

## Malan Ruling: Apartheid Butchers Go Free

# No Justice for Oppressed in "New" South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, October 21—Former South African defence minister General Magnus Malan was let off on October 11 after a high-profile trial for masterminding the 1987 slaughter of 13 people, mainly women and children, at KwaMakhutha, south of Durban. A hard-line racist in the former apartheid government of F.W. De Klerk's National Party, Malan was charged with providing covert military support to members of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), ten of whom carried out the murders. Among the 19 tried for the massacre alongside Malan were five former members of the general staff, a number of military intelligence officers, Inkatha deputy secretary-general M.Z. Khumalo and six others who were charged with being in the murder squad. All of them walked.

The grotesque verdict in the seven-month trial highlighted the racist reality of the "new" South Africa under the government of Nelson Mandela and his bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC). "We are bitter, but we expected this verdict," said Mbusi Ntuli, who was 12 years old when his father and three sisters were killed in the 1987 massacre. The 13 were wantonly gunned

*continued on page 11*



de Blois/AP

"New" South Africa, same racist state terror: police fire rubber bullets at squatters in black township near Johannesburg.

## Bitter Fruit of Washington's Anti-Soviet Dirty War

# Afghanistan: Hell for Women

On September 27, Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, fell to the Taliban, a fundamentalist Islamic militia. Four years of horrific rule under a shifting "coalition" of warring factions of reactionary Islamic *mujahedin* ("holy warriors") had already brought Kabul to the point of famine and devastation.

Now the Taliban killers have begun to wreak bloody vengeance against any vestige of social progress overlooked by the vultures who preceded them. One of their first targets was Najibullah, the pro-Soviet Afghan president ousted by the *mujahedin* in 1992, who was dragged from his sanctuary in the

city's United Nations compound and beaten, shot and hanged, his body left strung up on the street for several days. Justifying this atrocious act of savagery, a member of Kabul's Taliban council railed that Najibullah "was against Islam. He was a criminal, and he was a Communist."

Without question the chief victims in the consolidation of Islamic fundamentalist reaction in the aftermath of the Soviet military withdrawal in 1989 have been Afghanistan's miserably oppressed women. While the civil war has now resumed, with ethnically based militias

*continued on page 3*

Steel-Perkins/Magnum

Chin/NY Times

Seizure of Kabul by Taliban militias (near right) has led to intensified Islamic fundamentalist reign of terror against Afghan women, imprisoned at home or forced to wear head-to-toe "veil."





# Down With Racist Cop Repression Against Student Protesters!

OCTOBER 21—Reprinted below is a leaflet dated October 20 which was distributed at the State University of New York, Binghamton by members of the New York Spartacus Youth Club. Students continue to occupy the administration building there following a vicious October 15 cop attack on an integrated group of student protesters. SYC members traveled to the campus from New York City and Syracuse University to intervene in support of the struggle at Binghamton, raising the need for socialist revolution to get rid of racist repression for good.

On October 15, anti-racist protesters at a meeting of the State University of New York (SUNY), Binghamton student government were brutally attacked by university police. According to the Binghamton Coalition (an ad-hoc student leadership formed in the immediate aftermath), students "were attacked with pepper spray,

thrown against walls, poked in the eyes, punched in the face, and those who attempted to leave the area were blocked by university security officers." What brought on this vicious police attack? Confederate flag-wearing Student Association (SA) president Anthony Benardello, with the support of his appointed officers, implemented a racist purge of the SA by removing the post of Vice President of Multicultural Affairs. Large numbers of students came to the Student Association meeting on Tuesday the 15th to speak against the purge; they were excluded. When they tried to get in they were set upon by campus cops in full riot gear under the orders of Binghamton president Lois DeFleur.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club demand: **ALL COPS OFF CAMPUS!** The campus police (ULED)—newly armed with pepper spray—represent the armed

fist of the state, which attacked black and Latino protesters to protect the administration as well as their student government lackeys through intimidation and violence. College campuses like Binghamton exist for middle- and working-class youth as training grounds for administrative positions serving the capitalists. When the interests of students clash with the purpose of these institutions, down comes the hammer.

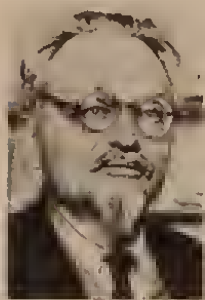
These attacks are part of increased racist repression and police brutality on universities nationwide and part of a larger attack on minority and working-class youth and workers. With the Democratic Party taking the lead in smashing welfare, pushing reactionary "family values" and brutally scapegoating immigrants, it is no wonder that Benardello and DeFleur can openly push racist reaction at Binghamton.

Students have occupied the Binghamton administration building in protest against their macing and beating. It is necessary to defeat this racist atrocity by defense and extension of this occupation. Even a one-day strike by campus workers, faculty and students would be a big step toward that goal. No reprisals against the student demonstrators! Not hat-in-hand appeals to the administration but a fighting response by all those facing the racist attacks and cutbacks at SUNY! The SYC fights for: Open admissions and no tuition! For a living stipend for all students! Nationalize the elite private universities! Abolish the racist administration! For the democratic control of

the university by workers, faculty and students!

Just as these attacks are part of a larger social context, so too are the solutions. The capitalist system itself is based on the exploitation of the working class and on the racist oppression of blacks and immigrants. This system offers no future for the majority of people in this society, especially workers, minorities and youth—so it confines millions to unemployment and starvation, throws them into prison hellholes and beats them with police clubs when they protest.

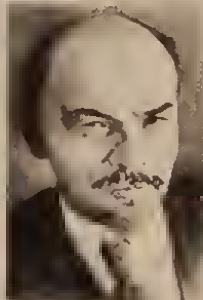
The Spartacus Youth Club is a socialist organization which intervenes in struggles against racism and oppression. We fight to link these struggles to the larger fight to sweep away capitalism—the root of all oppression—and create a workers government that would liberate society's wealth for social need. Toward this end students must ally with the working class, which has the social power to effect such a fundamental social overturn. The SYC is dedicated to winning students to the struggles of the working class and mobilizing them in the fight for socialist leadership. We are active in the fight against the cutbacks at the City University of New York. In Chicago we mobilized to smash the KKK fascists when they attempted to rally for race terror. And we have worked to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. *Hauls off the Binghamton student protesters! Cops off campus! Join us in the fight for a socialist future!* ■



TROTSKY

## Permanent Revolution and the Struggle Against Imperialism

In recent years, the Western and Japanese imperialists have intensified the exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In these backward countries in the epoch of imperialism, the gains associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of West Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries cannot be achieved by the indigenous bourgeoisies. Bourgeois nationalists in "Third World" countries, whether right-wing butchers



LENIN

like Suharto in Indonesia or liberals like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, act as political agents for the world bankers and industrialists. As Trotsky explained in his theory of permanent revolution, only through proletarian socialist revolution and its extension to the imperialist centers can the workers and peasants of colonial and semi-colonial countries achieve genuine national independence and social and economic modernization.

The revolution of 1848 revealed within a few months that precisely under more advanced conditions, none of the bourgeois classes is capable of bringing the revolution to its termination: the big and middle bourgeoisie is far too closely linked with the landowners, and fettered by the fear of the masses; the petty bourgeoisie is far too divided and in its top leadership far too dependent on the big bourgeoisie. As evidenced by the entire subsequent course of development in Europe and Asia, the bourgeois revolution, taken by itself, can no more in general be consummated. A complete purge of feudal rubbish from society is conceivable only on the condition that the proletariat, freed from the influence of bourgeois parties, can take its stand at the head of the peasantry and establish its revolutionary dictatorship. By this token, the bourgeois revolution becomes interlaced with the first stage of the socialist revolution, subsequently to dissolve in the latter. The national revolution therewith becomes a link of the world revolution. The transformation of the economic foundation and of all social relations assumes a permanent (uninterrupted) character.

For revolutionary parties in backward countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, a clear understanding of the organic connection between the democratic revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—and thereby, the international socialist revolution—is a life-and-death question.

— Leon Trotsky, "Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto" (October 1937)



Anti-racist student protesters occupy Binghamton administration building following October 15 police attack.

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## Funds Needed as December 2 Trial Approaches Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

Three anti-racist protesters face trial in Cook County Circuit Court on December 2 on trumped-up charges of assault and battery against police stemming from a June 29 protest against a KKK race-hate provocation in Chicago's Daley Plaza. All opponents of racist terror have a stake in the defense of the Anti-Klan Three, who face up to a year in jail.

Funds are urgently needed to defray legal costs. Send donations (earmarked "Anti-Klan Protesters") to the

Partisan Defense Committee. Protest statements demanding that all charges be dropped should be addressed to: Jack O'Malley, State's Attorney of Cook County, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602; please send a copy to the PDC. Contact the PDC in Chicago at Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867, phone (312) 454-4931. You can also reach the PDC in New York at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099, phone (212) 406-4252.



# Afghanistan...

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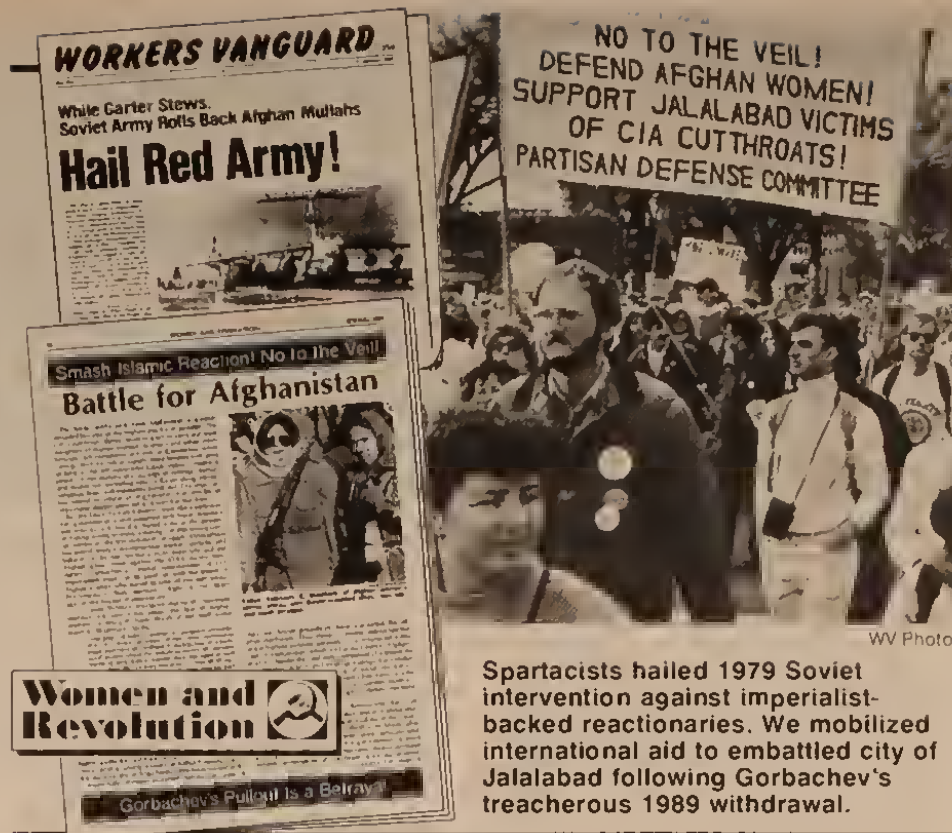
which supported the former *mujahedin* regime launching an offensive against Taliban positions outside Kabul, all the contending forces are deeply reactionary.

