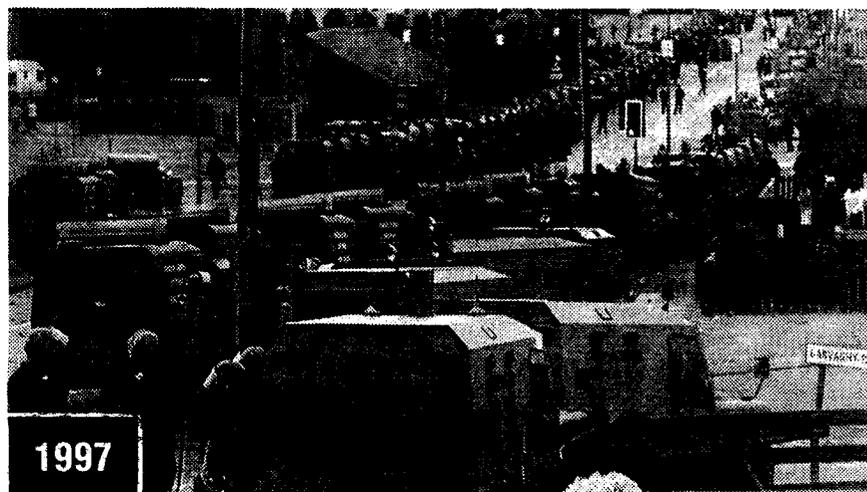


No vote to Socialist Alliance: lackeys of Labour!

No vote to Labour: imperialist butchers!



1997
British Army and RUC occupation of Cathanic Garvaghy Road, Northern Ireland. Train crashes at Southall 1997, Paddington 1999 and Hatfield (right) killed 42 people. Below: NATO terror bombing devastated Pristina, Serbia.

For four years the Labour government has proven to be an effective instrument for administering British imperialism. As in the rest of Europe, social democrats have spearheaded the dismantling of the "welfare state"; Blair, Jospin, Schröder etc have been serving their imperialist masters well, dishing out all-round attacks on the working class and whipping up racist hysteria. With the Tories in disarray, Blair's New Labour is again the preferred party of government for the ruling class.

Following capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which wreaked economic and social devastation, rivalries between the imperialist powers have sharpened. With the world capitalist economies teetering on the brink of a major recession, rivalries will escalate over the long-sought-after prize — the restoration of capitalism in China. Labour was the most bellicose of the NATO governments during the Balkans War, which had nothing to do with protecting the Kosovo Albanians and everything to do with establishing a NATO imperialist presence in the region. Labour joins with US imperialism in bombing Iraq; likewise Blair supports Bush's military machinations against the Chinese deformed workers state, including "Star Wars" missile defence. We say: Defend China against imperialist attack!

The infrastructure of British capitalist society is crumbling: it is unsafe to eat the food and dangerous to travel on the trains. Labour's record includes British Army rampage in Northern Ireland; privatisation schemes for the health service, London Underground and air traffic control; mass sackings and plant closures; tuition fees for students. In anticipation of resistance they have



1999

passed draconian legislation to enforce all of the above. Meanwhile, economic depression and the attendant growth in unemployment create a breeding ground for fascism. Labour and Tory politicians have whipped up racism to the point where the Council of Europe berated them for creating a "xenophobic and intolerant" climate and murderous attacks against blacks, Asians and other minorities are commonplace. Outrageously, Britain's Chinese population has been scapegoated by the government for the foot-and-mouth epidemic.

However, there are clear signs that the working class across Europe has had enough. The current wave of class struggles in France is a clear example and in Britain last year's fuel blockade put the widely despised Labour government on the ropes. We supported the blockades and the demand for lower fuel prices, which is in the direct interest of workers, while by and large the pro-Labour "left" quaked in fear of this protest against "their" government. Although the pro-

**The working class needs
a revolutionary party!**



2000

Economist

tests were initiated by petty-bourgeois farmers and hauliers, we called for a tanker drivers strike which could have transformed the massively popular protests into a mighty class battle against the hated Labour government. More recently, the multiethnic workforce of London Underground has staged one-day strikes against privatisation which brought the city to a standstill.

Blair wants to remodel Labour as an openly bourgeois party along the lines of the Democratic Party. Its support among workers has fallen dramatically and the Labour "left" is defunct. Tony Benn, leader of the Labour "left" for decades, now retiring, is worried that in the midst of anger and disaffection among workers, youth and minorities, illusions in parliamentarism have been eroded. As a parting shot to parliament (in addition to saying "I love the place") he said: "The real danger to democracy is not that someone will burn Buckingham Palace and run up the Red Flag but people won't vote. If people don't vote they

destroy by neglect the legitimacy of the Government that's been elected" (*Times*, 23 March).

Enter the Socialist Alliance (SA) which claims it marks "the most serious socialist challenge to the Labour Party in more than a generation". The SA is dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) with other fake-Trotskyist outfits in tow such as Workers Power, the Alliance for Workers Liberty, Socialist Outlook and the Socialist Party. One look at its election programme, which from start to finish is pure reformist drivel such as "Tax the rich to rebuild the welfare state", purely within the confines of capitalism and within the shores of Britain, makes clear that their goal is to pressure Labour to reform capitalism. We say: No vote to the Socialist Alliance! Despite their pretensions to being a socialist alternative, they are *not* opposed to New Labour. The SWP's line in areas where the SA do not have a candidate (ie the vast majority of seats) is: "Our approach in the coming election should be 'vote Socialist where you can, vote Labour where you must'" (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001). *The Socialist Alliance are pimps for Tony Blair, seeking to channel the heartfelt anger of workers, youth and minorities back into the rotten mould of parliamentary politics and to refurbish Labour's image.*

We also say no vote to the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) who have joined forces with the Socialist Alliance to form a Britain-wide campaign. While the SA's campaign is restricted to England

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Labour...

(Continued from page 1)

and Wales, the SSP intends to stand in all 72 Scottish constituencies. Together the SA and SSP will present candidates in roughly 25 per cent of all Westminster seats. The SSP is a thoroughly reformist, parliamentarist party, identical in most respects to the components of the Socialist Alliance except that where the English-based groups capitulate to Labour, the SSP adapts to the bourgeois Scottish National Party, who have been steadily gaining ground at the expense of Labour in Scotland.

We said no vote to Labour in 1997, unlike all the groups who now form the Socialist Alliance. And again we say: No vote to Labour, imperialist butchers! The Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, fights for the construction of an internationalist revolutionary party to lead a revolution which will overthrow the archaic "United" Kingdom, dominated by southern England finance capital and served by "Her Majesty's" parliament. The strategic task of revolutionaries is to break the working class politically from the grip of Labour and from all illusions in obtaining a better deal through parliament. Throughout the last century these illusions, particularly when passed off as "socialist" policies by Labour "lefts", have fettered the working class in every decisive confrontation with the British ruling class.

The case for workers revolution to

expropriate the capitalist class and begin the implementation of a collectivised and rationally planned economy could not be more compelling. The issues which propel workers and youth into struggle — racism, de-industrialisation, imperialist bombing, increasing poverty — cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism, nor within the confines of Britain itself. Our perspective is an international one. We seek to mobilise workers in a fight for their class interests, transcending national boundaries. This means mobilising the working class in opposition to all forms of Labourism.

At the press conference launching the Socialist Alliance election campaign on 1 March we asked a few questions which embarrassed the assembled "socialists". Noting that the call for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and from the Balkans had appeared in an earlier draft programme but had disappeared from the version distributed to the bourgeois press, our comrade asked if this was because it was controversial within the Alliance, or just not considered important. SA chairman Dave Nellist of the Socialist Party refused to answer, even when pressed by *Guardian* journalist Polly Toynbee, saying the issue had not been decided. Needless to say their "priority policies for the general election" do not mention British troops, or Ireland. And as for Serbia, it's a case of "don't mention the war".

When asked if their brand of "socialism" can be achieved without a revolution, Nellist tried to dodge the question, then sputtered: "it depends what you

mean by revolution. There are revolutions going on — there's a revolution in education, the Internet revolution, a shopping revolution — we want to see society reorganised, we want to revolutionise society"! These latter-day Labour "lefts" actually manage to make "Old Labour" parliamentarians look flaming pink! Polly Toynbee aptly captured the measure of these housetrained Labourites when she wrote that their "real aim is to shift Labour policies" (*Guardian*, 2 March).

The Socialist Alliance's gross capitulation to their own bourgeoisie is crystal clear: consciously removing any hint of opposition to British troops in Northern Ireland; refusing to oppose the bombing of Serbia, the biggest military conflagra-

adorned the statue of Winston Churchill with a mohican hairdo, which sent Tory and Labour politicians ballistic. The denizens of the Socialist Alliance were otherwise engaged, electioneering for Ken Livingstone who, true to form, fully backed the massive police operation mobilised against the demonstrators. And today, although the SWP goes absolutely ga-ga over demonstrations against so-called "globalisation" in Seattle, Washington, Prague, Nice and Genoa, London's MayDay 2000 doesn't rate a mention, because it was anti-Labour. The SWP's purpose in orienting towards "anti-capitalist" mobilisations is to sink their parliamentarist Labourite hooks into radical youth. Their Labourism does not sit well with many youth who cer-



Workers Hammer

February 20: Spartacus Youth Group campus protest as US/Britain bomb Iraq.



TROTSKY

The fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat v parliamentarism

The Second Congress of the Communist International addressed the task of building parties of a fundamentally different type than those of the Second International which meant breaking from Social Democracy. The Congress affirmed the need for parties to participate in parliament as an auxiliary to their revolutionary activity. It also set out its opposition to parliamentarism in the theses below.



LENIN

1. Parliamentarism as a state system has become a "democratic" form of rule for the bourgeoisie. At a certain stage in its development it needs the fiction of a popular governing body that outwardly appears to be an organization of "the popular will," standing outside the classes, but in essence is a machine wielded by ruling capital for oppression and subjugation....

4. Bourgeois parliaments, among the most important organizations of the bourgeois state machine, cannot as such be taken over permanently, just as the proletariat cannot possibly take over the bourgeois state. The proletariat's task is to break up the bourgeoisie's state machine and to destroy it, and with it parliamentary institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist....

6. Thus, communism rejects parliamentarism as a form of the future society. It rejects it as a form of dictatorship by the proletarian class. It rejects the possibility of taking over parliaments on a permanent basis; its goal is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is possible to speak only of using bourgeois state institutions for the purpose of destroying them. The question can be posed in this sense and in this sense alone.

— Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920

tion in Europe since World War II; they also refuse to defend China against imperialism. For revolutionary internationalists, opposition to one's "own" bourgeoisie is mandatory. During NATO's war against Serbia ICL sections fought for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and for defence of Serbia. Today we demand: All imperialist troops out of the Balkans! We fight for unconditional military defence of China, a deformed workers state, against imperialist attack and against internal counterrevolution, and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, who are paving the way for imperialist-backed capitalist restoration.

Opposition to British imperialism in Ireland is a key test for leftists in Britain. We stand with Karl Marx who insisted that the English working class must oppose the chauvinism against Ireland which the English ruling class uses to maintain its rule. In 1870 he wrote that the "ordinary English worker" "feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself". The chauvinism Marx identified is exactly what the Socialist Alliance panders to today. We demand British troops out of Northern Ireland now, and oppose Labour's imperialist "peace" fraud which is premised on the British troops remaining in place. It has led to mass Orange mobilisations and increased violence against the oppressed Catholics, deepening the sectarian divide between Protestant and Catholic workers. We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

The SA's election campaign is to the right of many sections of society, especially those workers and minorities who are seething with anger against New Labour and wouldn't dream of casting a vote for them. The SA's nefarious role was demonstrated last year in London when anarchist-influenced MayDay 2000 demonstrators had fun with certain hideous symbols of patriotism, famously

tainly didn't join the SWP to find themselves telling workers to vote for Blair, and even outright bourgeois parties such as the Greens. A letter writer in *Socialist Worker* (17 March) spoke for many when he said: "Personally, you would have to hold a gun to my head to make me vote for the miserable anti working class shower going under the name of 'New Labour'."

