

Indonesia

Leftists Imprisoned on Eve of Sham Elections

For Workers Revolution Against Suharto Dictatorship!

On May 29, the Indonesian regime of General Suharto will stage sham elections for a sham parliament. Cynically billed as a "festival of democracy," the vote has been rigged to guarantee precisely 70.02 percent for the ruling Golkar party. The only other parties allowed to run, the Islamic United Development Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), are barred from issuing platforms. This "parliamentary" exercise is a front for a brutal dictatorship ushered in through the mass slaughter—aided by the American CIA—of over half a million Communist Party (PKI) members, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese in 1965.

This infamously corrupt capitalist regime is today increasingly brittle. Centered on the Suharto family and its cronies, the Indonesian bourgeoisie maintains its power through police-state terror against a population seething with discontent. Suharto & Co. have handsomely profited from imperialist investment, which has helped spur one of the world's fastest growth rates: Indonesia now has the world's tenth-largest economy.

The massive growth of export-oriented manufacturing, particularly light industries like apparel, has created a young, vibrant but miserably exploited proletariat. Some 20 million workers now reside in urban centers such as the "Jabotabek" region (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih). The past few years have witnessed a wave of strikes and protests not seen since 1965. At the same time, massive grievances exist among dispossessed peasants and the myriad ethnic and religious minorities of the vast Indonesian archipelago, which holds the fourth-largest population in the world. As well, there is enormous resentment among the



As May 29 "election" farce approaches, military regime cracks down on dissidents and trade unionists, deploys troops on streets of Jakarta to suppress any social protest.

urban petty bourgeoisie at the extreme venality of the ruling class.

The Suharto regime has responded to the recent unrest with typically fierce repression, targeting especially the independent trade unions and the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD). On April 22, Dita Sari, head of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI), was sentenced to six years in prison for her role in a strike and rally last July of 20,000 women workers in the east Java city of Surabaya. Her co-defendants, Coen Hussein Pontoh and Mohammed Soleh, were sentenced to four years each.

On May Day, eleven PRD members began a hunger strike to protest the sentencing of PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko and eight others to up to 13 years in prison. Meanwhile, Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), is facing a death sentence on "subversion" charges. The international labor movement must demand: Free all victims of Suharto's reactionary terror!

The latest prison sentences stem from massive protests which erupted last July over the regime's ouster of Megawati Sukarnoputri, a bourgeois "opposition"

figure and daughter of former Indonesian ruler Sukarno, from the PDI leadership. The PRD, which has taken up the call for a boycott of the rigged elections, actively organizes support for Megawati. This is despite Megawati's repeated denials that she has any intention of challenging Suharto's rule. In fact, she has already served twice in Suharto's sham parliament. On purely democratic grounds, we defend Megawati's right to run in the elections. But the boycott campaign is not designed to challenge the dictatorship and its electoral farce; it seeks only

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British Tories Ousted After 18 Years

Blair's "New Labour" Anti-Worker Government

The following article is adapted from the *Spartacist League/Britain's Workers Hammer* (No. 156, May/June 1997).

LONDON—The satirical journal *Private Eye* (2 May) aptly summed up the

May 1 election outcome with a cover photo showing outgoing Conservative (Tory) prime minister John Major telling his Labour Party successor, Tony Blair, "I told you the Tories would win." With a huge swing from traditional Tory areas, Blair's "New Labour" swept into government with a massive 179-seat margin in Parliament. The sheer size of Blair's victory is ominous; it will be taken as a mandate to carry out New Labour's vicious anti-working-class

programme. Blair's first act in government sent the City of London financial markets into paroxysms of elation, as he granted unprecedented powers to the Bank of England.

Rejecting all pretences to represent the interest of the working class, Blair has pushed to sever Labour's historic links with the trade unions and to recast it as an openly bourgeois party like the U.S. Democrats. Labour's TV campaign broadcast sported the British bulldog

—symbol of foaming chauvinist, racist British imperialism—and Blair consciously presented himself as a Bill Clinton clone, insisting, "People don't even question for a single moment that the Democrats are a pro-business party. They should not be asking the question about New Labour." In turn, New Labour's landslide victory has encouraged a further drive toward the right by the French and German social-democratic parties in the face of upcoming parliamentary elections in those countries.

While it was often difficult to tell the Tory and New Labour election manifestos apart, Major's defeat reflected a deep schism within the ruling class about Britain's place in the "New World Order," played out in the internecine warfare within the Tory party over the European Union (EU). For the Conservatives' "Eurosceptic" wing, "European integration" is a threat to

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Massachusetts Day Care Witchhunt

Drop All Charges Against the Amiraults!

BOSTON—Violet Amirault and her daughter Cheryl were sentenced to up to 20 years in prison in 1987 on absurd charges of sexual abuse of children at the Fells Acres day-care center owned and run by Violet Amirault. In a separate trial, her son Gerald was sentenced to 40 years. All three were victims of a political witchhunt targeting day-care workers across the country with grotesque smears of "satanic abuse."

While Gerald Amirault remains in prison to this day, his mother and sister were freed on appeal in 1995. But on March 24, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court vindictively reinstated their convictions. We publish below an April 24 letter by the Partisan Defense Committee to Governor William Weld protesting this vile decision.

The two have since asked for a new trial and for bail pending trial. Their motion was granted on May 9 by Judge Isaac Borenstein. But they remain in imminent danger, as the state announced plans to get the Supreme Judicial Court to throw them back in prison.

Dear Governor Weld:

We are writing to protest the outrageous ruling by the Supreme Judicial Court reinstating the convictions of 74-year-old Violet Amirault and her daughter Cheryl Amirault LeFave. More than a decade since the criminal trial, the operators of the Fells Acres Day Care center continue to be persecuted by a hysterical witchhunt aimed at equating day care with "child abuse."

Like the infamous McMartin preschool case in California, the frame-up of Kelly Michaels in New Jersey, and so many others, the Amiraults' 1986 trial was a travesty of justice. The script by which the Amiraults were railroaded to prison is as familiar as a grade-B, made for TV movie. In real, state-sponsored abuse, over a dozen children were traumatized and manipulated into making the most absurd allegations, such as being attacked by a robot, forced to eat a dead frog and being molested by clowns and lobsters. Chief Justice Fried conceded that the charges were "quite improbable," the result of "communicated hysteria"

and that the convictions were secured in violation of the Amiraults' Sixth Amendment rights to confront their accusers. But "so what" says the state's highest court as it condemns the Amiraults to a very real prison hell.

Citing the need for "finality" Justice Fried betrayed the state's real fear, complaining that a new trial "will often in effect resolve the dispute in favor of the accused." This same fear of the accused proving their innocence has led both the Democratic and Republican parties to join in eviscerating the centuries old right of habeas corpus and much of the Bill of Rights. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, not exactly known as an advocate of defendants' rights, denounced the abuse of

the Amiraults' rights. The Amiraults are no more child molesters than the citizens of Salem were witches. In both cases mass paranoia was engineered to terrorize innocent people. Government and media-fueled hysteria over "child abuse" has little to do with protecting children, and a lot to do with a campaign against day-care centers as somehow dangerous, subversive institutions. Under the guise of fighting child abuse, the various agencies of the capitalist state have destroyed the lives of thousands of people across the country. The Amiraults must not spend another day in prison. We demand all charges be dropped immediately!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein for the PDC

Remember MOVE Massacre



13 May 1985

Twelve years ago this month the Philadelphia police under Democratic Party mayor Wilson Goode—conspiring with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and Ronald Reagan's White House—perpetrated an act of racist mass murder. After an hours-long siege by hundreds of cops of the MOVE organization's home in a predominantly black neighborhood, the Philly police dropped a bomb on the home. As the MOVE home was enveloped in flames, a relentless fusillade of cop bullets kept the victims from getting out. Eleven black people, including five young children, were incinerated. The resulting firestorm swept through nine city blocks and left hundreds homeless.

This calculated act of racist mass murder culminated years of harassment, beatings, arrests and massive police assaults on MOVE members in retaliation for MOVE's tenacious defense of their right to exist and practice their beliefs in Philadelphia.

For surviving this atrocity, Ramona Africa was arrested and served every day of an eleven-year sentence. Nine MOVE members languish in prison to this day—convicted on trumped-up charges following an earlier cop assault in 1978 on MOVE's former home in Powelton Village. The 1978 attack brought MOVE to the attention of black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who spoke out in their defense and

became a MOVE supporter. In 1982, Mumia was railroaded onto Pennsylvania's death row—falsely convicted for the killing of a policeman—culminating a racist state vendetta dating back to his years as teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party. The fight to free Mumia is vital to the defense of all the oppressed.

As the MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years, so too the massacre of the integrated Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Texas in April 1993 symbolizes the deadly repression by the capitalist state under Democrat Clinton. In both cases, the racist rulers' message to the oppressed masses was: step out of line, and face the murderous wrath of the state. The bourgeois media grotesquely whitewash these heinous atrocities by blaming the victims, as the *New York Times* recently did with its outrageous amalgam between the Heaven's Gate mass suicide and the state's slaughter of more than 80 men, women and children at Waco.

As part of our fight for socialist revolution to sweep away the entire apparatus of racist capitalist repression, we are committed to searing the memory of the MOVE massacre into the consciousness of all working people and the oppressed.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all MOVE prisoners! Abolish the racist death penalty!



TROTSKY

Only Socialist Revolution Can End Imperialist Barbarism

Even as the capitalist rulers escalate their attacks on workers and all the oppressed, bourgeois ideology seeks to obscure the gaping class contradictions in this society. As the imperialists push the lie of the "death of communism" in the wake of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, there has been a sinister resurgence of religious obscurantism and anti-scientific prejudice. In a 1939 article titled "The



LENIN

Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism," written as World War II loomed on the horizon, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky reasserted the fundamentals of Marxism against demoralized "socialist" intellectuals who had embraced "classless" bourgeois democracy and the hypocritical "morality" of the bourgeoisie.

Engels once wrote that Marx and himself remained all their lives in the minority and "felt fine" about it. Periods when the movement of the oppressed class rises to the level of the general tasks of the revolution represent the rarest exceptions in history. Far more frequent than victories are the defeats of the oppressed. Following each defeat comes a long period of reaction, which throws the revolutionists back into a state of cruel isolation. Pseudorevolutionists, "knights for an hour," as a Russian poet put it, either openly betray the cause of the oppressed in such periods or scurry about in search of a formula of salvation that would enable them to avoid breaking with any of the camps. It is inconceivable in our time to find a conciliatory formula in the sphere of political economy or sociology; class contradictions have forever overthrown the "harmony" formula of the liberals and democratic reformers. There remains the domain of religion and transcendental morality....

Two classes decide the fate of modern society: the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The last resource of the bourgeoisie is fascism, which replaces social and historical criteria with biological and zoological standards so as thus to free itself from any and all restrictions in the struggle for capitalist property. Civilization can be saved only by the socialist revolution. To accomplish the overturn, the proletariat needs all its strength, all its resolution, all its audacity, passion, and ruthlessness. Above all it must be completely free from the fictions of religion, "democracy," and transcendental morality—the spiritual chains forged by the enemy to tame and enslave it. Only that which prepares the complete and final overthrow of imperialist bestiality is moral, and nothing else. The welfare of the revolution—that is the supreme law!

— Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours* (1969)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

Key documents and articles 1955-1976

ISO: Flunkies for Carey and the Capitalist State

Union Must Fight Racism at UPS!