Among the first acts of the Taliban after seizing Kabul were to bar women from all work, to close down all girls' schools and to order women to remain locked in their homes in *purdah* (social isolation) unless accompanied by a man. As a result, almost all educational facilities have been shut down, since 75 percent of teachers are women, overwhelmingly trained during the Soviet presence in the 1980s. This has also created chaos in hospitals and orphanages that were primarily staffed by women. Given fundamentalist taboos against women being treated by male doctors, the elimination of female medical personnel means a death sentence for countless women and girls.

The *Los Angeles Times* (2 October) reports that "women who have ventured onto Kabul's dusty streets without cloaking themselves from head to toe in opaque, suffocating gowns have been lashed with whips or fan belts." The situation there is today so dire that better-off Afghans are seeking refuge for their daughters in neighboring Iran, which is under the rule of Islamic fundamentalist ayatollahs. The Taliban's orgy of woman-hating terror adds the finishing touches to the program of social reaction implemented by the *mujahedin* cutthroats who took power four years ago and revived the stoning of women for adultery and "immodesty," while subjecting the entire population to a reign of terror and plunder.

While hypocritically distancing itself from some of the "excesses" in the nightmare of dark reaction which has befallen the women of Kabul, Washington has been the chief force in the Taliban's rise to power. Through its client regime in Islamic Pakistan, U.S. imperialism has for years funneled vast sums of money and high-tech military equipment to various *mujahedin* factions, from the notorious Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who rose to prominence by throwing acid in the face of unveiled women students at Kabul University in the 1970s, to, most recently, the Taliban cutthroats. Even as women were being beaten and brutalized in the streets of Kabul, Clinton administration spokesmen rushed to meet with Taliban representatives, hailing the efforts of these medievalist killers and torturers to "liberate Afghanistan."

The unspeakable hell which has descended on women, teachers, doctors, working people, ethnic and religious minorities and all secular elements in Afghanistan is the bitter fruit of U.S. imperialism's unrelenting drive to undermine and destroy the former Soviet Union, whose military presence in Afghanistan in the 1980s was the chief bulwark against Islamic fundamentalist reaction. For over a decade, Washington armed the *mujahedin* murderers to the hilt, building them up to wage a proxy war against the Soviet Army and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). But the blood of every



*unveiled woman butchered by the Afghan fundamentalists is also on the hands of those leftist organizations internationally which lined up behind U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet dirty war in Afghanistan!*

For years, groups like the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), U.S. supporters of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), marched in lockstep behind Washington's drive for the defeat of Soviet troops by the mullah-led forces who were openly fighting for the enslavement of women in Afghanistan. Now they have gotten what they wanted. These self-styled "socialists" contributed, to the extent their limited means allowed, to bringing about the horror which is today being inflicted upon Afghan women.

## The "Russian Question" Pointblank

In the 19th century, utopian socialist Charles Fourier observed that social progress can be gauged by the status of women in society. This is unambiguously clear in the case of Afghanistan. For Marxists, as indeed for all opponents of women's oppression, taking the side of those fighting the U.S.-backed Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan was as clear and obvious a position as was the support of Karl Marx's First International for the Union forces led by Abraham Lincoln in the American Civil War against slavery.

How, then, could self-avowed socialists like Cliff's ISO/SWP line up with those fighting for the enslavement of women in Afghanistan? The answer lies in their virulent hostility to the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. From the moment the Bolshevik Revolution toppled capitalism in Russia in 1917 until the capitalist counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin several years ago, the imperialists' central aim was focused on restoring capitalist exploitation in the Soviet Union and overturning the social gains which remained despite decades of Stalinist degeneration. That is why the entire apparatus of political

indoctrination in the United States and West Europe was geared to producing hatred for and fear of the Soviet Union. Because groups like the ISO bought into the anti-Soviet program propagated by the bourgeoisie, they lined up with any and all forces opposed to the Stalinists in power—from sadistic Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan and Iran to the Vatican-backed anti-Communist, anti-Semitic and anti-woman Solidarność movement in Poland.

Historic American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, in waging a factional struggle within the then-revolutionary U.S. Socialist Workers Party against the Shachtman/Burnham minority which argued to abandon the Marxist position of military defense of the Soviet Union, said in 1939:

"The question of the Russian revolution and the Soviet state which is its creation has drawn a sharp dividing line through the labor movement of all countries for 22 years. The attitude taken toward the Soviet Union throughout all these years has been the decisive criterion separating the genuine revolutionary tendency from all shades and degrees of waverers, backsliders and capitulators to the pressure of the bourgeois world."

In the case of Afghanistan, this dividing line not only separated revolutionaries from reformists, but proponents of social progress from those who backed, openly or otherwise, medievalist barbarism.

Uniquely in modern history, the rights of women were a central issue in the civil war which raged in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. After coming to power in an April 1978 coup, pro-Moscow intellectuals and army officers in the PDPA sought to implement some minimal reforms to bring the country closer to the 20th century: land distribution, freeing women from the *burka* (the head-to-toe "veil"), reducing the bride price to a nominal sum and providing education for girls. However, such basic democratic reforms can be explosive in a cruelly backward country like Afghanistan, not least because women's subordination in the family has decreed them as the "bearers" of the traditional culture to

the next generation. Afghan landlords, tribal chiefs and mullahs launched a ferocious *jihad* (holy war), burning down schools and flaying teachers alive for the "crime" of teaching young girls to read.

When Moscow airlifted Red Army troops to Kabul in December 1979 to prevent its PDPA client regime from falling to the Islamic reactionaries and to protect its southern flank against imperialist incursion, the "Russian question" was posed pointblank. Democratic president Jimmy Carter's savage proxy war against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan and his retaliatory embargo against the Soviet Union were the opening shots of Cold War II. Under Carter's successor, Republican president Ronald Reagan, the U.S. spent hundreds of billions of dollars on high-tech "Star Wars" weaponry aimed at facilitating a first-strike nuclear attack against the USSR. And over \$2 billion worth of equipment was lavished on the Afghan *mujahedin* in the biggest CIA operation in history. Meanwhile, the capitalist media kept up a hysterical propaganda barrage against the Soviet "evil empire."

As consistent defenders of the gains of the October Revolution, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (then the international Spartacist tendency) proclaimed: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" We warned that the Kremlin bureaucracy reluctantly intervened simply to stabilize a strategically placed client state and might well cut a deal with the imperialists.



Former Afghan president Najibullah, tortured and murdered by Taliban killers.

Nonetheless, sending troops into Afghanistan was an unambiguously decent and progressive act, cutting across the grain of the reactionary Stalinist-nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," which renounced Lenin's fight for world socialist revolution in favor of a futile quest for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Moreover, we recognized that it was only the Soviet military intervention which offered the possibility of opening the road to emancipation for the hideously oppressed peoples of Afghanistan. If liberation was to come to Afghanistan, it had to come from without. The tiny

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## Socialist Worker

12 January 1980

### Troops out of Afghanistan!

U.S. troops in Afghanistan are a major obstacle to the peace process. The Soviet Union must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The U.S. must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The U.S. must withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

Afghan *mujahedin* reactionaries with paymaster Ronald Reagan in the White House. Tony Cliff's British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, "welcomed" anti-woman Islamic fundamentalist victory.

## Socialist Worker

May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs. But this does not mean giving

## Socialist Worker

5 October 1996

But Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week. Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either.





Sipa



Ithau



Planeta

Soviet military presence (left) opened possibility of liberation for Afghan women, who joined PDPA government militias to defend their rights against *mujahedin* arms in hand. Right: Students at Kabul University in the 1980s.

## Afghanistan...

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proletariat was dwarfed by a far more numerous Islamic clergy, the urban population was surrounded by a sea of nomadic herdsman and peasants beholden to the khans, the forces of social progress were outweighed by reactionary forces for tradition and the status quo.

The conservative Brezhnev leadership in the Kremlin did not send 100,000 Soviet troops to Afghanistan to make a social revolution. But the very presence of these troops brought with it the possibility of social liberation, as did Napoleon's military drive through Europe in the early 1800s in the wake of the Great French Revolution. As Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, his definitive analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, "In the sphere of national policy, as in the sphere of economy, the Soviet bureaucracy still continues to carry out a certain part of the progressive work, although with immoderate overhead expenses. This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists."

Under the Soviet military umbrella, Afghan women were liberated from the veil and trained and brought into the workforce as teachers, nurses, doctors and government functionaries; thousands served as soldiers and commanders in the Afghan army and self-defense militias. The vast gains which were potentially open to the Afghan peoples were visible in the stark contrast between Afghanistan's backwardness and the massive advances in living standards, education, health care and women's rights north of the Amu Darya River in the Soviet Central Asian republics. These achievements were the result of the working-class revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party in October 1917 and extended to Central Asia largely through armed intervention by the Red Army against the mullahs and tribal khans and a campaign by heroic Bolshevik women who even donned the veil as part of a tactic to bring social progress to the women

of that backward region.

Following Moscow's military intervention in Afghanistan, the imperialists and their "left" hangers-on railed against "Soviet expansionism." But far from seeking to incorporate Afghanistan, the Kremlin oligarchy fought the war half-heartedly, despite the fact that Soviet troops were winning the war on the ground in the early 1980s. When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, he immediately began maneuvering for a withdrawal of Soviet troops in the hope of easing the strains on the Soviet economy and appeasing imperialist hostility. In the upshot, Gorbachev prepared the destruction of the Soviet Union itself. The Kremlin's retreat emboldened the imperialist rulers, who remained intent upon nothing less than the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and strengthened the forces of capitalist restoration within. Withdrawal from Afghanistan was followed by counterrevolution in East Europe: Solidarność' rise to power in Poland, the capitalist reunification of Germany, Boris Yeltsin's 1991 pro-capitalist counter coup in Moscow. This, in turn, led to a total cutoff of aid to Kabul, spelling the doom of the fragile Afghan economy and central government.

