



## Fight For a Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Party!

# As Worker Anger Grows, Unions Threaten to Dump ALP

• **Bosses' Courts Out of the Unions!**  
• **Down With Protectionist Poison!**

SEPTEMBER 1—"This is the first time in this region that unions have come together to provide a united front of opposition to the Labor Party," said Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU) organiser Wayne Phillips, at a March conference of major unions in the Illawarra industrial heartland. He continued, "There are many in the trade union movement who are fed up with the anti-worker direction the Labor Party in NSW is taking." Such sentiment within the unions is being heard more loudly, especially in the eastern states where state ALP governments—notorious for cop assaults on picket lines and anti-racist protests, attacks on public education and health care—have been in office longest. Internationally, especially in Europe, social-democratic parties that have been or remain in power—such as the former Jospin regime in France and the Schröder government in Germany—have viciously attacked the working class while whipping up racism at home.

Disgust within the trade unions at the ALP's anti-working-class policies has pushed several left-talking bureaucrats to threaten and in

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Andrew Batsch

June 13: Victorian ALP government's cops herd scabs through angry maintenance workers' picket at BHP Steel. Earlier mounted police brutally attacked picket in dead of night.

# Down With Bloody Zionist Occupation!

*We reprint below, slightly adapted, an article from Workers Vanguard (No. 785, 9 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.*

Just before midnight on 22 July, an American-supplied F-16 fighter jet dropped a one-ton bomb on a densely populated neighborhood in Gaza City. Supposedly aimed at killing one man, the alleged founder of the military wing of Hamas, the terror bombing killed 14 other Palestinians, including nine children, who were asleep in their homes. Right-wing prime minister Ariel Sharon gloated that this was "one of our major successes," while "Labor" foreign minister Shimon Peres responded to international criticism by conceding that "a smaller bomb could have been more appropriate"! In other words, the extent of death and devastation—an entire block of apartment buildings reduced to rubble, scores of people cramming hospital wards, dead babies dug out from the heaps of debris—was too much for these butchers to conceal.

This atrocity was a bloody provocation designed not to prevent terror attacks by

## Defend the Palestinians!



AFP

Fifteen Palestinians were killed, 160 were wounded and an entire Gaza City neighborhood was destroyed in 22 July Israeli attack by U.S.-supplied F-16 jet.

the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas, as Israeli government spokesmen claimed, but to *guarantee* more of them. On 31 July, Hamas set off a bomb at lunch time in the cafeteria of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, killing seven people, mostly

students. This was followed in rapid succession by a murderous Israeli crackdown in Nablus—one of seven West Bank cities reoccupied last month—more army killings in Gaza and further Palestinian terrorist attacks. On 4 August,

Hamas claimed credit for the bombing of a bus which left at least nine people dead and more than 40 injured. Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers are carrying out the Nazi policy of "collective punishment" with a vengeance, blowing up homes or deporting families of suspected terrorists and subjecting the whole Palestinian population to a total lockdown.

Seizing on the Hebrew University attack, whose victims included five Americans, U.S. president Bush issued a blank cheque for the next round of brutal Zionist attacks, intoning that "Israel must defend herself." But in the face of an international clamor, even Bush felt compelled to distance himself from the "heavy-handed" Gaza bombing. Above all, the White House is concerned that any serious escalation by Sharon could pose an obstacle to its one overriding obsession in the Near East: the crushing of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. Over the past month, the Bush administration has sharply ratcheted up talk of an invasion. A number of possible war plans are being mooted, including a massive ground invasion involving a quarter-million troops and an "outside-inside" scheme combining heavy air strikes with a deployment of 50,000 troops to seize Baghdad and assassinate Hussein.

The invasion threat has generated considerable unease among the West European powers, among Arab leaders like Jordan's King Abdullah—who warned Bush that an invasion could throw the whole region into turmoil—and even among elements in the Pentagon. Most pusillanimous have been the Democrats, who whimper only that Bush should first present his case for an invasion in Congress. What case? Even Hitler felt the need to fabricate a provocation to justify his invasion of Poland in 1939. But the American imperialist rulers

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## U.S./Australia Hands Off Iraq!

# Stop Racist Persecution of Bakhtiyari Family! Drop the Charges Against All Woomera Protesters and Detainees!



Sydney Morning Herald  
**Montazar Bakhtiyari, 12, his face full of fear, under escort back to detention centre hellhole.**

The Partisan Defence Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League, faxed the following protest letter to Daryl Williams, the federal attorney-general on 20 August.

The 18 July seizure and reimprisonment of Afghan refugees, 12-year-old Montazar Bakhtiyari and 13-year-old Alamdar Bakhtiyari, was an act of sheer racist brutality. On 28 June these two courageous youth escaped for the second time from the hellhole Woomera detention camp where they were incarcerated with their mother Roqiah and younger sisters Nagina, Samina and Amina, aged ten, eight and four years respectively. The boys escaped along with 33 other mainly Afghan refugees at the time of a desperate 16-day hunger strike by most of the Woomera detainees. Earlier the hideous conditions at Woomera, including detention guards beating children and throwing them against razor wire fences, drove the Bakhtiyari family to such desperation that Roqiah and Alamdar sewed their lips together and the boys attempted to slash their own wrists.

Montazar and Alamdar had sought asylum in the British consulate in Melbourne. The foreign secretary of Britain's Labour government, Jack

Straw, personally intervened to ensure they were thrown back into the clutches of the Australian authorities. This highlights that capitalist governments of all stripes around the world are conducting a racist war on immigrants, as the spearhead of their attacks against the working class as a whole.

The day after their seizure by Australian Federal Police, the recaptured Bakhtiyari brothers were flown out of Melbourne back to Woomera just an hour before their distraught father, who lives in Sydney on a temporary visa, arrived to see them. While federal Liberal/National coalition and state Labor governments alike shove "family values" down the throats of the population, Roqiah and her children are forcibly separated from their husband and father. Now the government is vindictively threatening to revoke Mr Bakhtiyari's

visa and, less than two weeks after his recapture, Alamdar and other detainees were brutally beaten again in a rampage by detention centre guards. Stop this vicious persecution! We demand: Asylum now for all refugees—no deportations! Close the concentration camps! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

It is a measure of the racist barbarism of the Australian capitalist state that it seeks to deport Afghan refugees back to a country that it is helping its U.S. allies to devastate through terror bombing. Many of these refugees fled the former Taliban regime. Like the present regime of cut-throats, these woman-hating fundamentalists are the creatures of the U.S. and, among others, its Australian junior partners who bought and paid for their services against the Soviet Red Army's liberating intervention in the 1980s. Meanwhile another large group of refugees is threatened with deportation to Iraq, where they will face being starved by the murderous UN blockade that the Australian navy helps enforce, and/or being annihilated by a threatened U.S./Australia military onslaught.

Outrage at the government's detention of refugees in concentration camps, in large part policed by state ALP govern-

ments, was spectacularly demonstrated during the Easter weekend pro-refugee demonstrations at Woomera. On 29 March defiant protests by detainees and nearly 1,000 anti-racist activists liberated 50 asylum seekers including Roqiah and the Bakhtiyari brothers.

While eleven remain free as a result of the March actions, some 30 recaptured detainees have been charged with "escaping detention" and face up to five years in jail. Additionally, over 30 activists have been charged, with some facing up to four years jail for "harbouring escapees." From the later 28 June "breakout," 20 of the 27 recaptured detainees have been ordered to appear in the Adelaide Magistrates Court on 5 November while five of the several dozen refugee supporters who assisted them have been charged and three face up to ten years in jail if convicted.

Your government's vicious persecution of defiant immigrant detainees and their courageous supporters is aimed at cowering all opponents of racist reaction and state-sponsored union-busting. We demand: Drop the charges against all Woomera detainees and protesters!■

### Donate to the Legal Defence of Woomera Protesters and Detainees!

A fund has been organised by some of their supporters. Make cheques payable/mail to Woomera Defence Fund, c/o Refugee Action Collective, PO Box 578, Carlton South Vic 3053.

## Entrapment Snares Immigration Advocate Free Andrew Theophanous!

On 11 June Dr Andrew Theophanous, prominent former federal Labor MP and long-time advocate for immigration, was sentenced to six years jail for bribery, defrauding and conspiracy to defraud the Commonwealth and corruption. He was set up; entrapped in a series of exercises carried out in 1998-99 by the sinister National Crime Authority (NCA) using a convicted heroin dealer-turned-NCA informer, the dubious Frank Cheung, and involving supposed would-be Chinese immigrants. It was carried out with the involvement of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) for whom Theophanous has long been a thorn in the side. The capitalist state seeks to make an example of Theophanous; his jailing is meant to intimidate anti-racist activists and advocates for immigrants and refugees. We say: Free Andrew Theophanous!

Codenamed "Operation Legume" and reportedly costing millions of dollars, the NCA's operation included surveillance of Theophanous and his family, tapping

more than 3,500 telephone calls, covertly recording at least 14 conversations and lures of financial rewards and sexual favours. All the major "crimes" for which Theophanous was convicted were a product of the NCA's entrapment! This included "conspiracy" to obtain a visitor's visa for someone he knew was planning to stay in Australia—no crime from the standpoint of the working class!

The state's massive operation began in July 1998 when Cheung, wearing an NCA-supplied wire, met Theophanous for the first time and asked for assistance in getting a visa for "his girlfriend" in China. Theophanous agreed to help. In late 1998, in one of the entrapment exercises, the NCA supplied Cheung with \$26,000 directing that he give it to Theophanous via his acquaintance Peter Yau, "for their services." However Yau is said to have pocketed the full amount—an act for which he was later convicted. While the right-wing tabloid, *Herald Sun*, alleged that Theophanous got \$4,000 of that money, even they noted, "For the

hours he spent on the case, he would have made more busking on Bourke St" (23 May).

Theophanous was convicted of accepting a \$2,000 bribe for providing immigration assistance to two people—a "crime" resulting from Cheung's January 1999 request to help two Chinese people who had overstayed their visitors' visas. The alleged openness of Theophanous to Cheung's suggestion that the woman would "partly reward" him with "sexual favours" was the focus of lurid media attention as it whipped up public hysteria against him. No mind that Theophanous never met the woman (!) and no charges relating to this were ever brought against him.

The state targeted Theophanous because he was outspoken against the overt racism of DIMA and was often in hostile conflict with its officers, some of whom he described as "racist bastards." Theophanous denounced DIMA for making it difficult for Chinese people to get visas and opposed the discriminatory two-tier system of visitors' visas. After massive surveillance failed to find any evidence of wrongdoing, the NCA embarked on its entrapment course. They had *nothing* on Theophanous until they deliberately orchestrated the "evidence" used to convict him.

From a Greek Cypriot working-class background, Theophanous' direct experience of racism in Australia—including being subjected to racist epithets at school—doubtless helped shape his disdain for racism and passion for immigration and migrant issues. However in his 19 years as a federal Labor MP, he loyally served in successive ALP governments that ground down the poor, waged war on Iraq, legislated mandatory detention of "illegal" immigrants and cut back social security for "legal" immigrants. Theophanous only resigned from the ALP in April 2000, when denied pre-selection because he was under investigation by the NCA. He lost his seat as an independent MP in the last racist federal election.

Once parliamentary secretary in the Keating federal government and a major player from the Socialist Left faction of the Labor party, Theophanous has today been largely shunned or denounced by his former ALP parliamentary "mates." Theophanous, who has protested his innocence on all charges will appeal against the conviction and sentence. Disturbed by his brother's fate, Theo Theophanous, Victorian state ALP parliamentarian, wrote: "The big civil-liberty question that has not been discussed in this case is: in the fight against terrorism do we want a society where organisations such as the NCA can tap phone calls and use entrapment against our citizens, even if it has no evidence of wrongdoing? And if so, why stop at Andrew Theophanous?" (Age, 7 June).

For some years now the Australian ruling class has been dispensing with democratic trappings in favour of naked repression the better to regiment the population for capitalist exploitation and future wars. Like the imperialist rulers around the world they have seized on the criminal World Trade Center bombing to attempt to push through a raft of sinister "anti-terror" laws that target all workers and minorities. These include laws which proscribe organisations deemed "terrorist" by the UN or Australian courts and allow the government to freeze the assets of those suspected of "terrorist" activity.

The ruling class considers loyal servants like Theophanous who champion illusory "multiculturalism," relics of the past and dispensable. In the eyes of the White Australian rulers he is an ungrateful, upstart immigrant who doesn't "know his place." As Australia's racist brutality toward asylum seekers is polarising the society, including the labour movement, the bourgeoisie deems that Theophanous' "place" is now in prison, where his fate serves as a warning to less well-connected anti-racist fighters. It is in the interest of the working class as a whole to oppose this racist entrapment! Free Andrew Theophanous! Down with Liberal/ALP Racist War on Immigrants!■

### Australasian SPARTACIST

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

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# Striking German Construction Workers Say: “Long Live International Solidarity!”