OAKLAND—United Parcel Service (UPS) workers across the country are seething at the arrogant racist treatment handed out by the giant package delivery company. From the San Francisco Bay Area to St. Louis, men and women workers—mostly black but also white, Latino and Asian—have angrily protested the racist abuse UPS bosses dish out on top of the backbreaking work, long hours and breakneck pace the company is infamous for. In the latest of a series of legal actions against UPS, on April 30 a group of UPS workers filed a class-action lawsuit against a wide-ranging pattern of company discrimination, from promotion policies to several incidents at San Bernardino in Southern California, where the letters “KKK” were scrawled around UPS facilities.

As we wrote in “Mobilize Teamster Power to Smash Racism at UPS!” (WV No. 660, 24 January): “Defending the union means defending minority workers, and vice versa. The enormous potential power of the Teamsters must be brought to bear against the racist UPS bosses in a fight against racist discrimination on the job!” Discrimination against minorities at UPS goes hand in hand with the company’s attempts to drive down wages. Earlier this month, UPS pilots, who earn on average 25 percent less than those at other freight carriers, voted nearly unanimously to authorize a strike against the

unions. In counseling reliance on the bourgeois state, the NAACP liberals, who have historically preached accommodation to the racist rulers, seek to restrain the combativity of black workers at UPS.

ISO “Disappears” Racism at UPS

The Teamsters tops’ role in subverting labor struggle and propping up this system of racial oppression is part and parcel of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy’s job, which is to police the workers movement on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This is patently clear in the case of Carey, who was installed as Teamsters president by the feds and the trucking companies not to clean up “corruption” in the union but to hamstring this potentially powerful union and place it directly under the thumb of the capitalist government.

Yet numerous reformist “socialists,” most prominently the International Socialist Organization (ISO), have acted as slavish press agents for the feds’ man Carey. A recently distributed ISO national “UPS Contract Bulletin,” dated February 1997, endlessly sings the praises of the Carey bureaucracy and, incredibly, says *not one single word about the systematic racist abuse which makes UPS a hellhole for black workers.*

The ISO’s gross refusal to even address racism at UPS—which is *the* key concern right now throughout the UPS work-

ing contractual violations, including the 70-pound limit on packages. *Socialist Worker* (22 November 1996) lies that Carey led a “successful” strike against UPS in 1994 which “won” a 70-pound weight limit. In fact, Carey folded the

body which can be pressured into acting on behalf of the workers. Rather, as Karl Marx explained in the *Communist Manifesto*, the bourgeois state is nothing other than the executive committee of the capitalist class. The union tops—labor lieu-



Workers involved in class-action lawsuit against UPS for racist discrimination and arrogant abuse.

Hernandez/SF Examiner



Teamsters president Ron Carey with UPS driver. Feds’ man Carey, hailed by ISO, sold out 1994 UPS strike after ten hours.

Slesel/NV Times

company’s insulting offer of slightly more than 2 percent in pay raises after UPS raked in \$2 billion in profits last year. Meanwhile, the Teamsters’ own contract at UPS expires July 31. United strike action by the Teamsters and Independent Pilots Association could bring the UPS slave drivers to their knees.

It is a crime that the bureaucrats of the Teamsters union, which represents 180,000 UPS workers, haven’t lifted a finger to fight the racist harassment, victimizations and dangerous working conditions at UPS. Both the “old guard” bureaucrats grouped around James Hoffa Jr. and the government-sponsored crew of Teamsters president Ron Carey and his partners in Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) are equally hostile to the kind of multiracial class struggle needed to defeat the UPS bosses.

The union misleaders’ inaction has led black workers into the arms of the anti-labor, petty-bourgeois NAACP and its dead-end strategy of seeking “justice” in the capitalist courts. While the NAACP-sponsored lawsuit against UPS management is supportable, workers should understand that the courts—an integral part of the system of racist repression—are the last place they will find any justice. Such lawsuits can be, and often are, easily transformed into suits against the

force—harks back to the at best “color-blind” practices which indelibly stained the early American Socialist Party (SP). This ranged from the outright, virulent racism of right-wingers like Victor Berger to the position of Eugene V. Debs, who, while personally free of prejudice, proclaimed that “We have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races.” The early Communist Party sharply broke from this stance of capitulating to the pervasive racism of American capitalist society. Oriented by the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the young Communist Party in the U.S. took up the fight for black freedom as an integral part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This is the tradition of the Spartacist League.

For its part, the social-democratic ISO is worse than Debsian: they truly have nothing at all to offer black workers fighting racist oppression on the job. The ISO contract leaflet is filled with the most groveling adulation of “General President Ron Carey,” whom they hail for supposedly “fighting to improve pay, pensions and working conditions for UPS workers.” The ISO tract praises every empty promise Carey makes, while alibiing his capitulation to UPS’s contin-

strike after ten hours, with no more protection for workers than when it began.

The so-called “action” program crowning the ISO’s “Contract Bulletin” echoes the impotent “corporate campaigns” which are a trademark of Carey and the “new AFL-CIO” tops headed by John Sweeney. The ISO urges UPS workers to engage in a series of empty—not to say idiotic—gimmicks like “wearing the same color clothes on the same day,” “sending postcards to UPS management,” “entering or leaving work together in a group” and “holding informational pickets.” Mobilizing union power through real picket lines—the kind that nobody crosses—to shut down the racist UPS bosses is anathema to the ISO, whose program is determined by what is acceptable to the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy.

Under the pretense of fighting for “union democracy,” the ISO backs the TDU and its strategy of bringing the capitalist government into the labor movement. The TDU literally wrote the blueprint for the feds’ takeover of the Teamsters under a “consent decree” following the government’s 1987 RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) lawsuit *against the union*. Hoffa Jr. plays the same game of appealing to the bosses’ state, most recently by pleading with federal officials to throw out Carey’s re-election last year as Teamsters chief.

Bringing the courts and Labor Department into the union movement is the *antithesis* of workers democracy. The capitalist government is not a “neutral”

tenants of the capitalist class—increasingly serve to directly subordinate the workers organizations to this instrument of the union-busting, racist rulers. The fight for union democracy must be based on a struggle for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state.

Cops, Courts Out of the Unions!

Since being installed as Teamsters president more than five years ago, Carey has amply carried out the mandate of his government sponsors. Under pressure from the Clinton White House, Carey scuttled the 1994 nationwide truck drivers strike, just as the freight bosses were being squeezed. Courageous militants like Jesse Acuna in Southern California, imprisoned for defending union picket lines, were abandoned by Carey and the TDU. In this regard, the TDU was no less willing to serve the interests of the “old guard” bureaucracy which preceded Carey. In the early 1970s, while the Teamsters bureaucracy was collaborating with agribusiness to smash a United Farm Workers organizing campaign in the grape fields, the TDU was notorious for refusing to raise the defense of the UFW inside the Teamsters union.

The strategy pursued by the ISO—and its earlier incarnation as the International Socialists—of bringing in the capitalist state to “clean up” the Teamsters betrays these reformists’ fundamental lack of confidence in the capacity of the working class to wage its own class battles. This is of a piece with the ISO’s position

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Pickets at Port Newark, New Jersey during national Teamsters strike, April 1994. Carey rammed through giveback contract, refused to lift a finger for victimized and imprisoned strikers.



WV Photo

Student Art Censored

Banned in Manhattan, Slammed in San Leandro

Minutes before an art exhibit opens, several public officials suddenly arrive, pronounce four pieces "obscene" and forbid them to be shown. The Gestapo censoring "degenerate" art in Hitler's Third Reich? No, this was the Fiorello H. La Guardia High School of Music and Art on Manhattan's West Side, and the "Big Brother" types banning works in a senior class art exhibit there in April were the school principal and other New York City school officials. The exhibit, titled "Look at the Size of That Thing!", consisted of the works of seven students dealing—often in a very humorous way—with those age-old subjects, sex and religion. Supposedly worried that the exhibit might offend the tender sensibilities

libelous, or slanderous." The policy codified school board censorship which forced students to remove "profanities" from last year's production of *The Breakfast Club*.

That high-school students living in New York City and the San Francisco Bay Area—of all places—cannot handle so-called "profanity" and satirical treatment of sex and religion is patently absurd and insulting. In fact, one of the pieces deemed most "offensive" in the NYC exhibit was an advertisement for a phone-sex line of Catholic schoolgirls called *1 (900) PLAID-SKIRT*—a spoof of the phone-sex ads found all over the city. We oppose all censorship and demand that students have the right to free expression



One of the student works at New York's La Guardia High School of Music and Art banned by puritanical school officials.

It's hard enough for high-school students to be able to exercise any creativity. When they do, it is often irreverent and almost always outside the established curriculum, frequently dealing with such intense concerns of the young as sex and religion, often in combination. Yet it is precisely any real discussion of these questions which the rulers of this society—the guardians of bourgeois "morality" who encourage religious obscurantism in order to uphold reactionary "family values"—see as dangerous.

In protest against the San Leandro decision, 20 students demonstrated in front of the May 6 school board meeting with tape across their mouths bearing the word "censored." One student said, "We're not doing profanity, we're doing ideas." But the school board is not interested in ideas—instead, it wants to impose its censorship.

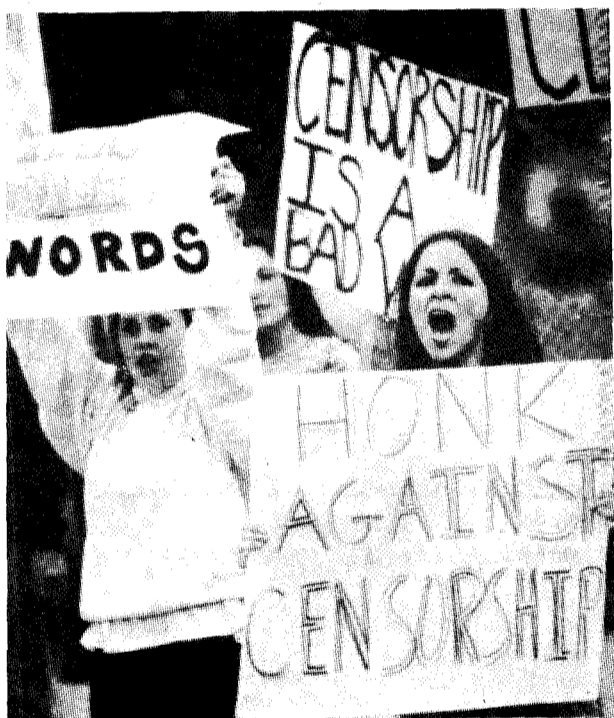
With capitalism in more and more decay, and even the rudiments of a decent life out of reach of most people, the rulers of this country seek to regiment the population with ever-escalating repression and ever more rigid ideological straitjacketing. This is how the bourgeoisie seeks to bolster its rule—by suppressing any dissent and attacking basic democratic rights. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to win student youth to the fight for proletarian revolution to establish an egalitarian socialist society which will encourage a genuine flowering of creative thought and culture.

The intensifying repression against youth hits minority, poor and working-class youth extra hard. With no jobs avail-

able, the bourgeoisie sees no reason to provide quality public education. Unable and unwilling to offer youth, especially minority youth, a decent future under capitalism, the ruling class views them with hostility and seeks to control them. So instead of educating students, inner-city schools are more like prisons—complete with armed guards, metal detectors and bars on the windows. Recently, it was announced that several schools in Brooklyn regularly forward copies of school yearbooks to the police for mugshots!