When Soviet forces were pulled out in 1988-89, paving the way for a bloody onslaught against Afghan workers, women and leftists, we bitterly denounced this betrayal. We warned that it was far better to fight and defeat the forces of counterrevolution in Afghanistan than be forced to take them on inside the Soviet Union itself. At the same time, we actively solidarized with the masses who continued to wage a bitter struggle for survival. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League/U.S., wrote to the Afghan government in February 1989, offering to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA's fundamentalist cutthroats. Though this offer was declined, the PDC and fraternal organizations around the world responded to an appeal by the PDPA regime for funds, raising \$44,000 internationally to aid civilian victims of the *mujahedin* attack

on the eastern city of Jalalabad.

As an expression of solidarity, we dispatched a *Workers Vanguard* correspondent to Kabul and Jalalabad. As we wrote at the time:

"Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the program of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League."

— "Front Line Afghanistan,"  
WV No. 482 (21 July 1989)

Our Jalalabad campaign struck a chord among class-struggle fighters everywhere. Contributions poured in from *tens of thousands* of people around the world: immigrant workers throughout West Europe, Asia and North America; trade unionists; students eager to take a stand against the CIA; and everywhere from women, including in Muslim communities. It was in the course of this campaign that we decided to launch the International Communist League, underscoring that our tendency, uniquely, fights for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky.

### Anti-Soviet "United Front" with Imperialism

The Cliffites responded to the 1979 Soviet intervention by retailing the line of every imperialist government in the world: "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!" The British *Socialist Worker* (12 January 1980) tried to whitewash the CIA-backed *mujahedin* opposition, saying "it speaks the rhetoric of Islamic fundamentalism. But in this time and place that tells us little." It didn't take a Marxist to know what the "rhetoric of Islamic fundamentalism" and, on the other hand, the Soviet intervention meant for Afghan women. This was recognized even by some Western bourgeois journalists, notably women. Writing as the last Soviet troops were pulling out, Mary Williams Walsh reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (19 January 1989):

"The plight of Kabul's women is a poignant reminder that the West's vicarious victory over communist expansion here isn't without its ambiguities. In a backward country where the female peasantry still toils like medieval serfs, Kabuli women have managed to hold on to many 20th-century freedoms.... Instead of staying at home behind purdah walls, they emerge each day and work in offices, hospitals and schools."

The Cliffite opportunists pose as "revolutionary" opponents of the capitalist rulers, but they take their cue from the reformist labor misleaders, who are themselves (in Lenin's words) "social-imperialist" lackeys of the bourgeoisie. But over Afghanistan, the Cliffites even surpassed their reformist Labourite big brothers in abject treachery. The British Cliffites were actually able to make a real contribution to the imperialists' anti-Soviet drive by making common cause with...right-wing Tories. In 1980, SWP leader Paul Foot, writing in his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror*, attacked the virulently anti-Communist Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher *from the right* by denouncing the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

The incendiary "revelations" in Foot's column provoked an anti-Soviet frenzy on the floor of Parliament, helping to justify an escalation of imperialist support to the Afghan *mujahedin*.

Though particularly flagrant in their embrace of imperialist anti-Sovietism over Afghanistan, the Cliffites were far from unique on the left. After some initial zig zagging, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel issued a statement in 1981 toeing Reagan/Thatcher's line, with the call "For an End to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan!" The political bandits of David North's Workers League and its "International Committee" screamed along with the U.S. imperialist rulers that the Soviet intervention was an attack on "the national rights and feelings of the Afghan people" (*Bulletin*, 8 July 1986). Somewhat more contradictory was the centrist Workers Power group in Britain, which arose as a split from Cliff's organization. In response to the imperialist uproar over the Soviet intervention, Workers Power took a step to the left, breaking from Cliff's absurdly anti-Marxist theory that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist" (without either a capitalist class or a capitalist economy) and announcing its formal adherence to Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state.

But while not calling for an immediate Soviet withdrawal at the time, Workers Power joined the rest of the anti-Soviet Stalinophobic left in "condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan" as "counterrevolutionary" (*Workers Power*, February 1980). When the Kremlin later pulled out of Afghanistan, Workers Power turned around and denounced the withdrawal. And all the while, they vituperated against our call, "Hail Red Army!" Behind Workers Power's insistence that the eminently progressive Soviet intervention was counterrevolutionary lay a deeply ingrained anti-Soviet prejudice inherited from their Cliffite origins.

But the Cliffites themselves showed no such qualms, consistently supporting the imperialist line. As Gorbachev was preparing the Soviet withdrawal, the ISO gloated: "Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan" (*Socialist Worker* [U.S.], May 1988). This comparison is truly grotesque! The ISO sees no essential difference between medieval fundamentalist killers coming to power in Kabul and the victorious *social revolution*—which the ISO's forebears refused to support—that drove U.S. imperialism out of Indochina!

With the fate they welcomed having come to pass and its horrendous consequences daily described in the bourgeois press, Cliff's SWP can only wring its hands and hypocritically moan about the "long series of tragedies to beset the Afghan people" (*Socialist Worker*, 5 October). Even now, with the Soviet Union gone, the Cliffites continue to whitewash the role of the Islamic fundamentalist anti-woman terrorists and their Pakistani and U.S. backers, writing that "Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it" and complaining that "the

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# Cruel and Barbaric California Castration Law

California has now become the first state in the country to mandate castration as a form of punishment. On September 17, Governor Pete Wilson signed a bill, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support in the state legislature, which would force any man convicted twice of "child molestation" to receive injections of the drug Depo-Provera while on parole. Those refusing the injections could be "voluntarily" surgically castrated—having their testicles cut off. Judges will also be able to order chemical castration after a first conviction.

Underlining the barbaric character of this legislation, an editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner* exclaimed: "What's the next step? Demanding that robbers have their hands hacked off and liars their tongues cut out?" Usually used as a contraceptive for women, when injected in men Depo-Provera causes the testicles to shrink. The side effects include elevated blood pressure, increased blood clotting and higher risk of diabetes, as well as nightmares, fatigue and severe weight gain. Any doctor who agrees to carry out this treatment won't be practicing medicine but torture, like Hitler's Dr. Mengele, who subjected inmates in Nazi death camps and concentration camps to grisly "experiments" involving sterilization and castration.

Republican assemblyman Bill Hoge, author of the bill, railed: "I am sending a message to child molesters of the world that you are not welcome in California." Sheila Kuehl, one of two Democrats in the Assembly to oppose the measure, grotesquely argued that castration was *not enough* to stop "molesters," insisting that they "need to be kept out of society." The *Examiner* (15 September) reported that "the sole organized support for the measure came from the Women's Coalition, an advocacy group in Hoge's district." In the 1980s, "castrate all rapists" was the battle cry of right-wing feminists—and now it seems they've got their reactionary wish.

The concept of mutilating and torturing "sex offenders" belongs in the Dark

Ages. And in this deeply racist society, it represents a ghastly return to the worst horrors of the Jim Crow South. As we wrote in 1983 after a South Carolina judge gave three young black men convicted of rape the choice of 30 years in prison or surgical castration: "The American rulers' willingness to snatch up the ancient bloodstained knife, to geld the black man and sterilize the black woman, reflects the poisonous and unbearable racism which characterizes American capitalism" (WV No. 343, 2 December 1983).

Especially in this election year, the new law is a product of the fevered competition between Democrats and Republicans over who can be tougher in prosecuting the "war on crime," a terrifying extension of the legal lynching and racist repression that the capitalist injustice system has unleashed against blacks and the poor. The return of chain gangs, the Congressional ban on education for prisoners, the expansion of the racist death penalty and a host of other measures reflect a sinister impulse to genocide against a layer of the black population. In the past decade, California alone has spent \$10 billion on new prisons. The authorities are not only doing away with education for prisoners, but are trying to eliminate physical exercise and anything approaching a healthy diet. As a result, prisoners can be expected to grow overweight, weaker, more disease-prone and likely to die earlier. This is a conscious attempt to make the prison population flaccid and controllable.

Of course, violent assaults on children are truly terrible crimes, but the California castration law has nothing to do with protecting women and children. Another bill passed by California legislators—one of a series of so-called "Megan's laws" being proposed across the country—would incite harassment of "sex offenders" who have been released from prison, by opening up their records and addresses to the public. These viciously punitive measures are the latest installment in a ruling-class drive over the past 15 years to

criminalize sex, and particularly sex with or among youth. The demented lengths to which this hysteria has been taken are seen in the recent "sexual harassment" suspensions of six-year-old kids for kissing their classmates.

Many sexual encounters now deemed "illegal" in this violently repressive and anti-sex society are entirely consensual. We are in favor of replacing reactionary "age of consent" laws with the principle of effective consent, applicable to people of all ages. Will someone whose boyfriend or girlfriend is simply considered "too young" now be castrated? California already deems sexual relations between an adult and someone 13 or younger—and in some cases even 17 years old—a felony offense that counts under the state's "three strikes" law. In Connecticut recently, school bus driver Kerri Lynn Paterson was sentenced to a maximum of 115 years in prison after a 14-year-old male student claimed she had seduced him by casting a spell on him!

The government-engineered witchhunt over "child sexual abuse" has destroyed the lives of hundreds of innocent people who have been prosecuted and imprisoned on the basis of lurid and demented "satanic possession" and "recovered memory" fabrications (see "Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria," *Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). Meanwhile, the deadly anti-welfare bill signed by Clinton in August completely eliminated federal aid providing a minimal lifeline for some 12 million people, more than two-thirds of them children.

The bizarre theory that an overabundance of male hormones causes sex crimes has sinister implications for women. In countries dominated by Islamic fundamentalism, like Afghanistan or Iran, women are forced into stifling head-to-toe "veils" when not confined to the home, ostensibly to prevent men from being driven to rape and to curb the supposedly insatiable sexual appetites of women. In fact, this reactionary institution is aimed at enforcing women's role as the property of their fathers or hus-

bands. And in large parts of Africa, young girls are subjected to the barbaric practice of female genital mutilation in order to supposedly ensure docility and "faithfulness."