The article below is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 784, 12 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

In a country where strikes have been a pretty rare occurrence, German workers have carried out two major strikes in less than two months. In May, hundreds of thousands of metal workers in the IG Metall union—ethnic Germans along with workers of Turkish, Kurdish, Greek and Yugoslav descent—staged a series of rolling strikes that vividly demonstrated the power of that integrated workforce (see “Germany: Metal Workers Strikes Rattle Government,” WV No. 782, 31 May). Late last month, construction workers in the IG Bau industrial union staged the first nationwide strike in that industry since World War II. The week-long strike, which ended on June 25, forced the building trades bosses to grant a 3.2 percent pay hike with a further 2.4 percent increase effective next spring.

Particularly significant was that the union actively reached out to foreign-born workers and sought to organize them into the union. This is all the more notable in the context of the racist anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the Social Democrats (SPD), who govern the country in coalition with the bourgeois Greens. SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder is competing with right-wing Christian Democratic (CDU) candidate Edmund Stoiber over who is hardest on “public safety,” a code word for racist cop terror against immigrants and their families.

The following is a translation of a 24 June leaflet distributed by our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).

## SPARTAKIST 4

**Equal pay at union rates for all workers, east or west, foreign, immigrant or German!**

**Organize the unorganized!**

**Police out of the DGB!**

**Stop the fascists through worker/immigrant mobilizations!**

**Racist state terror of SPD/PDS/Greens paves the way for Stoiber/Schill/Möller!**

**No vote to SPD or PDS!**

**For a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!**

Berlin, Potsdamer Platz, June 20: Over 200 striking building workers had formed an effective picket line in front of the Beisheim Center construction site when private cops in dark suits tried to bring a group of Portuguese workers onto the struck building site. There was an appeal to the workers over the megaphone, in German and Portuguese, not to let themselves be misused as scabs. An IG Bau representative called out that this strike is for all workers, including for better pay for foreign workers. After he called for support to the strike, the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to go onto the building site. The striking building workers cheered and called out, “Long live international solidarity!” This shows that what’s at stake here is a lot more than 4.5 percent: German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately.

At the same time, 30 workers were arrested during the general strike in Spain while European Union (EU) government heads were meeting in Seville. The German capitalist government, led by SPD chancellor Schröder, was in the front

line there beefing up “Fortress Europe” against immigrants. We Spartakists said from the start that the EU is an imperialist trade bloc which exists to better represent the interests of the exploiters against the working class and oppressed. We stand for a United Socialist States of Europe. Now SPD president Rau has signed the so-called “immigration law,” whose racist regulations include preventing 12-year-old children [from non-EU countries] from living with their parents. Against this, we Spartakists fight for full citizenship rights for everyone who has made it here.

In the building strike, the foreign workers have been subjected to enormous



IG Bau strike pickets in Munich, part of multiethnic construction workers’ first national strike since World War II.

pressure. The threat of having work permits taken away or of being deported is a loaded weapon of the capitalist state, affecting foreign and immigrant workers in the first instance but directed against all workers. If it is to defend itself, the whole working class must defend its most vulnerable elements. At all the building sites, the cops are in place to protect strikebreakers. They are not “fellow workers,” as the IG Bau leadership preaches, but the armed fist of the bourgeois state, which exists to protect the private property of the capitalist class and the system of exploitation. We demand: Police out of the DGB [trade-union federation]! The IG Bau is being threatened by the bourgeois courts with a fine of 250,000 euros if they “impede” scabs. To be beaten back, this attack by the state against the building workers union requires the solidarity of all unions. Down with all laws against unions and against the right to strike!

The striking building workers received solidarity greetings from the workers organized in ver.di [public employees union], who shut down day-care centers in a four-hour strike on June 20. They are fighting against the SPD/PDS Berlin Senate [municipal government], which is trying to “clean up” the bankrupt city for the bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and oppressed. The privatization of day care that they’re railroad-ing through means closures and fee increases, driving working women out of jobs and back to the kitchen. The bourgeois nuclear family is the main instrument for the oppression of women. It is precisely the women and children of ethnic minorities and women in the poorer east [Germany] who are most affected by these cuts. For free, quality childcare around the clock!

Many workers say to us that the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] moved “to the right” when it entered the Berlin Senate. However, the PDS has always made clear that its goal is to be allowed to help run capitalism—only “more

socially.” But the capitalist economic system functions to maximize profit. The working class only gets what it struggles for. We Spartakists fight for the smashing of the capitalist system through workers revolution, so that those who produce the wealth also rule. For an international planned economy! Because of its planned economy, we defended the DDR [East Germany] against capitalist counterrevolution in 1989-90 and fought for a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy. The PDS, formed from the collapsing Stalinist bureaucracy, led the pro-communist workers of the DDR into the counterrevolution. Since then, the capitalist class—

20,000 demonstrators, IG Bau president Wiesehügel proclaimed the slogan: “Foreign co-workers welcome! Attack dumping companies [that pay sub-minimum wages]!” It’s good that the leadership of the IG Bau is saying today that the dumping wages are illegal and not the workers, but in 1997 the IG Bau leadership was still organizing racist raids on building sites, together with the cops. The fatal policies of the bureaucracy, aimed at collaboration with the capitalist class, haven’t changed, and that was demonstrated again at a rally of some 2,000 building workers in Hamburg on June 24. When a representative of the building industry bosses came onto the stage at the invitation of the union, he launched a vicious tirade against “illegal” workers—until the assembled workers shut him up with loud booing and shouts of “Liar!” And it’s only recently that the IG Bau, under pressure from union members, threw out the FDP industrialist Möller, an anti-Semitic demagogue. The fact that in the east the union needs to fight for its very survival right now is due to the 1997 sell-out, with settlements imposing wage cuts for east and west and “company-by-company agreements.” And while at the moment the IG Bau union wants to organize foreign workers, their president Wiesehügel is an SPD Bundestag member and votes for the laws which are directed against these workers and thus against all building workers: *Rasterfahndung* [computerized “racial profiling”], the immigration law, deployment of the Bundeswehr [army], etc.

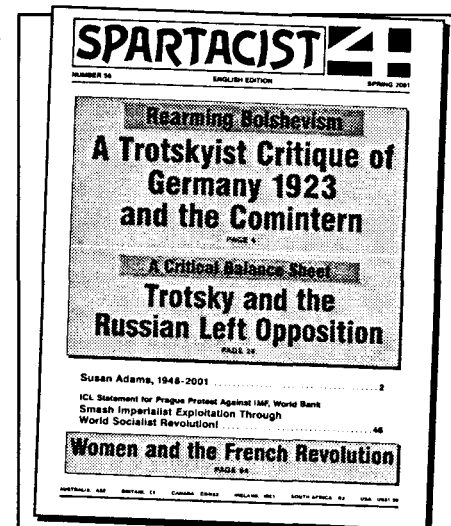
The fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and against deportations is a fight against the politics of the SPD and PDS. So it’s not surprising that organizations like the GAM, which is intervening into this strike with its “Mobile Solidarity Committee,” doesn’t mention the question of the fight against racism and against divisions in the working class—the central questions of this strike. That is because of their support to the SPD and PDS. By contrast, the Spartacist Workers Party fights to break the proletarian base of the SPD and PDS from the pro-capitalist leadership of these parties and to win them to the communist program. We are fighting to build an international revolutionary workers party to sweep away once and for all the capitalist system of exploitation, racism and war. ■

not least in the building industry—has been trying to play off the workers of the east against the workers of the west. And workers from the East European countries which have been devastated by counterrevolution are exploited for starvation wages. This strike can be a powerful blow against this attempt to divide the working class.

In the Bundestag [parliamentary] elections in 1998, we Spartakists said: No vote for SPD or PDS! With the slogan “We are willing,” the SPD promised the capitalists that it would go after the unions and immigrants and that it would make war. Everything we warned about has happened. Even so, the bureaucracy that runs the unions is for the SPD. For instance, in May the IG Metall leadership obediently ended its strike action after two weeks when Schröder made it clear that a long strike could cost his government a victory in the Bundestag elections in September. The servile politics of the union bureaucracy encourage the capitalists to launch further attacks—against the building workers union and other unions or, as now, against the unemployed.

The coming election campaign promises to be viciously racist and nationalist. The SPD is competing with the CDU and FDP [the capitalist Free Democratic Party] in this. And the PDS, which carries out police terror and deportations in the states where it is in the government, has now helped the SPD/Green government push through the immigration law. While the slogan of many pseudo-left groups, like Linksruck or Gruppe Arbeitermacht (Workers Power—GAM), during the 1997 building workers strike was “Kohl must go” in order to persuade the working class to again vote for the SPD or PDS as a “lesser evil,” today they’re calling to “Stop Stoiber” or “Stop Schill” [the ultrarightist top cop in Hamburg]. But it is the racist politics of the SPD and PDS that pave the way for the right. What we need is a multiethnic revolutionary workers party!

On May 31, amid the loud applause of



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# Capitalist Europe's War on Immigrants Is a War on All Workers

The following statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) was first issued on 2 July and is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 784, 12 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

One day after a powerful general strike paralysed Spain on 20 June, Europe's capitalist rulers met in Seville to ratchet up the war against immigrants as the spearhead of an attack against the proletariat as a whole. The competition between the dominant nations of the European Union (EU) for economic advantage in the midst of a recession meant the summit fell short of its stated goal of establishing supranational police-state measures, such as joint border patrols on land and sea, but all that and more is promised by the guardians of Fortress Europe. In the meantime, each capitalist ruling class is trying to outdo the next in raising the bar to immigration and enhancing police-state measures against immigrants with the aim of regimenting the entire population, driving down wages and slashing social gains which were wrested through decades of class struggle.

The Seville EU summit seized on the recent electoral gains by fascists like Le Pen and the British National Party (BNP) to pander to their anti-immigrant demagoguery. Anti-immigrant racism is a time-worn method to divide the proletariat and deflect class struggle, but fundamentally the anti-immigrant campaign is driven not by "bad ideas" but by the workings of the capitalist economy and is enforced by bourgeois politicians from the left and the right. Large numbers of immigrants were brought into West Europe when their labour was needed, due in part to the low birthrate; now that Europe is in recession, the bourgeoisie does not need more immigrants as a supply of cheap labour or even as a "reserve army of labour." It would be an embellishment of bourgeois democracy to believe that it would require fascism to have mass deportations of immigrants. Such in fact happened during the 1930s Great Depression in France, when the number of foreign workers was reduced by half a million through mass expulsions. And these workers were mainly European and Roman Catholic, much easier to assimilate than the forcibly segregated North Africans and black Africans. In the same period, there were mass deportations of Mexican immigrants from the United States.

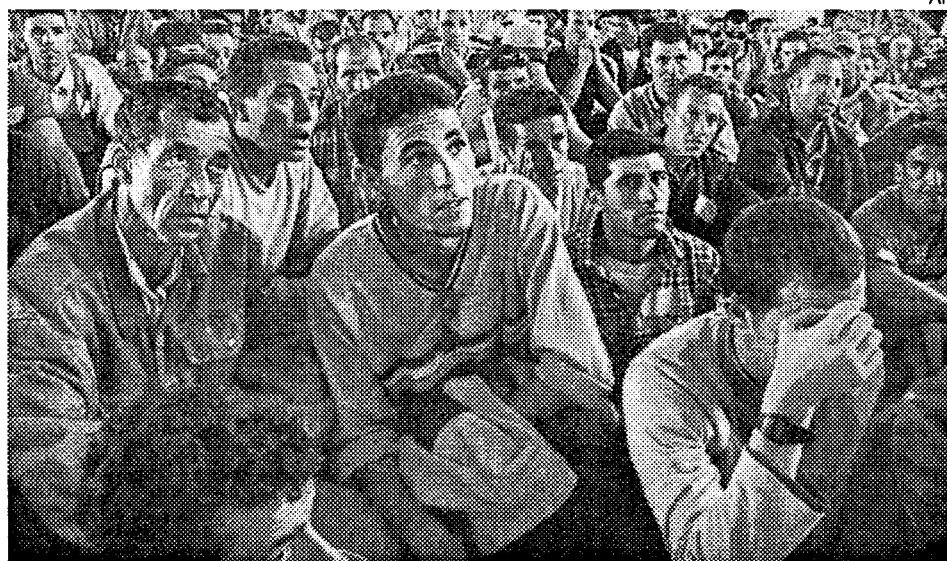
A decade ago the Soviet Union was destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution. This monumental defeat for the international proletariat and the ensuing bourgeois triumphalism and lie that "communism is dead" has thrown back

## Workers of the World Unite!



Kruse/DPA

Above: Demonstration by asylum-seekers in Berlin, 17 May. Below: North African workers in Seville, Spain stage sit-in demanding work permits.



AP

the consciousness of the proletariat and the youth who misidentify the Stalinist sellouts with communism. Capitalist rule in Europe is not challenged by a revolutionary-minded and insurrectionary proletariat today, and correspondingly the working class and the dark-skinned minorities and immigrant populations in Europe are repressed mainly through the "normal" workings of the whole capitalist system, from the cops in the ghettos

to the capitalist courts, and the prisons which are vastly disproportionately filled with minorities and immigrants. In this context, parties that are by history, outlook and intent fascist, from Haider's Freedom Party (FPÖ) to Le Pen's National Front, have mainly advanced as electoral phenomena and pressure groups on more mainstream bourgeois parties.