As Marxists, we oppose these attempts by the bourgeois state to regulate every aspect of people's lives. We say: No to censorship! Government out of the bedrooms! As we wrote in "Forbidden Art: Culture, Class and Censorship" (*Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91):

"Government censorship is going to continue as long as this capitalist government goes on. The heart of it is that this system of government is not neutral. It was created to uphold capitalism, the system of private ownership of the means of production. Pared down to its essentials, the state is an executive committee of the capitalists as a whole, for keeping the ruling class on top through state coercion of those at the bottom, mainly through the selective use of cops and prisons and murder. State subsidies for health care, education and the like are given reluctantly, as part of the necessary overhead to keep the population minimally content and at least a section of it competent to work. Subsidies for artists are extra frills, given or taken away depending on how the political winds are blowing. It's especially so in this country, where the Puritan legacy still hangs heavy with its dour suspicion of the arts, especially live theater, as agencies of sin and the devil." ■



Cameron/Oakland Tribune

San Leandro drama students protest school board decision to censor "profanity" in high-school productions.

ities of New York City youth, the administrators ordered the works taken down.

A month later, in the San Francisco Bay Area, the drama club at San Leandro High School was forced to move its upcoming play, *Raising Heck*, off campus to avoid being shut down by the district school board. Two days earlier, on May 6, the school board censors had ruled that "expression shall be prohibited which is profane, obscene,

supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution for everyone.

The school board censors are not simply interested in banning a few dirty words or sexual images, but in stifling creativity and free thought among students, including political dissent. Reporting on the San Leandro ruling, the *Oakland Tribune* (30 April) wrote that the school board wanted to ban "material that would...disrupt the orderly operation of the school."

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La lutte pour un parti révolutionnaire



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Trotskyists at UCLA Labor Seminar

For Class Struggle— Not Begging the Bosses

In conjunction with the annual meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, on February 19 thousands of trade unionists and students marched in Los Angeles in solidarity with largely Latino workers trying to organize a union at the New Otani Hotel. Over the next two days, the AFL-CIO sponsored a "Teach-in With the New Labor Movement" at UCLA. Supporters of the Spartacus Youth Club participated in both the rally and the UCLA seminar, seeking to win pro-working-class student youth to a revolutionary program.

One supposedly militant, even "socialist" group, the International Socialist Organization (ISO), played the Greek chorus to the union bureaucrats' dead-end strategy at the New Otani of consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns," based on "moral" appeals to atomized consumers with diverse interests or, worse yet, to the "conscience" of the greedy corporations and their shareholders. While intoning that "there is a serious question about corporate campaigns or boycotts," an ISOer at the UCLA seminar nonetheless pleaded with the bureaucrats that this same boycott "really needs to be connected to rank-and-file organizing." In contrast, supporters of the Spartacist League and SYC called for "Mass militant pickets to shut down the New Otani!" It is necessary to unleash the workers' social power, including appeals for class-struggle solidarity by other trade unionists who understand that a victory against the anti-union hotel management would benefit all workers.

Described as the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" by the American socialist Daniel De Leon, the union bureaucracy maintains its privileged position in the bourgeois order by preventing or derailing any labor struggles which threaten the sacrosanct private property of the factory, mine and bank owners. These labor *traitors* tie the workers to the class enemy, chiefly through their political support to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The economic basis for the labor bureaucracy is generated by *imperialism*, the system in which a handful of very rich and powerful competing capitalist states plunder the rest of the world. This system creates such enormous profits that the capitalists are able to bribe the labor misleaders in a thousand different ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and covertly. As V. I. Lenin, leader of the 1917 Russian workers revolution, said in his 1916 book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "This stratum of workers-turned-bourgeois, or the labour aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is...the principal *social* (not military) *prop of the bourgeoisie*."

And it is this pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy which the ISO tails. *Socialist Worker* (28 February) complained that "Sweeney hasn't lived up to his promise of a 'new labor movement'." In fact, Sweeney's "new" AFL-CIO leadership has done what it set out to do, which is to tie the unions even more tightly to Clinton's Democratic Party. The AFL-CIO threw tens of millions of dollars of workers' dues last year into the Democratic campaign, even as Clinton waged war on blacks and immigrants and gutted welfare, condemning millions to starva-

tion. Giving a left cover to the pro-capitalist union misleaders, the ISO has put out a pamphlet titled, *Bill Clinton: A Record of Broken Promises*. But Clinton *kept* his promises to "end welfare as we know it," to put more cops on the streets of the ghettos and barrios and to speed up the rate of legal lynching. Poor, jilted ISO!

One of the trademarks of the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is its indif-

ferent attitude toward the workers' struggle. Giving a left cover to the pro-capitalist union misleaders, the ISO has put out a pamphlet titled, *Bill Clinton: A Record of Broken Promises*. But Clinton *kept* his promises to "end welfare as we know it," to put more cops on the streets of the ghettos and barrios and to speed up the rate of legal lynching. Poor, jilted ISO!

meant to enlist youth in a serious union organizing campaign. Many students took the "organizing" pretensions of the "new" AFL-CIO as good coin, with applications to the Union Summer program far exceeding the bureaucracy's expectations. But far from mobilizing an effective union organizing drive—which would require strikes, mass picket lines, factory occupations and real solidarity actions—the



Youth in 1996 Union Summer program support union organizing drive at New Otani Hotel in Los Angeles. AFL-CIO tops used idealistic young activists to mobilize votes for the bosses' Democratic Party.

ference, if not outright hostility, toward fighting racial oppression. From their formation in the 19th century, craft unions organized to keep blacks and immigrants out of well-paying, skilled-trades jobs—first explicitly and then through racist job-trusting. While Sweeney makes the occasional nod toward "multiculturalism," the union bureaucracy still refuses to mobilize the unions in struggle against racism, while continuing to push anti-immigrant and protectionist chauvinism. But the ISO claims that the "new" AFL-CIO leadership is a step in the right direction.

The ISO always prattles about vague "rank-and-file action," but these "Justice Department socialists" hailed the recent re-election of Teamsters president Ron Carey without even mentioning that the elections were run by the capitalist government (see article, page 3). This is the same Ron Carey who has organized racist rallies against Mexican truckers in the Southwest. The labor movement must fight for immigrant and black rights: we will all move forward together or fall back separately. At the UCLA conference, only the SYC raised the call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. A fight for this elementary demand would help break down the poisonous division between native-born and immigrant workers.

An example of the ISO's role as waterboys for the pro-capitalist union tops which is of direct relevance to radical student youth is its attitude toward last year's AFL-CIO Union Summer program. At the UCLA gathering, an ISO member called for a "bigger and longer" Union Summer this year, and *Socialist Worker* (17 January) complains that Union Summer "lasted just a few weeks—inadequate for any serious organizing drive." But Union Summer was never

AFL-CIO misleaders seek to enhance their own social position by securing a larger voice within the Democratic Party. As an SYC supporter at the conference pointed out, in the San Francisco Bay Area, Union Summer interns were even cynically used by the union tops as scabherders at the picket lines of striking SEIU janitors.

SYC members could not have joined the Union Summer program, even if they could have been assigned to a unit that was not *explicitly* canvassing for the Democrats, because the entire program was conceived and operated in the service of a particularly nasty election cam-

paign by yuppie racist Clinton's Democratic Party. Indeed, many Union Summer participants were keenly disappointed when they found themselves mainly doing telephone canvassing for the Democrats. They were drawn to a program that appeared to aid the struggles of the most oppressed and exploited workers; the actual work they did made them (in many cases unwitting) cogs in the Democratic Party electoral machine. It was this contradiction that the SYC sought to intersect in seeking out Union Summer participants across the country last summer with our communist propaganda (see "Students and the Labor Movement," *WV* No. 651, 13 September 1996).

Union Summer was of a piece with Sweeney's "new unionism," a new bottle for an old, vinegary wine. The AFL-CIO tops have presided over a sharp decline in the strength and size of the trade unions over the last two decades. Union Summer was an attempt to improve the bureaucrats' bargaining position with a wing of the ruling class by holding out a promise to deliver the votes of a segment of the petty-bourgeois youth and the most downtrodden workers to Clinton's Democrats.

The enthusiastic response by thousands of students to the AFL-CIO's Union Summer program was real evidence of a whole layer of socially idealistic youth who identify with the struggles of the workers. This indicated a political shift on the campuses, something of a break with the climate of apathy of the previous decade. At the same time, many of the students attracted to Union Summer do not see workers as a distinct class with unique social power deriving from their role in production and with historic interests *counterposed* to those of the capitalist exploiters. Rather, with their direct experience limited to a union movement which has been decimated by decades of bureaucratic sellouts and givebacks, these youth tend to see the working class simply as one of the victimized sections of the population and not as the key agency for revolutionary social change.

The task of Marxists is to fight within the working class and among all layers of the oppressed to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party necessary to revitalize the labor movement and lead its future struggles to victory. Youth who want to become partisans of the working class must join the fight to build such a party which correspondingly undertakes the necessary education in the history of the communist movement. Revolutionary student youth can play an important role on the campuses by organizing Spartacus Youth Clubs, which seek to be the student/youth auxiliary to a class-struggle opposition within the labor movement. ■

UPS...

(continued from page 3)

that the racist, strikebreaking police and prison guards should be part of the labor movement. In this they also serve "General President Ron Carey" and the Teamsters bureaucracy, which has ever more aggressively "organized" state troopers, cops and prison guards. Cops are not workers. They are the armed fist of the capitalist state whose job is to brutally repress workers' struggles and to terrorize the ghettos and barrios.

Given the ISO's inability to recognize that the capitalist state is the enemy of the working class and oppressed, it is not surprising that when they do mention racism at UPS, they back the NAACP strategy of reliance on the courts, declaring that "these legal actions can put pressure on UPS." The same article advises UPS workers to "demand that their leaders defend the rights of Black and Latino workers who face discrimination" (*Socialist Worker*, 14 March). But to mobi-

lize the union in struggle against racism at UPS requires a political fight against the very "leaders" the ISO supports. Beholden to and sharing the fundamental outlook of the capitalist rulers, the union misleaders tie workers to their class enemy, primarily through support to Clinton's Democratic Party, which is today overseeing the assault on blacks, immigrants and all working people.

The Spartacist League opposes all intervention into the labor movement by the bosses' government. As we wrote in our earlier article on racism at UPS:

"Any effective fight against racial discrimination must begin by mobilizing the power of the unions independently of the capitalist state, unifying all workers and oppressed in struggle at the expense of the ruling class...."