In the U.S. as well, women are the ultimate principal target of the anti-sex witchhunt. This is reflected not only in the assault by right-wing bigots on the right to abortion, but in the escalating persecution of women over supposed fetal and child "abuse." Since the 1980s, over 200 pregnant women in 30 states have been prosecuted for acts as trivial as having a drink, on the grounds that this could harm their fetuses. In a recent case in Wisconsin, Deborah Zimmerman, a 35-year-old waitress, faces up to 50 years in prison on *attempted murder* for giving birth to a baby with a high blood alcohol level. In July, the South Carolina Supreme Court reinstated an eight-year prison sentence on "child abuse" charges against a woman who had taken drugs while pregnant eight years ago, although her child is perfectly healthy.

There has also been an epidemic of "child abuse" prosecutions against poor and minority women who have left their children home alone for a few hours. In October, Carmen Santiago, described by neighbors as a caring mother of nine children, was arrested in the South Bronx along with her boyfriend when she was forced to appear in court to fight an eviction notice and couldn't find a baby sitter. Meanwhile, the courts have torn children away from mothers who are lesbians. In a recent Florida case, Mary Frank Ward's 12-year-old daughter was taken from her and placed in the custody of her former husband, a convicted murderer who killed his first wife!

Behind the gamut of measures criminalizing sex, and the imprisonment of wider layers of the population—under increasingly inhumane conditions—is the drive by the capitalist rulers to enforce social conformity as they seek to increase the exploitation of working people. Meanwhile, masses of ghetto youth deemed "expendable" to the profit system are locked away in prison hellholes. It is a mark of capitalist society in terminal decline that these efforts lead to ever more irrational and byzantine measures reaching back to practices which proliferated before the bourgeois revolutions. Only the destruction of the bourgeoisie's rule through socialist revolution will put an end to the barbarism exemplified by the "California Reich" castration law. ■

Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country." These fundamentalist reactionaries *do* have an "answer"—a program of all-sided reaction and extirpation of even the most modest social advances for women!

Again borrowing from Western imperialist propaganda, the sole fig leaf that the Cliffites and the rest of the anti-Soviet camp offered for their line was that the Soviet intervention violated Afghan "national self-determination." For Marxists, the question of self-determination is subordinated to overriding class considerations—in the case of Afghanistan, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and the struggle against feudal reaction and women's oppression. Moreover, Afghanistan is not a unitary nation, as the Cliffites assert, but a caldron of distinct, feuding nationalities (as well as tribal and other ethnic groupings) divided by artificial borders: the Pashtuns extend into Pakistan and the Uzbeks into the former Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, while the Tajik people overlap the border with both Tajikistan and Iran. The hue and cry about the "national rights" of "poor little Afghanistan" had about as much validity as the cries of "states' rights" raised by the Confederacy during the American Civil War and again 100 years later by diehard Dixie segregationists. Precisely because the Soviet Union was not capitalist/imperialist, the Red Army intervention into Afghanistan, rather than deepening oppression and reinforcing the

forces of reaction as imperialism does in its semicolonies, posed the possibility of bringing progress to that backward land of fragmented peoples.

## We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!

As Afghanistan demonstrated, the Cliffites' ludicrous "state capitalist" analysis and their posture as leftist opponents of Stalinism were simply a cover for their profound programmatic hostility to the homeland of the October Revolution. From the time of the 1950-53 Korean War, when Cliff broke from Trotskyism in refusing to defend North Korea against U.S. imperialism, the Cliffites' supposed "third camp" ("Neither Washington nor Moscow") was nothing but an empty shell, as they continually lined up with imperialism (first in a veiled way, then openly) against the Soviet Union.

Opposition to Stalinism from a revolutionary, Trotskyist standpoint meant defense of the social foundations of the Soviet Union—centrally the existence of a planned collectivized economy, a necessary precondition for the creation of an international classless, communist society. The Trotskyist call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers was premised on our defense of the gains of October, including our unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. In his 1939 speech, cited above,

James P. Cannon explained:

"The Soviet Union emerged from the October revolution as a workers' state. As a result of the backwardness and poverty of the country and the delay of the world revolution, a conservative bureaucracy emerged and triumphed, destroyed the party and bureaucratized the economy. However, this same bureaucracy still operates on the basis of the nationalized property established by the revolution. That is the decisive criterion for our evaluation of the question."

—reprinted in "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!" WV No. 181 (11 November 1977)

Stalinist treachery and imperialist terror have left Afghanistan devastated, with a total breakdown of transportation, trade and economic life. The country has been turned into a patchwork of regional fiefdoms ruled by ethnically based warlords, with the Taliban, based on the predominant Pashtun grouping, controlling the gutted capital and two-thirds of the country in the south, while the Uzbek region in the north is ruled by Abdul Rashid Dostum and Ahmed Shah Massoud's militia lords over the Tajiks. While Dostum and Massoud's forces are today painted as supposed "moderates" relative to the Taliban, Massoud remains allied with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one of the most savage fundamentalist leaders during the PDPA regime.

The martyrdom of Afghanistan is a direct product of the counterrevolutionary cataclysm which resulted in the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and

the former Soviet Union. This has emboldened reactionary forces not only in backward areas like Afghanistan but in West Europe and the U.S. as well. While various bourgeois commentators are now wagging their fingers over the horrors being carried out by Islamic fundamentalists in Afghanistan, "family values" Christian fundamentalists in the U.S. also aim to drive women back into the home. This is revealed not only in attacks by "right to life" terrorists on women seeking abortions but in the growing barbarism of the racist capitalist "justice" system (see "California Castration Law," above).

The horrors being played out in Afghanistan today are the starkest expression of the choice which has been posed, with increasing sharpness and urgency, throughout this century: socialism or barbarism. Young fighters against social oppression must study and learn the lessons of past struggles and defeats, including the world-historic defeat represented by the destruction of the remaining gains of the October Revolution, if they are to go forward to win new victories. We of the International Communist League fight for a new October, both in the U.S. and around the world. We fight to forge Bolshevik parties internationally to lead the workers—standing at the head of all the oppressed—to power and to a society in which capitalist oppression and enslavement of women are relics of a barbaric past. ■



# For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away Suharto Dictatorship!

## Indonesia Powder Keg



Economist



Reuters

Massive protests against Suharto dictatorship during the summer were met with brutal crackdown, including arrests of trade unionists and leftists.

The military regime of Indonesian dictator Suharto is facing the most convulsive political and social upheaval in decades. On July 8, army troops, marines and police brutally attacked a strike and rally of 20,000 workers in the east Java city of Surabaya. Later that month, police, troops and rightist vigilantes in the capital city of Jakarta stormed the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), one of two tame opposition parties permitted by the military dictatorship. Supporters of opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of former Indonesian ruler Sukarno, had occupied the building to protest her ouster from the PDI leadership in a government-orchestrated maneuver in June.

More than 10,000 people took to the streets in outrage over the government's raid on the PDI building, and banks and government buildings were torched. The military ordered demonstrators shot on sight; at least five protesters were officially reported dead and 74 "disappeared." The regime then launched a countrywide manhunt against a wide range of dissidents. At least nine are charged with "subversion," punishable by death. While Megawati was pulled in several times for lengthy police interrogation, the main targets were not PDI supporters but trade-union organizers

and supporters of the leftist People's Democratic Party (PRD).

Among those arrested was Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the banned Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), the largest of the independent unions. Arrested for playing a leading role in strike struggles in Medan in April 1994, Pakpahan's conviction was overturned last October. Now he faces the death penalty on charges of subversion stemming from the July 27 protest. Budi-man Sudjatmiko, 27-year-old leader of the PRD, was also hunted down and faces the firing squad for treason. At least 25 PRD leaders are being held, according to an overseas spokesman for the group. All are in isolation, and there have been reports of electric shock and other torture being used to force confessions. Leaders of the PRD-affiliated trade union, peasants union and student group were also arrested. PRD offices in Jakarta and Surabaya have been seized and ransacked. The military has ordered the arrest of all PRD supporters and announced that they will likely be tried under the 1962 anti-subversion law, which carries a maximum penalty of death.

Determined to crush the PRD, the government has denounced it as "analogous" to the earlier Communist Party. As we noted in a recent protest statement

sent by the Partisan Defense Committee in Japan to the Indonesian ambassador there demanding the immediate release of all those imprisoned (see "Free Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Indonesia!" WV No. 650, 30 August):

"The regime's tirades against a supposed 'Communist threat' evoked—as was intended—the spectre of the horrendous anti-Communist bloodbath of workers and peasants carried out by the military and by anti-Communist mobs in 1965. The message was as clear as it was brutal: All who oppose Suharto's 'New Order' government will be slaughtered in the same manner as were the more than one million supporters of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other militants in 1965 and the workers and peasants of East Timor who have been fighting for their independence for over 20 years."

Suharto's blood-soaked regime was born out of the 1965 massacre. Old and sick men condemned as Communist activists following the 1965 bloodbath are still sitting on death row. Only last year did the regime say it would remove the designation "ET" (ex-Tahanan Politik—former political prisoner) from the identity papers of some 1.4 million people. One of these, writer Pramodya Ananta Toer, has been accused of being a leader of "formless organizations"—a reference to Communist front groups—and his writings are banned. His novels, like *Child of All Nations* and *This Earth of*

*Mankind*, are powerful indictments of brutal exploitation by the former Dutch colonial rulers. Today they are banned by an authoritarian regime which fears that readers might see too many parallels between the situation then and now.

U.S. imperialism has played a key role in propping up the bloody Suharto dictatorship from the time of the 1965 anti-Communist massacre. The recent flap over Indonesian funding for Clinton's election campaign underlines not only Washington's continuing close ties with the butchers in Jakarta but the rampant nepotism and corruption of the Indonesian ruling family. Now the imperialist bloodsuckers who for years lauded Suharto for ushering in "political stability" are worried about the aging dictator's health and the absence of a credible alternative to his regime. An editorial in the London *Economist* (3 August) titled "If Indonesia Erupts" warns that as "a vital part of Asia's fragile security balance, turmoil there would produce tremors from China to Australia" and "shake boardrooms." In an accompanying article, this mouthpiece for the imperialist bankers wants Suharto to allow a little "space" lest he contribute to "a future explosion of potentially devastating consequences"—devastating, that is, to the maintenance of neocolonial enslavement, where stifling repression, starvation wages and draconian union-busting assure a huge flow of profits from the sweat of millions.

The imperialists have reason to be worried. Even official figures point to a huge growth in strikes and other workers' struggles. There have also been outbursts of student unrest. In April, three students were killed during two weeks of protests against public transport fare increases in south Sulawesi. Student activists frustrated at the tight military control of campuses and the lack of job prospects have turned to labor organizing. Protests by workers, students and the unemployed in urban centers have intersected peasant struggles for land and grievances against ethnic and national oppression. Incapable of developing a unified Indonesian nation, the Java-centered bourgeoisie presides over a prison house of peoples.