The "normal" ebbs and flows of the world capitalist economy, which produce

such vast human misery, cannot be eliminated short of the replacement of capitalism through proletarian socialist revolution. Those, like the social-democratic leaders and their "left" tails, who accept the capitalist framework necessarily become complicit in implementing and even spearheading anti-immigrant racism. The machinery of state repression has been augmented since September 11, but most of the anti-immigrant and anti-"terrorist" laws and policies were enacted years earlier by the "left" governments. The now-ousted French Socialist Party, which ruled France in a popular-front coalition with the Communist Party and the Greens, burns with anger that the new right-wing government claims credit for the racist "security" campaign which was in fact masterminded by the "left"! In order to rule on behalf of capital, the historic parties of the French working class, the Communists and the Socialists and their analogues in the trade-union bureaucracies, poison class consciousness and solidarity among the workers by fomenting religious, national and ethnic divisions. Thus the popular-front government paved the way for Le Pen's big score in the recent French presidential elections and the election of a more right-wing government.

The so-called "far left" bears large responsibility too. Groups like the United Secretariat's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) began the recent popular-front years with a vote for Jospin...and ended with a call to "bar the road to Le Pen"—i.e., vote Chirac! This is such a low, even for the LCR, which has long had the posture and backbone of a snake, that they feel compelled to publicly molt rather than defend their crime. The LCR were aggressive and energetic activists who channeled the massive youth demonstrations which shook France with justified outrage at the racism of Le Pen's National Front into reactionary "Republican unity" with Chirac. Similarly in Britain, the Socialist Workers Party directed opposition to the BNP fascists into a call to vote for "anyone else"—i.e., even bourgeois parties, but especially Blair's Labour Party. Each falsely proclaimed that there was an imminent danger of fascism, the better to corral support for Labour and even Chirac. Moreover, in situations where fascist gangs do pose an immediate threat, they cannot be stopped through parliamentarist means but only by mobilising the proletariat to crush them.

### Defend Immigrants, Defend the Working Class!

In Italy, the new arsenal of repression includes roundups of immigrants for

## Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants! Stop the Deportations!



fingerprinting, as if being non-European makes one "criminal." With the Vatican railing against marriages between Christians and Muslims, the Italian police launched "Operation Just Married" to snoop into mixed marriages. Residency permits will be limited to the duration of a work contract, so that seasonal agricultural workers will become "illegal" the moment a crop has been harvested, and Italian employers will be compelled to pay the state in advance for the deportation of any immigrant who overstays the work contract! This is not even particularly rational from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, which needs a source of cheap agricultural labour. In a bald statement of the concerns of the ruling class, the Italian capitalist consortium negotiated exemptions from the government's absurdly stringent immigration quotas for three professions: nurses, maids...and soccer players!

The right of asylum is under intensified attack everywhere: Blair's Britain promises immediate deportations without right of appeal for rejected asylum-seekers, while Denmark claims the right to revoke asylum for refugees when the new right-wing government decides that any given country an immigrant fled has become sufficiently "democratic."

Instilling racial hatred at an early age to inculcate patriotism and loyalty to the crown, rotting Britain threatens to forcibly segregate the children of asylum-seekers from other schoolchildren. In Germany, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party have been actively protesting against the computer-aided racist roundups of students. In this reactionary climate, immigrant workers and foreign students face not only persecution at the hands of the capitalist state but also stepped-up racist violence on the streets. As our Irish comrades noted following the murder of a Chinese student, "Fundamental responsibility for Zhao's brutal murder lies with the Irish capitalist state whose anti-immigrant policies give a green light to race terrorists."

Everywhere, families are being ripped apart through restrictions on "family reunion." Women suffer the brunt of this. If they manage to join their husbands in Europe, they are often legally deprived of the right to work and so are forced into dangerous and low-wage black-market jobs. In France, apace with anti-immigrant laws, a veritable "marriage market" has spread like cancer in immigrant communities where an arranged marriage with a young woman possessing citizenship is now the last best hope of escaping poverty and political repression elsewhere. The slamming shut of doors to immigration and the segregation of oppressed communities tend to increase and help perpetuate arranged marriages, kidnappings, female genital mutilation, wife-beatings and "honour killings," all of which are on the rise in Europe. These facts show that even a minimal democratic demand, like full citizenship rights for everyone who has managed to make it to a European country, is literally a question of life or death, especially for women.

The squalid war between Blair's Britain and Chirac's France to close the Sangatte Red Cross refugee camp exposes the hoax of the "free world" and the direct link between capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and across East Europe and the rise of economic misery, imperialist war and political repression. Sangatte is filled with refugees from the bloody wars waged by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. Murderous nationalism, whipped up as the vehicle of capitalist counterrevolution to destroy the bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe, uprooted minority populations including the Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" a decade ago. Another flood of refugees was triggered by the U.S./NATO ravaging of what was left of the former Yugoslavia in the 1999 Balkans War. Today the Sangatte camp is filled with Iraqis fleeing ten years of the starvation blockade imposed by the United Nations.

Thousands of Afghans fled the hell created by U.S. imperialism's support to the women-hating *mujahedin*. When Soviet forces entered Afghanistan in 1979 after repeated requests by the left-nationalist PDPA government, we of the ICL straightforwardly said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal in 1988-89 culminated in the victory of the Islamic fundamentalists and eventually the rule of the Taliban—truly a Frankenstein's monster created by the U.S. imperialists with the help of their Pakistani allies. Now the terror bombing of Afghanistan by Bush, Blair and Co. in the name of the "war on terror" has created new thousands of refugees.

Borrowing from Le Pen's campaign promise to close the Sangatte camp and deport the refugees, Chirac has announced



Auto workers man picket line in Berlin last May. Ethnic Germans joined with workers of Kurdish and Turkish descent in strike by IG Metall union.

plans to close the camp and in the meantime plans to build an enormous fence around the rail yard and install high-tech scanners to detect heartbeats in the tunnel. Not to be outdone, Tony Blair is mobilising the navy to turn back (read: fire on and sink) ships of refugees, and plans to cage asylum-seekers in militarised detention camps, and to bleach England through airlift deportations of dark-skinned immigrants and blatant racial exclusion of people trying to get into the country from airports elsewhere in Europe.

Meanwhile, anyone who does make it into Britain will be compelled to carry a national identity card. These police-state measures are intended to regiment and accustom the entire population to restrictions on democratic rights, to accept police identity checks as "normal," to chill free speech and impede politically organising against the government and the ruling class. To this end, the whole spectrum of capitalist politicians from left to right is whipping up hysteria over immigrants as an alleged "enemy within." The model for police-state control of Arab, African, Turkish and Asian populations in West Europe is the French state's "Vigipirate." The large population of North African descent, particularly the youth, are systematically brutalised by the French police, subjected to identity checks even in the hallways of their own apartment buildings, and treated as a "criminal" and "surplus" population. Changes in the French nationality code, whereby children born in France of immigrant parents no longer automatically gain French citizenship, prepare the ground for possible mass deportation. Peel back the "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*" facade and you'll find a history of mass deportations whenever politically or economically advantageous to France's capitalist rulers, from the Polish and Italian immigrants deported en masse between the two World Wars to the Jews stripped of French citizenship and deported to Nazi death camps under Vichy.

Capitalism needs a bogey man. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the "red menace" has been largely replaced with

orchestrated hysteria against the "green menace" of Islamic fundamentalism. This has reached fever pitch since September 11 and a new word, "Islamophobia," has entered the lexicon to "explain" racist assaults on women in veils, men in turbans, and anyone suspected of being of Arab origin. The restrictions on civil liberties and the patriotic fervor have also been used to criminalise political dissent and outlaw parties and national liberation movements, from the Kurdish PKK and the Palestinian PFLP to the Turkish Guevarist DHKC and the Basque Batasuna organisation in Spain. Meanwhile, the biggest state terrorists rain bombs on Iraq and threaten invasion, continue to pound Afghanistan, and arm the Zionist state of Israel in its war against the Palestinian people. Now the leader of the "free world" has the gall to tell the Palestinian people who they can and can't elect

the more wealth you produce for others, and the more precarious your existence becomes as you are at risk of being laid off. According to its economic needs, capitalism brings into the proletariat at its bottom new sources of cheaper labour, principally immigrants from poorer countries who are deemed disposable in times of economic contraction. As Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* (Volume I): "The degree of intensity of the competition among themselves [the workers] depends wholly on the pressure of the relative surplus population; as soon as, by Trades' Unions, &c., they try to organise a regular co-operation between employed and unemployed in order to destroy or to weaken the ruinous effects of this natural law of capitalistic production on their class, so soon capital and its sycophant, political economy, cry out at the infringement of the 'eternal' and so to say 'sacred' law of supply and demand. Every combination of employed and unemployed disturbs the 'harmonious' action of this law."

That is why we in the ICL fight for the unity and integrity of the working class against chauvinism and racism. The struggle in defence of immigrant labour today is a vital task for the working class as a whole. We fight for: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! No deportations! Free the detainees! Organise the unorganised! Cops, prison guards and security guards out of the unions! For labour/immigrant mobilisations against fascist attacks! Jobs for all—For a sliding scale of hours at no loss in pay! Expropriate the bourgeoisie—For a planned, socialist economy organised internationally!* In every country where we exist, the ICL has fought to expose the lie of "national unity" between workers and bosses and to rally the proletariat in class solidarity with immigrants and minorities. As an example of this perspective, on 9 February in the San Francisco Bay Area our American comrades mobilised a labour-based united-front rally around the slogans: "Anti-Terrorist Laws Target Immigrants, Blacks, Labour—No to the USA-Patriot Act and the Maritime Security Act! Down With the Anti-Immigrant Witchhunt!"

There are important developments in Europe that point the way to a class-struggle road to unite the proletariat in defence of its own interests against attacks by capital. From Turkish/Kurdish metal workers in Germany to black and Asian transport workers in London, immigrants and their children are a key component of strategic, unionised sectors of the proletariat. In Italy and Germany, there have been important breaks with the narrow economism and national chauvinism pushed by the trade-union bureaucrats in their role as "labour lieutenants of capital." Thus in Italy, the CGIL trade-union federation and COBAS have called

*continued on page 11*

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# Unions...

(continued from page 1)

some cases carry out disaffiliation of their unions and the cessation of funding to the ALP. These moves have accelerated since last November's elections, in which the ALP received its lowest primary vote in 70 years after running a campaign that matched the right-wing Liberal/National coalition in support to the barbaric U.S.-led war on Afghanistan and racist terror against asylum seekers. Labor leader, Simon Crean, then moved to reduce union voting representation in ALP state conferences from 60 percent to 50 percent, while effectively blaming unions for Labor's defeat. Pushing this line most stridently are those like front-bencher Mark Latham who seek, like Tony Blair in Britain, to transform Labor into an outright bourgeois party by severing ties with the organised proletariat. Crean seeks to ingratiate himself with the capitalist bosses who, in order to facilitate their stepped-up union-busting drive, are demanding that Labor distance itself from the unions. However, Crean's moves have met with widespread union opposition, including from bureaucrats within his own right-wing faction, forcing him to dilute initial proposals.

In March, the Victorian secretary of the Electrical Trades Union, Dean Mighell, resigned from the ALP while the Victorian branch of the United Firefighters Union disaffiliated, following the lead of the NSW branch about 12 months ago. In April, the Victorian branch of the powerful AMWU, led by Craig Johnston, suspended affiliation and funding to the ALP until its December conference. While Mighell has joined the bourgeois Greens, he, Johnston and other "left" union tops talk about forming a new workers party. What they have in mind in the words of Mighell, is a return to "traditional Labor values." Yet it is precisely the misleadership of the Laborite tops, based on "traditional Labor values"—White Australia racism, defence of the "national interests" of the local capitalists, subservience to the bosses' arbitration courts—that has left the working class prostrate in the face of increasing assaults by the capitalists. The Howard government's new layer of anti-union legislation would allow "small businesses" to sack at will and force secret ballots for strikes; meanwhile the most vulnerable—Aborigines, single mothers, non-white immigrants, the disabled—are being viciously scapegoated. Abroad Australian troops take part in terrorising the impoverished people of Afghanistan and now they are training their gunsights on Iraq.

Workers desperately need a leadership based on the understanding that the proletariat and the bosses have *no common class interests*; that the capitalist state is an instrument for the oppression of the workers by their exploiters. Such a class-struggle leadership of the unions—

fighting for maximum unity in struggle against the bosses—must be linked to a revolutionary vanguard party. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky explained in his 1923 article "A Necessary Discussion with Our Syndicalist Comrades":

"The party, if it be worthy of the name, includes the whole vanguard of the working class and uses its ideological influence for rendering every branch of the labor movement fruitful, especially the trade union movement. But if the trade unions are worthy of their name, they include an ever growing mass of workers, many backward elements among them. But they can only fulfill their task when consciously guided on firmly established principles. And they can only have this leadership when their best elements are united in the party of proletarian revolution."

—Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions (1975)

An internationalist workers party would stand against Australian imperialist interventions abroad. This party would fight for workers here to join the struggles of workers from Indonesia to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia. That some of the most class-conscious workers now seek a party other than

leader against incumbent state Labor MP, Marianne Saliba, rightly hated by unionists for last year crossing workers' pickets set up against the NSW Carr Labor government's attempts to gut access to workers compensation.

ALP state governments have also helped whip up the racism and social reaction necessary to facilitate the capitalists' union-busting attacks. Carr even attacked racist immigration minister Ruddock...for allowing in too many immigrants! Not surprisingly then, the push for disaffiliation from the ALP has been strongest in the heavily immigrant AMWU. Reflecting pressures from their base, AMWU national secretary, Doug Cameron, attacked Labor's support for the war on immigrants, while Johnston stated that the "ALP's position (on refugees) at the last election was a disgrace."

## For Proletarian Independence from the Capitalist State!

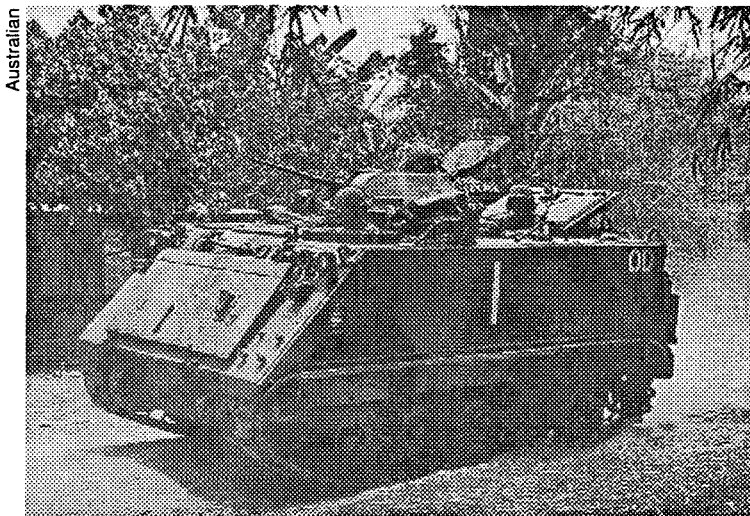
In Victoria, the Bracks ALP government has widened the schism with "left" elements in the union bureaucracy by prosecuting Craig Johnston and other

the Johnston-led state branch's decision to suspend affiliation, attempted to override that move by appointing his own hand-picked delegation to the ALP conference. Johnston then dragged the union into the bourgeois courts over the "delegation" question and Cameron followed suit with his own court action. Following the conference, Cameron instigated a mud-slinging campaign; suspended Johnston from his position as secretary of the Victorian AMWU and replaced him with bureaucrat Dave Oliver. Cameron even withdrew the AMWU from the Victorian Trades Hall Council because the latter supported Johnston. Seeking his reinstatement as Victorian leader, Johnston responded by taking federal court action against the union's national council.

While we do not know the truth regarding the AMWU national leadership's secretive "gross misconduct" allegations against Johnston, which must be viewed with suspicion and are in any case quite unproven, we *oppose* Cameron's right-wing, bureaucratic removal of Johnston. This purge is transparently in the service of the "unity" of the Labor Party, the capitalist Bracks Labor government and the bosses. At the same time we forthrightly state that inviting the capitalist courts to snoop in internal union affairs, as both Cameron and Johnston have done, is class treason! The capitalist state—its courts, cops, prisons, army—is an organ for enforcing the tyranny of the BHP bosses, the Packers, Murdochs, Corriganes etc. It exists to suppress workers struggles and ultimately to prevent the working class from taking power. From the smashing of the BLF in the 1980s, to the rabid Cole Royal Commission against the CFMEU today, state interference in the unions has always preceded attempts to cripple or smash them. If Johnston were to be reinstated *by a court order* this would weaken the union setting it up for further state intrusion, while legitimising the very anti-working-class institutions that are persecuting Johnston and Co. Fighting for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state is essential in forging them as genuine weapons of class struggle. *Bosses' courts out of the unions! The unions must clean their own house!* On 17 July thousands of outraged manufacturing workers struck and marched on the national offices of the AMWU in Melbourne to demand Johnston's reinstatement. Unionists continue to maintain a picket of the AMWU offices. We say: *Down with the right-wing purge of Craig Johnston!*

The "hard left" Johnston's recourse to the bosses' courts against union opponents reflects that, at bottom, he shares the "traditional Labor" loyalty to the capitalist state of the more right-wing Laborites. So while the "left" bureaucrats have led more militant union actions, they have also knifed plenty of struggles through bowing to anti-union laws and the bosses' arbitration courts. An example was the February 2000 strike by Yallourn power workers against union busting, a pivotal event in the relationship between Bracks and the "left" union tops. As the powerful strike was

Racist Australian troops in East Timor serve to crush any resistance to imperialist domination, theft of resources.



Labor, provides a precious opportunity to advance the struggle for such a multi-racial revolutionary workers party forged through not just an organisational break from Labor but a *political* break from all wings of Laborism.

The Labor Party is a bourgeois workers party—historically based on the trade unions, yet thoroughly pro-capitalist in its leadership and program. From its inception the racist ALP parliamentary and union misleaders have provided the capitalist rulers with invaluable service. They maintain allegiance to the capitalist state by pushing the fraud that workers can gain a decent life if they support Australian imperialism and elect an ALP government to institute reforms. This is a sham! The last Hawke/Keating federal ALP governments smashed recalcitrant unions such as the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), threw "illegal" immigrants into hellhole detention centres and oversaw a massive escalation in cop killings of Aborigines.

That ALP regime also aggressively prosecuted the U.S.-led Cold War to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state. The victory of the imperialists in that counterrevolutionary war has emboldened them to try and take back proletarian gains won in past struggles. Add to that the fundamental need of capitalism to increase its rate of exploitation and the reactionary onslaughts of the demented "war on terror" and you get a ruling class determined to bludgeon key bastions of union power. Howard's thuggish workplace relations minister, Tony Abbott, established the Cole Royal Commission with the aim of busting the militant CFMEU construction union. Meanwhile a battery of sinister "anti-terror" laws designed to crush opposition to the capitalists' attacks at home and imperialist adventures abroad are being rammed through parliament.

In this the state ALP governments are little more than mini-versions of Howard's reactionary regime. Notably, the Illawarra union conference resolved to support a campaign by a local union

militants for two union protest actions last year in opposition to the sacking of 29 workers by Johnson Tiles and the mobilisation of scabs by Skilled Engineering. Last month, Johnston and 16 other militants faced court on charges—including assault, criminal damage, affray and riot—over the action against Johnson Tiles. If Bracks and the bosses succeed in their vendetta against Johnston it will accelerate repression against all union struggles. *Manufacturing workers and all unionists must demand: Drop all the charges against Craig Johnston and the other AMWU militants!* (see "Down With ALP Union-Busting! Drop the Charges Against AMWU Skilled Six!" *ASp* No. 176, Spring 2001).

As part of his campaign Bracks enlisted the support of Doug Cameron. Seen by the bosses as more palatable than Johnston's militant Workers First faction, Cameron has despicably pressured Johnston to stand down as Victorian AMWU leader while Bracks' union-busting legal proceedings are in motion. Things were brought to a head on the eve of the May ALP Victorian Conference, when Cameron, appalled by

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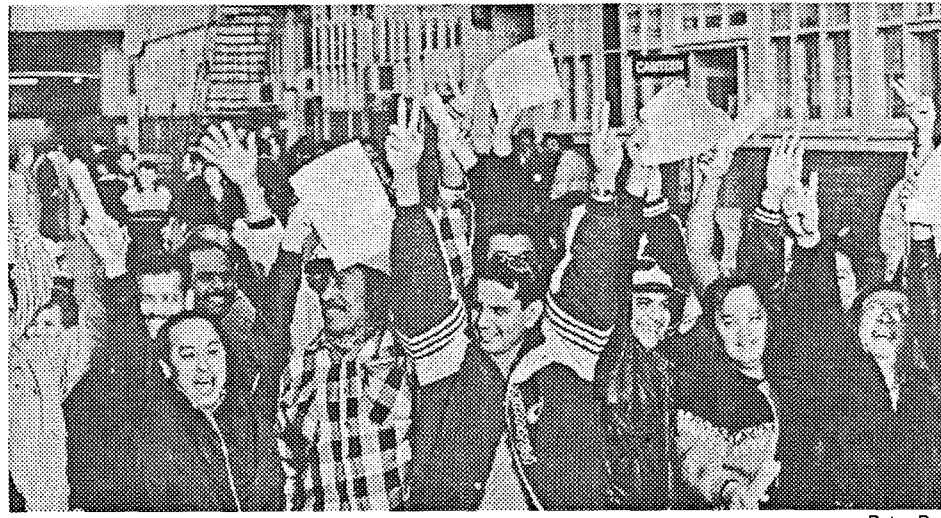


forcing big electricity cuts, Mighell and the Victorian AMWU leadership capitulated to threats of massive fines by the ALP regime and decided "to not embarrass the Bracks government" (*Herald Sun*, 8 February 2000). Rather than mobilising powerful solidarity actions, they forced the enraged maintenance workers back to work empty handed.

At best, the union leaders withdrawing from Labor hope for a workers party that would administer the capitalist state in a nicer way than the ALP. Craig Johnston for instance is a supporter of Socialist Alliance, which mainly consists of left groups like the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP). Its maximum program does not call for opposition to or the removal of the capitalist state apparatus but rather a spurious "socialism" within a "democratic republic," i.e. for renovation of the existing, that is, capitalist, state. But the desperately necessary class-struggle fight-back demands a leadership that will intransigently combat—not reinforce—the illusion that the capitalist state can serve the toiling masses. Such a revolutionary leadership would understand that working-class gains cannot be won through the "benevolence" of the capitalist courts or parliament—every gain ever won has been through hard class struggle! To open the road to an egalitarian socialist society requires a workers revolution to dismantle the capitalist state apparatus and construct a workers state to administer a rational, planned economy based on collective ownership of the means of production.

Socialist Alliance, like similar "left" lash-ups internationally, seeks a return to "old values" in the context of the rightward motion of the mass social-democratic parties. Reformist groups such as the ISO and Socialist Alternative (SA) loudly promote the "traditional Labor values" bureaucrats like Johnston and Mighell. They accept Johnston's use of the capitalist courts against his opponents within the unions. In the case of SA, this is via carefully avoiding the question while hailing Johnston. For its part the ISO openly approves of Johnston inviting the capitalist state into union affairs, only counselling that it needs to be supplemented: "Just last week, a court bid to prevent Oliver taking over the branch failed. What is needed alongside the legal defence is a political campaign to mobilise support across the working class movement" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 August). This makes a mockery of the ISO's pretended opposition to the capitalist state.

When the ISO and SA do criticise Johnston, Mighell and Co., it is...for leaving the ALP! That is they criticise the "left" union tops from the right. So the ISO opposed the Victorian AMWU's disaffiliation from the ALP and boycott of



Peter Rae

**Sydney: TriStar workers following last year's victorious strike in defence of union entitlements. Multiracial working class is key to the fight against entire capitalist system.**

the state conference. Caught between their back-slapping of Johnston and their loyalty to Labor they argued, in a left version of Doug Cameron's line, that "the Victorian Branch could have sent 33 militants to disrupt the cosy deal-making and argue for pro-working class policies" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 May). SA tried a slightly left version of the ISO's stay in and pressure the ALP to the left line. They chided Dean Mighell for leaving the Labor Party because by SA's lights to have stayed and fought "could have opened up the possibility of a serious split that would begin to cohere a genuine workers' party in opposition to the ALP" (*Socialist Alternative*, April). Talk of building a "genuine workers' party in opposition to the ALP" is just that, talk, if one acts to seal every crack in the ALP and oppose splits that may otherwise weaken the grip of Laborism. In fact at every election, including last November's "khaki elections," the ISO, SA and WP campaign for a vote to the ALP.

One of the few left groups that welcome unions leaving the ALP is the Socialist Party (SP), supporters of the Committee for a Workers' International. They argue a "new workers' party must have a clear socialist goal, explaining that it [sic] utopian to believe that reforms can be won and maintained on a permanent basis under this rotten capitalist system" (*Voice*, March). But in their same issue SP trumpets their alliance with the Greens in the 16 March Yarra City Council elections. The fact that the Greens are a capitalist party (whose brethren currently help administer vicious capitalist austerity in the German coalition government) doesn't stop these fake-Trotskyists from proposing that "a new workers' party must enter into an alliance with them as the Socialist Party did in inner city Melbourne" (*Voice*, March). Any workers parties entering alliances with capitalist parties, however "radical," serve only to subordinate the interests of the proletariat to those of the union-busting racist bosses. Thus underneath the "socialist" rhetoric, the SP's idea of a "new workers' party" is the same old class-collaborationist treachery.