"There needs to be a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union misleaders and to break labor and blacks from the partner parties of racist capitalism, Democrats and Republicans. To mobilize the integrated labor movement to *win* requires forging a multiracial revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers government." ■

Lynching Survivor James Cameron: "They Should Get a Medal"

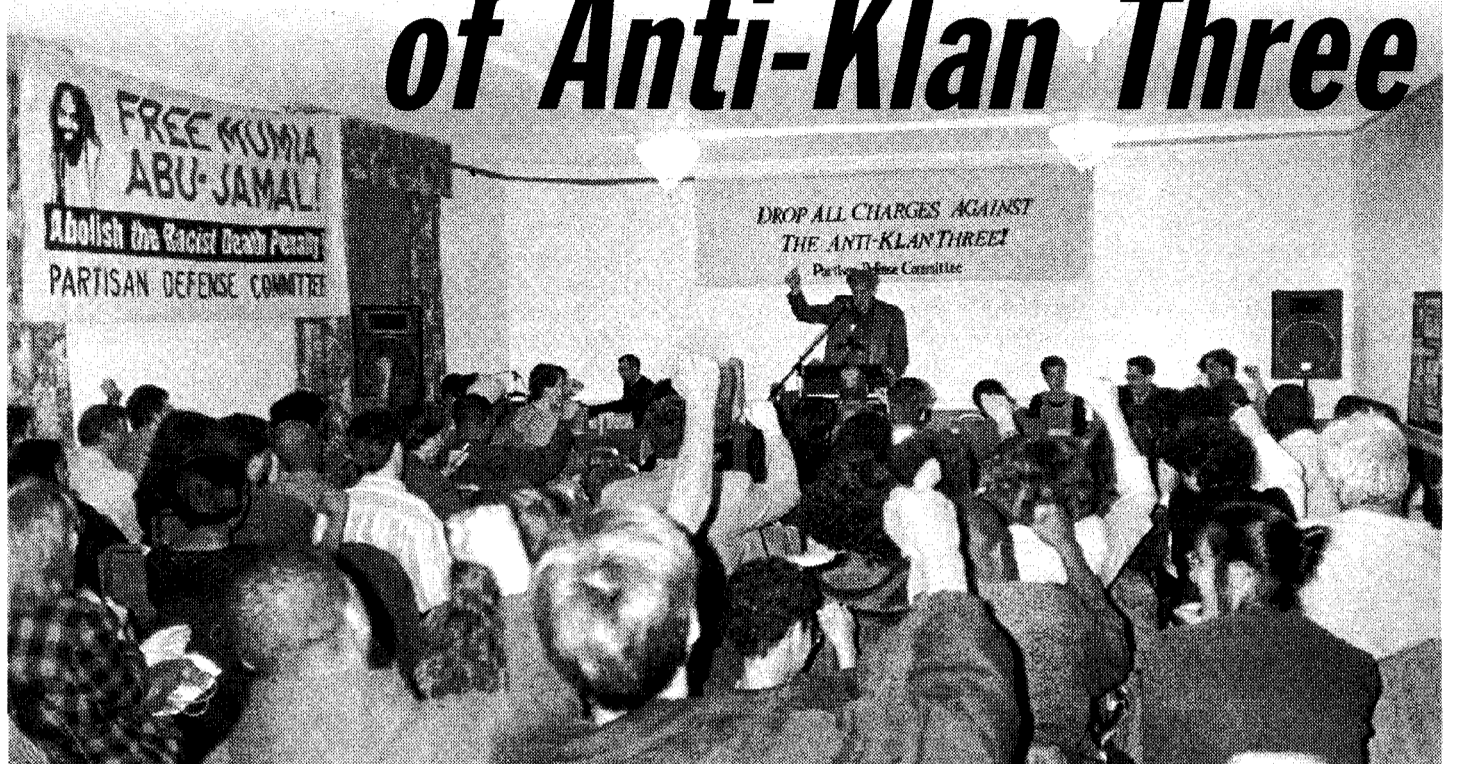
Chicago Rally Protests Frame-Up of Anti-Klan Three

On May Day, four days before the opening of the trial which ended in a resounding legal victory against the Chicago police and prosecution, a hundred people attended a united-front rally to demand: "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!" Called by the Partisan Defense Committee, the rally was held at Chicago's Blackstone Hotel and featured a wide range of speakers. In addition to the three defendants—PDC labor coordinator Gene Herson, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass, a young black worker—the rally was addressed by James Cameron, who narrowly survived a KKK lynching in Marion, Indiana in 1930 and is director of the Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee as well as author of *A Time of Terror* (Black Classic Press, 1994).

We publish below excerpts from his remarks, as well as from those by "Chicago Five" defendant Rob MacDonald, Jeff Lyons and Stan Willis, chairman of the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers and attorney for Fernanda Royal, a black woman shot by a cop during a March 4 police invasion of the Cabrini-Green housing project. We conclude with the speech by Spartacist League spokesman Jane Kerrigan. The rally was emceed by PDC representative Mark Kelly. Other speakers included Ira Cohen, a representative of Congressman Danny Davis and Mark Daniels from the Labor Black Struggle League, which together with the PDC initiated the June 29 anti-Klan protest last year. Len Weinglass, lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal and attorney for the Chicago Five, also attended to lend his support.

MacDonald and Weinglass had just come from the opening session of the trial of the "Chicago Five," who face frame-up felony charges for engaging in protests around the Democratic National Convention (DNC) last August. Like the cop attack on the June 29 anti-Klan protest, the arrest of these five was part of the attempt by Democratic mayor Daley's administration to stifle any social protest in the city before and during last summer's Democratic convention. Weinglass, who also represented the "Chicago Seven" anti-Vietnam War protesters arrested during a police riot at the 1968 Democratic convention, described the lengths to which Chicago cops and prosecutors went to fabricate "evidence" against MacDonald and the rest of the Chicago Five:

"The ingenuity of the Chicago police never fails to amaze me. When they have to make up stories about what people on demonstrations do, it really is quite remarkable and even comical. Today they had the demonstrators chanting, on the way to the United Convention Center: 'Let's interfere with the free flow of traffic!'"



WV Photo

May Day rally at Chicago's Blackstone Hotel demands "Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Three!"

Addressing the rampant police attacks particularly targeting black youth, Dennis Glass movingly described his own experience: "I've been in this world 20 years, only 20 years—I'm not even grown yet—and the police have harassed me more times than my age. So something is definitely wrong there." LBSL spokesman Mark Daniels, pointing to the near-fatal attack in March on black teenager Lenard Clark in the white racist enclave of Bridgeport, said:

"The Labor Black Struggle League put out a call for a disciplined and militant mobilization of black, white, Hispanic and Asian trade unionists, marching through Bridgeport in a citywide day of protest centered on the integrated labor movement. Union members and minorities throughout Chicago enthusiastically greeted this proposal, but it met with a stone wall of inaction from union leaders."

Against the criminal passivity of the union bureaucrats and dead-end appeals by liberals to the racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan"—which when implemented end up being used against workers and the left—we fight for mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the racists. Explaining why the potentially powerful, integrated trade unions in transit, steel, auto and other Chicago-area industries had not turned out on June 29, Gene Herson remarked: "Because the leadership of the trade unions is devoted to the bosses' profit system. We must build a new leadership of the trade unions which understands that the economic and social needs of workers cannot be met without a *political struggle against the*

entire capitalist system! We need to forge a workers party to struggle for *all* working people and the oppressed."

James Cameron

I am living proof of the murderous campaigns still being permitted to take place in American life. Have you ever watched one man die and then another, knowing that your turn was next? Have you ever looked into 10,000 angry faces whose open mouths cried for your blood? I had the opportunity—which was a distasteful opportunity—of being in that position. It was a mob of home-grown hoodlums composed of the Ku Klux Klan. All of these things and more happened to me several years ago. This I acknowledge not boastfully but humbly, for the fact that I am alive to tell this story is due to a power far greater than myself or any person.

A lamentable cry is bellyached all over our land that nothing can be done to stop the hateful crusades of America's premier hate organization, to bring to an abrupt halt and outlaw the aim of the Klan. It is said they are protected by the First Amendment to our national Constitution. If we have free speech and free assembly, why were these three anti-Klan demonstrators arrested as if they were common criminals and thrown in jail when they showed a detestation of the presence of the Klan in their city? Why aren't members of the Klan arrested for having the nerve to show up in a city to preach their racial hatred?

The Ku Klux Klan as we know it was

born just after the end of hostilities in our Civil War over the issue of slavery inside our borders. A Confederate general named Nathan Forrest is believed to have organized the first Klan organization in Pulaski, Tennessee. The organization was primarily created to protest the Reconstruction policies of Congressional Reconstruction as opposed to the leniency and clemency of the Andrew Johnson administration. That policy of Congressional Reconstruction was that the freed people, the blacks especially, who had been liberated by the adoption of the 13th Amendment, would be as free as the white man by the provisions of the 14th Amendment, given the right to vote in all elections alongside the white man.

In the spring of 1866 a civil rights bill was passed. From that time until February 1867, 375 murders of freed blacks had been committed in the rebel states, and 556 outrages; these murders and outrages were officially reported, and the victims of the Memphis Riot and the New Orleans Massacre were not included. Let it be remembered that these are but a small part of the crimes committed.

So, I say to the lawful constituted authorities in the state of Illinois to release all anti-Klan demonstrators from prison and jail confinement, congratulate them for their courage and give them some sort of medal.

Rob MacDonald

[The audience chants: "Drop the charges against the DNC Five!"] That's great to hear after sitting in court for about ten hours today listening to the horrendous "riot" that occurred on August 27. We had the "audacity" to dare walk into the Henry Horner Homes and call them to join the march because their struggle is our struggle—against police brutality and the death penalty and racism in the justice system and political imprisonment. And that's one of the biggest charges—the prosecutors go on and on—because, you know, once the poor black people out of the Henry Horner Homes joined the march, *then* it was a "problem."

Realize that the police who are alleging all these things are from the 9th District tactical squad, located in Bridgeport. So the Bridgeport Police Department was the tactical unit used on all protests, and with recent news we kind of know their glint on social justice and the way things should be run.

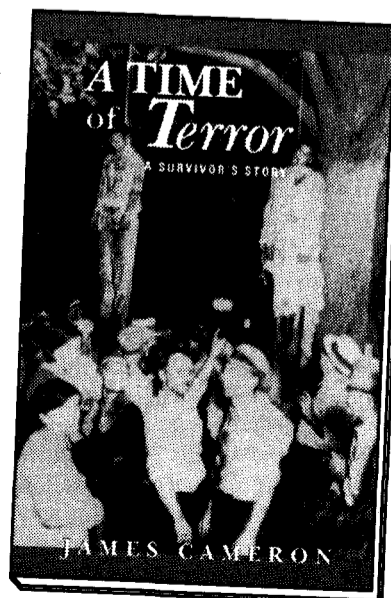
ANTI-KLAN THREE!

Partisan Defense Committee



WV Photo

James Cameron (second from left) at rally, flanked by Anti-Klan Three—Gene Herson, Dennis Glass, Jeff Lyons. In *A Time of Terror*, Cameron recounts how he survived 1930 Klan lynch mob.



One of the biggest things we came here to do in Chicago during the DNC wasn't just to have a nostalgia trip around dissent in the name of 1968's anti-Vietnam War protest. We're here to honor those spirits that rose up against injustice then, but my main focus is on the drug war and drug policy in America. I believe that it is through this façade of "good health" that they promote blatant racism today in society—through the drug war.

We'll get off the charges, and we'll be there to support you to get off your charges and then to make sure that this city doesn't continue to harass its activists again.

Jeff Lyons

The three of us will be in court on Monday because we have to be, we got arrested. We have no choice. The courts are not a pleasant place to battle. If you think the odds are stacked against you in the streets, imagine how they are in the courts. And we're really lucky to have lawyers who volunteered to be in the courtroom to defend us. We all know that these battles will be ultimately won in the street, but without a strong battle in the courts then we're fighting with one hand.

When you look at these political trials that are taking place in Chicago right now, it's easy to see why Refuse & Resist, for better than ten years, has been saying it's all one attack. I'm also a defendant in another important trial that is going on. I was arrested at a reception honoring abortion providers [see box page 8]. These cases are all taking place at a time where we see an increasing climate and culture of reaction. One of the most serious attacks, an all-out assault on political dissidence right now, is the government's attempt to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal.

And all these reactionary attacks, this reactionary agenda, this climate of hate, these are the things that embolden the Klan to rally, that emboldened the racists in Bridgeport to attack, that emboldened and enable the police to feel they can murder with impunity. So what we need to take this on is a climate of resistance. And winning these cases would be an important step in creating and building that climate of resistance.

Stan Willis

It's a pleasure to be in the midst of people who are fighting, freedom fighters. We must learn to protect the militant, revolutionary wing of our movement. We cannot afford to allow the revolutionaries, the freedom fighters, to be isolated. I believe that the people who run this country are convinced that if they can isolate them, if they can scare them off, then they will defeat the revolutionary movement in this country.

It is clear to me that this country historically has used very predictable ways to defeat movements. One is they try to buy you off. And if you're wondering what happened to the labor movement, and the leadership of the labor move-



Powerful labor/black mobilization initiated by Spartacist League stopped Thomas Robb's Arkansas-based KKK in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

ment, there it is. If they can't buy you off then they try to scare you off. If you wonder what happened to the leadership in the labor movement, again—there it is. If they can't scare you off, then they try to, in their words, "neutralize" you. Neutralize you. And they neutralize you by trumped-up charges, putting you in prison, and if that doesn't work, they will kill you.

