drugs "law and order" campaign with its neces-

sary incitement of anti-immigrant racism and anti-Traveller vigilantism.

As part of our struggle to forge a Leninist party to overthrow capitalism we seek to mobilise the working class to fight for the interests of all the oppressed. We fight for free abortion on demand and women's liberation through socialist revolution. We fight for trade union defence of Traveller halting sites against racist vigilante and state attack such as happened in Cabinteely, Co. Dublin, this summer. The extreme anti-abortion bigots of Youth Defence have a fascist core and since January these scum have besieged the Marie Stopes clinic in Merrion Square! We fight for the working class to mobilise to sweep away this reactionary provocation. Fascistic outfits like the UVF in the North, and the clerical fascists of Youth Defence must be crushed in the egg.

Both the Dublin Spartacist Group and the Spartacist League/Britain, as part of the International Communist League, are fighting for the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to lead the working class of both islands — Scottish, Irish, Welsh and English — in a fight for workers revolution on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. ■

Korea...

(Continued from page 5)

Coming atop decades of imperialist military encirclement and starvation embargo, the demise of the Soviet Union and the Beijing bureaucracy's drive towards capitalist restoration have pushed the North Korean deformed workers state into near-terminal decline, with wide swathes of the country beset by famine. Under the regime of Kim Jong Il and his father, "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, the Pyongyang bureaucracy has pursued the autarkic programme of *Juche* (self-reliance), a variant of the Stalinist nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" infused with Korean mythology. Until his death in 1994, Kim Il Sung was idolised by many radical students in the South as a Korean "patriot" who fought Japanese colonialism and later US imperialism. In fact, the North Korean Stalinists have always opposed the fight to extend social revolution throughout the peninsula, calling instead for "peaceful reunification" under nationalist colours — a recipe for *capitalist* reunification. Today, Kim Jong Il pleads for better relations with the US and South Korea as an "urgent requirement".

The South Korean proletariat has time and again demonstrated its capacity for



Protester attacked as troops drowned 1980 Kwangju Insurrection in blood. US gave green light for slaughter of 2000 workers and leftists by military dictator Chun Doo Hwan, seen here with US president Reagan in 1981.



UPI photos

ity than Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs denounced it. Describing the IMF as a "small, secretive institution" which has the power to "dictate economic conditions of life to 75 developing countries", Sachs fumed: "The IMF threw together a draconian programme for Korea in just a few days, without deep knowledge of the country's financial system and without any

fested in Washington's threat two months ago to embargo Japanese shipping on the West Coast.

Displaying unalloyed imperialist arrogance, the *New York Times* (14 December 1997) ran a front-page headline exulting in "Asia's Surrender", while a piece in *U.S. News & World Report* (8 December 1997) was titled "How the Far East Was Won"! The American bourgeoisie has seized on the burgeoning financial crisis in Southeast and East Asia to impose its interests in the region, using the IMF as its instrument of choice. In the wake of the IMF bailout of Thailand, foreign investors have been busily buying up local banks. And the "opening" of South Korea — with an economy bigger than those of Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia combined — could be a bonanza for US and Japanese moneymen alike.

But Wall Street brokers may not be grinning for long. In commenting on last October's stock market crash in "Death of Communism' Myth Goes Splat" (*WV* no 677, 31 October 1997), we wrote: "The question yet to be answered is whether the latest crash is also a prelude to depression." In the wake of the South Korean collapse, that question is being raised by bourgeois commentators as well. Japan, already beset by seven years of economic downturn, has been plagued by a series of financial collapses in recent weeks, including the century-old Yamaichi Securities. If the devaluation of the *won* — which plunged 72 per cent against the dollar in the past month alone — is combined with a sustained economic collapse in Japan, this could put enormous pressure on the US economy. "There is nothing to stop the coming shock to U.S. trade", the Salomon Brothers brokerage firm recently warned investors (*U.S. News & World Report*, 8 December 1997). The article observed:

"As a declining currency makes exports cheaper, trading partners begin to retaliate with tariffs and beggar-thy-neighbor policies.

"The last time a major industrial country faced these conditions was 1929 — and the result was a worldwide depression."