**For a Vanguard Party of Proletarian Revolutionaries!**

Like the ISO and SA, WP opposes the union disaffiliations, arguing that it is "better to stay and fight than have no influence at all" (*Workers Power*, May). As slippery centrists, they cover this up with sterile, "revolutionary" rhetoric that there is "little point in breaking with Labor, just to go build another reformist party." WP's perspective is that Socialist Alliance become an alternative to Labor through "union-affiliations and a genuine desire to work towards forming a working class, a revolutionary party."

We oppose "bloc affiliation" of the trade unions to any political party, let alone Labor. A party based on affiliation of unions would include workers at all levels of class consciousness—from nationalist, racist workers to subjective anti-capitalists—brought together at the lowest common denominator, where the most advanced workers would be

swamped by the most backward layers. Such a "party of the whole class" is necessarily non-revolutionary and is permeable to and a transmission belt for all manner of bourgeois ideology. Hence "bloc affiliation" is often characteristic of pro-capitalist, social-democratic parties around the world. WP's perspective for union affiliations to Socialist Alliance shows that the type of party it seeks to build is, in practice, merely a more left-wing version of the White Australia ALP. We fight instead to build a Leninist cadre party with a membership based on firm agreement with revolutionary principles and that struggles to win workers to socialist consciousness.

**For Internationalist Workers Action—Not Protectionist Poison!**

A key task for a revolutionary vanguard party is opposition to the destructive nationalism that is pushed by the social democracy. In supposedly defending asylum seekers, Johnston states that, "there's not a flood of refugees taking our jobs, there's a flood of imported manufactured goods that are taking our jobs" (*Green Left Weekly*, 12 December 2001). Blaming overseas products for unemployment is part of the AMWU leadership's nationalist campaign to "make it here or jobs disappear," which has been pushed by Cameron and Johnston alike. The idea that workers can save their jobs through lobbying for tariffs and laws defending local bosses' industry against rival overseas capitalists, is a lie. Such protectionism lulls workers into believing they have a common "national interest" with their "Aussie" capitalist exploiters. It also serves to inflame racial divisions at home, as immigrants are targeted as the fifth column of overseas producers supposedly "taking our jobs." Thus it undermines the proletarian consciousness essential for waging class struggle against the job-slashing bosses and their decaying profit system.

Protectionism is a key foundation stone of the ALP and is promoted by trade-union bureaucrats and social-democratic parties around the world. Thus it plays a pernicious role in lining up workers in each nation against their class brothers and sisters overseas who are blamed for "stealing" local jobs in each respective country. As one national class institutes protectionist measures against its rivals so does the latter. The result is not more jobs for workers anywhere but trade wars. And trade wars in

this epoch of imperialism lead ultimately to shooting wars between blocs of the most powerful capitalists competing for markets and areas of exploitation. There have been two such inter-imperialist wars where tens of millions of workers have been mobilised and slaughtered defending the profits of "their" rulers.

While sometimes making formally correct, abstract statements against economic nationalism, fake-socialist groups, such as the ISO, DSP and SA, promote the nationalist "left" bureaucrats without any opposition to the protectionist appeals that they push. Thus the Laborite left help maintain the prevalence of toxic, protectionist ideology in the workers movement.

To unchain the power of the unions requires an intransigent political struggle against the deep-going nationalist protectionism, racism and male chauvinism that currently weakens and divides the working class and against the Laborite bureaucrats who inject this poisonous bourgeois ideology into the workers movement. In waging this struggle, a revolutionary party seizes on already existing internationalist impulses of the more class-conscious workers, which cut against the nationalist logic of protectionism. Recently at the Dayson picket in western Sydney, a militant from another plant, with justified pride, told Spartacist supporters about his involvement in the AMWU's campaign to free imprisoned South Korean union leaders. Despite the sell-outs of the Laborite misleaders we have seen many examples of the power and will to fight of the working class—the recent strikes at TriStar, Walker and BHP Steel for instance have had the car industry bosses screaming. Workers of the world unite in class struggle against the capitalists! For jobs for all by spreading the available work around at reduced hours with no loss in pay! If the capitalist system cannot grant this and cannot provide free quality health care and public education for all, then let it perish!

**Imperialism and Social Democracy**

The loyalty of the social-democratic misleaders to the interests of the capitalist rulers was starkly revealed in September 1999, when all wings of the union bureaucracy mobilised chauvinist actions and bans against Indonesia with the explicit purpose of encouraging Australian imperialist troops to occupy East Timor. Not only did this assist Howard to replace the unstable Australian-backed Indonesian occupation with direct Australian neocolonial domination and plunder, but it promoted the authority of the racist, union-busting, capitalist state (see article on page 12). Imperialist expeditions abroad and the patriotic frenzy associated with it serve to strengthen the capitalist exploiters. It is in the direct interests of the working class to demand: Australian troops out of East Timor and Afghanistan! U.S./Australia bloody hands off Iraq! While seeking proletarian mobilisations against imperialist militarism we stand for the unconditional military defence of those countries that have experienced anti-capitalist revolutions, the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Integral to that struggle is the fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats whose

*continued on page 11*

**Arabic Translation**

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**الاحتجاج على مركز تجارة الهواى**

**بيان من المكتب السياسى للجمعية الاشتراكية والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية**

١٦ ديسمبر - الاحتجاج على مركز تجارة الهواى هو احدى الخطوات الهامة فى كفالة حقوق العمال ورفض الممارسات التى تقام فى كندا من اجل ارضاء روادى التجارة الأمريكية والاشتراك فى العنصرية التى تقام فى كندا ضد سكانها من مختلف الجنسيات والاصل العرقي والدينى. ومن الصدمات التى تحدثنا من سماع كل يوم على وجه الخصوص من خلال التليفزيون والصحف عن ما يقام فى مركز التجارة العالمى فى نيويورك من عمليات اغتيال قتل جماعى. فكل من يظن ان المظاهرات التى تقام فى كندا هي احدى الخطوات الهامة فى كفالة حقوق العمال فاننا نرى ان هذا النوع من المظاهرات هو نوع من المظاهرات التى تقام فى كندا من اجل ارضاء روادى التجارة الأمريكية والاشتراك فى العنصرية التى تقام فى كندا ضد سكانها من مختلف الجنسيات والاصل العرقي والدينى. فكل من يظن ان المظاهرات التى تقام فى كندا هي احدى الخطوات الهامة فى كفالة حقوق العمال فاننا نرى ان هذا النوع من المظاهرات هو نوع من المظاهرات التى تقام فى كندا من اجل ارضاء روادى التجارة الأمريكية والاشتراك فى العنصرية التى تقام فى كندا ضد سكانها من مختلف الجنسيات والاصل العرقي والدينى.

**Oppose Domestic Repression, Imperialist "Retaliation" — The World Trade Center Attack**

Statement of the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S.,  
12 September 2001

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## East Timor...

(continued from page 12)

occupation of East Timor.

The social power of the working class must be mobilised in actions against White Australia neocolonialism. Only by implacable opposition to the racist rulers and their predatory designs in the region, can the Australian working class forge anti-capitalist class-struggle unity with the proletariats of Indonesia, Philippines, Japan etc., and effectively fight against the increasingly violent union-busting and destruction of their jobs and livelihoods at home. Such a perspective requires a political struggle against the thoroughly pro-imperialist ALP and its White Australia, social-democratic program, in the fight to build a leadership that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist.

With even the servile East Timorese government complaining, some Laborite-left groups such as the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and Workers Power (WP) have recently written articles against the ripping-off of East Timor's oil/gas...without saying a word about the Australian troops that enforce this! But the superexploitation and plunder of the neocolonies by the capitalists of the richer countries is maintained, ultimately, by the threatened and sometimes actual use of the violent might of the respective imperialist states. After the people of Bougainville revolted in 1989 against the brutal looting and destruction of their lands by Australian mining giant CRA (now part of Rio Tinto), the then-Labor government sought to murderously quell the uprising, first by sending in helicopter gunships and SAS killers and later by imposing a starvation naval blockade. 20,000 Bougainvilleans died as a result!

More generally, the jackal Australian imperialists and their big brother U.S. allies have killed millions in seeking to defeat anti-capitalist revolutions in this region—from the 1950-53 war against North Korea to the dirty losing war against the heroic Vietnamese masses. Today, the U.S. and Australian rulers use military pressure to complement the economic penetration of China by foreign imperialist and overseas Chinese capital, with the goal of reversing the gains of the 1949 social revolution in China. Pre-revolutionary China was horribly exploited by the imperialist powers who carved up its territory between them, while the brutally oppressed women faced forced marriage, foot-binding and illiteracy. *Defend the Chinese, North Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban deformed workers states!*

The Australian rulers barely pretend any longer that the East Timor occupation is aimed at countering the murderous, pro-Jakarta militias. Rather they speak of urgent threats to "internal security" from disgruntled, former Falintil independence fighters. Carrying banners comparing UN police to Indonesian secret police, East Timorese protested last month the brutal cop seizure of former independence leader, Mau Cali. Above all, the Australian occupation aims at ensuring the smooth flow of profits from semi-colonial

## Japanese Trotskyists Say:

# "Japanese and All UN/Imperialist Troops Out of East Timor!"

We of the Spartacist Group Japan send our warm international revolutionary Marxist greetings to this demonstration at Sydney University against the imperialist plunder of East Timor. This spring the Japanese Self-Defence Forces were sent to East Timor in the biggest mobilisation since the end of World War II. The East Timorese protested the Self-Defence Forces' arrival, which recalled the brutal Japanese imperialist occupation of East Timor during World War II. We stand in solidarity with the East Timorese people who fight to get all of the imperialists out. On 16 August, Japanese Defence Agency head, Nakatani, was sent to East Timor to inform East Timor that the Japanese military would remain as an occupying force until at least spring 2004. We here in Japan call for all Japanese and all UN/imperialist troops out of East Timor!

The Japanese bourgeoisie has used September 11 as a pretext to justify strengthening its war capability, and increase its attacks domestically against the working class and ethnic minorities. Just as Bush threatened North Korea as the "axis of evil," Japanese imperialism has also used the so-called "war against terrorism" to step up its attacks against the remaining deformed workers states in Asia, particularly China and North Korea. We unconditionally militarily

defend the deformed workers states against imperialism, including the right to have nuclear weapons as a necessary defence against the bloodthirsty imperialists.

Besides sending troops to East Timor, Japanese ships are still in the Indian Ocean, Japanese troops are still part of the UN occupying force in the Golan Heights, and the coast guard periodically attacks alleged North Korean spy ships. Japan has the second largest military budget in the world, next to the mammoth U.S., and twice the size of China's. And now Japanese imperialism openly talks of building nuclear weapons directed against China and North Korea. Revanchist Japanese militarism is a real danger to the workers and toilers of Asia.

The Japanese imperialists are also trying to mobilise the Japanese working population for war by trying to enact various laws which would force transport-related workers to carry ammunition and soldiers. Many workers and youth oppose these laws, but they protested with the deadly illusion that Japanese imperialism could be neutral. We intervened into these protests to win over workers, youth, and women to the understanding that to stop war means overthrowing the imperialist system that breeds war, and

that North Korea and China must be defended against imperialist attack which means overthrowing "our" own imperialist bourgeoisie.

Just as the Australian Labor Party tries to divert working-class anger into reforming imperialism, so-called Japanese leftist groups deflect youth and working-class anger away from the Japanese bourgeoisie into anti-Americanism. The working class has not completely bought into these lies. To protest Japanese imperialism's cooperation in the bombing of Afghanistan, dock workers near Nagasaki flexed part of their potential power by refusing to handle ammunition. This kind of work action needed to be extended throughout Japan, but the union leadership worked to keep this action isolated to one port. A revolutionary leadership would extend those actions, and instil a consciousness in workers that the fight is *class against class*. What is needed is an international revolutionary Marxist party, which unites and coordinates the struggle of the working people and oppressed against their capitalist exploiters. This is the kind of party the International Communist League fights to build. For a workers republic in Japan as part of a socialist federation in Asia! Join us in this fight!

Indonesia, where hundreds of millions seethe with discontent as they continue to live on the edge of economic disaster and where separatist insurgencies have flared. *Australian imperialism hands off Indonesia!*

It is hardly surprising that most of the left groups have not to this day called for Australian troops out of East Timor. Because when it counted most, in September 1999, the Democratic Socialist Party, ISO, Socialist Alternative (SA), WP and the Socialist Party joined the Laborite union bureaucrats in marching—and in the case of the DSP and ISO even endorsing—demonstrations screaming for Australian troops to "free" East Timor. With the growing unpopularity of the Australian/UN expedition, some SA and ISO cadre now verbally claim that they never supported it! No doubt they point to *abstract* statements warning against "reliance" on the UN or after the fact admissions that:

"Such an orientation towards a 'troops in now' position meant that the demonstrations called in Melbourne by Trades Hall were dominated by the slogan from the beginning. The union actions and public rallies were effectively reduced to a means to that end."