We haven't forgotten the Fred Hampsons. We haven't forgotten the Mark Clarks. We haven't forgotten Malcolm. We haven't forgotten all those legions of revolutionary militant brothers and sisters—the Fannie Lou Hamers—who set the examples that ignite the masses.

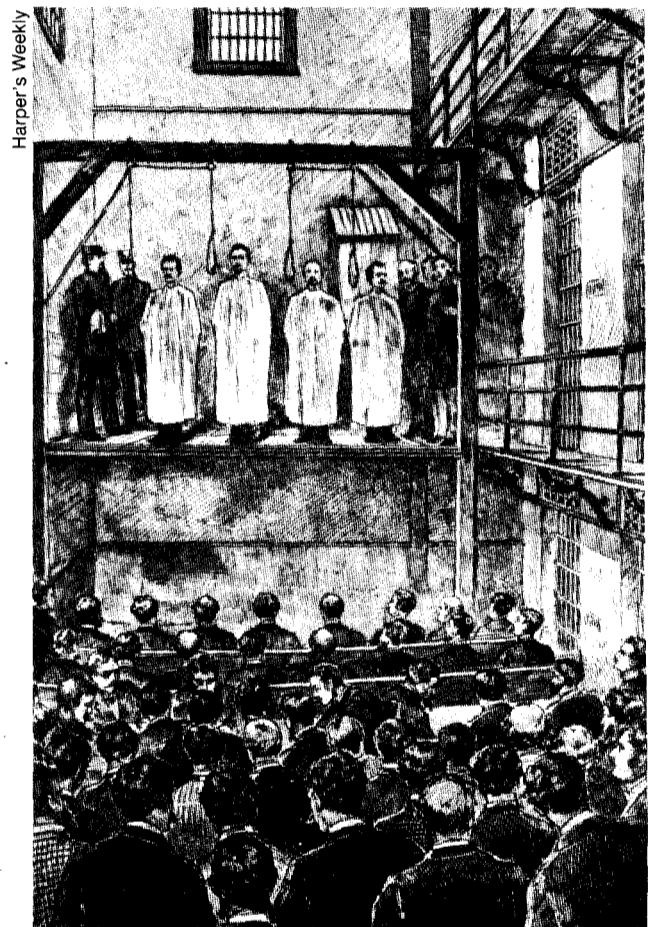
Jane Kerrigan

This rally for three militants who are being persecuted by the capitalist courts and cops for the "crime" of protesting against racist Klan terror takes place on May Day—an international workers holiday that was born in the streets of Chicago more than a century ago in the massive proletarian struggles for the eight-hour day. It is a day when we commemorate those early heroes of the workers movement, the Haymarket martyrs who were lynched by the capitalist state. The prosecutor argued that they should be put to death: "They were leaders." They were leaders who were imbued with the understanding that for labor to be truly victorious it must direct its blows against an entire system based on the exploitation of the many by the few. They were leaders—most notably Albert Parsons and his wife Lucy—who fought to infuse the Chicago labor movement with racial egalitarianism.

The power of this combination, of an aroused and struggling labor movement which is fighting not only in its own interests but against the vicious racial oppression of blacks—which has long been wielded by the rulers of this country to divide and conquer the working class—was not lost on the capitalist rulers at the time. The prosecutor urged the jury at the trial: "Convict these men,

make examples of them and you save our institutions, our society."

We honor the Haymarket martyrs. In their memory and the memory of countless others who gave their lives to the struggle against exploitation and oppression, we struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that will infuse the proletariat with the consciousness and understanding of its historic interests and social power to eradicate this profit system; that



Four anarchists and workers' leaders framed up and hanged in Chicago, 1887, lynched by the capitalist state for leading struggle for eight-hour day.

will be imbued with the understanding, as expressed by Karl Marx at the time of the American Civil War, that "Labor in the white skin cannot be emancipated where in the black it is branded"; that will emblazon on its banner the struggle for black freedom through socialist revolution; that will champion the rights of the desperate immigrant and demand full citizenship rights for everyone who made it to this country.

On the other side of the class divide, the cops—the armed thugs of the capitalist master class—they too remember Haymarket. They commemorate the cops who gunned down striking workers, shooting several in the back as they tried to flee the rampaging police and Pinkertons, murdering six in cold blood. In the police training academy in Chicago there is a monument to the cops who died in a police riot which came in the wake of a provocateur throwing a bomb into the workers rally at Haymarket Square. This is a monument to the terror, the violence, the murder perpetrated by the cops then and now against the working people, against blacks, against immigrants—in the service of the handful at the top whose property, profits and interests the cops "serve and protect."

More than 100 years ago, Albert Par-

sons wrote: "The poor are increasingly deprived the opportunities of advancement, the rich grow richer through increasing robbery.... This system is unjust, insane and murderous." Unjust, insane and murderous: this is even more the reality today. The gulf between the rich and poor grows even wider with the savage attacks on the living standards of the working people and on the very ability of the poor and helpless to live, the slashing of health care at all levels, schools that don't teach, the McJobs and empty futures of youth, the rampant racist attacks and massive incarceration of blacks, the speedup on death row.

These assaults on the very ability of most people to live in anything but misery—or simply to live—require repression. Constitutional rights, from the right to freedom of speech and assembly to the right to bear arms, are continuously eroded and abrogated. The "city fathers" in Chicago are out to resurrect the notorious Chicago Red Squad. The purpose is to squelch even a spark of social protest, which the rulers well understand could ignite a conflagration of discontent and social struggle. And, with their vindictive prosecution of the Anti-Klan Three, the cops and the courts are taking aim at the right to protest that most violent expression of the racist reaction that emanates from the highest corridors of power—from the Clinton White House to the state legislatures—the hooded-and-robbed

lynch mob murderers of the Ku Klux Klan.

On June 29 in Chicago's Daley Plaza, the Arkansas-based Ku Klux Klan headed by their führer Thomas Robb came to incite race hatred, to mobilize for the fascist program of genocide and destruction of the labor movement. Ten years earlier, it was Robb's Klan that incited racist mobs in Marquette Park in Chicago. On November 27, 1982 it was Robb's Klan that planned to march hooded and robbed through Washington, D.C. But they didn't march that day; they didn't even put on their robes. Instead they stood covering in the face of a 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization. It was the anti-Klan protesters who marched the route the Klan said they were going to take, chanting victoriously, "We stopped the Klan!"

That labor/black mobilization—which brought to bear the power of organized labor, together with militant blacks, youth and other opponents of fascist terror—was initiated by the Spartacist League. It gave a palpable taste of the power of labor mobilized in its own defense, in defense of blacks and immigrants, not only to stop the Klan but to prevail against a system which breeds

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Anti-Klan 3...

(continued from page 12)

of policeman Densy Cole, the cop who arrested and charged Glass. In his four years on the Chicago police force, Cole has had 13 complaints filed against him, including:

- accosting a group of white teenagers and smashing a music CD they were listening to while he screamed it was "n---r music";
- pulling over a car driven by a young black woman and reviling her as a "black bitch";
- physically abusing a 50-year-old black grandmother in her home after she had called the police for assistance;
- stopping a black motorist, repeatedly calling him a "n---r" and throwing his car keys to some onlookers.

A Defense of the Very Right to Protest

As Jonathan Piper, the attorney for Dennis Glass, said to the jury in his closing statement at the trial:

"Dennis Glass, a young black McDonald's worker, working for \$5 an hour, thought he had the right to join an anti-Klan demonstration. He thought he had the right to chant against the Klan. He thought he had the right to wave a sign. He thought he had the right to chant 'Cops and Klan go hand in hand' and say what he feels, what he has experienced, what he has seen in 20 years growing up on the West Side of Chicago in the Austin District.... And when the police charged the demonstration to break it up, and they attacked particularly the black demonstrators, they went particularly after that young black McDonald's worker. He thought he had rights, but the police were going to show him different. Ladies and gentlemen, this man is not guilty. These charges are false, a lie."

Jeff Lyons was charged by McNulty for obstructing an arrest. Lyons had come over to protest the police harassment of an integrated group of Union Summer volunteers; he was hit in the chest by a cop, knocked to the ground, then spread-eagled on a car and arrested. McNulty testified under oath that Lyons had grabbed his arm while he was in the midst of arresting a black Union Summer activist who had taken McNulty's photograph. Eyewitnesses testified that Lyons

was nowhere near McNulty at the time and that McNulty wasn't even involved in the arrest of the photographer.

In her summation to the jury, Lyons' attorney, PDC co-counsel Valerie West, argued:

"When the cops victimized and brutalized these youth, they were angry at being punished for being somewhere they believed that they had a right to be and frightened by the bullying and brutality. They thought they had the right to get the commander's badge number and take his picture so they could file a complaint. And they did have that right....

"Out there on Daley Plaza, Commander McNulty had power and he took out his frustrations on the counterdemonstrators. And the bullying and the lies go hand in hand. Commander McNulty filed a false complaint against Jeffrey Lyons, he followed that with more lies in this courtroom.

"But now he is before you, ladies and gentlemen, and you have the power to correct some of the injustice that was done that day. You have the power to send a message to the commander that you do not condone his attack on the counterprotesters and his brutish behavior. You have the power to return a resounding 'not guilty' in answer to the commander's false charges."

And that is exactly what the jury did when they acquitted Dennis Glass and Jeff Lyons.

A Victory for All Opponents of Racist Terror!

The night following the verdict, more than 90 people came out for a victory rally. Among those in attendance were two members of the jury, several defense witnesses, the defense legal team of David Thomas, Rachel Wolkenstein, Jonathan Piper and Valerie West, as well as trade unionists—from Katie Jordan of the Coalition of Labor Union Women to transit workers—who had been in court in solidarity with the Anti-Klan Three. Speaking to the crowd, Dennis Glass declared: "This is not only a victory for the three defendants, it's for everyone that stood up to the Ku Klux Klan to stop them from preaching their racial hatred. I'd especially like to thank the members of the jury for not listening to the lies of the cops against a young black man."

Glass introduced Jeff Lyons, who pointed out that "from beginning to end"—from those who came to protest

Arrested for Defending Abortion Rights

Defend Jeff Lyons!

Even after acquittal on bogus charges stemming from his participation in last June's anti-Klan protest in Chicago's Daley Plaza, Refuse & Resist supporter Jeff Lyons continues to be the target of a legal vendetta by Chicago cops and prosecutors. Lyons is now scheduled to stand trial on May 19 on frame-up charges of "criminal damage to property," for which he faces up to a year in prison and a \$1,000 fine. Lyons was singled out for arrest by an anti-abortion bigot who was part of a violent "protest" at Chicago's Heartland Cafe, where Jeff and others were celebrating National Day of Appreciation for Abortion Providers. In his speech to the May 1 rally in defense of the Anti-Klan Three, Lyons recounted:

"Police entered the Heartland Cafe where the reception was being held. They handcuffed me and arrested me, based on the claims of an anti-woman, anti-abortion thug who was part of a picket that was protesting this reception, who claimed that I was responsible for the damage to

his huge, hideous, fictitious, fetus poster."

In a sinister move, the same anti-abortion thug then showed up in the courtroom on the second day of the trial of the Anti-Klan Three. This only served to underscore the direct and well-documented connection between the racist terror of the KKK and Nazis and the deadly assaults on women's rights by "right to life" reactionaries who perpetrate or hail the murders of abortion providers and the bombing of clinics.