Indonesia is a powder keg waiting to explode. Yet despite the evident courage and dedication of its supporters, the PRD offers a strategy of class collaboration like that which paved the way for the 1965 slaughter. The PRD actively organizes support for the tame bourgeois opposition led by Megawati—who denies any intention of threatening the power of Suharto and the generals—and itself calls

## Remember 1965 Bloodbath— No More Popular Front Betrayals!



Russell Press



Der Spiegel

PKI support to bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno regime prepared the way for 1965 massacre of leftists, workers and peasants by CIA-backed military and Islamic anti-Communist mobs.





People's Democratic Party leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, jailed by Suharto regime.

for nothing more than a "multiparty democracy." SBSI leader Pakpahan, meanwhile, says that he is not a communist but a "nationalist" and avows his support for the 1945 bourgeois constitution (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2 November 1995). But in this backward country tied by a million strings to international finance capital, there can be no thoroughgoing democracy without sweeping away the entire capitalist class, which acts at the behest of the imperialist overlords. A new generation of working-class militants must come to grips with the burning question: Will they be led once more down the suicidal path of class collaboration which led to the 1965 bloodbath or undertake the struggle to unite the dispossessed peasants, horribly oppressed women and ethnic and national minorities in a revolutionary struggle to end the brutal rule of capitalism?

### Indonesia and Permanent Revolution

The world's fourth most populous country, Indonesia is a vast archipelago of more than 13,000 islands spanning 3,000 miles and encompassing a diverse collection of ethnic, national and religious groupings. Separatist insurgencies have taken place from the tip of the westernmost island of Sumatra to Irian Jaya (on the island of New Guinea) in the Far East. The deepgoing divisions among these peoples are the heritage of the brutal rule of Dutch colonialism, which ended with the Japanese occupation in World War II and, following Japan's military defeat, the 1949 victory of Sukarno's nationalists in the war of independence against the Dutch.

The struggles of oppressed ethnic and national minorities in Indonesia were recently highlighted by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to two of the more moderate figures in the struggle of the East Timorese people, who have been subjected to a genocidal military occupation since 1975. In November 1991, Indonesian troops carried out a slaughter of 200 demonstrators in the Timorese capital of Dili. As our Australian comrades wrote recently (*Australasian Spartacist* No. 159, Spring 1996):

"For 350 years, the people of East Timor suffered the brutal rule of Portuguese imperialism. As the Portuguese empire collapsed in 1974/75, the Indonesian capitalist military regime invaded and annexed East Timor. Twenty years of bitter resistance has ensued, with over 200,000 East Timorese killed by gunfire, disease or starvation. As Marxists and Leninists who recognise the right of self-determination, we of the Spartacist League of Australia (Australian section of the International Communist League) demand: Independence for East Timor! Indonesian troops out of East Timor! Australia hands off!"

Until the Dili massacre, many Indonesians knew little about what was happening in East Timor. Intended by the military as a signal not only to the East Timorese but also anyone who might oppose the regime, the killings were a catalyst in galvanizing new opposition to the regime.

Ethnic and religious tensions have also been stoked by government policies encouraging settlement of outlying islands like Irian Jaya by people from Java and other densely populated areas of the country. 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. And with the accel-

erated flow of imperialist investment over recent years, countless tribal and peasant families have been thrown off the land in favor of mining, manufacturing and other corporations.

Indonesia presents a classic case of "combined and uneven development" in the epoch of imperialism, where pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and oppression exist side by side with modern industry, communications and transportation. In such countries of belated capitalist development, no wing of the bourgeoisie is capable of lifting society up from neocolonial subjugation and oppression. The dynamic growth of the Indonesian proletariat and its re-emergence into the arena of class struggle points to the one social force that can successfully lead the struggles of the oppressed—from land-hungry rural toilers to women, youth and religious and ethnic minorities—against the entire capitalist-landlord ruling class and its imperialist patrons.

As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, explained in "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" (1930), in colonial and semicolonial countries, "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 validity of this perspective was confirmed by the workers revolution in backward Russia itself. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, the numerically small Russian proletariat was able to mobilize behind it the mass of the peasantry and oppressed national minorities in a proletarian revolution which broke the power of the capitalists and landlords and opened a period of revolutionary struggle internationally.

The Bolsheviks' revolutionary program was trampled on by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, following the failure of the revolution to spread to advanced capitalist countries like Germany. Stalinist betrayal finally culminated in the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe in 1989-92. This, in turn, has emboldened the imperialist powers to seek the destruction of the remaining deformed workers states, which (with the exception of Cuba) are all located in East Asia—China, Vietnam, North Korea. In a desperate and futile balancing act, the Stalinist regimes in these countries have opened the door to imperialist investment

and capitalist exploitation, strengthening outright capitalist-restorationist forces (including within the bureaucracy).

The defense of the remaining gains of these anti-capitalist revolutions can be ensured only by proletarian political revolution against the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes as part of a perspective of international socialist revolution, centrally aimed at the advanced industrial powers, whose vast economic wealth and productive resources must be liberated in the interests of all humanity. The central lesson of the October Revolution remains its full force today for the exploited and oppressed around the world: Bolshevik parties must be forged in the struggle for a new October Revolution. From the islands of Indonesia to the imperialist centers in Australia, Japan, the U.S. and West Europe.

### Lessons of 1965

In 1965, the PKI was the mass party of the Indonesian proletariat and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world. But basing itself on the Stalinist schema of revolution in "stages"—first a revolution limited to (bourgeois) democracy, to be followed only later by a fight for socialism—the PKI counterposed to the program of workers revolution the call for unity with Indonesia's bourgeois-nationalist rulers. In 1952, PKI chairman D.N. Aidit raised the slogan "Long Live Sukarno! Long Live the PKI!" and called on Sukarno's Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms" (see "How Maoist Strategy Sabotaged Indonesian Revolution," *Young Spartacus* Nos. 36 and 37, October and November 1975).

In the 1950s, when nationalist demagogues had some room to maneuver between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, Sukarno's "non-aligned" posturing was a constant irritant to Washington. 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." This regime was an example of a popular front, a class-collaborationist coalition in which the proletariat and oppressed are chained to the class enemy, in this case through the instrument of the PKI.

Groveling before Sukarno and the reactionary Muslim clerics, the PKI organized work brigades to build mosques. 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.



Rosintan Marpaung, wife of SBSI union leader Muchtar Pakpahan, now facing death penalty on charges of "subversion."

The immediate precursor to the 1965 military coup was a botched attack on top army officers in late September. Sukarno may in fact have encouraged the move against the officers, in which six were killed, although he quickly disowned it, leaving the PKI to bear the brunt of the subsequent repression. Following the attack, Sukarno appointed General Suharto "responsible for restoring security and order." As hundreds of thousands of PKI supporters were massacred by Suharto's troops and Muslim rightists, Sukarno called for exterminating the Communist "rats." But even as they sat in prison cells awaiting execution, PKI leaders continued to pledge their loyalty to the "democratic" military and the "progressive" Sukarno!

On the eve of Suharto's counterrevolutionary October 1965 coup, the PKI was an enormously powerful force, with a membership of three million and over 14 million additional supporters organized in PKI-controlled labor unions, youth, women's and peasant organizations. But the PKI's treacherous policy of class collaboration bartered the political independence and revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for maneuvers with their oppressors. When the generals struck, the PKI, politically disarmed and militarily unprepared, was paralyzed. Even as the remnants of the PKI in exile issued a "self-criticism" of its failure to adopt "an independent attitude toward Sukarno," they refused to break from the disastrous stagist politics that paved the way for the massacre: "By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. Our Party must work to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of the revolution."

In an article headlined "Indonesian Lesson in Betrayal" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965), we wrote that "the working people of Indonesia are now paying with their blood" for the PKI's betrayal in "helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state."

### Imperialist Rivalry Over Indonesia

The U.S. was up to its neck in the Indonesian bloodbath. The CIA provided the Indonesian generals with a hit list of

(continued on page 8)



# Indonesia...

(continued from page 7)

5,000 Communists, and U.S. embassy officials ticked the names off as they were hunted down and murdered in 1965-66. The mobilization of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists against the PKI was also promoted by Washington. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, later to be Eisenhower's secretary of state, explained how the "spiritual beliefs" of "the religions of the East...cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us and our task is to find and develop it." That "bond" was cemented in the blood of the Indonesian workers and peasants, and later in Afghanistan.

With the "Communist menace" eliminated in this strategic Pacific Rim country, 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 ruling class, who felt that the U.S. could safely withdraw from its *losing* war in Indochina without jeopardizing its strategic interests in Southeast Asia.

The imperialists have continued to assign a key role to Indonesia in their counterrevolutionary ambitions in Asia. 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 and funds have been provided by the U.S. and Britain to prop up Suharto's generals and crush internal dissent. Last December, Australia agreed on a wide-ranging military alliance with Indonesia, described as "an effort to free up the two countries to pay more attention to the rise of China" (*International Herald Tribune*, 11 June). And while Washington postponed the sale of nine F-16 fighter planes to Indonesia to placate critics after the recent repression, it made clear its intention to proceed with the sale as soon as the dust settles. With an eye not only to China but also to instability in Indonesia and interimperialist rivalries with Japan, the U.S. and Australia have agreed to joint military exercises which will bring 17,000 American military personnel to northern Queensland next March.

The post-Soviet world is marked by intensified interimperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism, with its Australian junior partner in tow, is vying with Japan over who will dominate the region. Indonesia is the largest supplier of oil to Japan outside the Near East, and 90 percent of Japan's oil imports pass through Indonesian waters. The Japanese imperialists recognize that the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and its military buildup in the Persian Gulf is aimed at reinforcing U.S. control over Near East oil. Japan's ruling class has never forgotten the U.S. naval blockade of oil which impelled Japan's entry into World War II. This reinforces the appetites of Japanese imperialism to include Indonesia as a key component in a new "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Indonesia's rich natural resources—oil, gas, timber, gold, silver, copper,



Jeff Widener

**November 1994: Indonesian riot cops charge pro-independence protest in East Timor marking the anniversary of 1991 Dili massacre.**

etc.—are being plundered by international capital at an ever-increasing rate. Foreign investment, principally Japanese and American, totaled \$40 billion in 1995 alone. For the world's imperialist overlords, Indonesia is a rich source for capitalist profits, where impoverished workers labor in the textile and shoe factories, the oil fields and rubber plantations, under conditions of brutal exploitation. Typical is the Nike shoe factory in Serang, where the cost of labor for a pair of athletic shoes which sells for \$100 is only \$2.60. Even the govern-

ment itself admits that the minimum wage of \$2 a day (and many workers, especially women and children, receive far less), will not buy enough to feed one worker, let alone a family. Communist mobs in 1965, and during the strikes in Medan two years ago, efforts were made to divert militancy into attacks on Chinese shops. But in Indonesia as in all Southeast Asian states, there are many poor and working-class Chinese, who are class brothers in the struggle against capitalism. The need for proletarian internationalism is underlined by the fact that increasing numbers of Indonesian workers are compelled to cross the straits to Malaysia and Singapore, where Chinese are respectively 30 percent and 78 percent of the population.