—*Socialist Worker Review*,  
November 1999

But in the *concrete*, the ISO and SA

hailed both the pro-imperialist "troops in now" union bans on Indonesia and the "troops in now" rallies as "magnificent" or "fantastic" (*Socialist Worker*, 24 September 1999). Opportunistically gushing about the national-chauvinist mobilisations, SA even called to "accelerate the campaign of industrial action that the union movement has initiated and build bigger and more militant demonstrations in the streets" (*Socialist Alternative*, September 1999).

For their part, WP carried out a feat of political gymnastics over the 1999 troops to East Timor campaign that centrists—revolutionary in words, social-patriotic in deeds—specialise in. They at times called for UN troops out and denounced as "in contradiction with all Marxist principles," the DSP being "at the head of the chorus calling for imperialist intervention into East Timor." But they too loudly joined the said "chorus," which they hailed as "solidarity with East Timor," cheering the trade union bans that egged on the Australian troops as "excellent demonstrations of working class solidarity and action in support of a progressive end" (*Workers Power*, November 1999-January 2000).

The capitalist state can never be pressured to serve the cause of liberation because it exists to enforce the rule of exploitation of the racist capitalist class. That is why the cops brutally assault workers' picket lines (such as recently at the BHP steelworks in Victoria) and pro-refugee protests, hunt down and seize courageous young children and adults who have fled immigrant concentration camps and tap the phone calls of the CFMEU construction union. Meanwhile the courts persecute union militants like the AMWU Skilled Six. In criminally promoting the fraudulent "human rights" credentials of the bourgeois state over East Timor, the fake left undermines struggles against state repression while

greasing the skids for heightened imperialist militarism. The "human rights" military is busy kidnapping refugees on the high seas and dumping them in disease-ridden camps on desolate island neocolonies. The May federal budget featured billions to expand the military and build more immigrant detention centres. And not content with the SAS joining the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghan villages, hospitals and wedding parties, foreign minister Downer joins hawks in the U.S. administration in beating the drums for war against Iraq. *U.S./UN/Australia get out of Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf! Hands off Iraq!* Against the fiction of a potentially benevolent capitalist state, we Trotskyists of the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League say: *Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military!* In a small victory, on 6 March we led a demonstration at Melbourne's RMIT campus that caused the Australian army to abandon their Orientation Day recruiting stall.

When we issued leaflets and held demonstrations against the Australian military expedition to East Timor in 1999, we fought against a huge wave of patriotism. Since then the Australian military has attacked anti-UN demonstrations of unemployed East Timorese and terrorised Timorese women in their homes, while we've all been promised "a war without end." We need to struggle! *Students opposed to the superexploitation of the "Third World," internationalist-minded workers, immigrants from countries under neocolonial subjugation and socialists must all come together in united-front action to demand: Down with Australian imperialism's plunder of East Timor's oil/gas! Australian/UN troops out of East Timor! Be there on 21 August at Sydney University!* ■

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# Imperialist-Backed South Korean Provocation

## Defend North Korea!

We reprint below an article from Workers Vanguard (No. 784, 12 July), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

### All U.S. Troops Out of Korea!

The June 29 clash between South Korean and North Korean naval forces is the latest in a series of escalating military provocations by South Korea and its U.S. imperialist paymasters against the North. South Korean sources claim that up to 30 North Korean sailors were killed and some 70 wounded. One South Korean patrol boat sank in the fighting, with four sailors killed and 19 wounded. This military confrontation comes in the context of George W. Bush's January State of the Union address, where he ranted that the North Korean deformed workers state, along with the mutually hostile Near Eastern capitalist states of Iran and Iraq, formed an "axis of evil." To the power-crazed U.S. imperialists, this means once again asserting their "right" to overthrow the rulers and attack the masses of any state where they think they can get away with it. Making the U.S. rulers' bloody plans explicit was a subsequent Pentagon announcement listing these countries and four others, including the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states, as potential targets of an American nuclear first strike.

Following June 29, U.S. spokesmen immediately denounced North Korea for carrying out an "armed provocation" and railed that its "incursion" across a purported sea border violated the Armistice Agreement that ended the 1950-53 Korean War. In fact, as North Korean spokesmen pointed out, this "border" was unilaterally imposed by the U.S. and never included in the agreement. The Pyongyang regime declared that its ships had been engaged in routine coastal guard duty and rightly protested the attack as a "grave provocation." The fighting took place in rich fishing waters off Korea's west coast during the height of the crab season, when boats from both North and South Korea routinely cross the bogus "border" in search of catches. In June 1999, the South Korean navy rammed North Korean fishing boats, touching off a battle that cost the lives of as many as 80 North Korean sailors.

South Korean spokesmen justify the sinking of the North Korean ships on the grounds that they were fired upon first. From the standpoint of the proletariat, whoever fired first is irrelevant. We stand for the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state against the South Korean capitalist state and its imperialist backers! Capitalist rule was overthrown in the northern half of the Korean peninsula following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonialism at the end of World War II, as the power of the local capitalists and landowners was broken under the Soviet military presence and the newly installed

regime of Kim Il Sung. In a failed attempt to reverse that social revolution and the 1949 Chinese Revolution, U.S. imperialism devastated the peninsula in the Korean War, killing more than three million people and obliterating whole cities, including Pyongyang. Despite the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, the overthrow of capitalism in the North was a historic defeat for imperialism and a victory for the working people of Asia and the world.

For the past five decades, North Korea has been subjected to military encirclement. The U.S. has also maintained an economic embargo aimed at starving the country into submission. Particularly since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which had been North Korea's principal trading partner and major economic lifeline, conditions in the country have vastly

placed on high alert. The U.S. maintains 37,000 troops in South Korea—aimed not only against North Korea but the Chinese deformed workers state as well. This huge military presence also acts as a forward base for maintaining U.S. imperialist hegemony in the Pacific, including against its Japanese imperialist rivals. Under former president Clinton, the U.S. had already begun a shift of its military power to the Pacific region. Now, as part of Bush's "war on terror," U.S. imperialism has sent troops to the Philippines and established new bases in Central Asia, forming a military arc around China. **All U.S. troops out of Korea! U.S. out of Central and Southeast Asia!**

The U.S. troops in Korea would also be deployed to drown in blood any challenge to capitalist rule by the militant South Korean proletariat, just as they were used to suppress one peasant uprising after

have been no Cuban Revolution, no Vietnamese Revolution, and China and Korea would be irradiated rubble.

Seizing on the supposed threat posed by China and North Korea, Japanese government spokesmen have raised the spectre of developing a nuclear arsenal. This has provoked a predictable uproar both from Japan's East Asian neighbors and within its own population, whose ingrained hostility to nuclear weapons is rooted in still-living memories of the 1945 incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American A-bombs. In pursuit of its imperialist ambitions in Asia, the Japanese government has been rearming apace in recent years, and right-wing prime minister Junichiro Koizumi came to office last year on a program of open Japanese militarism. In a powerful act of proletarian opposition to this renewed militarism, dock workers in the port of Sasebo last fall refused to load armaments and military supplies onto Japanese ships headed to assist the U.S.-led war of terror against Afghanistan (see "Japanese Longshoremen Refuse to Load Warships," WV No. 770, 7 December 2001).

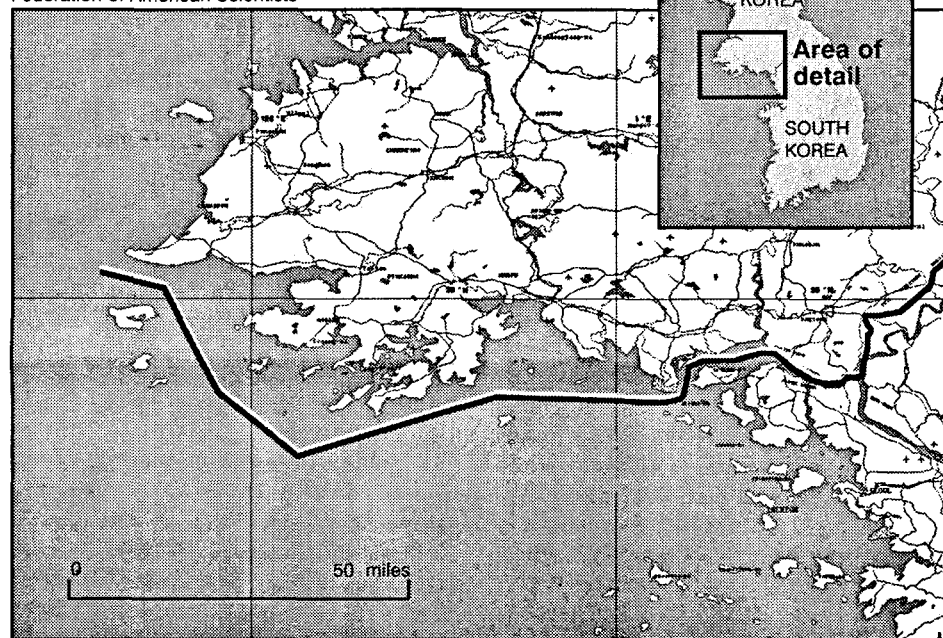
Imperialist belligerence toward the North has all but capsized the "Sunshine Policy" of South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, whose attempts at "engaging" Pyongyang were aimed at undermining the deformed workers state through capitalist economic penetration. North Korean leader Kim Jong Il responded to Seoul's overtures by further opening up limited areas for capitalist investment. But especially following June 29, opposition parties in the South are echoing the Bush administration's tirades against the North. Whatever the tactical differences between Kim Dae Jung and his imperialist masters in Washington, both are guided by the goal of capitalist counter-revolution in North Korea.

The cultist, nepotistic Stalinist regime of Kim Jong Il, who succeeded his father Kim Il Sung, undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state. The bureaucracy's autarkic notion of *juche* (self-reliance) is rooted in the Stalinist lie that socialism—a classless, egalitarian society based on material abundance—can be built in one country, or even half of one. This nationalist dogma is counterposed to a perspective for international socialist revolution, and particularly to any struggle for workers revolution against the South Korean bourgeoisie. The North Korean Stalinists have long called for "peaceful reunification" with the South—a recipe for capitalist reunification and annexation of the North by the Seoul bourgeoisie.

What is crucially needed is a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for the revolutionary reunification of Korea—for socialist revolution in the South and workers political revolution in the North to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats! The fate of the Korean workers North and South is tied up with that of the working class in the imperialist centers, particularly Japan and the U.S. The creation of a revolutionary, unified Korea would have an enormous impact on the proletariat of Japan, not least its oppressed Korean minority. In turn, socialist revolution in Japan would put the enormous productive resources of that country at the disposal of the working class throughout East Asia, laying the basis for a socialist Asia. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan are committed to the struggle to forge a Leninist vanguard party to lead the fight for proletarian revolution in Japan. For our part, the Spartacist League/U.S. fights to build the revolutionary workers party—part of a reformed Fourth International—that can lead the multiracial proletariat in socialist revolution to sweep away rapacious U.S. imperialism, the most dangerous force on the planet. ■

Sea border unilaterally imposed by U.S. imperialism in 1953 after end of Korean War.

Federation of American Scientists



deteriorated, leading to widespread starvation in recent years. In the aftermath of the June 29 provocation, Japan has canceled its program of food aid to North Korea, and the South Korean regime is considering the same. Illustrating how the imperialists wield such programs as tools of economic blackmail, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (6 June) noted that "for the first time since 1995, when famine first struck North Korea, food is running out as donors tire of Pyongyang's unwillingness to make changes to its centrally planned economy." **Down with the imperialist embargo!**

In a murderous show of increasing imperialist belligerence, last December Japanese warships sank a purported North Korean "spy ship" in Chinese waters, killing up to 15 people. Tokyo fully backs South Korea's latest provocation and has joined the U.S. in stepping up surveillance of Korean waters. The American military command and its South Korean underlings are also discussing revising the "rules of engagement" that supposedly prevent South Korean forces from firing unless they are attacked. A South Korean Defense Ministry spokesman explained that the goal was to "streamline the process of firing at the enemy," i.e., to give Seoul carte blanche in carrying out military aggression.

The nuclear-armed imperialists in Washington and the South Korean capitalist rulers who are dependent on the U.S. have put the Korean peninsula a big step closer to a devastating war, as military forces North and South have been

another in the years before the Korean War and later insurgencies against the U.S.-backed military dictatorship. It was the massive class battles of the 1980s, in defiance both of police-state repression and the regime's CIA-financed "unions," that led to the forging of independent trade unions and an end to open military rule. South Korean workers have continued to wage fierce struggles against imperialist-dictated austerity and in defense of independent unions against the current "democratic" government, a thinly disguised police state. Most recently, on June 27 over 1,000 trade unionists rallied in Seoul to demand freedom for imprisoned union leaders, leading to the release of the president and vice president of the Daewoo auto workers union.