The same Chicago Police Department that attacked and arrested anti-Klan protesters last June 29 gave free rein to the anti-abortion fanatics who blocked the sidewalk outside the Heartland Cafe and harassed people entering the reception. From Clinton on down, the capitalist rulers' attacks on workers, women and minorities have given a green light to racist and anti-abortion terrorists. For militant, class-struggle defense of the clinics! Drop the charges against Jeff Lyons!

the Klan last June 29, to the lawyers who fought the lying charges of the cops in court, to the witnesses and the jury—"everybody did the right thing." Gene Herson made special mention of the case of Cassandra Seay, who was there to join in celebrating the victory of the Anti-Klan Three. In 1987, Seay and her mother were brutally beaten and arrested by Chicago cops and then charged with attacking the cops who had victimized them. Herson pointed out that the police frame-up of Cassandra Seay was beaten back through the mobilization of the social power of the integrated Chicago transit unions, and indicted the AFL-CIO union misleaders who did nothing to mobilize their ranks against the KKK provocation last June.

Addressing the victory rally, Sparta-

cist League spokesman Ed Clarkson concluded:

"I think there is something interesting and symptomatic here. One juror said it very nicely, finally 'justice.' The fall of the Soviet Union has set the stage where all people are miserable. And unfortunately they suffer this now in passivity. So it is interesting when people get a rare chance to express their outrage against an injustice, albeit in a very strange form—because the norm for juries is that they abide by the system of the capitalist state. It is to be noted that this is not the only jury in the country which has been unfavorably disposed to the state. That expresses something, that there are reservoirs of outrage in this society that we need to tap, by mobilizing labor under a communist leadership for a socialist revolution. We need to celebrate our heroes, to savor this sweet moment and we need to go forward!" ■

Rally...

(continued from page 7)

fascist terror. To mobilize that kind of power required the intervention of a Bolshevik leadership, a leadership committed to the fight for proletarian state power, to the understanding that those who labor must rule.

In contrast, those who call themselves the "leaders" of labor in this country tie workers to the rule of their exploiters, particularly in its Democratic Party face. So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very class-struggle means by which the unions in this country were founded

—mass picket lines, factory occupations. The products of this class collaboration can be seen in the broken strikes and broken unions; in the despair, the poverty, the disease which grip the inner cities of this country; in the relentless war against the "outsider"—the immigrant.

That false prophet of the "American Dream," Jesse Jackson, preaches the sermon that the ghetto poor must pull themselves up by their own—nonexistent—bootstraps and that "salvation" lies through the good offices of the Democratic Party. Louis Farrakhan seeks to turn the anger of the ghetto against the Jewish, the Arab, the Korean shopkeeper in order to advance the interests of "black business"—while the Nation of Islam serves as cops, policing the ghetto

tenement hellholes.

In an article titled "The Red Month of November," James P. Cannon—who was the founding leader of American Trotskyism and the founder of the International Labor Defense, whose heritage the Partisan Defense Committee looks to—commemorated the Haymarket martyrs: "They were the heroes of an early day. They were the pioneers of the eight-hour day movement and their crime was so heinous in the eyes of the master class that nothing but their blood would satisfy the vampires whose profits and power they menaced." As Cannon noted, 30 years after the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs the month of November was marked not by the red blood of workers' leaders, but by the red victory over their capitalist oppressors by the Russian working class, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

That victory was betrayed by the Stalinists who strangled the Russian workers state and paved the way for the destruction of the Soviet Union by imperialism. The wave of counterrevolution that has swept the former Soviet Union has unleashed a tide of anti-labor, anti-immigrant, anti-black reaction not only in this country but worldwide. Unlike every other left group which in one way or another supported the forces of counterrevolution, we of the Spartacist League and the International Communist League fought against it. Ours is the fight for new October Revolutions which will realize the proletarian internationalist program of the Bolshevik Party: the organization of the working class across all boundaries—national, racial and ethnic—in the

struggle for world socialism.

We are here tonight to defend three militant fighters against Klan terror. Their defense is crucial to defending the rights of all of us to protest injustice and oppression. But genuine freedom from injustice and oppression will only come with a revolutionary transformation of this society, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of an egalitarian socialist society. There is only one social force capable of undertaking such a revolution, the multiracial working class who built all the wealth of this country. The Spartacist League, the American section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building that leadership—a revolutionary workers party—which can bring that social power consciously to bear in struggle to eradicate a system that can only produce racism, Klan and cop terror, and social decay. ■

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Britain...

(continued from page 1)

the sovereignty of the "United Kingdom." This necessarily conflicts with the ruling class' simultaneous desire to keep step with the EU, where most British trade now goes, and to maintain London as a major centre for European finance. With their biggest electoral defeat in 91 years—completely routed from Scotland and Wales, widely despised almost everywhere, rent over Europe—the Tories are not at this point a particularly effective instrument for bourgeois rule.

Saddled with four million unemployed and among the lowest per capita incomes in West Europe, much of the population was clearly fed up after 18 years of Tory rule. But there was no basis for even the most critical support to Labour in these elections. In a 21 April election statement—headlined "For a Revolutionary Workers Party! For a Federation of Workers Republics in the British Isles!"—which was distributed by the thousands in London, Glasgow, Wales and the north of England, the Spartacist League/Britain unequivocally declared:

"No vote to New Labour in the general election! New Labour is pledged to maintaining the sickening reality of life under capitalism—keeping the unions in shackles, slashing welfare programmes, waging war on workers, racial minorities and immigrants, women and youth—everybody who is consigned to the bottom of the heap by rotting British capitalism. Blair's 'contract with Britain' is a pact with the bloated City of London, where vast wealth is generated from profits extracted through exploitation of workers around the world."

While myriad fake-left outfits backed Blair and/or the smaller "alternative" parties in the Labour camp, we gave critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) headed by National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leader Arthur Scargill, "recognising that in standing against New Labour the SLP are in breach of the 'eleventh commandment' of the British left, that 'thou shalt vote Labour,' come hell or high water." We actively campaigned to get out the vote for Scargill in the South Wales constituency of Newport East and for other SLP candidates in two London constituencies. (In London's East Ham constituency, our offer to campaign was turned down by the SLP election agent there, Carolyn Sikorski.)

The SLP was formed by Scargill, who headed the militant 1984-85 coal strike, after Labour repudiated even its fig-leaf call for nationalisation of industry ("Clause IV"). We stressed the significance of this split at the time, writing: "For the first time in decades, the British Labour Party's political stranglehold over the workers movement is being challenged by an important split from within" (WV No. 638, 2 February 1996). However, the "old" Labour Party to which Scargill harks back was also thoroughly pro-capitalist, demonstrated not least by its open strikebreaking in league with the Conservative Thatcher government against the NUM. While raising a number of supportable demands—including nationalisation of industry—the SLP tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist parliamentarism, reflected in its praise for the Italian Rifondazione Comunista, which serves as a key prop in holding up the anti-worker, anti-immigrant Prodi government. In extending critical support to the SLP, we counterposed to its national reformism a programme for international socialist revolution as the only road forward for the working class. As the SL/B statement noted:

"Marxists understand that the cause of all exploitation and oppression is the capitalist system. Therefore fundamental change in the interest of the working class, minorities and the oppressed cannot come through parliamentary elections, but only through revolutionary internationalist class struggle which, pursued to the end, must shatter the framework of capitalism worldwide....

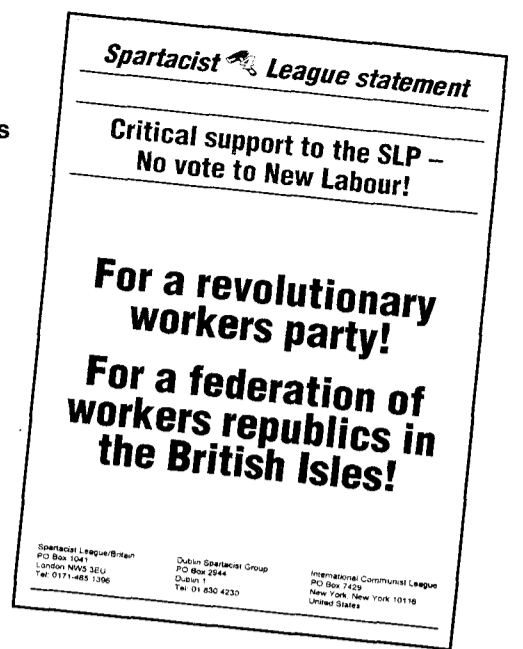
"We demand: Abolish the survivals of feudalism—the monarchy, House of Lords and established churches! In opposition to all manifestations of English



Penny/AFP



Centrist Workers Power enthusiastically supported Tony Blair's racist, anti-worker "New Labour." Spartacist League/Britain fights to win workers from Labourite reformism to program for socialist revolution.



chauvinism we uphold the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh nations; at the same time we oppose all forms of nationalism, which are poisonous to working-class unity, and we fight for a *voluntary* federation of workers republics."

Blair Pushes Racist "Law and Order"

In opposition, the Labour Party complied with every racist move of the Tory government on the question of immigration. New Labour seized the mantle of "law and order," from support to every bill aimed at stripping away civil liberties to its own planned curfews for youth and, on these questions, placed themselves to the right of the Liberal Democrats, a

Workers Power also stood to the right of Scargill on the question of the European Union and its Maastricht Treaty. Where Scargill opposes the German-dominated EU from the standpoint of "little England" protectionism, WP does not oppose it at all, arguing that Maastricht can be "a basis for extending rights and gains" for the working class throughout Europe. While noting that a unified capitalist Europe is a utopian fantasy, we oppose Maastricht and the EU as "an imperialist trade bloc, a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the working class of Europe" which originated as an economic adjunct to the anti-Soviet NATO military alliance. Against Scargill's "little Englandism," we counter-



UPI

Miners leader Arthur Scargill arrested during 1984-85 coal strike. Scargill refused to break with Labour misleaders as they betrayed heroic miners' struggle.

bourgeois party. Strengthening of police powers means more blacks and Asians killed in police custody. On election day the London *Independent* revealed that the Home Office used the recess of Parliament during the elections to speed up the process of mass deportations of asylum seekers.

Nowhere was New Labour's utter contempt for the working class more clear than in the choice of Tory defector Alan Howarth to stand in the Newport East constituency in South Wales. "It's an insult to our intelligence," one voter told a Spartacist comrade leafleting for Scargill. Newport East, like the former pit villages of Yorkshire, is a traditional Labour area devastated by the killing off of heavy industry. Howarth, the perfect Thatcherite Tory, backed the destruction of the steel and coal industries. But as our statement stressed, the Tories were aided and abetted in this by the reformist misleaders in the "old" Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

At one SLP campaign rally in Wales, Newport West Labour MP Paul Flynn launched a vitriolic attack on Scargill for not acceding to Tory demands for a "ballot" in the 1984-85 miners strike, after the strike had already spread through mass picketing. The call for a strikebreaking ballot was also the line of then Labour leader Neil Kinnock and the TUC tops, as well as self-styled "left" critics of Scargill like Workers Power and the group which now calls itself the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), publishers of *Weekly Worker*.

posed "the Leninist understanding that *the main enemy is at home*. The fight for a Socialist United States of Europe cannot be achieved in the absence of a break with all forms of reformism and social chauvinism."

Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

It is a measure of how deeply embedded the self-styled revolutionary left is in Labour's orbit that most of them openly supported Blair's warmed-over Tory candidacy. In contrast, we declared:

"Labourism has been the main obstacle to revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Britain and thus a strategic perspective for revolutionaries has been to split the working-class base from the pro-capitalist leadership. When a mass reformist workers party stands independently of bourgeois parties, and ostensibly in the interest of working people, revolutionaries can consider extending critical support, in order to exploit the contradiction between their pro-working-class posture and their pro-capitalist programme, to destroy any illusions workers may have in their misleaders. But there is no such contradiction in regard to New Labour in this election."