Richburg/Washington Post

**Women workers at Nike factory in Serang slave for \$2.60 a day making shoes sold for \$100 a pair.**

ment itself admits that the minimum wage of \$2 a day (and many workers, especially women and children, receive far less), will not buy enough to feed one worker, let alone a family.

The changes brought about by capitalist development have brought new misery for the toiling masses, with peasants thrown off their land and driven into urban shantytowns where they cannot but notice the massive chasm between rich and poor. At the same time, industrialization has created a growing working class, young and not weighed down by the horrendous defeat of 1965. More than 20 million workers now live in urban areas like the Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasik industrial belt where strike activity has been centered.

Meanwhile, there is widespread resentment among the new middle classes at the nepotism, cronyism and corruption of the ruling Suharto clique. Suharto's six children have utilized their family connections, cheap state loans and subsidies and state monopolies to build up business empires worth more than \$4 billion, spanning telecom franchises, petrochemical complexes, transport and trading monopolies. Foreign capitalists seeking to invest in Indonesia are forced to set up joint ventures with Suharto family members, ceding them controlling interests in exchange for their political influence.

The Indonesian rulers consciously foster national and communal divisions to ward off multiethnic class struggle and to jack up the rate of exploitation. Chinese Indonesians, who include a fabulously wealthy elite, have been a particular target for racist attacks. Ethnic Chinese were singled out by anti-

There they often replace Chinese, Malay and Indian workers in the lowest-paid, hardest and dirtiest jobs.

Ethnic and religious divisions are consciously fostered by the capitalist exploiters to keep working people from uniting against their common foe. One of the factors in the violence against Chinese Indonesians is that many of them are Christians, as are the East Timorese. Islamic fundamentalist groups have been growing recently in Indonesia, though not as spectacularly as in other countries. Some of the largest of these have been loosely aligned with the pro-Megawati opposition. It is necessary to fight for the separation of state and religion and

against theocratic reaction while opposing discrimination against all religious minorities.

Religious fundamentalism is a particular threat to women, who have played an increasingly strong role in strikes and protests. The militant role played by women in the struggle against the Suharto dictatorship is exemplified by the case of Marsinah, a young woman worker militant tortured, raped and killed in east Java in May 1993. Her death, which became an inspiration for new fighters, illustrates the hideous oppression and superexploitation of women workers in Indonesia, who make up a majority of the workforce in the prison-like factories. As in the Russian Revolution of 1917, women are and will be in the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement. As Trotsky said of the Muslim women in the Soviet East:

"The Eastern woman who is the most paralyzed in life, in her habits and in creativity, the slave of slaves, that she, having at the demand of the new economic relations taken off her cloak will at once feel herself lacking any sort of religious buttress.... And there will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution than the awakened woman worker."

—*Perspectives and Tasks in the East* (1924)

## For a Trotskyist Party in Indonesia!

The PRD was formed in 1994 as an umbrella group of student, worker and peasant associations. From our limited information, it appears that many of its members are young university students who became labor activists, organizing trade unions and strike struggles; a number were arrested in the course of recent strikes and protests. Earlier this year, PRD militants played leading roles in organizing strikes and anti-government demonstrations in several key industrial centers. In the wake of the recent wave of repression, the PRD is reportedly reorganizing to operate clandestinely, while supporters overseas are broadcasting their statements into Indonesia via fax and e-mail.

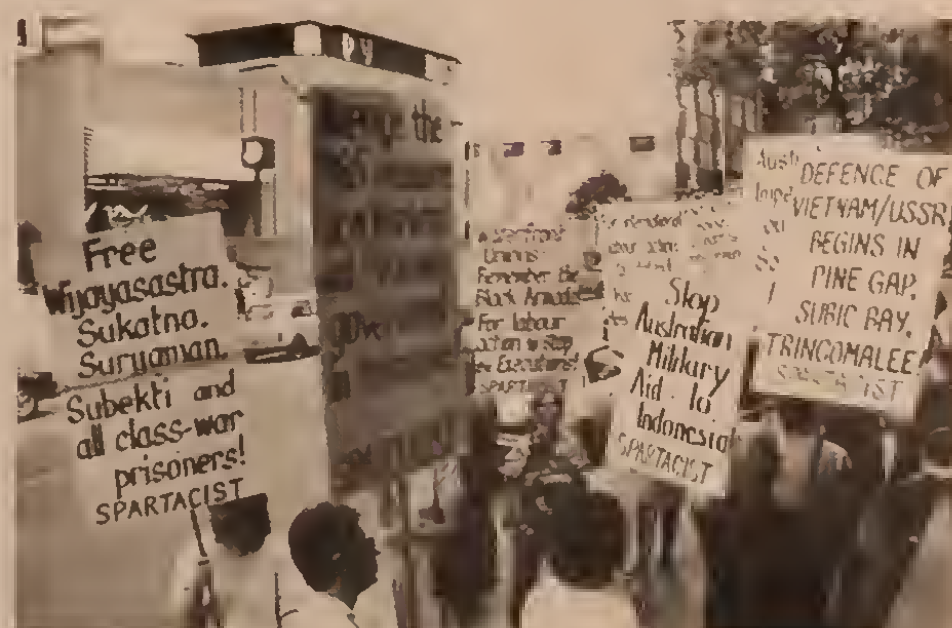
The courage of these young militants is epitomized by imprisoned union activist Dita Indah Sari, president of the PRD-affiliated Indonesian Center for Labor Struggles (PPBI). She has often been imprisoned for her work in organizing strikes and for participation in protests such as the December 1995 demonstration against the occupation of East Timor. During the July 8 rally of 20,000 strikers in Surabaya, she was arrested for "spreading hatred against the government." But along with this courageous work, she also exemplifies the central political weakness of the PRD: its support for and illusions in Megawati and the PDI. Dita Sari is described by the PRD as involved "also actively in organizing actions for the Indonesian oppositions and for Megawati's supporters," including as a regular speaker at public forums organized by pro-Megawati dissidents at the PDI headquarters.

continued on page 10



Wide World

**Former nationalist leader Sukarno, father of current tame "oppositionist" Megawati.**



Australasian Spartacist

**Spartacist protest in Sydney, 1986, demands freedom for condemned Indonesian Communists.**



# Australian Maritime Union Protests Indonesia Repression

In late September, the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) launched boycotts of Indonesian shipping in protest against the Suharto regime's arrests of Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union, and union activist Dita Sari. Pakpahan was arrested following demonstrations in late July against the government's attacks on the supporters of opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri, who was ousted by the state from the leadership of the Indonesian Democratic Party. Dita Sari was arrested earlier the same month in Surabaya after a workers' protest. The MUA's action, directed at all Indonesian shipping and cargo, was backed by the International Transport Workers' Federation.

The MUA's labor boycott is an exemplary act of solidarity with the struggles of the workers and oppressed of Indonesia. The MUA is in the cross hairs of the right-wing Australian government of Prime Minister John Howard—which has launched an all-sided attack on labor, immigrants and other minorities—not only because of its strategic economic position in the country, but also because of the history of militant struggle by waterfront workers, including on behalf of the working masses of Asia.

During the dirty, losing U.S. war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, in which Australian imperialism served as loyal lackeys of Washington, waterfront workers took concrete action on behalf of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. The recent labor bans in protest of the repression in Indonesia recall in particular the 1945-49 boycott of Dutch shipping carried out in support of the Indonesian independence struggle by Australian, Indian, Chinese and other workers.

The history of that boycott can be found in the book *Black Armada* (1975) by Australian journalist Rupert Lockwood, a longtime supporter of the now-defunct Communist Party (CPA). During World War II, as the Japanese imperialists invaded Indonesia, the retreating Dutch transported their colonial functionaries to Australia, along with hundreds of members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and other political prisoners. Many of these had spent decades in the Dutch imperialists' jungle death camp of Tanah Merah in Netherlands New Guinea. While being moved to prison camps in Australia, including the infamous camp at Cowra, New South Wales—which was

later the scene of racist mass slaughter of Japanese POWs—the imprisoned militants appealed for help by throwing notes from convict ships and railroad cars. Australian trade unionists and civil libertarians responded with a successful campaign to free the leftist political prisoners.

Once freed, some former prisoners were employed by the Dutch in sensitive positions where they had access to information on Dutch military stores and shipments, classified radio reports and Allied intelligence. With the defeat of Japan and the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia in August 1945 by nationalist forces led by Sukarno, the Dutch and Allied powers sought to rush military forces and supplies to Indonesia to shore up colonial control. Members of the Indonesian Seamen's Union, founded in Australia during the war, declared they would not man Dutch ships steaming to crush the Republic and began deserting the ships in late September 1945. Australian waterfront workers and seamen, led by the CPA, immediately declared their support for the Indonesian seamen, placing a "black ban"—boycott—on Dutch ships, the "Black Armada."

That union-enforced ban tied up most Dutch shipping in every major Australian port over the next four years. Over 30 unions, including those of Asian seamen organized in Australia, participated in the

boycott of Dutch transport, paralyzing the colonial fleet and buying precious time for the Indonesian nationalist forces to organize resistance. At great sacrifice, Indian seamen refused to fulfill the strikebreaking role for which they had been recruited. The Chinese Seamen's Union in Australia was critical in organizing material aid for Indonesians and Indians facing desperate financial hardship because of their refusal to work Dutch ships.

Undercutting the internationalist impulse and implication of these actions, however, was the social-patriotic policy of the CPA. From the time of the arrival of the newly released PKI members, the Australian CP "instructed" these militants—who had been in complete isolation since 1926—on the necessity of subordinating the struggle for independence to the Allies' war effort against the Axis powers in the imperialist conflict. As Lockwood wrote:

"Though advised by the CPA, the PKI retained its independence, and at first made sectarian errors that made CPA hairs stand on end..."

"The Australian advice was delivered in firm terms, that support of the war against the Axis powers was essential."