The Socialist Party, although ensconced in the SA, has a different line than the SWP, saying "it would be wrong to conclude...that socialists should call on workers to vote Labour in areas where no socialist candidates are standing" (*Socialist Today*, April 2001). Sounds good, but this is contradicted by their call for a vote to the Socialist Alliance, which is dominated by groups who uphold the "eleventh commandment" of the British left: thou shalt vote Labour to keep the Tories out. The Socialist Party's aim is to harness the discontent against Labour into a "new mass workers party". They say: "to put pressure on Labour and give working-class people a real choice, a new socialist alternative must be built, to challenge big-business power and begin a socialist redistribution of wealth towards working-class people" (*Socialist*, 29 September 2000).

Tube workers must fight Livingstone and Labour!

The Socialist Alliance's central campaign slogan is "Stop privatisation — bring rail back into public ownership". Renationalisation of the deadly dangerous privatised railways is rational even from the perspective of the bourgeoisie, as shown by an article in the *Independent* (4 December 2000): "The capitalist case for renationalising the railways". Contrary to Labourite myth, this is not a socialist measure. Nationalised industry and transport under capitalism is not run in the interests of working people, but to enable the capitalists to increase their profits. The SA backed Livingstone for mayor on the grounds

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WORKERS HAMMER

For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!
For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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Down with Labour's Terrorism Act!

On 19 February, three days after British aircraft terror bombed Baghdad, Labour's new "Terrorism" Act came into force. Within a month, 21 political organisations had been banned and more can be added at any time. The proscribed list targets the main organisations involved in the defence of refugees. Among the groups added to the Irish groups previously outlawed are: the Turkish leftist Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) and the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Basque nationalist group ETA, the Greek 17 November Revolutionary Organisation, the 200,000-strong International Sikh Youth Federation as well as numerous Kashmiri, Palestinian, Egyptian and other Islamic groups. At a meeting of the listed organisations held in the House of Lords on 27 March a Kurdish speaker described the Catch-22 situation Kurdish asylum seekers will find themselves in. At present they are routinely asked if they are supporters of the PKK and if not, they are told there is no threat of persecution in Turkey and refused asylum. Now, if they say yes they will be admitting to a criminal offence and will be refused asylum.

This Labour government has committed heinous crimes at home and abroad — from the bombing of Serbia and Iraq to drumming up anti-immigrant racism. The British state itself is an international force for terrorism — it carried out colonial massacres in Ireland, Asia and Africa — yet it brands political organisations from the Indian subcontinent and Ireland as "terrorists". This illus-

trates what British "justice" and democracy is all about — the capitalist state is the repressive apparatus which defends the private property and rule of the bourgeoisie against the working class and oppressed.

At the meeting, Louise Christian, parliamentary candidate for the Labourite Socialist Alliance, said the Act was "completely contrary to the tradition we have in this country". This is hogwash — Britain's "anti-terrorism" laws served as a model for the repressive Apartheid regime in South Africa. Many of the speakers expressed surprise that such vicious attacks were being dished out by a Labour government. Far from surprising, Labour rules for racist British imperialism! Christian's comments cover up the history of Labour governments in particular. The post-World War II Labour government presided over the bloody partition of India and crushed the Communists in the Greek civil war; Labour sent troops to Northern Ireland in 1969, leading to the Bloody Sunday massacre.

This Act is a more draconian replacement for the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) which was instituted by a Labour government in 1974 to target Irish nationalists. Thousands of Irish republicans and other opponents of British imperialism were swept up by the PTA. The Blair government seized on the Omagh bombing atrocity by the Real IRA as a pretext for further repression in August 1998. As we wrote at the time: "It is in the direct and absolute interest of the working class in Britain to mobilise against Labour's repression, against the imperialist 'peace' fraud and for British

troops out of Northern Ireland now" (*Workers Hammer* no 164, September/October 1998).

The Terrorism Act targets immigrant organisations in the first instance but this is the thin end of the wedge. Ultimately it is aimed at all opponents of British imperialism, the entire workers movement and the left. In a specific attack on political organisations, it redefines "terrorism" to mean not the actions of a group but its

youth. The same goes for Ken Livingstone who backed police repression against the protesters. Police-state measures are being put in place this year — a building used by anarchists has been raided and the Kurdish and Turkish organisations, who form the core of London's traditional May Day demonstration, have been outlawed.

The competing nationalisms of the various groups involved in opposing the

Spartacists oppose Terrorism Act at 24 March London demonstration in defence of asylum seekers.



ideology. It is an offence to belong to a proscribed organisation, to provide it with money or property, to display its emblems, to speak from the same platform or to be present at a meeting with a member of a banned organisation. The government is particularly vengeful towards organisations who took part in MayDay 2000, in which Turkish and Kurdish workers joined with "anti-capitalist"

Act is an obvious barrier to a united campaign against it. Proletarian internationalism is the only basis on which to fight against the machinations of the British state and its Labour government. The Spartacist League fights for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*. We seek to forge a multiethnic revolutionary workers party to sweep away the capitalist system of racism and exploitation. ■

Defend China...

(Continued from page 12)

Bush) and his power-crazed foreign policy wonks, Washington changed its tune, expressing "regret" for the downing of the Chinese pilot and seeking to negotiate an end to the crisis. The US has acquiesced to the fact that the Chinese military has been carefully examining the EP-3E, the most advanced spy plane in the Navy's arsenal. This is an intelligence bonanza for China, which it should share with the Vietnamese, North Korean and Cuban deformed workers states.

Invoking "international law", Washington initially thundered that the EP-3E sitting on a Hainan runway was sovereign US territory off-limits to Chinese military personnel and proclaimed its inalienable "right" to carry out intrusive military/espionage missions right off China's coastline. Puncturing this imperialist hypocrisy, Chinese ambassador Yang Jiechi said on the PBS-TV *Lehrer News Hour* (4 April): "If America had witnessed such kinds of reconnaissance flights up and down its coast, so close to its airspace... if you lose your airman, and you lose your aircraft, I think the response would be very different." "International law" notwithstanding, when the US got hold of a Soviet MIG-25 in 1976, it picked the plane apart and sent it back two months later in shipping crates.

The backdrop to the spy plane provocation is a shift in US policy towards "an era of direct confrontation with China", as outlined in a policy review by Bush defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld. China has now been declared Enemy No 1. Reporting on the Pentagon review, which has



Matters Marine

US threat to supply Aegis guided missile destroyers to Taiwan targets China's missile systems.

been virtually covered up in the American press, the *Guardian* (24 March) wrote of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China", now deemed to be "the principal threat to American global dominance". In the last years of the Clinton administration, the US began a significant shift of its military forces to the Asia-Pacific region.

Immediately before the US provocation over the South China Sea, a Pentagon team visited Taiwan to put together a list of weaponry for this US-sponsored capitalist state, including advanced Aegis-equipped destroyers which could take out Chinese missile systems. Taiwan has

been a dagger aimed at the People's Republic from the time Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces fled there in 1949.

The US has over 100,000 military personnel in the Asia-Pacific region, including 47,000 troops in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. The US has increased spy flights against China and North Korea. US plans for a "theater missile defense" system in Asia are aimed squarely against China's missile capacity and target North Korea as well. Last year, the US conducted more than 50 joint military exercises with Japan, Australia, South Korea, the Philippines and others, a number unequalled since the fall of the Soviet Union. The US recently sealed a deal with Singapore for use of a deep-draft navy pier, the second such facility open to US aircraft carriers in South-East Asia since the close of the American naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines in 1992. The new pier is located at the mouth of the strategically important Malacca Strait, through which Persian Gulf oil shipments pass to Japan.

Bush's warmongering schemes are dependent upon the use of US facilities in Britain — the radar station at Fylingdales

in North Yorkshire and the listening post at Menwith Hill near Harrogate. The Blair Labour government has indicated that it will support the US National Missile Defence system by agreeing to the use of these installations. As a junior partner of the US, British imperialism seeks a share of the spoils of any capitalist restoration in China. Today a fifth-rate imperialist power, the British ruling class once ruled over parts of China as colonial overseers until as recently as 1997 in the case of Hong Kong. The racist arrogance towards the Chinese population that characterised British rule in Hong Kong was exhibited again recently by the Labour government's attempted scapegoating of Chinese people for the foot-and-mouth outbreak. Already fuming over increased racist attacks against the Chinese community, on 8 April around 1000 people joined an angry demonstration which marched from London's Chinatown to the offices of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food to protest this outrage.

A domestic reflection of increased American belligerence towards China was the racist frame-up of Los Alamos scien-

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Defend China...

(Continued from page 3)

tist Wen Ho Lee. As we wrote in "Chinese Spy Hysteria Whips Up Anti-Asian Racism" (*Workers Vanguard* no 719, 17 September 1999):

"Even if Lee had, with purpose or not, given military secrets to the People's Republic of China, this is no crime from the standpoint of the international working class.... Our unconditional military defense of China and the other remaining deformed workers states — Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea — against imperialism and internal counterrevolution necessarily includes defense of the right of these states to amass and test nuclear weapons and to obtain them by whatever means necessary."

China last month announced an increase of 18 per cent in military expenditures for this year, although its military budget is still only a fraction of the Pentagon's. China has purchased from Russia four Sovremenny guided missile destroyers, four Kilo-class submarines which are reputed to be as quiet as the most modern US subs, SU-27 fighters and advanced missiles. The purpose of the EP-3E spy flight was to monitor the Sovremenny destroyers and subs and to test Chinese air defences.

In a 1987 exercise, a US guided missile cruiser sailed right into Soviet territorial waters near a top-secret naval base on the



Chinese war heroes hailed by North Koreans celebrating 1953 cease-fire in Korean War. PLA entry into war was crucial in defeating US/British imperialist onslaught against North Korea and defending Chinese Revolution.

State Colin Powell, architect of the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, comes across as a "voice of moderation". Many are veterans of the Reagan administration's Conragate schemes and bloody terror operations against leftist insurgents in Latin America. While taking aim at China, they are also increasingly provocative towards North Korea, capitalist Russia and even their European allies. This was exemplified by the recent wholesale expulsion of 50 Russian diplomats and the ultimatum to South Korea's Kim Dae

that kept the major capitalist powers united under US leadership. Seizing on Bush's rebuff to North Korea, the European Union (EU) has moved to set up diplomatic relations with the North. The chilling of Washington's relations with Moscow has prompted the EU to announce a "strategic partnership" with Putin's Russia. Washington has bluntly opposed creation of a European "rapid reaction" force outside of US-dominated NATO. On the eve of German chancellor Gerhard Schröder's visit, Bush provocatively announced that the US was rejecting the Kyoto environmental accord favoured by the Europeans, leading to a storm of criticism from the EU.

Growing tensions between the US and Japan were underscored in February with the reckless sinking of a Japanese fishing vessel by an American submarine near Hawaii, touching off a furor in Japan intensified by the callous US reaction. Recently, the US flouted a 40-year-old agreement by sailing a nuclear aircraft carrier into a Japanese port without bothering to ask permission. This has all touched off renewed opposition to American military bases in Japan, particularly in Okinawa with its concentration of American troops, as well as demands long pushed by right-wing nationalist forces to bolster Japan's military.