As inter-imperialist rivalries sharpen, we fight to win workers in the US, Japan and other imperialist countries to the understanding that *the main enemy is at home*. This means, first and foremost, a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist labour tops. Even as it turns a blind eye to the barrage of attacks being levelled at the labour movement in the wake of the victorious UPS strike, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is wallowing in its successful protectionist campaign to stop Democratic president Clinton's "fast track" trade proposal. Along with their latest phoney "friend of labour", Democratic Congressman Richard Gephardt, the union misleaders seek to rally working people behind the banner of imperialist chauvinism. The Spartacist League fights to break workers and minorities from the racist, capitalist Democrats and to forge a revolutionary workers party to sweep away the US bourgeoisie, the most rapacious power on earth.

Front line in the Cold War

In a recent spread on South Korea, the British *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1997) claims that in 1953 "Korea was partitioned between the pro-Russian North and pro-US South after a war between client states of the superpowers which claimed four million Korean lives." This "third camp" rendition of the Korean War is part of the Cliffite school of falsification, aimed at alibiing Cliff's capitulation to Anglo-US imperialism.

In fact, US occupation forces, with Stalin's criminal acquiescence, divided the



Thames Television

Imperialism's bid to "roll back" communism in Korea 1950, was stopped by Soviet-backed Chinese forces, and led to Cold War division of Korea.

militant struggle, not least in last year's general strike against Kim Young Sam's anti-labour law. But it has lacked a political party organised independently of the capitalist rulers. This year, the KCTU fielded a candidate in South Korea's presidential elections. But far from seeking to rally the working masses in struggle against South Korea's capitalist rulers, the "People's Victory 21" campaign headed by former KCTU leader Kwon Young Kil is a class-collaborationist lash-up, including various liberal groups, which promotes nationalist opposition to "foreign interference", blending in with bourgeois rhetoric which seeks to deflect class anger away from the domestic exploiters. This has not prevented the South Korean International Socialists from supporting Kwon's candidacy as a "step forward" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 22 November 1997).

The South Korean proletariat can go forward only on the basis of complete and unconditional independence from the bourgeoisie. This is all the more urgent today, as the South Korean ruling class seeks to line the workers up to sacrifice their livelihoods and struggles in order to appease imperialist dictates.

US imperialism and IMF austerity

The IMF package imposed on South Korea is so severe that no less an author-

subtly as to how to approach problems" (*Financial Times*, 11 December 1997). Sachs ought to know what's drastic — he is the architect of the "shock therapy" which has driven millions of workers in the former Soviet Union to the brink of starvation. Sachs expected the imperialist rulers to adopt a rational, far-sighted approach to capitalist counterrevolution and pour billions into Russia to erect a stable capitalist economy there as part of a post-Soviet "New World Order".

But capitalism is anything but rational. As we have repeatedly observed, the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 ushered in an era of heightened inter-imperialist competition, as the conflicting interests of the major imperialist powers were no longer subsumed in a (US-led) anti-Soviet alliance. Germany, Japan and the US have each sought to carve out trade blocs and spheres of influence, with the latter two in particular engaged in fierce competition in the Asian Pacific region. Seeking to reassert the imperialist hegemony it exercised in the aftermath of World War II, the US proclaimed a "one superpower" world following the collapse of the USSR. While continuing to ratchet up the rate of exploitation of workers and slashing social programmes benefiting the poor and all manner of minorities in the US, the American ruling class has also engaged in an aggressive trade war, ominously mani-

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country at the 38th parallel only days after landing on the peninsula in 1945. In the North, the Kim Il Sung regime, basing itself on the Soviet Army, proceeded to expropriate the capitalists and landlords, carrying out a social revolution from above. In the South, the US imperialists and their local lackeys — Japanese soldiers, colonial police and the capitalists, who had previously loyally served the brutal Japanese occupation — proceeded to suppress a series of massive worker/peasant upheavals. The 1950-53 war — in which some three to four million people were killed and North Korea was virtually levelled — was a continuation of this counterrevolutionary policy by US imperialism, targeting as well the Chinese deformed workers state which had issued out of the victory of Mao Zedong's peasant-based guerrilla forces in 1949. While the last Soviet forces had been withdrawn from the North by 1948, US troops remained in the South to prop up its hand-picked puppet, Syngman Rhee, followed by one dictatorial regime after another.