For all its talk of a "revolutionary platform" inside the SLP, WP not only blared the call to "Vote Labour" from the front page of its newspaper but insisted on nothing less than a "Labour landslide." At an SLP election rally in Vauxhall, London, a WP speaker from the floor honked on about their "revolutionary" programme until a Spartacist in the crowd heckled, "Show us your front page!"—causing not a few guffaws in the room.

While the Socialist Party (formerly Militant Labour) and the Militant-dominated Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) ran their own candidates, they too gave backhanded support to a Blair government, and therefore warranted no support from Marxists. Indeed, with its call to "maximise the anti-Tory vote," the SSA left the door open for a vote to openly bourgeois parties like the Scottish National Party. Militant is also notorious for refusing to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and for their vile support to anti-Catholic Loyalist killers like Billy Hutchinson. We Spartacists fight for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland while opposing forcible reunification and warning "that there can be no equitable solution to the national oppression in Ireland within the framework of capitalism.... We fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles."

We also categorically opposed a vote to the Northite "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP), descended from Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). The SEP still stands by the WRP's witchhunting attack on Scargill on the eve of the miners strike—when it instigated an anti-Communist crusade against the militant miners union for Scargill's rightful denunciation of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność as "anti-socialist"—and is today openly hostile to the trade unions. The legacy of the WRP's wilful and repetitive crossing of the class line was also seen in the support by actress Vanessa Redgrave—a member of another WRP splinter, the Marxist Party, and once Gerry Healy's most prominent protégé—to the bourgeois Liberal Democrats ("Why I Will Vote for the Lib Dems," *Independent*, 23 April).

Imperialist triumphalism over the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, undermined from within by decades of Stalinist misrule, has impacted widely on the organisations of the working class, manifested in New Labour's drive to break its organic ties to the trade unions and in the rightward motion of much of the left. Our campaign of critical support to the SLP afforded us a wider audience among those who have rejected New Labour and want to fight for socialism. We exposed in practice how the SLP's programme places it firmly in the mould of Labourite parliamentarism. When Spartacist speakers at SLP election meetings argued for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky, Scargill dismissed the October Revolution of 1917 and upheld instead the traditions of Labourite "socialism"—a "tradition" that has always defended the interests of British capitalism. As the SL/B statement concluded:

"The ruling class which today talks about the 'end of history' agree on one thing: there must never again be a repeat of the Russian Revolution. But a new October Revolution is precisely what's needed, and for that we require a party modelled on the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. Building that party to provide revolutionary leadership is the task of the Spartacist League as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International." ■

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

to reverse Megawati's exclusion.

With the grave of the aged Suharto beckoning, there are many signs of a social explosion brewing. This has Indonesia's imperialist overlords—centrally Japan and the U.S.—increasingly worried. Thus a *New York Times* (4 May) editorial pointed to "the absence of political outlets for protest" as a cause for the social turmoil last summer, concluding: "The events of the last year are the first signs of a movement that may one day bring democracy to Indonesia." What this imperialist mouthpiece means by "democracy" is placing a more adept figurehead at the top of the system of savage exploitation. But for Indonesia's tens of millions of toilers, social emancipation requires nothing short of a socialist revolution to sweep away the entire murderous apparatus of neocolonial rule.

Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

Megawati personifies the inability of any wing of the Indonesian bourgeoisie to carry out the tasks associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution—from political democracy to national liberation to agrarian revolution. After centuries of brutal Dutch colonial rule, fractured by the brief occupation of Indonesia by Japan during World War II, the country won its independence in 1949 under Sukarno's nationalists. But the Java-centered bourgeoisie remains tied to imperialism by a thousand threads and lords it over a dispossessed peasantry and diverse, deeply oppressed minorities.

The experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution is profoundly applicable to present-day Indonesia. Tsarist Russia was a classic case of uneven and combined development. A prison house of peoples, the Russian empire was populated largely by a backward peasantry weighed down by the remnants of feudalism. At the same time, modern industry developed in the cities, financed by French, German and other imperialists. This placed the young proletariat in a strategic position to lead all of the oppressed in a struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy. The Russian Mensheviks put forward the notion—later retailed by the Stalinists regarding all backward countries—that the revolution would have to proceed in "stages": in the first stage, the proletariat must limit itself to the goal of a democratic capitalist regime, to be followed later (i.e., never) by a fight for socialism.

Leon Trotsky counterposed to this the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky's perspective was vindicated in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which he led together with V. I. Lenin. As Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930):

"With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the



Jewett/Portland Oregonian

Workers at Nike production plant slave for pennies an hour. Struggle for women's emancipation is key to Indonesian revolution.

theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.... "The dictatorship of the proletariat which has risen to power as the leader of the democratic revolution is inevitably and very quickly confronted with tasks, the fulfillment of which is bound up with deep inroads into the rights of bourgeois property. The democratic revolution grows over directly into the socialist revolution and thereby becomes a *permanent* revolution."

Soviet workers state remained economically impoverished and besieged by hostile imperialist powers. In this context, a conservative bureaucratic stratum led by Stalin was able to consolidate its rule through a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Decades of Stalinist betrayal under the reactionary nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" led to the final undoing of the October Revolution, as capitalist counterrevolution swept the USSR and East Europe in 1989-92.

Despite this ultimate betrayal by the Stalinists, the lessons of the Russian

PKI's strategy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist alliance between working-class organizations and the bourgeoisie—which paved the way for the 1965 disaster. The mass party of the working class and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world, the PKI followed the treacherous Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution. As we wrote in "Indonesia Powder Keg" (WV No. 654, 25 October 1996):

"With the full backing of their Stalinist mentors in Moscow and especially in Beijing, the PKI implemented the policy of *gotong royong*—'national unity'—with the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and its military. The PKI gained a number of cabinet posts in Sukarno's government, embracing his strategy of 'Nasakom'—an alliance of bourgeois nationalists, Islamic groups and Communists.... "Again and again, the PKI banned strikes, suppressed militant peasant movements and courted imperialist investment, preaching confidence in Sukarno and his generals. The PKI even denounced an uprising it had led at Madiun in 1948 and elevated the general who suppressed it to its pantheon of 'Heroes of the Working Class.' Raising the slogan 'For the Maintenance of Public Order, Help the Police,' and pledging to enforce 'the co-operation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force,' the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which was later to come down on it."

In the face of the right-wing military coup in October 1965, the PKI was disarmed politically by its support of Sukarno. The result was a horrific slaughter perpetrated by the military and Islamic mobs. An entire generation of leftists was wiped out and the organizations of the proletariat crushed. Anyone considered

Economist



Suharto unleashed draconian repression against mass protests which rocked Indonesia last summer.

In October 1917, the numerically small Russian proletariat, led by the Bolsheviks, was able to mobilize behind it the mass of the peasantry, oppressed nationalities, women and youth in a proletarian revolution which broke the power of the capitalists and landlords.

The Bolsheviks understood that it was necessary for socialist revolution to spread beyond the borders of backward Russia to the advanced capitalist powers, notably Germany. However, the young

October retain their full validity. It is the historic mission of the burgeoning Indonesian proletariat—leading the land-hungry toiling masses of the countryside, women, restive youth, ethnic minorities—to sweep away the legacy of colonial rule, economic backwardness and military despotism through socialist revolution. What is missing in the social powder keg of Indonesia is a proletarian, revolutionary Marxist party based on the experience of the class struggles of the past, particularly that of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

No More Popular Front Betrayals!

It is a measure of the combativeness of the Indonesian proletariat that the bloody military repression has failed to check labor struggles. Last month, even as the regime was clamping down on any threat of protests over the elections, 10,000 workers in Nike's slave-labor shoe factory in Tangerang staged a militant strike which won a pay raise. The PRD militants who have led many of the recent strikes and protests have shown enormous courage in the face of Suharto's repression. However, the PRD's political support to bourgeois forces such as Megawati can only lead these struggles down the road of defeat by subordinating the proletariat to a supposedly "liberal" wing of the capitalist exploiters.

During Sukarno's reign, it was the

educated or presumed to be a leftist—atheists, schoolteachers, writers—was rounded up and shot on the spot or imprisoned in the regime's concentration camps, where few survived.

In Indonesia today, any program of parliamentarism, labor reformism or popular-frontism is simply suicidal. A revolutionary-internationalist party, acting as a tribune of the people, would fight to link struggles for democratic rights to the class struggle of the proletariat.

The deep-seated divisions among the various peoples of Indonesia are the heritage of Dutch colonialism and have in turn been stoked by the Suharto regime to poison any attempt at multi-ethnic class struggle. Time and again, the predominantly Christian Sino-Indonesian minority has been set up as scapegoats for the miseries suffered by the masses of toilers. Although constituting only



Reuters

Leftists imprisoned in government crackdown include PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko (second from right). Free all victims of Suharto's right-wing repression!

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Down With Colonial Repression in French Guiana!

We publish below an edited translation of a protest statement issued on May 6 by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Five months after the youth revolt provoked by brutal police repression of high-school student demonstrations in November 1996, colonial repression has again been unleashed on French Guiana in South America. Several independence fighters were arrested in early April, including several leaders of the PNP (French Guiana National Peoples Party) and the UTG (Union of French Guiana Workers) trade union, along with dozens of youth. Accused of participating in setting fire to a magistrate's home last November, they were

sent to Martinique in chains aboard a military ship—a degrading treatment that immediately evoked for all Guianese the deportations of black slaves “*annan kal bato*” (in the bottom of the ship's hold) and of enemies of French colonialism from Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture to 19th-century Dahomeyan king Behanzin.

While it sends riot police reinforcements to Guiana, French imperialism is rushing troops to central Africa to try to preserve its neocolonial domination, which is threatened by the collapse of the Mobutu regime, as well as to Albania to disarm the population and re-establish imperialist “order.” French troops out of Africa, the Balkans and the “Overseas Departments

and Territories”!

This deliberate colonialist provocation touched off a new upsurge of revolt, which was savagely put down by riot cops whose armored cars patrol the streets of the Guiana capital of Cayenne as arrests, roundups and deportations of independence fighters mount. During the night of April 23, riot cops seriously wounded young Rémy Dangle as he went outside to lock his car, shooting him pointblank in the face with a tear gas grenade. These are the same racist thugs of capital who, in France, club striking Renault workers and terrorize youth of immigrant descent in the ghettos.

On April 29, the UTG called a general strike and a demonstration,

which brought 5,000 people into the streets of Cayenne to demand that the fighters deported to Martinique be freed and returned. In the face of this colonial repression, the workers and all the people of Guiana must receive the active solidarity of the French workers movement. We demand immediate freedom for all victims of colonial repression—including the youth who were imprisoned following last November's revolt—the dropping of all charges and the withdrawal of the repressive forces of French imperialism from Guiana and from the other remnants of its colonial empire. *Independence for all French colonies! Down with the colonial repression in French Guiana!*



WV Photo

Protest against Indonesia military crackdown, New York City, October 1996. Indonesian proletariat needs Trotskyist vanguard party based on program of permanent revolution.

some 3 percent of the population, ethnic Chinese are prominent in the commercial middle class and in the big bourgeoisie, controlling an estimated three-quarters of private capital. Following the 1965 coup, Chinese writing was banned. Most recently, the military regime has conspicuously allowed communalist riots targeting Sino-Indonesian merchants to run their course, while Suharto simultaneously sought to use them as a pretext for a further crackdown on political dissent.