The mounting tensions between the US and its imperialist rivals highlight the inherent competition for control of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labour among the imperialist powers. These tensions will only be accentuated as the world economic recession deepens. As was demonstrated in World Wars I and II, such competition can ultimately only be resolved through war, in this case one that would threaten the nuclear annihilation of humanity. In the interim, the capitalist rulers use such tensions to foster national chauvinism and to divert the attention of the workers from growing unemployment and immiseration.

Recapturing China for capitalist exploitation is currently the big "prize" for the competing imperialist powers. This would be a historic defeat for the workers and all oppressed peoples of the world, and would trigger an even more furious scramble among the major capitalist powers to carve up the spoils. It was largely over the "right" to exploit China that the 1941-45

Pacific War between the US and Japan was fought.

Beijing bureaucracy on a tight-rope

While the regime of Chinese president Jiang Zemin has scrambled to strike a deal with the US, the arrogance of America's imperialist rulers provoked outrage among broad sectors of the Chinese populace. "Of course, they will have to apologise in full," said one Beijing resident quoted in the *Financial Times* (7 April) who continued, "If we let them push us around once, it will happen the whole time just like when China was weak." The article noted that this was "an almost ubiquitous sentiment".

The Beijing regime has banned any public protest on the mainland against the US provocation, rejecting permission for demonstrations requested by more than 50 university and college groups. This is in good part because the regime does not want to upset the trade deals that are integral to its programme of "market reforms". Above all, the bureaucracy fears that any protest against the imperialist provocation could draw in the combative and disgruntled working class. Even when the regime allowed protests against the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade during the 1999 NATO war against Serbia, it reportedly banned factory contingents from joining them. The bureaucracy lives in dread of the spectre of the 1989 Tiananmen upheaval, when the entry of the working class into the student protests marked an incipient political revolution.

On 5 April, police in Beijing arrested four men attempting to protest outside the US embassy. One of the placards they carried read: "We Don't Want U.S. Dollars, We Want Dignity". But the Jiang regime does want US dollars, and German D-marks and Japanese yen. "As the spyplane standoff has unfolded", observed the *Financial Times*, "national outrage has grown, and criticism of national leaders for being 'too soft' on the US has become a common refrain." There are increasing strains inside the bureaucracy itself between pro-Western elements and those, particularly in the military, who want to maintain a harder line against US aggression.

"Great Power" Chinese nationalism cannot repulse the drive for imperialist subjugation, but would serve only to bind the Chinese proletariat to the bourgeoisie that was driven out of the country in 1949. We explained in "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* [English language edition] no 53, Summer 1997):

"As an ideology emanating from capitalism's emergence from feudal society, nationalism is a false consciousness for the Chinese proletariat. It is, however, the proper ideology of the Hong Kong capitalists and nascent mainland Chinese bourgeoisie. Nationalism was a major political force in the counterrevolutionary wave that swept over the former USSR and East Europe — both the nationalism of the minority peoples, fostered for decades by the U.S. State Department and CIA, and the chauvinism of the ruling caste, which helped spin off elements who looked to capitalist rule as the road to great-power status.... Nationalism is already playing a similar role in China."



London, 8 April: Chinese community demonstrate against racism in Blair's Britain. Spartacist placards include: Defend the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

Kamchatka Peninsula in the Soviet Far East. Such "games", dubbed "Chicken of the Sea", were intended to trigger defensive actions and communications to be observed and analysed. In 1983, US intelligence had the civilian Korean Air Lines Flight 007 fly over Kamchatka while P-3 spy planes (the forerunner of the EP-3E) monitored Soviet defences. This imperialist provocation cost the lives of more than 200 innocent passengers, as KAL 007 was shot down by Soviet forces who mistook it for a US military incursion into Soviet airspace. With their finger on the nuclear trigger, the leaders of US imperialism constantly threatened the world with incineration in pursuit of their war drive aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Imperialist rivalries increase

In a front-page column in the *Milano daily Corriere della Sera* last week, Italy's former ambassador to the US described Bush as "a young president who rules the world, but is only truly knowledgeable about Texas". The Bush administration is a truly scary gang, so packed with Christian fundamentalists and right-wing militarists that Secretary of

Jung to halt negotiations with the North. Speaking for the virulent China-bashing wing of the Democratic Party, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli is now mooting the recall of the US ambassador to China as long as the EP-3E crew is held there.

Arguing that the US should be trying to play Russia, China and North Korea off against each other, conservative strategist Edward Luttwak pointed to the recent American provocations against all three in a *Los Angeles Times* (28 March) column titled "Foreign Policy Crew Is Smashing the Crockery". Luttwak continued, "What cannot be explained in the context of a rational foreign policy is that all three things were done at once." A front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (4 April), one of the most hawkish bourgeois mouthpieces, took aim against "Beijing-bashing hard-liners" on behalf of the "pro-business camp" in the administration, noting that "China is a lucrative market and manufacturing site".

While the former Reaganites who advise Bush Jr may revel in memories of Reagan's crusade against the Soviet "evil empire", the world is not the same as it was in the 1980s. The destruction of the Soviet Union and Eastern European deformed workers states removed the glue

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This is crystal clear in the bureaucracy's offer to the bourgeoisie in Taiwan to reunite on the basis of "one country, two systems". We call for *revolutionary reunification*, through socialist revolution in Taiwan and proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

The Chinese population is deeply conscious of its history of oppression by Western and Japanese imperialism, and of the long record of US military belligerence against the 1949 Revolution. Ending the era of imperialist subjugation exemplified by the Opium Wars and the carving up of China by the colonial powers took the overthrow of the corrupt comprador bourgeoisie by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army in 1949, creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state. The defence of this workers state can only be carried forward on the basis of proletarian internationalism — against both imperialist aggression and internal counterrevolution — seeking to mobilise the working people of South Korea, Japan, the US and the rest of the capitalist world for socialist revolution.

What Leon Trotsky, co-leader with VI Lenin of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, wrote about the Soviet Union in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" in May 1940 applies with full acuteness to the Chinese deformed workers state today:

"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle...."

"We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

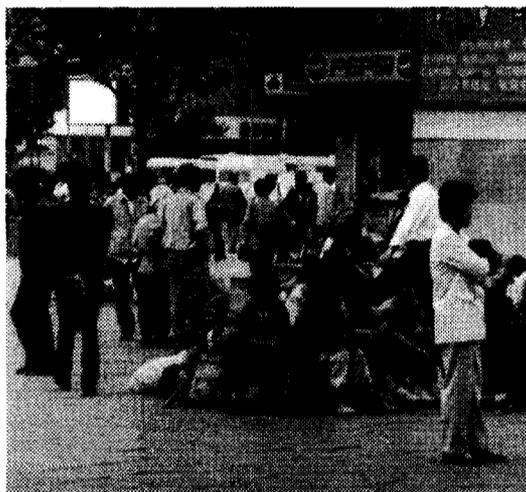
Mao's alliance with US imperialism

Reflecting widespread sentiment against the current Beijing regime for conciliating US imperialism, one Internet posting in China read: "We miss Chairman Mao" and was signed, "New Force of Laid-Off Workers". But it was Mao who consummated the criminal alliance with the US imperialists directed against the Soviet Union, signalled by Nixon's 1972 visit to Beijing while American bombs were raining on Vietnam. The anti-Soviet alliance sealed by Mao was deepened under Deng Xiaoping, from China's failed 1979 invasion of Vietnam to its aid to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* terrorists in Afghanistan and its setting up of CIA listening posts on its border with the USSR. In aiding and abetting the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Beijing bureaucracy helped place the Chinese deformed workers state itself directly in the cross hairs of imperialism. We warned in "Deng's China and Political Revolution" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] no 41-42, Winter 1987-88) that the Mao/Deng course of anti-Sovietism and nationalism would "ultimately threaten China with disaster, bloody counterrevolution and a new colonization subjugating the country to the yoke of imperialism".

While much of the harking back to Mao is couched in the language of Chinese nationalism, there is also a yearning for the relative egalitarianism of the Mao years as against the current regime's "market reforms" which have led to rampant corruption, increasing economic disparity, joblessness and loss of previously guaranteed benefits. But the policies of the Mao regime, which were premised on the anti-revolutionary Stalinist dogma of "building socialism in one country", were marked by economic autarky and insane economic adventurism, such as the 1950s "Great Leap Forward". At the same time, through its appeasement of imperialism in

the name of "peaceful coexistence", the Mao regime laid the basis for the policies pursued by the current bureaucracy.

Mao's heirs have increasingly opened the country to imperialist penetration. This has been met with massive proletarian resistance, with tens of thousands of strikes and workers' protests every year. Reflecting the brittle and contradictory nature of the bureaucracy, Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, who has spearheaded the deepening of "market reforms", announced last week a campaign against corruption and other forms of "commercial excess". In addition, the *Financial Times* (5 April) reports, "The official People's Daily newspaper carried an opinion piece last month excoriating capitalism and globalisation for the wealth imbalances that it



Workers Vanguard

Left: Migrant workers outside Shanghai railway station. Right: Anti-US protesters arrested in Beijing on 5 April. Stalinist regime fears that protests could touch off explosion by disgruntled proletariat.



promotes. Such sentiments have rarely, if ever, received such a prominent airing over the past three years."

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a possessing class but a parasitic caste. Resting on proletarian property forms, the bureaucracy simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for the pressures of the capitalist world market on the deformed workers state. But the bureaucracy also has to tread warily as it pushes pro-capitalist economic measures, out of fear of a working-class explosion. As we wrote in the first part of "Whither China? 'Market Socialism' and the Legacy of Mao" (*Workers Vanguard* no 743, 6 October 2000):

"As it pursues 'market reforms' and opens the door to exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialists and the overseas Chinese bourgeoisie, the Beijing regime is paving the way for capitalist restoration. It is simultaneously preparing the ground for a new revolutionary proletarian explosion — not a *social* revolution which would overturn the economic foundations of society as in 1949 but a *political* revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracy and to place political power in the hands of workers, soldiers and peasants councils (soviets). Such a political revolution is premised on *unconditional defense of the planned, collectivized economy* which is the social foundation of the (bureaucratically deformed) workers state."

The urgent task is to build a Trotskyist party in order to provide leadership to the combative proletariat and to link its fight for political revolution to the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist centres.

For proletarian internationalism

A revolutionary China of workers and peasants councils issuing out of a proletarian political revolution would face virulent imperialist reaction. While doing what it could to aid the fight for socialist revolution internationally, not least in the US, a revolutionary workers and peasants government would have to undertake necessary economic and military measures in its own defence. This would require the reconsolidation of central economic planning based on state-owned industry. Under

a government based on workers democracy and led by a Leninist-Trotskyist party, a centrally planned economy would optimise economic growth while eradicating the extremes of rich and poor so evident in China today. The state monopoly of foreign trade should be utilised to promote imports and exports on the world market, taking full advantage of the international division of labour. We oppose the opening of China to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) not because we favour Maoist economic autarky but because it would further undermine the monopoly of foreign trade and the collectivised economy.

Competition between the imperialists for markets would provide such a revolutionary regime a certain room for ma-

capitalist countries, who are already facing massive lay-offs before a recession has even taken hold, on top of years of wage cuts, givebacks and the eradication of social benefits.