While Washington poured billions of dollars into South Korea to maintain a militarily strategic base of operations for its Cold War designs, on an economic level the US sought to make South Korea subordinate to Japan. As late as the 1970s, the North Korean economy was stronger than that in the South. At the same time, South Korea's position as a key Cold War asset gave the weak local bourgeoisie some leeway. When military strongman Park Chung Hee took power in a 1961 coup, he embarked on a programme of forced-pace industrialisation, funnelling the huge funds derived from the US military presence, as well as Japanese financial and technological assistance, to develop the *chaebol*, many of whose founders had gotten their start servicing the American occupation. Between 1965 and 1973, Seoul got more than \$2 billion for services rendered to US imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, through lucrative contracts to supply American forces and as payment for the 300,000 South Korean troops shipped off to fight there.

Japanese investment in South Korea took off in the 1960s, especially after Park signed a "normalisation" treaty in 1965. Park used some \$800 million in Japanese aid and investment to build the most efficient integrated steel mill in the world — despite American objections — laying the basis for large shipbuilding and auto industries. South Korea imported parts and equipment from Japan and exported finished products to the US. When South Korea faced a serious financial crisis — and IMF demands — in 1980, it was bailed out with Japanese assistance, including a massive \$4 billion loan package on favourable terms.

However, as the huge *chaebol* operations — epitomised by the gigantic shipworks of Hyundai Heavy Industries — began to compete with Japan and the US on the world market, Japanese capitalists began to withhold the most modern technology from their South Korean "partners". As long as the Soviet Union existed, US ruling circles were unwilling to risk destabilising South Korea by imposing protectionist measures against Hyundai or Samsung, or by pressuring Seoul into opening up financial markets. With the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the interests of the US in the peninsula have shifted. Counterrevolution in North Korea remains one of its goals, but a stronger South Korean bourgeoisie is not. When South Korea's rulers pleaded for assistance from Washington and Tokyo this time around, they had the door slammed in their faces.

The American military presence on the peninsula is not only a dagger aimed at the North Korean and Chinese deformed



Chung Kyung-ryul

Workers took to the streets in general strike one year ago against anti-labour laws. At January 1997 solidarity demonstration in Tokyo (below), a Korean-language sign carried by Spartacist Group Japan contingent reads, "Korean workers need a Bolshevik Party!"

Spartacist Japan



workers' states but an assertion of US interests in the region against the South Korean bourgeoisie and Japanese imperialism. It also serves as a warning to South Korea's working masses, threatening to drown in blood any challenge to the capitalist order. From their suppression of the "autumn harvest" rising in 1946 to orchestrating the bloody Kwangju massacre of 1980, in which some 2000 people were killed to put down an insurrectionary revolt, US forces have been a key bulwark for counterrevolutionary repression on the peninsula. Yet not once in nine articles on Korea over the past two years has the American Cliffite *Socialist Worker* raised the call for US troops out. (Indeed, only one, reporting on South Korean student protests, even mentioned the US military presence.) This underscores our characterisation of the "third camp" as the *camp of imperialism*.

Acting as "third campists" of the second mobilisation is a group grandiosely calling itself the "International Bolshevik Tendency", formed by defectors from the Spartacist tendency who couldn't stomach our hard Soviet-defencist line at the height of Reagan's Cold War II. In a lengthy article on last year's strikes in South Korea against the anti-labour laws, these counterfeit "Trotskyists" do not once raise the call for defence of the North Korean deformed workers state, nor do they so much as mention the US military presence in the South, even as they scream to "dislodge the crumbling bureaucratic dictatorship in the North" (1917, [March] 1997).

In the first instance a capitulation to imperialism, the line of the "third camp" in South Korea represents an embrace of the interests of the *chaebol* bourgeoisie.

The Cliffites demonstrated this even as their own comrades were dragged off to prison under the National Security Law (see "Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *WV* no 574, 23 April 1993). At the time of ISSK leader Choi's arrest, the Cliffites assured the anti-Communist regime that "he had not broken the National Security Law by reading banned literature from the North or belonging to a foreign organization. On the contrary, he had published books critical of regimes like North Korea" (*Socialist Worker* [US], February 1993).

At the same time, the Cliffites uphold the social-democratic notion that the bourgeois cops can be won to the side of the working class. This line is particularly grotesque in South Korea, where every strike or student protest comes up against battalions of murderous police clad in Darth Vader outfits. Cliff's followers are

also notorious internationally for crossing picket lines, including during the momentous year-long miners strike in Britain in 1984-85.