As communists, we oppose all discrimination against national, linguistic and other minorities. As part of our championing of the right of self-determination for all nations, we call for the independence of East Timor. Formerly a Portuguese colony, East Timor was brutally annexed by Indonesia in 1975, triggering a bitter war for national independence. The death toll after two decades of colonial repression and forced resettlement schemes—exacerbated by famine and disease—has exceeded 200,000, fully one-third of the East Timorese population. One measure of the PRD's acceptance of the bourgeois order is its failure to raise the demand for East Timorese independence.

The struggle for women's emancipation is a burning question in Indonesia, as throughout the semicolonial world. Women form a majority of the workforce in many of the prison-like manufacturing plants, and women militants have played a key role as labor organizers. Integrally connected to the struggle for women's equality is the demand for separation of church and state. This is particularly important in Indonesia given the role of Islamic reactionaries backed by Suharto and the CIA in the 1965 bloodbath, and in light of the corporatist Islamicist movement designed and used by Suharto for his own purposes today. PRD idol Megawati also has close ties to the head of the country's largest Muslim organization.

Closely intertwined with the struggles

of minorities is the fight for land. The Dutch left in their wake massive plantations, which are now worked by millions of landless laborers and small tenant farmers. With the accelerated flow of imperialist investment, countless peasant families have been thrown off the land in favor of mining, manufacturing and other corporations. To even begin to address the plight of the rural masses requires the expropriation of the landed estates, which can only be accomplished through the expropriation of the bourgeois-landlord ruling class under a workers and peasants government.

We oppose the dictatorship's ban on political parties and raise the call for a constituent assembly to address the democratic aspirations of the Indonesian masses. In raising this slogan for China following the bloody suppression of the 1925-27 Revolution by the bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (Kuomintang), Trotsky explained how the fight for a constituent assembly must be linked to a perspective for proletarian power:

“The Communist Party can and should formulate the slogan of the constituent assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. In the process of agitation for this slogan, it will obviously be necessary to explain to the masses that it is doubtful if such an assembly will be convened, and even if it were, it would be powerless so long as the material power remains in the hands of the Kuomintang generals. From this flows the possibility of broaching in a new manner the slogan of the arming of the workers and the peasants....”

“The slogan of the national (or constituent) assembly is thus intimately linked up with those of the eight-hour day, the confiscation of the land, and the complete national independence of China.”

—“The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress” (October 1928)

Following the 1917 February Revolution which overthrew the Russian tsar, the Bolshevik Party called for the immediate convening of a constituent assembly

while the Provisional Government of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois “democratic” parties refused. At the same time, the Bolsheviks called for a government based on the workers, peasants and soldiers soviets (councils). The Constituent Assembly was finally convened only after the proletariat took power in the October Revolution. But when the demand for “all power to the Constituent Assembly” became the rallying cry for “democratic” counterrevolution, the revolutionary regime simply swept it aside.

For a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!

The fate of Indonesia is, and has been, key to the whole of southern Asia. Following the devastation of the Indonesian proletariat in 1965, Washington felt emboldened to massively escalate its ground invasion of South Vietnam. At the same time, the consolidation of Indonesia as a bastion of “free world” anti-Communism created the conditions for the later development of a defeatist wing of the American bourgeoisie, which felt that the U.S. could safely withdraw from what had become a *losing* war in Vietnam without jeopardizing its strategic interests in the region.

Today Indonesia is the central player in ASEAN, the anti-China bloc which now encompasses virtually every nation

to China's south and east. Vast amounts of military equipment have been provided by the U.S. to prop up Suharto's generals. With an eye not only to the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state but also to instability within Indonesia and interimperialist rivalries with Japan, the U.S. and Australia have agreed to joint military exercises. At the same time, Japanese imperialism has appetites to include Indonesia in a new “Greater East Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere.”

A workers revolution in Indonesia would provide an immense impulse to revolutionary struggle throughout the region, including the fight for a proletarian political revolution in China to sweep away the Beijing bureaucracy and stop the threat of capitalist restoration. But a proletarian regime in Indonesia would immediately have to fight to extend socialist revolution to the imperialist centers—particularly Japan—whose rulers are reaping tremendous profits from superexploited Indonesian labor and would seek to drown an Indonesian workers state in blood. Above all, what is necessary is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia, as part of a world party of socialist revolution, a reformed Fourth International. For an Indonesian workers republic, part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■

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Saturday, May 24 7:30 p.m.

Marxism and the October Revolution

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee

Saturday session at International Student Centre
33 St. George Street (just north of College) Subway: Queen's Park

Sunday, May 25 1:00 p.m.

Permanent Revolution and Chinese Trotskyism

Speaker: Sean Jacobsen, Vancouver Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Sunday, May 25, 3:30 p.m.

No to Capitalist Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Central Tasks of the Working Class in Cuba, China, Vietnam and North Korea

Speaker: John Masters, Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Central Committee

Sunday sessions at Toronto Labor Lyceum, 33 Cecil Street
(next to Steelworkers Hall, one block south of College, between Spadina and Beverley)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chicago Jury Repudiates Cop Frame-Up *Victory for Anti-Klan Three!*

CHICAGO—"Justice!" With this one word, a black juror in the case of the Chicago Anti-Klan Three summed up the resounding "not guilty" verdict the 12 members of the jury reached after little more than an hour's deliberation. As supporters of the anti-Klan militants, who had filled the courtroom every day of the trial, gathered in the corridors of the Cook County Circuit Courthouse to cheer this victory for all opponents of racist terror, many jurors came up to shake the hands of the defendants. Describing how they reached their decision after the four-day trial which opened May 5, another juror said: "We argued that this case was much bigger than what happened at the Klan rally. Every day, people in this country are having their civil liberties cut back."

Gene Herson, Labor Coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee, Jeff Lyons of Refuse & Resist, and Dennis Glass, a young black worker, faced from one to two years in jail on frame-up charges brought by the Chicago police last June 29. The charges stemmed from a successful demonstration—initiated by the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League—which turned back a potentially lethal assault by Klan terrorists in Chicago's Daley Plaza that day. Eyewitness testimony and other evidence at the trial vividly depicted the thugs from the Arkansas-based "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"—armed with bolt-studded shields and heavy flagpoles—who had marched provocatively against the anti-fascist protesters.

This Klan group, headed by führer Thomas Robb, is not unknown in Chicago. Ten years earlier, in 1986, Robb and 50 of his murderous nightriders, dressed in white sheets and combat uniforms, incited a would-be lynch mob of 3,000 racist bigots in Chicago's Marquette Park. Two years later, in 1988 Robb's KKK returned to Marquette Park for a "white pride" rally where hundreds



Lawyers and defendants celebrate victory outside Cook County Circuit Court, May 8. Attorney David Thomas holds trial exhibit showing Gene Herson after potentially lethal pepper-spray attack by cops at anti-Klan protest.

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of racists set upon a black man who had wandered by. Outrageously, Daniel Levittas, an expert witness on Robb's KKK, who had been brought from Atlanta by the defense to testify in the trial, was excluded by the judge.

At the trial, a young black man, Mark Daniels, described how the Klansmen had lowered their flagpoles to use them as lances against the anti-Klan protesters on June 29. Daniels—who had been taunted by Klansmen saying, "Come and get it, boy"—told how he narrowly averted being bashed on the skull by one of these poles. The Klansman was tackled, thrown to the ground and disarmed by another anti-fascist protester.

After the protesters had effectively defended themselves and stopped these lynch-rope terrorists, the Chicago police intervened to return the KKKers' weapons to them. The cops then turned to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Gene Herson, one of the organizers of the

anti-Klan demonstration, was one of the first to be singled out by the cops. In a completely unprovoked attack, police commander Patrick McNulty—the top cop on the scene—pepper-sprayed Herson directly in the face. While Herson was being treated for the potentially deadly effects of the pepper gas, which covered him from head to waist, McNulty had him handcuffed and arrested on charges of battery (causing bodily harm) against a police officer!

With no evidence that Herson had injured McNulty and failing in their effort to try to amend the complaint, the Cook County State's Attorney was forced to drop the bogus charges against Herson on the opening day of the trial. Obviously, the prosecution also knew that to continue with their case against Herson would have provided even more compelling evidence of the police rampage, led by McNulty, against the anti-Klan protesters. Still seeking vengeance,

the cops and courts continued to pursue their legal vendetta against Jeff Lyons and Dennis Glass.

Cops and Klan Go Hand in Hand!

In their opening statement to the jury, the State's Attorneys argued that the cops had simply been doing their "job" to "serve and protect" on June 29 in Daley Plaza. They tried to "prove" that anti-fascist protesters had attacked the police by endlessly repeating the demonstrators' chant, "Cops and Klan go hand in hand!" Desperate to succeed in their frame-up of the anti-Klan defendants, the cops and the prosecution invented a ludicrous "chant" they claimed was being screamed by the anti-fascist protesters: "We're going to make blue uniforms run red with blood!"

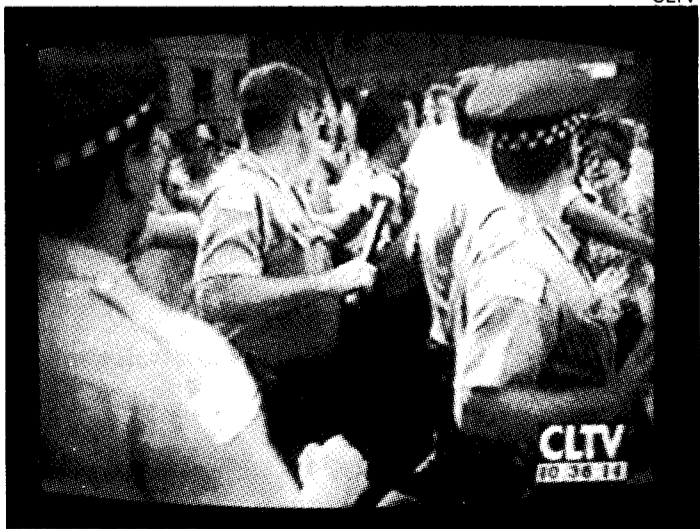
The only witnesses for the prosecution were the three arresting police officers, whose testimony was a tissue of self-contradicting lies. In contrast, witnesses for the defense, including black youths who were volunteers in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" program when they participated in the anti-Klan protest, gave powerful testimony that "cops and Klan go hand in hand" fit to a tee what they had seen on June 29 in Daley Plaza. The cops protected the Klan while going on a rampage against the anti-Klan protesters—including after the Klan had been escorted from the plaza! The KKK provocation and the cop assault on the anti-racist protesters were captured in photos and stills of television video footage taken at the demonstration, which were presented by the defense at the trial.

Defense witnesses described how a phalanx of cops waded into the anti-Klan protest swinging nightsticks. Daniels told the court of having been pushed to the ground, then hit in the head with a police club and pepper-sprayed. The Union Summer volunteers described how a young black woman who was with them at the demonstration had to go to the hospital after being hit in the chest with a police nightstick. Another told of trying to save a friend from being trampled and then having her own foot stomped on by McNulty.

A 16-year-old black co-worker of Dennis Glass at McDonald's recounted how she had been standing beside him at the protest when he was snatched, handcuffed and led away by a squad of cops for no reason. Glass lives in Chicago's Austin District, where an unfolding cop corruption scandal has forced the courts to throw out 85 drug convictions, mainly against black youth. On June 29, he found himself a victim of the cops' frame-up machine, charged with battery and assault with a deadly weapon. The supposed "deadly weapon" in the assault that never occurred was a cardboard tube used to hold a placard!

What the judge refused to allow into evidence was the testimony of victims of racist harassment and abuse at the hands

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TV video footage showed cops wading into anti-Klan protesters last June 29 in Daley Plaza. Some 100 anti-racists, including Anti-Klan Three defendant Dennis Glass (at center, right), had turned out to protest deadly KKK provocation.



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