The labor boycott was called in response to the fact that the imperialist "democracies" were attempting to prop up colonial rule in Indonesia. The Stalinist lead-

ership of the waterfront and seamen's unions argued that in fact the boycott was in the best interests of Australia. Lockwood quotes the appeal carried in the CPA's newspaper, the *Tribune*:

"Australia must raise the strongest voice to see that her 70 million Indonesian neighbours win their freedom. A fettered Indonesia in the Near North carries a constant threat of political and economic instability to Australian trade and foreign policy."

This posture in fact coincided with that of the governing Labor Party (ALP), which had ruled throughout World War II and to which the CPA was (and its successors are) ultimately subservient. Founded on the racist "White Australia Policy," the Labor officialdom witnessed the ignominious demise of the European colonial powers in Asia. With the end of the war, the ALP government of Ben Chifley initially supplied the Dutch with arms and transport in the attempt to crush the Republic. But, reading the writing on the wall for Dutch rule, it also tolerated the "Black Armada" boycott.

After the failure of Dutch military offensives in July 1947 and December 1948, the Labor government adopted a policy of ingratiating themselves with the nationalist leaders in Jakarta, figuring that the interests of Labor's masters in the Australian capitalist class would best be served by cementing links with the bourgeois nationalists who would emerge as the new rulers of Indonesia. More fundamentally, with the empire of its traditional British big brothers in irreversible decline, the Australian bourgeoisie and its Labor lackeys turned to American imperialism. As Labor dutifully lined up with the U.S. in the escalating Cold War frenzy fueled by the imminent success of the Chinese Revolution and Communist-led insurgencies in Asia, at home the Labor government sent the army into the coal fields to crush the CP-led miners strike of 1949.

Despite its misleadership, the workers' struggle over the "Black Armada" is an example of internationalist proletarian action that today can be an inspiration to those struggling against imperialist depredations. What's necessary is a genuinely revolutionary leadership, armed with the perspective that the most effective "solidarity" the Australian working class can offer the working masses of Asia is an irreconcilable struggle against its "own" imperialist rulers. *The main enemy is at home!* ■



Indonesia Calling  
Australian and Indonesian protesters march in Sydney in 1945 to demand end to Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. Waterside workers boycotted Dutch shipping in solidarity with independence struggle.

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# Boston...

(continued from page 12)

Representative Ray Flynn, co-founder of ROAR ("Restore Our Alienated Rights"), the reactionary umbrella group that organized racist mobs throughout the city, became the "liberal" mayor of Boston and later Clinton's ambassador to the Vatican. Current City Council president James Kelly was leader of the South Boston Information Center, front for the racist paramilitary South Boston Marshals. This summer Kelly attempted to kill a City Council resolution condemning the burning of Southern black churches!

Before and during the Civil War, Boston was the heart of the anti-slavery

made sure that no black kids were bused out to the swanky schools of suburban Lexington or Weston. Busing of black students was purposely limited to neighborhoods like South Boston, one of the poorest white areas outside Appalachia, with the aim of pitting poor and working-class whites against blacks. Cynical politicians then inflamed racist sentiments in these ethnic white enclaves, under the watchwords of "neighborhood schools" and "stop forced busing."

The 1974 desegregation order was immediately met with a white boycott of South Boston High School which rapidly escalated into citywide racist mobilizations and lynch-mob terror. Racial epithets and rocks were hurled at buses carrying black schoolchildren. Frenzied mobs roamed the streets intimidating and

While we took our stand with the black ghetto masses, supposed "leftists" like the Revolutionary Communist Party (then known as the Revolutionary Union) rallied behind the racist mobs. Their newspaper *Revolution* (October 1974) carried the obscene headline, "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan." The International Socialists, predecessor to the International Socialist Organization, also capitulated to the racist anti-busing backlash, seeking to carve out a non-existent "third camp" with the line that "socialists oppose both the 'pro'-busing and 'anti'-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends" (*Workers Power*, 10 November 1972). This grotesque argument amnestied the lynch mobs who were daily attacking black people on the streets! And the tiny League for the Revolutionary Party, a splinter from the family tree of the International Socialists, scurrilously denounced busing as a "vicious ruling class attack on blacks and cannot be supported" (*Socialist Voice*, Spring 1977).

Meanwhile, reformist groups that supported busing lined up behind the racist capitalist government. A hallmark of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at the time was its call for "federal troops to Boston," peddling the criminal lie that the same repressive apparatus which gunned down Black Panther activists could be relied on to defend black rights. The arch-racist Louise Day Hicks demonstrated a better understanding of the role of the capitalist state than the supposed "socialists" of the SWP, as she called for federal troops to put down black Roxbury.

The SWP, too, initially opposed busing, under the rubric of "community control," reversing itself only to opportunistically tail after the NAACP and other black liberals and preachers who heged the racist rulers to enforce integration. "Community control" of the impoverished ghetto schools is nothing but an accommodation to the racist status quo, which would do little more than prettify hideous oppression. Today, as expressed by one of their spokesmen at a recent SWP forum in Boston, these reformists bizarrely claim that school busing won and that the city is more integrated than ever! This in the midst of the widespread unemployment, racist cop terror, crumbling schools and conditions of desperate poverty and neglect which plague America's inner cities, including Boston.

## For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racist Oppression!

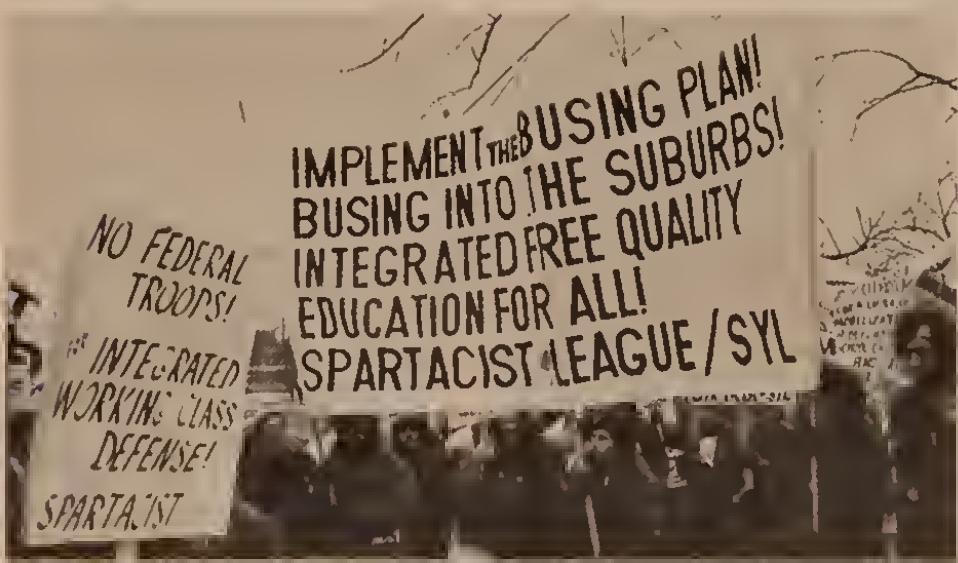
Emboldened by the defeat of busing, racists mobilized against efforts to integrate South Boston's public housing projects in the late 1980s. In May 1994,

the Ku Klux Klan—which has historically spewed race-hate against Catholics as well as blacks and Jews—held a rally on the steps of South Boston High. This summer, racist thugs repeatedly chased and beat up minority youth in the South Boston projects. Meanwhile, the black Mission Hill and Franklin Hill housing projects are routine targets for cop sweeps in the "war against drugs." In 1994, a police SWAT team killed 75-year-old black minister Accelyne Williams in a raid on his Dorchester home.

Though 40 percent of the city's population overall, blacks and Hispanics now account for 82 percent of public school attendance. Continual weakening of busing guidelines along with massive "white flight" to parochial schools and the suburbs has long since made desegregation a dead letter, as minority students were simply shuttled from one impoverished neighborhood to another. The public school system has been so starved for funds by the city's rulers that five schools were put on academic probation last year, while 60 percent of high schools were either decertified, on probation or on warning status.

The capitalist attack on public education for minority youth is part and parcel of a broader ruling-class assault on all working people, from the onslaught against the trade unions to the devastation of welfare and public health care to the millions of homeless who have been thrown onto the streets. Using the threat of privatization, the city's Transportation Authority (MBTA) is trying to ram down the throats of nearly 7,000 transit workers a contract imposing layoffs and cuts in health care while delaying until 1998 a pay raise negotiated last year. Racist abuse of black transit workers by their MBTA bosses is so rampant that the state attorney general felt compelled to threaten a lawsuit. These bus drivers, subway carmen and mechanics can play a vital role in leading all their class brothers and sisters in a fight against the racist capitalist exploiters.

In this society based on unbridled capitalist greed, it will take a socialist revolution to secure quality education, housing and jobs for black, Hispanic and all working-class youth, just as it took the revolutionary Civil War to smash the slavocracy and to establish public education for black people in this country. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party, acting as a tribune of all the oppressed, that can lead the multiracial working class in a fight to replace this racist capitalist system with an egalitarian classless society where those who labor rule. ■



Spartacist contingent in December 1974 pro-busing march in Boston. We fought for labor/black defense to stop racist attacks against black schoolchildren.

Abolitionist movement. But following the huge influx of Irish and Italian immigrants around the turn of the century, Boston's blue-blooded Brahmins placed ethnic white ward heelers (like "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, John F. Kennedy's grandfather) in charge of the city administration. The city's ruling class purposely retarded industrial development and suppressed attempts to organize trade unions. Today Boston has one of the lowest rates of union membership of any major city in the North. And for black residents, forced into the ghettos of Roxbury and Dorchester and the worst jobs, Boston's veneer of ivy-covered academia and Northern liberalism has always been a cruel hoax.

It was in this quintessential Democratic Party stronghold that busing was killed, foreshadowing its defeat nationwide, by an alliance of racist mobs in the streets and limousine liberals in Congress who

assaulting blacks. The NAACP office was firebombed. Nightriding vigilantes fired into the predominantly black Columbia Point housing project. Confederate flags were prominent at anti-busing rallies. The racist terrorist South Boston Marshals patrolled the area against "outside agitation," carrying out repeated attacks on blacks and anti-racist militants throughout the city.

As pitched battles over school integration raged in the streets from 1974 to 1976, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League actively fought to defend school busing. We called on the integrated labor movement—including teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers unions—to organize labor/black defense of bused children. Against the narrow limits set by the federal judges, we called to extend busing to the suburbs so poor kids, black and white, could have a shot at a real education.