For a Trotskyist party in Korea!

The Korean proletariat must reappropriate the history of the pioneer labour militants who were won to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky and fought heroically against Japanese colonialism from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. In its "Statement of Mission", the Korean Labour Federation, founded in 1925, proclaimed: "Our purpose is to liberate the working class and to build a completely new society. We will fight with the capitalist class with the collective power of the workers until a final victory is won" (quoted in Martin Hart-Landsberg, *The Rush to Development: Economic Change and Political Struggle in South Korea* [1993]).

The courage and combativity of the South Korean proletariat have been amply demonstrated in the struggles to forge independent unions in defiance of the police-state regime over the past 30 years. Thousands were imprisoned or killed for labour's cause. To this day, South Korean workers commemorate Chon Tae-il, a Seoul textile worker who immolated himself in November 1970 to protest anti-labour repression. Following his death, Chon's mother founded the Chonggye Garment Workers Union, one of the first independent unions. Throughout the 1970s, young women workers — many of them brought in from the countryside to work up to 16 hours a day in stifling sweatshops for no more than the price of a cup of coffee — played a key role in organising trade unions. Their heroic efforts, in the face of brutal degradation and terror by company thugs and legions of cops, paved the way for the subsequent formation of unions in heavy industry in the 1980s.

To become conscious of its historic tasks, the South Korean proletariat must champion the cause of all the oppressed, from the fight for women's emancipation to the defence of Filipino and other immigrant workers. As we wrote in "For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!" (*WV* no 612, 9 December 1994):

"Only a party grounded in revolutionary internationalism can lead the South Korean proletariat to power against the *chaebol* bourgeoisie and oust the bureaucratic caste in Pyongyang through workers political revolution. A Trotskyist party would draw in all the oppressed behind the working class, basing itself on the program of permanent revolution. Only proletarian state power can emancipate the country from the stranglehold of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and resolve the belated tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Against the Stalinist/Confucian glorification of the family, which serves to maintain the age-old subjugation of women, a revolutionary workers party would act as a tribune of the people, fighting all manifestations of social oppression." ■

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Ireland

For free abortion on demand!

DUBLIN—The issue of abortion has again hit the headlines. Called the “C” case, a young Traveller woman of 13, pregnant after an alleged rape, wanted an abortion. The Irish state threatened to impound her, forcing her to go through with the pregnancy. This was an absolute outrage! The young woman was eventually allowed to travel to Britain for an abortion, but only after being dragged through the courts and hounded by the media for over two weeks in an ordeal which embodied the clericalist state’s endemic anti-woman bigotry and anti-Traveller prejudice. Alongside the forces of the church and state arrayed against her, the anti-abortion bigots of Youth Defence seized on the case, and set up a fund for the parents of “C” to finance legal representation with the aim of preventing the abortion. On 29 November these thugs mobilised against a “Pro-Choice Campaign” demonstration called in response to the “C” case carrying posters depicting dead foetuses, and attacked a rally speaker.

The clericalist Irish state is deeply reactionary and sets the stage for offensives by SPUC and Youth Defence. We have warned that Youth Defence is an organisation of extreme anti-abortion bigots, which harbours a violent, clerical-fascist core. Behind SPUC and Youth Defence, lurk outfits like Opus Dei and the Knights of Colomanus, sinister arms of the Catholic Church. The right to abortion is an explosive question in Irish society; legal abor-



Tony O'Shea

November 1997: Dublin Abortion Rights Group demonstration at the Dáil called in response to the “C” case.

tion rights would come up against the active resistance of the Catholic Church, which has effective control of most hospitals, and reactionary mobilisations by Youth Defence. The fight for the separation of church and state is integral to the struggle for elementary rights for women like free abortion on demand. This has to be part of the struggle to overthrow the clericalist capitalist state in Ireland.

Youth Defence’s campaign against abortion around the “C” case, is only the latest in a series of provocations. For

months, Youth Defence have besieged the Marie Stopes women’s clinic in Dublin intimidating any woman from entering. *Defend the Marie Stopes Clinic!* They have appeared on Dublin campuses and launched a physical attack on a Socialist Party bookstall at UCD campus in September. Bearing grotesque posters of foetuses, two thugs targeted a lone Socialist Party paper seller, shouting “baby murderers”! Two supporters of the Dublin Spartacist Group successfully helped to repulse this provocation.