In the United States, the AFL-CIO labour bureaucracy has simultaneously presided over the destruction of hard-won union jobs and benefits and promoted US imperialism's attacks on the working class internationally. The AFL-CIO tops are in the vanguard of anti-Communist China-bashing. This is most virulently expressed by Teamsters president James Hoffa Jr, who issued a 3 April statement following the landing of the US spy plane at Hainan ranting that "Communist China continues to violate international law at each turn." Railing against "slave labour" in China,

the labour tops promote the virtues of the free market. But it won't be so easy to sell capitalist "democracy" to workers in China, many of whom have already experienced the miseries of free-market exploitation in the "Special Economic Zones" and other areas of capitalist penetration created by Beijing's "market reforms". Joining in the anti-China campaign is "progressive" AFL-CIO president Sweeney, who was in the forefront of the protectionist drive against China's entry into the WTO, a campaign that united right-wing Republicans with liberal Democrats.

It is in the direct and immediate interest of working people in the US to defend the Chinese deformed workers state against the American capitalist rulers. Just as happened in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, capitalist restoration in China would embolden the US bourgeoisie, and the imperialists internationally, to ratchet up their assault on the working class and minorities at home. It would also make the world an even more dangerous place. The International Communist League fights to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, as the indispensable instrument to lead the proletariat in the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■

The all-sided misery pervasive throughout the former Soviet Union today — the wholesale devastation of industry and social services, the massive unemployment, the shocking fall in life expectancy — starkly illustrates the superiority of a planned economy over capitalist chaos. This is a lesson not only for the proletariat of China but for the working class and minorities in the US and other

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An internationalist salute to our comrade Susan Adams

Comrades, friends and family came together at memorial gatherings of the International Communist League in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York and Paris on the weekend of March 3-4 to honour our comrade Susan Adams. A leader of our international party for nearly 30 years, Susan died at her home in Jersey City on 6 February after a two-year struggle with cancer. Susan's family held a memorial meeting in Los Angeles on 10 February. Other ICL tributes took place internationally.

One measure of the impact Susan had on our party and its fight for an international communist society is the outpouring of letters and remembrances by ICL members around the globe, as well as by former members, friends and sympathisers and even political opponents. A speaker at the Bay Area memorial said, "Susan was somebody you could trust. She was upright and forthright. And because she was quite bright, she was very powerful. Everybody who has known her was strongly touched by her."

It was in the Bay Area that Susan spent her first formative years as a communist cadre in 1971-73. Much of the rest of her life was divided between work in our New York centre and in Paris as a leader of the Ligue Trotskyste and our broader work in Europe, for many years in collaboration with her former husband, William, now an ex-member.

Before the memorial meeting in Paris, comrades marched to the Père Lachaise cemetery, where they laid a wreath at the wall which commemorates the thousands of proletarian fighters butchered by the bourgeoisie following the suppression of the 1871 Paris Commune. Wreaths were also laid at Leon Trotsky's gravestone in Coyoacán, Mexico, at Karl Marx's grave in London's Highgate Cemetery, at the monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin and in a grove of redwoods in the Bay Area where the ashes of our comrade Toni Randell had been buried after her death in 1982. One Bay Area comrade explained, "It's a tradition in the communist movement to commemorate a special occasion by laying a wreath on the grave of someone who has made a key contribution to the struggle against capitalist reaction."

One comrade at the New York memorial who had been a member of our British section in the 1980s recalled an incident at the annual political fête near



Paris organised by the reformist Lutte Ouvrière group: "I remember very clearly one day a cadre of Lutte Ouvrière had died and there was nothing in their paper about her. Susan was disgusted by this and she let them have it: 'You don't even bury your dead, you don't honour your dead'."

Our comrades are a precious resource, the bearers of the Marxist programme for the liberation of humanity. In saluting Susan's lifetime of struggle as a communist leader, we seek also to educate and train a new generation of revolutionary fighters, a task to which she devoted much of her energy.

We publish below excerpts from remarks at the New York memorial by Susan's long-time friend Helene Brosius. Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League/Britain spoke in Paris and at Karl Marx's grave.

Helene Brosius: A few weeks ago, at the end of a tough day of doctors and decisions, Susan looked up and said to me: "After all, I've done everything I wanted to do in my life." And as much as it made me want to hold her and not let her go, I also knew that what she said had truth to it. Susan was a Marxist revolutionary to her bones, single-mindedly driven to build a revolutionary proletarian party, to reforge the Fourth International. She wanted simply to be a communist. And that she was — until her last breath.

Susan's father, Angelo Adams — Ange — came from Greece at age four and made a good life here. He wanted to have the best for his family — Betty and the five kids. Sue was the oldest, then Mark, Joni, Tom and Marian, who have all come today. The break with her family was difficult all the way around and it didn't even begin to heal until much later.

Sue's rejection of Catholicism was conscious, vehement and finally political. She wrote an exceptional article for our journal *Women and Revolution* called "The Cult of the Virgin Mary" in 1977, at the time of "born again" president Jimmy Carter's election victory. "Marxists find contemporary religion," she wrote, "an odious thing."

"We understand, however, that what sustains religious affiliation in the scientific age is not so much intellectual conviction as social oppression. Thus, while the anti-clerical spirit which animates

Voltaire's earnest wish that 'the last king... be strangled with the entrails of the last priest' may be sincere and even justified, such a 'war against god' does not transcend petty-bourgeois idealism. Religion will disappear only when the society which creates the need for it is destroyed."

To her chagrin, her understanding did not — all at once — release the grip that a Catholic upbringing had on her own psychology. This was a lifelong effort.

Sue well understood that religion also served as an instrument for the oppression of women. She was a thoughtful, fervent partisan of women's liberation, understanding that it will come about only as a result of socialist revolution. It is fitting that a last contribution of hers is the wonderful talk on "Women and the French Revolution". This was a several years' labour of love for Sue. In 1994, she wrote of this work to a fellow member of the *W&R* editorial board: "At a time when the bourgeoisies of the world attack the Enlightenment, it has been quite literally a real pleasure to read of the hope in rationality and human progress of this period."

Susan's liberal arts education actually did include a good dose of science and math, but in these and technical matters in general she always seemed at a bit of a loss. What did stick was an appetite for and range of knowledge of literature — especially European literature — which was wonderfully intertwined with her understanding of European history. This was the foundation upon which she developed as an exceptional Marxist intellectual.

It was the '60s, and like thousands of kids she was turning hard against the manifest injustices of racist American imperialism. At UC San Diego she threw herself into New Left politics and the new SDS chapter. But unlike many New Leftists, she started to study. She devoured Marx and Lenin and was drawn to the pro-working-class wing of SDS led by the Maoist Progressive Labor Party. She actually managed to graduate, despite an arrest that year for sitting in at the chancellor's office — and she went off to Stony Brook on Long Island for graduate school. It seems that no sooner had she arrived there than she broke from PL and started working with Spartacist in the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS.

I wouldn't say she was too smart for PL — because they had some intelligent people. Nor is it exactly true, as her mentor in PL evidently told her when she was leaving, that she "always read too many books". I think it was that she really considered and absorbed what she read. In her application for SL membership she wrote that she was drawn to our "consistency with the principles of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky" as opposed to the "at times reactionary Stalinoid politics of PL".

Her New Left origins poked through from time to time. Her father, Ange, the successful banker, was being prosecuted in the early '70s. Sue was in a real quandary — support her father, the class enemy? As she put it, Jim "kicked my



East Berlin, 14 January 1990: Susan (at left) with Spartacist contingent at demonstration honouring Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg during incipient political revolution.

ass, so to speak". Her memory was that he said something like: "What's wrong with you, girl? That's your father. Can't you see he's being prosecuted for things that everyone does and probably because he's Greek. Get yourself out there to his trial before it's over." She did. She was always grateful for Jim's advice.

Only three months after joining the Spartacist youth group in 1971, Susan had a chance to display the courage which turned out to be so characteristic of her. We had been bloodily ejected from an anti-Vietnam War conference of NPAC, led by the Socialist Workers Party. As comrade Al Nelson described it recently, "It was the most protracted violence I have ever witnessed in the workers movement. Seymour had his nose broken; I had bald spots on my head where tufts of hair had been torn out." The next day, Susan volunteered to be a mole, to elude the massive SWP goon squad stationed there to exclude known or suspected "disrupters" and to report back what was being said in the aftermath of this savage exclusion. Al wrote: "We met a couple of blocks away and discussed her assignment and its dangers. I remember being extremely impressed with how calm and determined and brave she was."

The summer of '71 Susan moved to the Bay Area, which is where I first met her. I was pleased to endorse her application for membership in the SL in December 1971. And when I left for New York the following summer there was no question in my mind that Susan was the comrade to take over as Bay Area organiser, though there were other comrades who had more experience than she did.

In the next years, as new opportunities arose for the party, Susan was the clear choice for one difficult and critical assignment after another. She taught, expected and inspired the utmost professionalism. She was uncommonly able at locating and resisting the poison of subjectivity in herself and other comrades. But perhaps most valuable was her unbending drive for programmatic clarity. Not that she was immune to the ambient pressures in her political work, but she was fearless in her determination to arrive at and deepen the party's understanding of them. Even when — and maybe especially when — there was a disaster that she'd been party to.

Thus, more often than not, Sue was sent to the front lines of our party work. After just over a year in the party, in February 1973, she was picked to be founding organiser of the Detroit branch. Unfortunately, it was the eve of an economic downturn and the collapse of the auto industry in Detroit. But that local was a major step for our organisation. In summer '74, she came to New York to head up the national youth organisation, the Spartacus Youth League, which was growing rapidly and, with many difficulties, taking on independent organisational reality for the first time.

In 1976, she was off to Europe as an international rep. France, the world centre of the ostensibly Trotskyist organisations, was the jumping-off point for our European work and, other than Australia, our first international foothold. The job required constant travel around Europe, wide knowledge of the left and workers movement throughout the area, vigilance for opportunities, patience and care in cadre development.

After spending a year in New York in '78-79 as our international secretary, it was off to Europe again, this time as a central leader of the French section (to the surprise of our French comrades, a few of whom would have preferred to

eat in McDonald's every night rather than have an American woman leading their section). For the next ten years, she was our central cadre in Europe. In 1989-90, she played a leading role when the International poured its energies and resources into the potential political revolution in East Germany.

In 1992, just weeks after a gut-wrenching fight with the French leadership, which of course included her, at an international conference, Susan took on one of the most important and difficult assignments there has ever been in our organisation — the work of reimplanting Bolshevism in the land of October, our Moscow Station. Our comrade Martha Phillips had been murdered in Moscow earlier that year. Moscow was a dizzying whirlwind of archival, opponents, campus, labour and educational work. A prime achievement of Moscow Station was the publication of Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin* in Russian and its distribution. In 1995, she returned to the centre in New York after a 20-year absence from the country, and took on a full range of duties in the leading committees of the International and the American section.

Sue's life is a thread running through the history of our party. In the mid-'70s, Sue forged a powerful national youth leadership. But after the heady days of the New Left, the mid-'70s slumped pretty fast into quiescence. Coming out of the '60s, Sue had an appreciation, at times surely tinged with moralism, for the value of that kind of struggle. In a 1975 national report, she deplored the callowness of the recruits, their "lack of depth which comes from the binocular vision of having once been Maoists or Stalinists or even New Leftists. Trotskyism seems self-evident to too many of our young comrades and commitment to being a revolutionary has meant for them commitment to going to meetings, reading books, debating opponents and giving up dope. As wretched as the New Left was, one understood that becoming a radical meant risking jail, fights with the cops, etc (or at least risking suspension from school!). And as rotten and misleading as were the ideologies of Che, Cleaver and Malcolm X, becoming part of a movement of which they were the heroes involved a level of commitment which our young comrades have not had to consider." A good dose of political education was needed, she concluded, and "some good and hard political fights this year".