Packed with unreconstructed Cold Warriors, the Bush administration made clear from the beginning its intention to step up imperialist pressures against the remaining deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Washington demands that North Korea abandon development of long-range missiles and rails against its supposed plans to build nuclear weapons. The U.S., meanwhile, is proceeding with a "theater missile defense system" whose targets include North Korea and particularly China. The international working class must defend the right of the deformed workers states to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. Had the Soviet Union not possessed a nuclear arsenal capable of deterring U.S. imperialism, there would

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# Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

arrogantly declare that they need no justification to overthrow any government or "pre-emptively" invade any country they can get away with attacking. For all the blather about "weapons of mass destruction," Bush administration spokesmen have rejected out of hand Iraq's offer to reinstitute the United Nations "arms inspection" regime.

For its part the Australian government has rallied behind U.S. government moves for a "pre-emptive" strike against Iraq, and has raised the prospect of sending ground troops. Frothing at the mouth, foreign affairs minister Alexander Downer had to be reined in when in a slanging match with the Labor Party "opposition" he accused Labor leader Simon Crean of "appeasing" Iraq. Australian bellicosity brought an immediate response directly from the Iraqi regime that threatened to cancel Australia's \$800 million annual wheat sales. This threat of Iraqi economic retaliation, combined with the fact that the Australian imperialist military is already "over-stretched"—with major troop deployments in East Timor and Central Asia—has generated some hand-wringing amongst the Australian capitalist rulers.

The Labor Party which in the words of Crean, "unequivocally supports the U.S.-led war on terrorism," has struck a slightly oppositional posture. Criticising Downer for his "Rambo-like" rhetoric—and doubtless responding to polls which show that at least half of the Australian population do not support a war on Iraq—Labor leaders argue for proof of links between the Iraqi regime and Al Qaeda and for the redeployment of UN weapons inspectors to ensure that Iraq "is not building nuclear, chemical and biological weapons."

It was under the last federal ALP government that Australia sent its military to assist the U.S., Britain, and others in carrying out the 1991 Gulf War slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis. An American-led invasion would massively deepen the destruction carried out in 1991, and by the bombing campaign which continues to this day, further devastating the infrastructure of what was once one of the most advanced Arab countries. In recent months Washington has been putting a squeeze on the "oil for food" program which provides a minimal lifeline for a population besieged by the continuing starvation blockade. Curtailing oil sales ensures that there will be even more victims than the one and a half million men, women and children who have already died from malnutrition and lack of medicines.

Today the Australian navy heads up the blockade of the Gulf while Australian imperialist troops are stationed in Central Asia, Israel, Syria, Lebanon and the Sinai. Both Liberal and Labor alike back current Australian imperialist military expeditions in Afghanistan and the Near East. A victory for the U.S. and its Australian junior partners in Iraq—or anywhere else—will only embolden the bloody rulers to escalate their murderous attacks around the world while intensifying their exploitation and oppression of workers and minorities at home. The international working class has a burning interest in standing for the military defence of Iraq against imperialist attack without giving any political support to the brutal anti-working-class, bourgeois-nationalist regime of Saddam Hussein.

**Down with the imperialist embargo! U.S./Australia hands off Iraq! All U.S./UN/Australian troops out of the Persian Gulf, Near East and Central Asia! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinians!**

## Zionist Cycle of Terror

The current plight of the Palestinian people is the end-product of the 1993 "peace" accords setting up an "autonomous" Palestinian Authority that is now effectively buried under Israeli tank



Along with seven killed, 80 students, both Jewish and Arab, were wounded in criminal 31 July bomb attack by Hamas at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, one of few integrated institutions in Israel.

treads. A recent World Bank study conveys some sense of the nightmarish conditions in the Occupied Territories. The lack of any real Israeli investment since the territories were seized in 1967 meant that Palestinians relied overwhelmingly on menial, low-wage jobs in Israel. But especially since 1993, those jobs were increasingly sealed off through ever more frequent "security" closures and the building of a concrete-and-barbed-wire wall around Gaza. From 1992 to 1998, the total number of Palestinian workers employed in Israel declined by half—and even more in the case of Gaza residents—reducing per capita income to 1967 levels. Today, the unemployment rate has surpassed 50 percent, half of all children suffer from malnutrition and two-thirds of Palestinians live below the poverty level (defined as a per capita income of U.S.\$2.50 per day). Income is expected to plunge by yet another 30 percent by the end of the year.

The tightening ghettoisation of Arab towns and villages, combined with the massive destruction of West Bank society and infrastructure carried out by the Israeli military in April, has reduced what economic life existed to the barest minimum. Meanwhile, the Zionist rulers are withholding some U.S.\$600 million in international aid from the Palestinians. **Israel's rulers are carrying out a policy of starvation in the Occupied Territories.**

After nine years of Palestinian "autonomy," the number of Zionist settlers has doubled, totaling some 400,000 in Gaza, the West Bank and an ever-expanding East Jerusalem. The true face of the settler movement was seen in the pogromist rampage in late July in Hebron, where some 500 settlers protected by 6,000 troops lord it over an Arab population of 120,000. A funeral for a settler killed by Palestinians was turned into an anti-Arab pogrom, as a racist mob shot dead a 14-year-old girl in her home, wounded her brother, stabbed another young boy and broke into Palestinian houses and smashed up the local market. A recent poll conducted by the liberal Peace Now organisation showed that 68 percent of the nearly 200,000 West Bank settlers would be willing to leave if compensated. Presumably, these are largely the recent immigrants who were forced to live there by the government or those drawn mainly by artificially low housing costs. That leaves a solid core of 60,000 or more hard-bitten zealots—just in the West Bank—who are determined to serve as an advance guard in a genocidal war to expel the Palestinians.

At bottom, the settler movement is an auxiliary army of occupation and the settlements little more than military outposts, linked by strategic "bypass" highways, open only to Jews, and a growing network of military checkpoints where Palestinians are routinely terrorised and humiliated. It is to maintain this apparatus of terror that the Israeli government spends U.S.\$1 billion a year on "security" and housing subsidies in the Occupied Territories, even as it denies the bare essentials of existence to the Palestinian population and slashes social services for working people in Israel.

Defence of the Palestinians must begin with the demand for **the immediate removal of all anti-Arab fortifications in the Occupied Territories—the troops, the settlements and the apartheid highway network.**

While Palestinian attacks on Israeli soldiers and their fascist settler auxiliaries at least target the enforcers of the brutal Zionist occupation, the bombings of schools, buses, shopping malls or discos are criminal from the standpoint of the working class. Such attacks are aimed simply at killing as many Israeli civilians as possible, just as the Israeli state terror in Gaza, carried out with far more formidable firepower, was aimed at killing as many Palestinians as possible. The choice of Hebrew University as a Hamas target is particularly significant, as this is one of the few venues where Jews and Arabs have continued to intermingle despite the steady deepening of national antagonisms over the last two years. And, in fact, many of the wounded at the university were Arab students.

The organisers of such indiscriminate bombings—whether Islamic fundamentalists or Palestinian nationalists like the Al Aksa Brigade—share the reactionary mindset of the Zionist rulers. Just as Sharon deems every Palestinian a "terrorist" to be tortured, murdered or starved to death, Hamas & Co. consider it a crime to have been born into the Hebrew-speaking population or even to associate with it in any way. Such criminal attacks serve only to deepen the grip of chauvinism over the Hebrew-speaking working people and drive them further into the arms of their own exploiters.

## For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

The Gaza City attack came just as the Tanzim militia associated with Yasir Arafat's Fatah organisation was about to declare a cease-fire that would end "all attacks on innocent men, women and children who are non-combatants." Obviously timed to scuttle this unilateral declaration, which was largely brokered by the European Union, Sharon's bombing followed a pattern of provocation that goes right back to the start of the Palestinian uprising. What triggered the *Intifada* in the first place was Sharon's march (with the approval of the then Labor government) through the Muslim holy shrine of Al Aksa in Jerusalem with more than a thousand heavily armed soldiers in the fall of 2000.

Since then, every attempt to broker some kind of "peace" agreement—invariably based on the demand that the Palestinians cease to defend themselves against the Zionist occupiers—has been buried in the rubble and burning wreckage left by another onslaught of the Israeli war machine. Thus when Arafat met U.S. president Clinton in November 2000, Israel responded by blowing up a Fatah activist in his van—also killing random pedestrians—with anti-tank missiles launched from helicopters. Similarly, a Jordanian "peace mission" in April 2001 was greeted with an Israeli bombing attack in Lebanon along with additional provocations in the West Bank and Gaza.

This past February, Israel reacted to a Saudi-sponsored "peace" proposal by devastating another refugee camp in the West Bank, killing over 30 Palestinians.

Throughout this slaughter, Israel has been backed to the hilt by the U.S. imperialists with arms, supplies and billions in cash. In 1993 Washington had presided over a "peace" process as a way of sealing a Pax Americana in the region. This came after the 1991 assault on Iraq, in which U.S. imperialism asserted its unchallenged hegemony in the oil-rich Near East. For the Zionist rulers the "peace" deal was a way of offloading the policing of the Occupied Territories into the willing hands of Arafat and a handful of his nationalist cronies. For all the vague promises of an eventual bantustan-style mini-state in the sweet by-and-by—if the Palestinians "behaved themselves"—that was the real content of the "autonomy" ushered in by the Oslo Accords.

This **betrayal** of the just aspirations of the Palestinian people was the result of the nationalist strategy pursued by Fatah and the rest of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), including such "radical" groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Enormously out-gunned by the Zionist state, the PLO was under no illusion that a military struggle could achieve Palestinian statehood. In practice, these petty-bourgeois nationalists looked to the Arab bourgeois states, the United Nations and, finally, directly to the U.S. imperialists to pressure Israel into a deal.

With the counterrevolutionary collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the PLO was deprived of crucial diplomatic and financial support, paving the way for the ignominious U.S.-sponsored "peace." The result has been such a catastrophe that large sections of the historically cosmopolitan Palestinian population have turned to the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, purveyors of religious obscurantism, anti-woman bigotry and anti-Semitism.

The horrors to which the Palestinians have been subjected have provoked outrage and protest around the world. But many of these protests have been aimed at appeals to one or another imperialist agency to intervene in defence of the Palestinians. We warn that any imperialist military intervention would only aid in **quelling** the Palestinian national struggle, as the United Nations did in overseeing the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 and in disarming Palestinian fighters in Lebanon in 1982, leading to Sharon's massacre of over 2,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. As for the U.S., it is already intervening in the region, not only in support of Israel but in the ongoing bombing of Iraq. We fight rather to mobilise the working people in this country and internationally in concrete acts of class-struggle solidarity with the besieged Palestinians. **Down with the U.S./Israel axis of terror! Down with U.S. aid to Israel!**

There can be no genuine self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people—carved up between Israel, the Occupied Territories, Jordan and Lebanon—short of thoroughgoing socialist revolutions that sweep away the capitalist order throughout the Near East. Nor is self-determination conceivable without the right of Palestinians to return to the lands inside Israel from which they were expelled in decades past. But the Hebrew-speaking nation also has the right to exist. The contending national claims of these two peoples can never be equitably sorted out under capitalism, which is based on national aggrandisement.

It is vitally necessary to build revolutionary workers parties that will fight to break Hebrew workers from the stranglehold of intense chauvinism and Arab workers from the nationalism and Islamic reaction that bind them to their rulers. Only under the red banner of proletarian internationalism can all the peoples of the region achieve national and social justice within a socialist federation of the Near East. ■



## Unions...

(continued from page 7)

wretched pro-market "reforms" undermine the planned, collectivised economies of these states, paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution.

In both imperialist world wars the Australian capitalists entrusted the ALP social democrats with leading workers to war. The pro-imperialist outlook of the social-democratic misleaders has a material foundation. They base themselves on a thin layer of privileged workers, a labour aristocracy, who are thrown crumbs from the super-profits derived from brutal imperialist plunder of Pacific neocolonies. Rallying this labour aristocracy to promote loyalty to the capitalist order among the whole of the class, the Laborite bureaucrats gain perquisites, bourgeois respectability and self-importance in their role as "worker leaders" whose job it is to maintain capitalist stability.

Consequently, the ALP has its most solid bases of support in the better paid, whitest and most male-dominated sections of the working class. By contrast a



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August 2001: Spartacist contingent opposes racist ALP at Sydney demonstration in defence of besieged Tampa refugees.

revolutionary workers party would seek support among all layers of the proletariat, especially among women, minorities and the most poorly paid. Such a party must be in the words of Russian revolutionary, V.I. Lenin, a tribune of the people, able to mobilise the working class against every manifestation of oppression. This perspective is vital to forging a fighting unity of the working

class in the face of the escalating right-wing ideological offensive, which targets all those who don't "fit in" to, or accept, the capitalist rulers' sick racist vision of society. Down with the sinister "anti-terror" laws! Down with the fanatical campaign against Arab and Muslim minorities! Free the refugees—full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Against the despicable campaign to

blame Aboriginal people for their own racist oppression and federal court rulings that have all but extinguished the rights that can be won by indigenous land claims, we stand for a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal rights. It is necessary to take up the fight against women's oppression—key to unleashing the power of the woman worker. Down with the reactionary "family values" crusade! Free abortion on demand! To emancipate women from economic dependence on the institution of the bourgeois family requires a fight for free 24-hour child-care and jobs for all, which poses the need to overturn the profit-based capitalist system.