We fight for working class mobilisations to stop Youth Defence/SPUC reaction. Mobilisations of the organised working class, with the power to shut down society, are critical to driving the fascists back into their holes. But to achieve this, it is necessary to politically confront the reformist misleaders of the Labour Party/Democratic Left and the trade union bureaucrats who tie the working class to the capitalist order.

Joe Higgins, TD for the “sewer socialists” of the Socialist Party, has pointedly refused to raise the call for free abortion on demand either in his election campaign or in the Dáil. The Workers Solidarity Movement, under the guise of the Dublin Abortion Rights Group, calls for free abortion for “all women who wish to terminate their pregnancies”. But none of these groups will link the struggle for abortion rights to the fight against Youth Defence and the forces of clerical reaction. This fight is an essential component of building a party capable of leading the working class to establishing its own rule.

In their leaflet on the “C” case, the SWP calls for free, safe and legal abortion, an advance on their position during the 1992 “X case” of calling only for abortion rights for rape victims. Unlike 1992 when the SWP did not want to go against the Labour Party in the then-upcoming elections, they now feel free to raise this elementary demand against a Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat government. In the recent presidential elections, they supported Labour’s anti-worker, *anti-abortion* candidate, Adi Roche, claiming that: “A big vote for Adi Roche could have been a signal that many want to resist the right” (*Socialist Worker [Ireland]*, 18 October-1 November 1997). This underscores that at the core of their politics is pro-Labourism.

As revolutionaries, we fight for women’s liberation through socialist revolution. Our model is the Russian Revolution which laid the material basis for the liberation of women by the establishment of a planned economy. ■

Workers movement has nothing to discuss with UVF murderer Billy Hutchinson!

We reprint below a Dublin Spartacist Group leaflet first distributed at a Dublin Council of Trade Unions public meeting on 15 November 1997.

The Dublin Council of Trade Unions (DCTU) has invited Billy Hutchinson, a Loyalist murderer, to speak at their public meeting entitled “The Peace Process: a Trade Union View” on 15 November. Hutchinson is an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) murderer convicted for the sectarian murder of two Catholics, Michael Loughran and Edward Morgan. He says he has “nothing to apologise for”. That the DCTU, a trade union body, should give Hutchinson a platform is an affront to the memory of all the Catholic victims of the Loyalist death squads. The workers movement has nothing to “discuss” with Loyalist murderers!

Billy Hutchinson is a spokesman for the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) which is nothing more than a front for the

Dublin Labourites scandalously host murderer of Catholics

fascistic UVF. The UVF are responsible for perpetrating some of the most savage sectarian atrocities since the beginning of “the Troubles”, from the “Shankill Butchers” in the mid-1970s, to the 1974 Dublin bombings, to “spray jobs” in Catholic-frequented pubs and bookmakers’ shops. It has well known links to British fascists, including the Hitler-lovers of Combat 18.

The fascistic Loyalist paramilitaries are a deadly danger to the workers movement and the oppressed. As part of the imperialist “peace” process, the ruling class seeks to present Loyalist reactionaries as the legitimate representatives of the Protestant working class. The trade union bureaucracy in the

South is complicit in this, promoting such lies from within the workers movement, and that is precisely what the DCTU’s embrace of Hutchinson is all about, seeking to lull the working class into ignoring this danger, all in the interests of promoting the imperialist “peace” deal.

This “peace” fraud is predicated on the continued presence of the blood-soaked British army—which backs up the viciously sectarian RUC and emboldens the Loyalist gangs—imposing bloody communalist divide-and-rule on the working class. We have repeatedly warned that any imperialist “peace” “will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the

expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either” (*Workers Hammer* no 138, November/December 1993). The Labour Parties on both sides of the Irish Sea are up to their eyes in this fraud. Dick Spring was one of the main brokers for this “deal”. One of the first acts of Tony Blair’s New Labour government was to send in hundreds of British soldiers and RUC on to the Garvaghy Road clearing the way for the Orange Order’s march through a Catholic enclave. From the Garvaghy Road and Ormeau Road annual marches of Loyalist triumphalism to the brutal sectarian murders of two young Catholics Bernadette Martin and James Morgan, the imperialist “peace process” has fuelled anti-Catholic terror. *We call for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland!*

Sinn Féin, who are also participating in
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