In this period, Susan worked on the article "Rape and Bourgeois Justice", a polemic against the liberal, New Left and feminist views of capitalist class injustice. "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" still stands as a guiding statement for us on the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society. Collaboration on this article further cemented a life-



Paris forum in late 1984, part of LTF-sponsored fundraising tour by striking British miners including Paul Brewin (centre).

LTF protests anti-gay exclusion of AIDS activist group ACT UP from June 1992 Lutte Ouvrière Fête. LTF was itself excluded for defending ACT UP.



long working relationship with Jim Robertson, a personal and political tie as formative and consequential as any in her life.

Sue found her assignment to international work in Europe in 1976 a tremendous challenge — terrifying and exhilarating at the same time. From a '76 letter to me:

"France is very exciting and interesting these days. I can't help it, I like it when the whole world seems political and the issues are urgently enough felt by people that they stand around in knots and argue and scream at each other into the night."

It was, as she wrote, "the classical time of swimming against the stream.... The popular front is on the road to power through the elections, drawing everyone else in its wake."

Susan was of course a bit of a workaholic, diligent and sometimes earnest to a fault, though she learned to measure that a bit. Languages really did not come easily to her. She developed a fine command of French. But her ear wasn't very good so her pronunciation was poor, which was an obstacle when dealing with snobs. She started intensive study as soon as she got there, and ten years later she was still working on her French. Later she studied German and, when she went to Moscow, she studied Russian four to five hours a day at the beginning despite the manic pace of the political work there.

Sue had an impressive mastery of the basic Marxist texts — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Cannon — and a prodigious memory for what she read. She also knew our press and internal documents thoroughly. She used the literature like a precision instrument, pulling out exactly the right tool for the job. When

she ran into French parochialism, an enduring weakness of the French left, including the so-called Trotskyists, she wielded the weapon of founding American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon.

In 1983, she was delighted to succeed in bringing out a speech by Cannon upon his return from a quite unrewarding assignment in France in 1939. This was a two-edged sword in the struggle against our political opponents and for our French section. The fact alone of publishing Cannon was a polemic against the deeply held belief on the French left that nothing useful could derive from America. Susan wrote in the introduction to the Cannon pamphlet:

"Given the program, the construction of the leading cadres is the key to the construction of revolutionary parties; and the former requires an even higher degree of consciousness and a more deliberate design than the latter."

Cadre development and particular attention to the youth was a hallmark of her work, on which she brought to bear her wide-ranging intellectual storehouse. You'd often find her using lessons she'd learned — or wrestled with — when she gave advice to others.

She went as our rep to a five-day academic conference on Trotsky in Wuppertal, Germany just after the disastrous 1990 East German elections which ushered in counterrevolution there. All the big-shot Trotskyist pretenders were there — from Mandel and Broué to Michel Pablo. To their horror, she always introduced herself as a professional revolutionary. There was a group of Gorbachevite Soviet academics who were poking their heads up out of the *glasnost* opening. Everyone worth anything was talking about the 1923-24 period of the Soviet Union, which we also were critically examining in light of some new documentation that had emerged from the Soviet archives. Broué had just published his Trotsky biography, which we were reviewing.

She wrote a wonderful report, and you could tell how charmingly and fruitfully she worked over the lot of them. Some of those pretentious academics must have walked away from a nice lunch only to look down and see the knife in their stomachs. She drove Mandel into a sputtering frenzy, at a lunch in front of a bevy of fawning young social democrats, over his uncritical printing of an article in praise of the Estonian Forest Brothers, Baltic fascists who fought with the Nazi Wehrmacht against the Red Army.

continued on page 9

Labour...

(Continued from page 2)

that he opposed privatisation of the Tube; he has hired ex-CIA spymaster Bob Kiley, renowned as a union-buster in the New York subway system in the 1980s, to run London Underground. Kiley opposed Labour's irrational proposal to split the Tube among several private companies and initially proposed instead to sell bonds to finance investment, which was supported by the Tories.

We say: Workers must mobilise to smash Labour's privatisation as well as Livingstone and Kiley's union-busting schemes! (See "Livingstone hires union-buster, CIA bigwig Kiley to run Tube", *Workers Hammer* no 175, Winter 2000-2001.) Both Labour's plan and Livingstone's scheme mean higher fares and fleecing Tube workers. Privatisation has certainly meant worsened safety conditions on the railways. However, British Rail and the Tube have been deathtraps: remember the Clapham Junction crash on the nationalised railways and the horrendous fire in Kings Cross Underground. A genuinely safe, free and well-planned transport system which meets the needs of the population at large and the workers in the industry cannot be achieved under capitalism. Our programme is counterposed to both union-busting, insane privatisations and to "good old-fashioned" Labourite nationalisations.

In *The Transitional Programme*, Leon Trotsky explained that within the context of the struggle for the "political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination", the demand for the expropriation of certain key industries like rail is counterposed to "the muddle-headed reformist slogan of 'nationalization' which accepts the framework of capitalism. What's needed is class struggle to defend working conditions which, rather than being channelled into pathetic reformist schemes for nationalisation, must be linked to a struggle for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie through the seizure of power by the working class.

"Old Labour" national chauvinism

Workers are outraged by the planned closures of the Dagenham and Luton car plants which threaten the livelihoods of entire communities. As it lunges from one crisis to the next, the capitalist system treats workers as expendable and leaves them to rot on the scrap heap of unemployment "benefits". Not surprisingly, the "maximum programme" put forward by the fake left is the Old Labour policy of nationalisation, to "save British jobs". They often hark back to the 1945 Labour government of Clement Attlee which nationalised large sections of British industry. The nationalisations of the post-World War II period amounted to a giant capitalist bailout of failing industries which was critical to the stabilisation of British capitalism and, with the collusion of the trade union

bureaucrats, was key to stifling militant class struggles that threatened the capitalist order.

Pleading with the Labour government to nationalise British industries to help them compete with their rivals is necessarily a capitulation to social chauvinism and "little England" nationalism. The call to "save our jobs" plays into the hands of the bosses, fuelling racist divide-and-rule of the working class. This was most graphically seen at the April 2000 Rover demonstration, heavily built for by the SWP and supported by the Socialist Alliance. Our press told the truth: this was a Union Jack-waving orgy of British chauvinism. We counterposed a call for a class-struggle fight for jobs across national boundaries which would challenge the capitalist system. Such a fight requires a complete break from social democracy.

The SSP: tailing Scottish nationalism

The Scottish Socialist Party's programme is unadulterated reformism, centred on the call for a "Scottish Service Tax". They make no bones about the fact they are not for revolution. The SSP's leading lights such as Tommy Sheridan now style themselves the International Socialist Movement (ISM), which declared from the outset: "We do not set ourselves up as 'the revolutionary party'" (*frontline*, March 2001). The ISM split from Peter Taaffe's Committee for a Workers International (CWI), to which the Socialist Parties in Ireland and England are affiliated.

The SSP sees the coming election as a prelude to the Scottish Assembly elections in two years time. Aspiring to hold the balance of power in Edinburgh, the SSP have made repeated noises about coalition deals with the bourgeois SNP and the Greens. They declaim that "at this stage, there is no significant support within the SSP for the idea of entering a future coalition government with the SNP". They are clearly not opposed on principle to coalition with the SNP, going on to say: "On the other hand, that doesn't mean that the SSP should refuse to collaborate with the SNP and others on specific policies that could potentially advance the interests of the working class or further the cause of an independent socialist Scotland" (*frontline*, March 2001). Their blather about an independent "socialist" Scotland boils down to a coalition government with the SNP in a capitalist Scotland. The SSP espouses standard popular-front coalitionism which revolutionaries reject on principle. It cannot advance the interests of the working class, rather it ties the working class to bourgeois parties which are its open enemies.

In England, the oppressor nation, the duty of the revolutionary party is to mobilise workers in opposition to English chauvinism and to champion the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales up to and including independence. In Scotland and Wales the party

must oppose Scottish and Welsh nationalism and fight for voluntary integration with the proletariat of England. Workers from Scotland, Ireland and Wales have historically been among the most militant within the British workers movement and there is a basis — much to the benefit of the English working class, in fact — for common class struggle.

The CWI's position on Northern Ireland — which historically has been pro-British Army and pro-Loyalist — was disputed in the SSP split. Peter Hadden of the Irish Socialist Party ar-



David Rose

March 1: Socialist Alliance chairman Dave Nellist hosts press conference launching their election campaign.

gued that "troops should be withdrawn" but also upheld the "right" of Orangemen to march in Catholic areas, saying: "Notwithstanding that the Orange Order is a reactionary sectarian organisation we do not deny its right to march" (CWI Members Bulletin, May 2000). The ISM rejected this, mindful that they need to win a substantial vote from the Catholic working class in the west of Scotland — traditionally a Labour Party heartland. The SSP election manifesto does call for "The demilitarisation of Northern Ireland" which is a nod in the direction of calling for troops out but this would be conditional on the IRA "decommissioning" their weapons.

However the SSP certainly have not given up the "UVF connection". The same issue of their newspaper which published their election manifesto also bragged that they "contributed to breaking down sectarian barriers" in the west of Scotland, by hosting the Ulster Volunteer Force — Loyalist paramilitary killers — alongside Sinn Fein! In their own words: "In November 1999, on the weekend of a Celtic-Rangers clash, the Scottish Socialist Party organised a major public event, *Socialism 2000*, at which Sinn Fein shared a platform with the Progressive Unionist Party — which has links to the UVF — for the first time ever in Scotland" (*Scottish Socialist Voice*, 16 February). The SWP participated in this noxious event and gave it their seal of approval.

No illusions in the racist capitalist state

British parliamentary democracy is nothing but the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the exploited and oppressed. As VI Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution wrote in *The State and Revolution*: "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament — this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics." The state is not neutral but is the instrument for the repression of one class by another; its core is made up of armed bodies of men, eg the prisons, cops and courts. Betraying deep-seated reformism *Socialist Worker* (10 March) produced an

alternative "budget" which proposed that police wages "will be frozen"!

An undated Socialist Alliance leaflet entitled "The anti-racist alternative at the general election" states that it "stands for grassroots democratic control of the police, and a crackdown on individual and institutional racism". This is the same reformist crap that sows deadly illusions in the capitalist state. Racism is endemic to capitalist society and to the cops who enforce its rule and nothing short of a workers revolution will ultimately bring an end to this. We call for

full citizenship rights for all immigrants and we seek to mobilise the power of the working class to fight back against racist, anti-immigrant terror and defeat fascist provocations. Unlike the fake left, who with liberal, moralistic and condescending platitudes intone that "refugees are welcome here", we recognise that immigrants are not simply victims of racism but an integral part of the proletariat. The struggle to emancipate workers from capitalist exploitation can only go forward if the organised workers movement takes up the fight against all forms of oppression, which points to the need to break from Labour.

The crisis of proletarian leadership

The SWP's John Rees (*International Socialism*, Spring 2001) presents the Socialist Alliance as something of a "united front" between "socialists" and disillusioned New Labour members. He rehearses the time-worn argument that the way to "detach" workers from Labour is always to vote Labour. He even invokes Lenin's name, asserting that Labour is "as Lenin described it, a 'capitalist workers' party'", then goes on:

"The challenge for socialists is to act on this contradiction in a way that appeals to the class consciousness which encourages workers to support Labour rather than the Tories in order to detach them from their allegiance to the Labour Party. Asserting that they and their party are the same as the party of William Hague, Michael Portillo and Ann Widdecombe is not the best way to do this. It is far better to explain that, while we will always support the party of the trade unions against the open and unashamed party of the bosses, we want to build a real socialist alternative to both."