In fighting to build a genuine communist party, that can draw in all the oppressed behind the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution, our model is Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik Party led the great October 1917 Russian Revolution that brought the working class to power over one-sixth of the earth's surface. We welcome the ferment in the workers movement as an opportunity to win disgruntled workers and inquiring activist youth to the fight to build such a party. ■

## Immigrants...

(continued from page 5)

general strikes by labour and immigrants against the Bossi/Fini anti-immigrant law and also against the Berlusconi government's attempt to make the labour market "flexible" for increased exploitation by shredding union gains won through several decades of hard-fought battles! In response to popular outrage, Rifondazione Comunista (RC) is now obliged to call protests calling for closing down the detention centres which RC itself had earlier voted for setting up. In Berlin's Potsdamer Platz on 20 June, a mass picket of German construction workers spiked an attempt to manipulate Portuguese immigrants as strikebreakers, by appealing to them to fight alongside the union in struggling for the rights of all labour, including foreign workers. As the Portuguese workers applauded and refused to cross the picket line, the strikers yelled, "Long live international solidarity!" This shows, as our comrades in Germany said in their leaflet to these strikers, "German, foreign and immigrant workers can only push forward their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately."

Advancement along this class-struggle road is obstructed by reformists and trade-union misleaders who deploy strikes not to combat capitalist rule but as pressure tactics on capitalist politicians to whom they are ultimately beholden. Thus the IG Metall strike, which united German, Turkish and Kurdish workers in struggle in May, was called off by the SPD [Social Democratic Party] union tops as soon as SPD party leader Schröder warned that a long strike would cost the German capitalists money (isn't that the point of strikes, to hit the bosses in their pocket-books?) and so threaten the SPD's standing in upcoming parliamentary elections.

Similarly, Italy's Rifondazione Comunista leader, Bertinotti, supports strike action against the Berlusconi government explicitly to put a centre-left coalition back in power to better manage capitalist rule. RC's left wing, the "Proposta" group, now admits that RC shares responsibility for anti-immigrant laws during its support to the Prodi government, but their role is to keep leftist militants within the fold of RC reformism. As our Italian comrades have noted of Proposta, "Their perspective is not to build a Leninist vanguard party to lead the workers to power, but a 'left pole' that puts pressure on the reformist leaders and contributes to bringing them back to the helm of capitalism" (*Spartaco* No. 60, May 2002).

### For a Socialist Fight for a Workers Europe!

The rise of racist demagoguery, government attacks on immigrants and the threat of fascist terror bands can only be eradicated through a victorious struggle against the capitalist system. This perspective is the fundamental point of departure separating the ICL from all of our competitors in the workers movement. The anarchist milieu, while often admirably audacious in militant protests against the powers that be, lacks a programme to effectively combat much less replace the rule of capital. At bottom, their worldview is that of streetfighting liberals: pressure politics expressing justified outrage outside meetings of the capitalist rulers, rather than loathsome suit-and-tie parliamentary reformism. It's not enough to protest, it's necessary to have a perspective to fight to transform society, to topple the rapacious imperialist system and create a workers state as the necessary first step on the road to a global classless society. The former Stalinist parties and the social democrats long ago made their peace with capitalist



Workers Hammer

London, 13 March: British Spartacus Youth Group initiated protest at School of Oriental and African Studies against Labour's "anti-terrorist" laws and anti-immigrant witchhunt.

rule; indeed, across Europe they administered it and augmented the attacks on the working class and immigrants. Our pseudo-Trotskyist competitors peddle their wares in the shadow of the social democracy because their aim is not to forge an authentic Leninist party by splitting the proletarian base of the reformist parties from their pro-capitalist tops but to pressure these misleaders.

On the question of immigration, groups like Workers Power promote the call to "open the borders." It's a catchy slogan, but what it would mean for "Third World" countries is an open door for imperialist investors. More generally, it is a utopian and reactionary demand for an egalitarian world within the framework of capitalism. It is retrograde to promote the notion that somehow capitalism can be made rational or humane. Unlike groups such as Workers Power, which spout rhetoric against racism and slogans like "open the borders" but politically support the chauvinist social democrats, we seek

urgently to mobilise the working class to take up the fight for full citizenship rights for all who manage to cross the borders and to drive home the understanding that the source of exploitation of all labour is the capitalist system of production, which is defended to the bitter end by *the capitalist state*. Until we achieve an internationally planned, socialist economy based on collectivised property, it will not be possible to abolish the state or national borders. The nation-state is the basis of the organisation of the capitalist economy, and to deny that is to capitulate to muddle-headed bourgeois "democrats." As Lenin said in his April 1917 speech on the national question, "What does 'Down with frontiers' mean? It is the beginning of anarchy.... Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, and not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan."

Against capitalist Fortress Europe, our perspective is the fight for *the socialist United States of Europe* as a vital step in the world socialist revolution. The necessary instruments to bring the working class to power are Leninist parties, politically guided with a programme that is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We fight to reforge the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Despite the regression in political consciousness today and the huge gulf between our purpose and present means, it is evident that there is no shortage of combativity and desire on the part of the working people, oppressed minorities and youth to fight. For their struggles to be successful and not derailed into the trap of reformist pressure politics, it is urgent to construct a revolutionary leadership. This is what the sections of the ICL fight for, nothing other and nothing less. ■

### Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program

International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

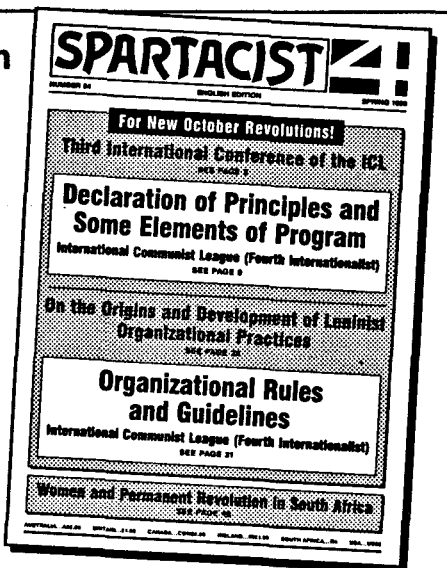
Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the ICL's Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

The Declaration of Principles has now been published in 13 languages including its publication in *Spartacist*.

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## Down With Australian Imperialism's Plunder of Oil and Gas!

# Australian/UN Troops Out of East Timor!

On 21 August at Sydney University, leftist and minority youth joined the Spartacus Youth Club and the Spartacist League in determined united-front protest to demand: Down with Australian Imperialism's Plunder of East Timor's Oil/Gas! Australian/UN Troops out of East Timor! On the very same day, the East Timorese capital, Dili, was rocked by a second day of actions by thousands of angry protesters shouting anti-UN slogans. An organiser of the Dili actions exposed the bitter reality of Australian/UN-occupied East Timor: "We are not truly independent. We are a state under a new form of colonisation" (Age, 22 August).

At the Sydney University protest an SL speaker pointed out that, under provisions of the Timor Sea Treaty, the amount in royalties alone that Australia's rulers will steal from the Timor Sea oil and gas



ASp photo

### Young Spartacus

resources is more than **90 times** East Timor's annual Gross National Income! Some youth were perplexed. How could a treaty, so obviously thieving, be imposed on the East Timorese people? Answer: The Australian *military presence* intimidates and crushes any resistance by the impoverished masses to the neocolonial Timor government's acceptance of imperialist plunder. So, in the past few weeks, the Australian/UN military force arrested scores of opponents of the imperialists and their servile East Timorese government.

Standing near but separate from the Sydney protest was Jefferson Lee, long time leader of the Australian East Timor Association (AETA). Lee claims to oppose the oil plunder but stands *for* the Australian military occupation. Worried about the interest the protest was gathering among East Timorese students, Lee sought to counter-mobilise on the day. He and his ally distributed leaflets and promoted a 30 August AETA meeting which advertised as a speaker Mike Smith, Australia's former Deputy Commander of the UN's East Timor occupation force! Incredibly Lee then demanded to address the protest. He was refused, given that the rally was not a forum or debate but an anti-imperialist action that he *opposed*. It seems however that some members of AETA don't share Lee's liking for the

Australian imperialists.

In keeping with the principles of a united-front demonstration—uniting in action under common demands while each participating group maintains its own program and strategy—the SL and SYC, which initiated the action invited others to co-sponsor and join the protest. Endorsers included John Williams (a shop steward of the manufacturing union at Melbourne's Holden engine plant), the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP) and Workers Power (WP). These endorsements were welcomed and were announced at the demonstration. However, the FSP and WP's support to the anti-imperialist protest stands in contrast to their present work over East Timor. The latest issue of the *Freedom Socialist Bulletin* (Winter/Spring 2002), for instance, has an editorial on East Timorese "independence" which does not even mention the massive Australian/UN military presence! The Melbourne-based FSP and WP are part of the reformist Socialist Alliance, whose biggest component, the Democratic Socialist Party, was at the forefront of the chauvinist mobilisations in September 1999 screaming *for* Australian troops to East Timor. WP and the FSP also joined in these 1999 pro-imperialist rallies, while in words claiming to oppose the imperialist occupation.

The International Socialist Organisation and Socialist Alternative (SA), both of whom are active at Sydney University, were invited to participate in the 21 August protest but refused. One cadre of SA, in grotesque contempt for victims of imperialist pillage, even labeled the event

a "stunt," saying the issue is not pressing! That was not the view of those protesting neocolonialism on the same day in Dili—they were so fired up that only their leaders stopped them from storming the UN offices. East Timor's slavish foreign minister, Ramos Horta, openly worried that the militant anti-UN protests "could turn into actions." In fact anti-colonial activists have militantly defended themselves from imperialist troops and laid siege to police stations. Many were involved in the spectacular 16 August breakout of 180 inmates from Dili's Becora jail (*Lusa*, 21 August).

With the Australian government set to commit troops for a war against Iraq (echoing Bush's bellicose campaign), leftist youth rightly seek to fight against the impending imperialist terror in the Persian Gulf. But, as an SYC speaker stated, "We cannot oppose Australian imperialism in Iraq if we are breeding illusions in Australian imperialism in East Timor. The Spartacus Youth Club understands that the main enemy is at home. We must fight against the imperialist rulers of this country here, where we live. *U.S./Australia Hands off Iraq!*"

The 21 August rally sought to win youth to the understanding that the imperialist Australian army's presence in East Timor, as everywhere, is in the predatory interests of Australian capital. It does not and cannot operate on a "humanitarian" agenda. As V.I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution pointed out, imperialism is a system that has an ever-increasing need for expansion, exploitation and plunder. We seek to crystallise and harden the forces that can agitate for the necessary trade-union bans against goods to the Australian military in East Timor. In every struggle against particular neocolonial depredations the SYC fights to win youth to a program of principled opposition to all imperialist interventions, as part of the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the barbaric capitalist order.

We reprint below the SL/SYC call for this united-front action and revolutionary greetings from the Spartacist Group Japan which were enthusiastically received by demonstrators on the day.

When the prime minister was in East Timor in May for the proclamation of "independence," he was met by some

500 protesters carrying signs such as "Howard: you are a thief." They were denouncing the Australian imperialists' extortion of East Timor's huge oil and gas resources codified by the Timor Sea Treaty. Australia is to get **82 percent** of the massive Greater Sunrise field that is entirely on East Timor's side of the mid-point between the two countries. As Australian resource giant Woodside is set to greatly increase its Timor Sea revenues, the East Timorese people live in the poorest country in Asia, with more than 40 percent of the population living below the official poverty line of US55cents (!) a day.

In a darkly fitting testament to what they face, the Timor Sea Treaty was signed on Independence Day itself. That evening, Australian troops caused a scandal by stealing at gunpoint an East Timorese flag from a hotel. Such vile piggishness is standard for the Australian-led UN occupation. An aid worker described a typical conversation among UN administrators, recounting with disgust how these colonial overlords would speak about the East Timorese with *filthy racist contempt*: "They have an IQ of a dog—well, at least I can train my dog" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 January 2001)! After two and a half years of this arrogant, racist occupation, preceded by centuries of Portuguese colonisation and 24 years of brutal Australian-backed Indonesian rule, some East Timorese were understandably joyful about formal independence. But the kind of "independence" they face can be seen in Australia's biggest direct neocolony, Papua New Guinea. In June last year the Australian puppet regime in PNG murdered six people following mass worker and student protests against privatisations and other brutal austerity diktats imposed by Australia and the IMF. *Australian military get out of East Timor, Bougainville, PNG and Solomon Islands!*

In PNG the Australian imperialist state—other than in Bougainville island which they militarily occupy—plays mainly the role of puppet-master. But in East Timor they are at the core of a force of 5,000 UN troops that are to be the main military power there for at least another two years. We call for a united-front demonstration on 21 August at Sydney University against the Australian imperialist plunder and military

*continued on page 8*

### Anti-UN Actions Rock East Timor



Dili, 20 August: Thousands of ex-Falintil guerrillas hold anti-government protest denouncing Australian/UN occupiers.