Lenin did describe Labour as a "bourgeois workers party". However in 1920 he corrected the view today expressed by Rees that Labour is the party of the trade unions. In fact it is the party of the trade union *bureaucracy*. Lenin argued that the composition of the Labour Party alone does not determine its character — this depends on its leadership and political programme: "Regarded from this, the only correct point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and



Evening Standard

MayDay 2000: Churchill decorated. Livingstone praised cop rampage.

Salute...

(Continued from page 7)

She was also our reporter at the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie in Lyons in 1987. We printed her reporter's notebook in *Workers Vanguard* and *Le Bolchévique*. In one sentence, Sue summed up the politics of the trial:

"Barbie's smiling grimace is a smile of contempt: he can beat the French state court simply by following its own rules, since he is willing to say the equivalent of what French rulers have believed for more than a century: better Hitler than a workers commune (soviet) in Paris."

Susan is rightly widely admired for her persistence in fighting for programmatic precision. The purpose was always to get it right—not to win an argument—because the party's line really matters. She sparked a rich internal discussion in late '96 about the slogan "US bases out of Japan", which was raised in our Japanese propaganda protesting the US bombing of Iraq. After a couple of months of political exchanges internationally, we arrived at a much more nuanced and precise appreciation of how most effectively to express our opposition to the US imperialist military in various contexts in this post-Soviet world.

After the French section succumbed to multiple pressures in '92, especially the collapse of Stalinism, she never stopped trying to sort out what had gone wrong. When she returned to France in '95 to help get the section straight around the big strikes there, she was able to lead again, having herself worked through a lot of the prior history and gained a measure of understanding.

Susan and François were a remarkable love match. When she got ill, Susan called him her "great hero". He treated her with unflinching tenderness. In '95 she wrote to her cousin Cathy about her coming marriage: "Who knows what the future holds, or how long we'll be to-

gether, but I wouldn't have traded this for anything."

I have to add one story here from a long-time sympathiser in Germany because it so captures a part of Sue. This was in the mid-'70s: "She also had a fine low-key sense of humour: I remember a female comrade asking Susan where she got her clothes (since Susan could be elegant in anything), and Susan answered 'Salvation Army'. When the comrade expressed surprise, Susan shrugged and smiled and said, 'Well, Parisian Salvation Army.'"

Susan wished to be cremated. Trotsky wrote in *Problems of Everyday Life*, cremation is "a powerful weapon... for anti-church and anti-religious propaganda". So it was, as François pointed out, her last act of propaganda. Personally, I find a fitting conclusion in Trotsky's description of his friend and comrade-in-arms Adolf Joffe:

"Joffe was a man of great intellectual ardor, very genial in all personal relations, and unswervingly loyal to the cause. [...] The personal bravery of this very sick man was really magnificent. [...] He was a good speaker, thoughtful and earnest in appeal, and he showed the same qualities as a writer. In everything he did, he paid the most exacting attention to detail—a quality that not many revolutionaries have. [...] For a great many years I was bound to him more closely than any one else. His loyalty to friendship as well as to principle was unequalled."

Eibhlin McDonald: My tribute to Comrade Susan is based on her role as representative of the International Secretariat in Europe, which is how I first knew her. One of her qualities was her training for combat with opponents. She made sure our intervention at the Lutte Ouvrière Fête every year was an international effort and she helped prepare all of us. She was superb at finding contradictions of the opponents and exploiting them. The first example I remember was in 1980. Workers Power had moved to the left on the Russian question as the Soviet

troops entered Afghanistan. The SL/B dismissed this development, saying they were "still Third Campists at heart". Susan was furious. She wrote in block capitals, "WHERE IS THE MAJOR ARTICLE IN SPARTACIST BRITAIN COMMENTING ON THIS??"

She also had guts when confronting the chauvinism of the opponents. The most spectacular example was against LO in 1992 at the fête. They excluded ACT UP; we defended them and LO threatened to exclude us. We did a stunning protest outside the big tent where the annual LO-LCR debate takes place. We just quietly appeared out of nowhere and stood there with signs denouncing LO's homophobia and anti-communism.

Susan made sure the LTF played an active part in the British miners strike of 1984-85. Dominique came to London and gave a great forum (attended by striking miners) on our struggle against the Mitterrand popular front. Miners came to France to raise money. Paul Brewin loves to talk about working with French comrades during the strike. When I told him about Susan's death, he recalled his visit here and said those were "hard times, but good times". He says he learned for the first time what a Stalinist is when CGT goons chased him off "their turf" in Rouen where he was collecting money.

My favourite Susan story is one I

discovered in an old bulletin. In 1976, 28-year-old Susan is sent on assignment in Genova, Italy for the International Secretariat. A group of three guys had broken to the left and professed agreement with the Spartacist tendency. But things were not moving forward. Susan wrote a report which said they should get into one city, write some polemics and do political work, otherwise they would just spin wheels and concoct theories about our party's deviations. This plain speaking offended the leader, I suppose because it was not "high Trotskyism". Of course, Susan had to comment on the Catholic church. She wrote: "Italian society is so odd—so many priests walking around as if they belonged in public made me edgy." The leader of this group went ballistic. He described her report as "asinine", "light-minded", "coarse" and "insensitive". He was so retrograde he assumed this young, beautiful woman, an American to boot, must be an airhead. She was a cultured communist. His problem was he wanted to vote for workers parties in the popular front.

Susan was one of the finest cadre of our International. Although she never wanted to give up, she was proud of what she accomplished in her life. The best we can do is carry on with the most important project in her life which was building and strengthening the party.

SUSAN ADAMS MEMORIAL COLLECTION

The Prometheus Research Library is honouring our comrade Susan Adams by creating a special collection as a tribute to her lifelong commitment to fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. The PRL, central reference archive of the Spartacist League of the US, is seeking contributions to expand its holdings of archival and current materials of the Marxist and workers movement related to the woman question, particularly its international aspects. This special memorial collection will enable our comrades and visiting researchers to pursue further study in this area of great importance to Marxists. Those who wish to contribute may make cheques payable to Spartacist, earmarked "Susan Adams Memorial Fund" on the back of the cheque. Post to: PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU.

the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organisation of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers with the aid of the British Noskes and Scheidemanns [German Social Democrats at whose behest revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered]" (quoted in *The Second Congress of the Communist International*, 1977).

Lenin's pamphlet "*Left-Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*" was written to help develop tactics for communists to intervene into reformist parties, to split them and win workers to the communist parties. He advocated critical support for Labour at the time, in "the same way as the rope supports a hanged man". The parliamentary cretins of the British "left" latch onto this as "proof" that Lenin would automatically advocate a vote to Labour at all times. This is absurd, but it flows from the fact that they stand in the tradition of the Labourite reactionaries Lenin was so scathing about. And the Labour Party today, while still a bourgeois workers party, is certainly not pretending to be on the side of workers as it was in 1920.

The Labour Party had yet to take hold of the reins of capitalism and their treacherous nature was not so clear to the working class. Moreover although the majority of British workers were members of the Labour Party they were at the same time campaigning in their hundreds of thousands to stop Britain's military intervention against the infant workers

state. Soviet Russia, the only society ever ruled by workers councils, emerged as a result of the October 1917 Revolution led by the Bolsheviks which destroyed the power of the capitalist class, expropriated its property and ruthlessly suppressed attempts to restore the capitalist order. British dockers refused to load arms to aid the enemies of Soviet Russia, and the "Hands off Russia" campaign was successful in its immediate aim. The British proletariat also wanted a system similar to the Soviet system, which they understood to be superior to capitalism, but they were duped by false promises of "common ownership" enshrined in Clause IV of Labour's constitution, which turned out to mean nationalised industry under capitalism.

Leninist tactics towards reformist parties are designed to exacerbate the contradiction they embody—having a working-class base but a capitalist programme. From this perspective we gave critical support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in the last general election where, unlike the majority of the pseudo-Trotskyists, the SLP did not call for a vote to Labour where they did not have a candidate. The SLP's emergence as a split from Labour in 1996 provided an opening in the Labour monolith; their candidates standing in opposition to Labour provided an opportunity for revolutionaries to intervene to win workers to a revolutionary programme in opposition to the SLP's perspective which is Old Labour reformism.

When we applied the tactic of critical support we made clear that it did not translate into any kind of promise of ongoing support. Since then they have been responsible for abject betrayals of workers in rail and the Tube by SLP union bureaucrats such as Bob Crow in the RMT. To date the SLP has not produced a platform for the election.

The success of the working class depends on its organisation and consciousness, ie on revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary party is the indispensable weapon for victory and its job is to bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class. The need to break all illusions in Labour is one of the main lessons of the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, one of the major class battles of the British proletariat. Although the miners fought militantly against the forces of the capitalist state, they were betrayed by the treachery of the Labour leaders and the union bureaucracy, while miners leader Arthur Scargill remained tied to the Labour Party. We seek to instil the lessons of that strike into workers' consciousness so they can go forward to victories.

The national reformism of the SA and the SSP reflects decades of ideological prostration before the British ruling class. The constituent groups long ago signed an anti-Communist loyalty oath to social democracy when they renounced defence of the former Soviet Union, to the point of supporting Yeltsin's counterrevolution. We Trotskyists of the International Communist

League fought with all our might against counterrevolution in the ex-USSR and Eastern Europe. Our programme was for unconditional military defence of the former USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, which wrested political control from the working class in 1923-24. Despite its degeneration under Stalinism the USSR remained a workers state until its final undoing in 1991-92. Today we apply the same programme to the deformed workers states of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. Our position flows from the class character of these states embodied in the collectivised property forms established by the revolutions which overturned capitalism.

Labour are gearing up for a major confrontation to which end they are augmenting the powers of state repression. During Labour's second term wider layers of workers and youth will be propelled into struggle against the capitalist system. The working class is the force which has the power and the direct interest in defeating the attacks of the Labour government. We seek to build a party to lead the working class in socialist revolution to overthrow the system of class exploitation, national oppression, racism and war. The ICL is dedicated to reforging the Fourth International, party of world socialist revolution, through intransigent opposition to the social-democratic parties and their fake-left apologists. Join us! ■

Balkans...

(Continued from page 12)

imperialists through workers revolution and for military defence of Serbia. That war had nothing to do with defence of the Kosovo Albanians. It was aimed from the start at asserting US dominance in Europe and realising longstanding plans to insert a substantial NATO military presence in Serbia. We denounced the predatory "peace" dictated by the world's bloodiest mass murderers, who wreaked more destruction on Yugoslavia than had Hitler's Nazis in World War II, declaring in *Workers Hammer* no 169 (July/August 1999):

"This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed world over. It will place the Kosovars — Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike — under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region. It will fuel the rapacity of the imperialist powers at home and abroad. It will sharpen the conflicting appetites of the major capitalist powers, accelerating the drive to an even bloodier war in the future."

Kosovo was turned into a NATO protectorate, divided into British, French, German, Italian and American zones of occupation, with the US calling the shots as supreme overlord of NATO. Beneath the seeming amity among the imperialist occupiers lie very different interests. Germany is intent on reasserting its traditional sphere of influence, especially in the northern Balkans; the D-mark is now the main currency in Kosovo and elsewhere in the Balkans. Britain's ambitions were made clear by the bizarre ceremony staged last week in London's Claridge's Hotel, as Crown Prince Alexander was granted Serbian citizenship in the suite where he was born in 1945, a prelude to re-establishing the monarchy. That suite was designated "Yugoslav territory" the day he was born in order to ensure his claim to the (abolished) Serbian throne! France likewise has historic appetites in Serbia, and Italy in Albania, while Russia has reverted to its prerevolutionary posture as "big brother" of the Slavic peoples.

The renewed flare-up in the Balkans comes as the US flaunts an increasingly bellicose foreign policy. The wholesale expulsion of some 50 Russian diplomats from the US last week is the most provocative action of this sort since the height of the Reagan administration's Cold War offensive against the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Simultaneously, the Bush administration provocatively hosted a representative of the Chechen separatists brutally suppressed by Russia as "terrorists".

Tensions between Washington and its Western European "allies" have also grown more strident. Today's *New York Times* headlines, "Europe and Bush: Early Storm Clouds to Watch". The Europeans oppose American plans for a "star wars" anti-missile system and the US denounces European plans to build a "rapid reaction force" as a counterweight to NATO. Reflecting its own imperialist appetites in the oil-rich Near East, France recently came out openly against the US-dictated UN embargo of Iraq, as has Russia. Within the European Union itself, virtually everything from the influx of asylum-seekers to the recent outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease serves as a pretext for tightening borders and fomenting national chauvinism. And such tensions among the major capitalist powers are bound to deepen as an international recession takes hold.

Washington's main target is the bureaucratically deformed workers state of China. The *Guardian* (24 March) reports a new policy review by Secretary of

Defense Donald Rumsfeld portraying China "as the principal threat to American global dominance" and writes of "Washington's decision to turn more of its guns and missiles towards China". The Bush administration talks of supplying Taiwan with destroyers with advanced Aegis radar systems, while pushing full speed ahead with plans for its "star wars" missile defence, intended chiefly to neutralise China's nuclear arsenal. Imperialist-backed counterrevolution, destroying the remaining social gains of the 1949 Revolution, would spell enormous hardship for China's



April 1999:
NATO bombing
of refugee
convoy in
Kosovo killed
82 Albanians.

workers and poor and would fuel potentially cataclysmic rivalry between the US and Japan over the spoils. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat to fight for the unconditional military defence of China against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

Counterrevolution fuels nationalist wars

In the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, conflicting appetites among the major capitalist powers have increasingly come to the fore. We have frequently observed that the outline of the international political situation following capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution increasingly resembles that before the first inter-imperialist world war in 1914-18. That the tiny state of Macedonia is today under an international spotlight is a telling indication of this.

Lord Owen, a one-time Labour Party leader, recently called for a "present-day equivalent of the 1878 Congress of Berlin, with pre-agreed boundary changes endorsed by the major powers" (*New York Times*, 25 March). That congress created the statelets that made up the Balkan peninsula in the years before World War I, separated by artificial boundaries, cutting through the many peoples of the region, in order to suit the Great Powers — chiefly Britain, tsarist Russia, Bismarck's Germany and Habsburg Austria. This period marked the ascendancy of the modern imperialist epoch, what Bolshevik leader VI Lenin later called the "highest stage of capitalism", defined by the increasing concentration of monopolies, the dominance of banking and finance capital over industry and the scramble by a handful of big capitalist countries to grab colonies, markets and spheres of exploitation from each other. The Balkans was a major cockpit for these conflicting imperialist appetites.

The immediate precipitant of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 was a revolt by the Albanians of Kosovo, whose capture of Skopje, now the capital of Macedonia, destabilised the central Balkans. Amid the disintegration of Ottoman Turkey and Austrian encroachment, the Balkan statelets went to war with Turkey — and then with each other — in a mad frenzy to seize territory. Macedonia was carved up among Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. This was a prelude to World War I, which was triggered by the assassination

of an Austrian archduke by a Serb nationalist.

The only time nationalist hostilities in this region abated was during the existence of the multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, born out of World War II with the victory of Josip Broz Tito's Communist Partisans over the occupying Nazi Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. But the victory of Tito's Stalinists resulted in a workers state bureaucratically deformed from its inception, with the working class denied political power. The 1945 Yugoslav

constitution guaranteed formal equality for all the South Slav peoples, and the relative national harmony achieved under proletarian state power and a collectivised economy stands in stark contrast to the communalist bloodletting of the past decade. But bureaucratic misrule and the nationalist deformations inherent in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" were counterposed to a lasting, equitable resolution of the national question.

A socialist federation of the Balkans necessarily had to extend to Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece, with its substantial Macedonian and Albanian minorities. Intent on continuing his wartime alliance with British imperialism after 1945, Stalin allowed the Greek Communists to be crushed by British imperialism and domestic reaction in the Civil War, ensuring the continued rule of the chauvinist Greek bourgeoisie. Finally, Tito's split with Stalin in 1948 put an end to plans for federating Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Romania, which had pro-Moscow regimes.

Under central planning, economic differences between backward regions and more industrialised areas like Slovenia and Croatia were somewhat ameliorated through the favourable allocation of investment and other resources. Tito's introduction of "market socialism" in the 1960s reinforced regional disparities and fuelled a resurgence of nationalism, paving the way for a fracturing of the Stalinist bureaucracy after Tito's death in 1980. In our article "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*Workers Vanguard* nos 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976), we warned: "The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle."

This is precisely what happened as Stalinism collapsed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Slovenia and Croatia seceded from the Yugoslav federation and restored capitalism in 1991, igniting an ethnic civil war between Serbs and Croats which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state. This was instigated by German imperialism, fresh from its counterrevolutionary annexation of the DDR (East Germany). Washington then pressed Bosnia to declare its independence, instigating an even bloodier intercommunal slaughter. While the imperialists (and their "left" lapdogs) vilified Milosevic's Serbia for

"ethnic cleansing", the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the course of the recent Balkan wars was the expulsion of some 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina region of Croatia in 1995, an atrocity carried out in collusion with the US.

Until now, Macedonia had been relatively immune from the nationalist fratricide, lauded by the imperialist media for its pro-Western "multiethnic" regime, which includes the Democratic Party for Albanians. In fact, the present coalition government, which replaced the ex-Stalinist Social-Democratic Alliance in 1998, is headed by extremist Macedonian nationalists whose namesake, the Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organization, was a tool of the Bulgarian far right in the years before World War II. Ethnic Albanians constitute at least a quarter to a third of the population — the exact figure is itself a point of political controversy, with the recent fighting erupting just before a planned census in April — but are largely excluded from government positions, the police and the army. Use of Albanian is heavily circumscribed, and the regime suppressed an Albanian-language university established in Tetovo a few years ago. The influx of some 200,000 Albanian refugees from Kosovo, many fleeing NATO bombing, provoked a firestorm of opposition.

The Macedonian UCK claims that it is not fighting for secession. In fact, the UCK has long had the aim of a "Greater Albania", including parts of northwestern Greece. And Greece has long had designs on Macedonia. When Macedonia declared independence in 1992, the Greek bourgeoisie demanded that the country call itself Skopje, the name of the capital city, and screamed, "Macedonia is Greece!" Troops were mobilised for a possible invasion and a three-year economic embargo was imposed. Bourgeois hostility towards the Macedonians in Greece, who are denied language rights and suffer systematic discrimination, is fuelled by the disproportionate role they played in the Communist-led forces in the Greek Civil War.

In "The National Question in Yugoslavia", we wrote:

"Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania."

Our defence of the right of self-determination of the Albanians in Kosovo, Macedonia and Greece in no way implies political support to the reactionary nationalism of the UCK, which has shown itself no less proficient at bloody "ethnic cleansing" than the Serb chauvinists. Under the protection of its NATO imperialist patrons, the UCK has forced tens of thousands of Serbs and Roma (Gypsies) from their homes through pogromist massacres, most recently bombing a busload of Serbian civilians in February.

Moreover, in the 1999 war the question of Albanian self-determination was subordinated to military defence of Serbia against British/US/NATO forces, which likewise implied not an iota of political support to the Serb-chauvinist Milosevic regime in Belgrade. With Kosovo now a NATO protectorate, there can be no independent struggle for the national rights of ethnic Albanians or any other national minority in the region which does not first and foremost seek to expel the imperialist "peacekeepers". At the same time, we noted in our article at the end of the war: "The question of military defence of the Kosovo separatists against NATO forces might well be posed in the event of armed clashes if the imperialist occupation troops move to disarm the UCK" (*Workers Hammer*

no 169, July/August 1999). We fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans through proletarian revolution against all the capitalist regimes of the region. *Down with the imperialist occupation of Kosovo! All British/US/UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!*

Fake lefts sell imperialism's lies

In his 1910 article "The Balkan Question and Social Democracy", Leon Trotsky, who worked as a journalist in the region during the Balkan Wars, wrote: "The Social Democratic parties of Bulgaria and Serbia, the most mature representatives of the labor movement in the Balkans, are fighting tirelessly on two fronts: against their own dynastic-chauvinist cliques and against the imperialist plans of tsarism and the Europe of the stock exchanges" (*The Balkan Wars 1912-13*). With the outbreak of World War I, the Serbian Social Democrats and the Bulgarian "Narrow" Socialists (Tesnyaki) joined Lenin's Bolsheviks in hard proletarian-internationalist opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Lenin's principled stand in 1914 was the precondition for the victory of the Bolshevik-led workers revolution in 1917, which pointed the way out of imperialist war to the proletariat internationally.

In May 1919, the Tesnyaki constituted themselves as the Communist Party of Bulgaria. As Joseph Rothschild noted in his *The Communist Party of Bulgaria: Origins and Development 1883-1936* (1959), their adherence to the new Communist International brought into it a party very much in the Bolshevik mould, the "only mass party, other than the Bolshevik one, of a truly 'Russian' complexion". At its founding congress, the Bulgarian party proclaimed that the independence of the Balkan peoples could only be assured by the establishment of a Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The current crop of counterfeit "Marxists" and "Trotskyists" stand in the tradition not of the Bolsheviks and Bulgarian "Narrows" but of the German Social Democracy—denounced by Lenin as "social-imperialist"—which voted for imperialist war credits and mobilised the workers as cannon fodder for the capitalist rulers. The reformist and centrist "socialists"—from the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in Britain and International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the US to Alain Krivine's United Secretariat (USec) and Workers Power (WP)—promoted the war aims and propaganda of the imperialist rulers in 1999 while declaiming against the NATO bombing. Their only difference lay in which of the divergent imperialist forces they tailed—the strongly pro-NATO Clinton and Blair governments or the French Socialists and British Labour "lefts", etc.

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we were presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-NATO war rallies. Indeed, it was the liberals and fake socialists who most loudly and assiduously promoted the lie that what was at issue was the plight of the Kosovo Albanians. Their ideological prostration before the capitalist rulers over Kosovo reflected their many years of support to Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy" and "human rights". Their lodestar is not the interests of the international proletariat but bourgeois "public opinion". Amid "ethnic cleansing" on all sides, the fake lefts consistently lined up behind whichever nationality Western imperialism momentarily favoured—and always against NATO's chief nemesis, Milosevic's Serbia.

As the US and Britain promoted the Bosnian Muslim regime in 1993, WP dutifully chimed in, "Solidarity with Bosnian Muslims!" WP joined with the USec in a campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia", which openly collaborated with imperialist "peacekeeping" forces, and baldly refused to defend the Bosnian Serbs against NATO's bombing campaign with the line that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary" (5 September 1995 statement). For its part, the ISO claimed to oppose imperialist intervention in Serbia but chastised the imperialists for not doing enough to oust Milosevic from power, writing: "Opposition parties have called on the West to take a tough line, but have come away disappointed" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 December 1996).

When the West's attentions shifted to Kosovo in 1999, the NATO "socialists" followed suit, invigorated by the fact that the social-democratic parties they supported were now in power in much of Western Europe. They raised a clamour for "independence for Kosovo" and championed the UCK, which boasted of spotting targets for NATO bombing sorties. In a statement distributed at a 30 March 1999 public meeting in London, WP claimed to "support the Serbian forces' self-defence against NATO attack" but "not in Kosovo which they have no right to occupy"—ie *not* on the principal battlefield. Tailing behind Blair's Labour Party, which was the most belligerent government in the war against Serbia, WP was in fact one of the most vociferous promoters of NATO's UCK puppets, marching alongside NATO flags in a "Workers Aid for Kosovo" demonstration in London and co-sponsoring a London public meeting whose main speaker was a rabidly pro-NATO Albanian nationalist.

Across the channel, the French USec group, the Ligue Communiste Révo-

lutionnaire, echoed the anti-American nationalism of the French bourgeoisie, promoting the UN or the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as an alternative to NATO. Daniel Bensaïd, a prominent French USec leader, co-signed a statement calling for a "multinational police force" in Kosovo "under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord" (*Rouge*, 1 April 1999). With the British SWP immersed in an "antiwar" coalition with "little England" anti-American Labour "left" Tony Benn, SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos likewise signed the pro-OSCE appeal. And while the SWP capitulated to Bennite Labourism, the American ISO bent to the prevailing pressure of "human rights imperialism". Idiotically whining that "NATO bombs

Bush administration and NATO have gone out of their way to paint the guerrillas in the hills of Macedonia as 'Albanian extremists', a far different description than the portrayal of Kosovo Albanians in 1999 as a persecuted minority needing help." Now that the UCK is being discarded by its imperialist patrons, the opportunists find themselves in a quandary. Reflecting the European governments' harder line against the UCK, the British *Socialist Worker* (10 March) writes: "These Albanian guerrilla campaigns have been allowed to flourish in part because they operate in zones for which the US is responsible." Meanwhile, the American *Socialist Worker* (16 March) has a different tilt: "NATO even plans to allow the Serb-run Yugoslav Army to enter a three-mile



Workers Hammer

Fake socialists promoted war aims of NATO imperialists, championing "poor little Kosovo". At May 1999 London demonstration, Workers Power banner read: "Stop NATO's bombing! Independence for Kosovo!"

won't bring peace", the ISO argued for self-determination for Kosovo and echoed the lie that the issue was the plight of the Albanian refugees, pleading in *Socialist Worker* (7 May 1999): "Money for Refugees, Not for War!"

"Albanian liberation" meets "Serbian revolution"

Having tailed the imperialist-backed Albanian nationalists in Kosovo, the same groups were soon tailing the imperialist-backed Serb chauvinist Vojislav Kostunica in the so-called "Serbian revolution" that ousted Milosevic, which as we noted in a headline at the time was "Made in the U.S.A." (*Workers Vanguard* no 744, 20 October 2000). In a 10 October 2000 posting on its Web site, WP enthused over "a mighty popular revolution", fatuously claiming that Kostunica "has not offered himself as an open tool of Nato". Compelled to acknowledge the well-documented ties of the anti-Milosevic opposition forces to Western imperialism, the ISO's *International Socialist Review* (December 2000-January 2001) nonetheless concluded that "it is neither the cause nor the driving force of the revolt". And the British *Socialist Worker* (24 March) declares even now: "Hundreds of thousands of people in Serbia took to the streets and brought down Milosevic, no thanks to NATO."

To be sure, Kostunica did not openly embrace NATO. He is, if anything, even more rabidly chauvinist than Milosevic, staging a photo-op with Serb chauvinist paramilitary killers in Kosovo in 1998 and supporting Radovan Karadzic's extreme nationalist party in last November's Bosnian election. But Kostunica's election victory was bought and paid for by the US and other NATO powers, especially Germany, which openly funded and braintrustered the opposition parties and blackmailed the population with threats of continued economic sanctions if they didn't vote the right way. One of the chief recipients of imperialist largesse was the Otpor student group, a favourite of Western leftists, whose omnipresent clenched-fist signs and "Gotov Je" (He's finished) stickers were paid for by the US.

With Milosevic ousted, as the *New York Times* (19 March) observed, "The

buffer zone on the border of Kosovo in order to attack the same Albanian guerrillas that the U.S. supported during the 1999 war."

Opportunism is nationally defined. Foreshadowing the recent open split between the two groups, the ISO and SWP traded accusations of capitulation in the aftermath of the war. According to a document by Callinicos justifying the split, the ISO took the SWP to task for not denouncing "illusions in the United Nations as an alternative to NATO" and for ignoring the question of Kosovo self-determination ("The Anti-Capitalist Movement and the Revolutionary Left", 7 March).

National differences in opportunist appetites can only intensify as rivalries among the major capitalist powers themselves intensify. For the common starting point for reformists and centrists is utter prostration before their "own" rulers, generally refracted through the social-democratic labour bureaucracies. Their role as drummer boys for imperialism in the Balkans portends a larger capitulation with the inevitable outbreak of a new inter-imperialist war—inevitable if the proletariat does not seize power first.

Writing in 1908, Trotsky scathingly denounced the Russian liberals who called on the tsarist autocracy to intervene in the Balkans:

"Poles and Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews, Armenians and Georgians, Slavs and non-Slavs—we all wade up to our knees in blood that is shed every day by the tsarist gang. And the liberals call upon this government, the most guilty of them all, to free the Serbs from the grip of Austria...."

"We shall render our best service to the Serbs of Bosnia, as to all oppressed peoples in general, when we dash the crown from the head of Nicholas II."

Trotsky's revolutionary internationalist politics led him to join with Lenin's Bolsheviks in 1917 and organise the October Revolution. And we communists of the Spartacist League/Britain will render our best service to all the oppressed peoples of the world through the forging of a multiethnic revolutionary workers party to overthrow blood-drenched British imperialism through workers revolution. ■

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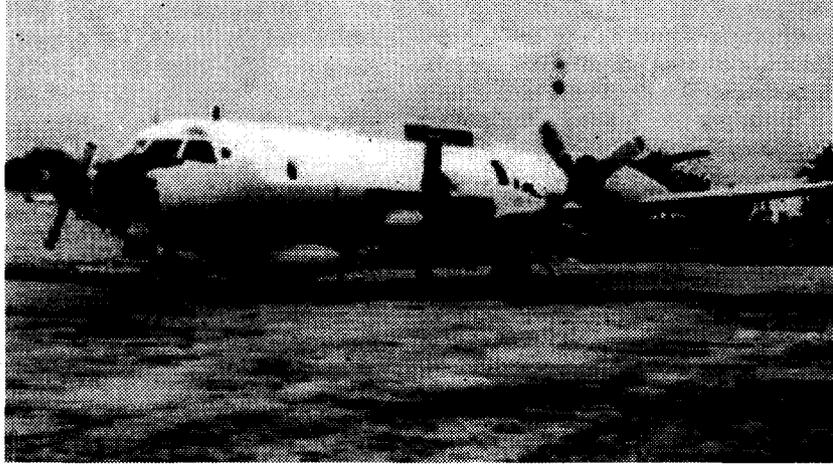
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US spy plane provocation



Xinhua photos

Courageous Chinese pilot Wang Wei. Provocation by US spy plane is part of calculated escalation by American imperialism against Chinese deformed workers state.

the People's Republic of China, aimed at furthering the capitalists' goal of smashing the 1949 Chinese Revolution and reimposing the yoke of imperialist exploitation on China's working masses. As proletarian internationalists in the heartland of world imperialism, the Spartacist League/US declares its class solidarity with the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese workers state, however bureaucratically deformed. We salute Wang Wei, the pilot who is presumed dead after defending his country against imperialist espionage and provocation.

With all the arrogance that comes of being the self-proclaimed "world's only superpower", US imperialism thought it could dictate terms of submission to China. President Bush imperiously demanded the immediate return of the EP-3E plane and its crew, while the chauvinist American media smeared the downed Chinese pilot as a "cowboy" who didn't know what he was doing and got what was coming. But unlike the small, defenceless countries over which America's rulers regularly ride roughshod, China does not fall into the category of a "rogue state" — because it has nuclear weapons.

When Beijing refused to simply kowtow to the diktat of "Xiao Bushi" (Little *continued on page 3*

Defend China!

We print below an article adapted from Workers Vanguard no 756, 13 April 2001. Since the article was written, the crew of the American plane have been released by the Chinese authorities fol-

lowing a climbdown by the Bush administration.

APRIL 10 — Whatever happened in the skies above China's Hainan Island last

week — and Beijing's account is a lot more plausible than Washington's — the US spy plane provocation was no accident. It was part of a deliberate, calculated escalation of US military pressure against

All British/UN/NATO troops out now!

Balkans tangle



AFP photos

Balkan cauldron boiling: Macedonian police fire on Albanian separatist positions outside Tetovo (above). Albanian commandos on the march along Serbian border.

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 755, 30 March 2001. Since then, Slobodan Milosevic has been arrested in Serbia at the behest of the Americans who are pushing for him to be tried in the UN "war crimes tribunal" in The Hague.

MARCH 26 — Less than two years after the US-led NATO onslaught against Serbia, the Balkans powder keg threatens to explode in the imperialists' faces. Having used the struggle of the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) as a pretext for their war of

domination against the former Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic, the imperialists now find the UCK pushing the region towards renewed intercommunal conflict. "West Is Alarmed as Warfare Grows in Balkans Again", read a headline in the *New York Times* (17 March).

The former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, which provided a platform for NATO's war against Serbia, is embroiled in a potential civil war with the National Liberation Army, which claims to be distinct from the Kosovo guerrillas but whose Albanian initials are also UCK. On 21 March, a German KFOR

(Kosovo occupation force) tank convoy and a thousand troops moved into the town of Tetovo amid heavy fighting between Macedonian troops and UCK irregulars. Earlier this month, a US-led KFOR unit engaged in a firefight with UCK commandos on the Kosovo border. Responding to European calls for more "robust" action against the Albanian separatists, US secretary of state Colin Powell now promises to help augment the Macedonian regime's "military capabilities" and support its "efforts to bolster a democratic, multiethnic state". Given substantial Macedonian Slav and

Albanian minorities in Greece and Turkey's posture as patron of the Balkan Muslim peoples, the UCK's efforts for a "Greater Albania" could easily pull these historic enemies — and NATO partners — into a full-scale war.

**For a socialist
federation
of the Balkans!**

In Bosnia, which remains occupied by upwards of 20,000 troops under United Nations auspices, the nationalist Croat Democratic Union threatens to secede and bring down the "multiethnic, democratic" house of cards set up by the US-imposed Dayton Accord in 1995, reviving the spectre of renewed ethnic slaughter among Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs.

Serbia, anointed a "democracy" by the masters of Wall Street, Frankfurt and the City of London in the wake of Milosevic's ouster last autumn, has chafed under repeated raids by a local UCK offshoot into the imperialist-imposed "ground safety" zone along its southern border with Kosovo. NATO has now invited Serbian military forces back into this area.

While opportunist leftists tailed behind their respective capitalist governments in beating the war drums for "poor little Kosovo" two years ago, the International Communist League fought for the defeat of the British/US/NATO

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