# Indonesia...

(continued from page 8)

The government's claim that the PRD is fomenting communist insurrection is far from reality. PRD leader Budiman Sudjatmiko insists his party is "leftist in the socio-democratic sense," which is confirmed by the limited material available to us on the PRD's political work. The PRD describes its program as aimed at "achieving a multiparty democracy, with the right to freedom of organisation for workers, peasants and all oppressed sections of society," explicitly calling for class-collaborationist alliances "with the two legal non-government parties—the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)—and with all other democratic forces."

A PRD manifesto issued after the July arrests sums up its "immediate demands," calling for raising the daily minimum wage to 7,000 rupiahs (about \$3), for a referendum for the people of East Timor, and for the nomination of Megawati as a presidential candidate. Together these reflect the reformist and popular-frontist outlook of this group, as it seeks to channel the vast popular

hatred for the regime into minimalist economic demands and support for the bourgeois opposition. Megawati, meanwhile, has disassociated herself from her supporters' "violence" and has called "to guarantee public order." Megawati is often compared to the Philippines' Cory Aquino, who was promoted by Washington as a successor to the venal Marcos regime. While Megawati is less effective than Aquino, there are certain parallels: both wholeheartedly defend the interests of the capitalist class they represent and both have been backed by leftists who mislead the workers movement into the trap of popular-frontist betrayal.

While the PRD has been active in protesting the genocidal Indonesian occupation of East Timor, it refuses to call for independence, instead demanding "a peaceful resolution and no military intervention in East Timor, and recognition of human and democratic rights for the East Timorese nation." Meanwhile, the PRD's "democratic" heroine Megawati endorses the expansionist aims of the military regime, calling for incorporation of East Timor as the 27th province of Indonesia. Among the Australian reformist left, the PRD's publicity agents in the Democratic Socialist Party call for "liberating" East

Timor through the intervention of the Australian jackal imperialists, who are themselves deeply complicit in Suharto's slaughter of the East Timorese.

The PRD not only looks to Megawati and her bourgeois PDI to oppose Suharto, it also makes a veiled bid for a split in the Indonesian military and fosters illusions in the "democratic" appetites of U.S. imperialism. An August 12 statement released by the PRD's overseas office in Australia appeals to generals who "are indicating support for the democratic movement" and continues:

"The U.S., which has become the pillar of anti-communism, considers we have entered the New World Order where issues of human rights, democracy and economic development have become the priority for all world nations. And this principle has given birth to a wave of democratisation everywhere."

Belief in the "democratic" intentions of the imperialists who sponsored the 1965 massacre and in the "progressive" military is a fatally dangerous illusion. Such a policy will lead these courageous young militants into the same kind of bloc with bourgeois nationalists that led to the slaughter of a generation of leftist militants in 1965.

Successive generations of the Indone-

sian working class have demonstrated their determination to rise up against their exploiters. What is lacking is a leadership which can point the way forward to a victorious struggle for power. Such a party must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the combative proletariat leading the toiling peasant masses in the struggle not only to overthrow the venal, repressive rule of the generals, but to expropriate the factory and plantation bosses—both the Indonesian exploiters and the imperialist overlords they serve. Such a party must, like Lenin's Bolsheviks, be a tribune of the people, championing the rights of the subjugated women, the restive youth, the myriad oppressed nationalities, the religious and ethnic minorities.

The proletarian vanguard must look not to suicidal alliances with the class enemy, the "democratic" bourgeois opposition and their imperialist sponsors, but to linking up with its international class allies, the workers throughout Asia and across the world, in an international party of socialist revolution—a reborn Fourth International. For a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia! For an Indonesian workers republic, part of a socialist federation of Asia! ■



# South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

down when the killers found that their intended victim, ANC activist Victor Ntuli (who was killed at a rally two years later), was not home at the time. Mbusi Ntuli continued: "This is justice in South Africa. It has always been like this and the judiciary are the same old people."

But the ANC leaders—no less than the racist ruling class for which they front—were quick to accept this old-style South African "justice." Malan gloated that the outcome "serves as an example of how democracy should function in a civilised country." Mandela dutifully chimed in: "I have confidence in the judiciary. I am a politician and am guided by their decision. I will not interfere in the judicial process." Yet even as a Durban judge exonerated Malan of his heinous crimes, convicted killer Eugene de Kock (code name "Prime Evil") was presenting testimony before a court in Pretoria about Malan's role in the apartheid regime's "dirty war" against black liberation fighters, in which de Kock had been chief assassin.

An editorial in the leading mouthpiece of the American ruling class, the *New York Times* (15 October), lauded Mandela for "embracing judicial decisions even when they go against him." But did this judicial decision really go against the ANC leadership? Recall that Malan and the others were arrested and indicted two days before local elections were held last November. ANC spokesmen were worried about a low turnout as their supporters were becoming disillusioned that nothing had changed in their day-to-day lives since Mandela became South Africa's first black president in 1994. The judicial action against Malan and his colleagues was thus a cynical ploy to revive the ANC's anti-apartheid credentials.

Even Judge Jan Hugo, who freed Malan and the others, hypocritically chastised government prosecutors for presenting a sloppy case by, for example, not calling witnesses to substantiate the charges. Mandela & Co. certainly did not want to antagonize the many apartheid criminals—Malan's former comrades-in-arms—who continue to occupy positions of authority in the army, the police and the rest of the South African state apparatus. For the white racists, the Malan verdict confirmed that the ANC regime would continue to shield them from the vengeance of the black masses.

In the absence of any hint of justice for the oppressed in the racist courts, what is being offered up as an alternative is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, an impotent safety valve for the outrage of the survivors of apartheid terror. The *New York Times* editorial cynically counselled that the acquittal "reinforces the country's need for the commission, which is charged with finding the truth about apartheid crimes and giving thousands of victims—many more than would get satisfaction through trials—the chance to tell their stories." In other words, the victims are allowed a "cathartic" cry and some token compensation,

while their racist tormentors—who typically win amnesty—not only remain free but in positions of power. The Truth Commission draws an equation between apartheid state terror, rape and hutchery and the occasional excesses of the symbolic guerrilla actions of the ANC's former military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The "new" South Africa is a *neo-apartheid* regime: the rigid structures of racial segregation—the Group Areas Act, language restrictions, pass laws—are gone, but white supremacy remains. The "sunset clause" which was a key feature of the "power sharing" deal between Mandela and De Klerk guaranteed that the Randlords' racist henchmen would maintain their positions in the capitalist state for at least five years. The courts, cops and military that enforced apartheid rule remain in place, even if some former ANC guerrillas have been incorporated into the repressive apparatus. There will be no justice in South Africa until the white racist capitalist class and its black

in the South African police, most of them in KwaZulu-Natal, where political violence between Inkatha and the ANC rages on.

In 1990-91, armed thugs roved the commuter railways that brought black workers from Soweto to Johannesburg. These gunmen, often masked or including whites painted in blackface, sought out union shop stewards for assassination and murdered scores of Zulu and Xhosa workers. The bourgeois press wrote off the "train violence" as "tribal factional struggle," but it was well known to apartheid racists that the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) used the trains as organising centres for labourers.

In the wake of the "train violence," the ANC/SACP leaders worked overtime to lead the proletariat away from working-class defence against the violence. In this way they gave backhanded support to anti-Zulu communalism among their supporters organised in predominantly

by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters."

Yet COSATU remains a key prop of the new capitalist government. While COSATU denounced the "far-reaching negative consequences" of the Malan verdict, not one of its unions protested with the strikes and stayaways that challenged judicial repression under the former regime. Staking its future on the nationalist popular-front ANC alliance, a newly formed labour bureaucracy closely aligned with the SACP is pushing an agenda of *class peace*. Meanwhile, Mandela & Co. have tried to mobilise plebeian black sentiment against the trade unions, claiming that the relatively high wages in the industrial sector are responsible for mass unemployment and abject poverty in the countryside.

## For a Bolshevik Party! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

Without taking the road of *class* struggle, the working masses of South Africa face a grim future of rotten ethnic hatreds rising to the top. In Cape Town, Indian and Malay Muslim vigilantes organised in "People Against Gangsterism and Drugs" have hunted down and killed alleged drug dealers in response to rising street crime in the country. This "movement" linked to religious fundamentalists in the Near East has roamed the Indian township of Lenasia outside Johannesburg under slogans such as "one dealer, one bullet." Anti-immigrant mobilisations are increasingly routine. Alexandra residents dancing the "toyitoyi" brought the local Home Affairs office to a standstill recently in a chauvinist protest against foreigners, whom they accused of taking their jobs. One woman shouted: "Grigamhas, go home," using a slur for Africans from north of the Limpopo River, which divides South Africa from Zimbabwe.

With race and class contradictions rife, the alternatives in South Africa are starkly posed: either workers revolution based on the power of millions of black workers or an escalation of racial and ethnic strife with its murderous outcome. Securing basic democratic rights, like the right to housing, employment and a decent quality education for all, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing combines through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for a planned economy under the rule of workers councils.

This understanding is rooted in the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, the program demonstrated in action by Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia as it led the successful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917. The working class must forge a multi-racial revolutionary party built in sharp political combat against the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and its ostensibly "leftist" backers. In opposition to the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC/SACP/COSATU front men, a revolutionary workers party will fight for the expropriation of the white agribusinesses and the vast tracts of farmland seized from black rural labourers and for the nationalisation of the mines and factories under a black-centred workers government. The International Communist League fights to forge a Bolshevik party to lead the struggle for a new South Africa in which those who labour rule.

The fight for justice in this country requires a party that will fight for the interests of all the oppressed, for proletarian revolution and its necessary international extension to the industrial centres of the capitalist world. Under a workers government, the Magnus Malans and Mangosuthu Buthelezis will be tried before revolutionary tribunals made up of people like the survivors in the Ntuli family and others who have suffered the murderous rampage of racist apartheid. Only then will those massacred at Kwa-Makhutha be avenged. ■



Children of women slaughtered in 1987 KwaMakhutha massacre ordered by former apartheid defense minister Magnus Malan (right).

front men are swept away and replaced by a black-centred workers government in which there would also be a place for coloureds (mixed-race), Asians and whites who accept the democratic will of the black toiling majority.

## Only Proletarian Power Can Overcome Murderous Tribalism

Political violence between Inkatha and the ANC was the unstated backdrop to Malan's trial. While the ANC draws support from all sections of the nonwhite population as well as liberal and leftist whites, its strongest base of support is among the Xhosas of the Eastern Cape. Xhosas, the country's second-largest tribal group, are prevalent in the ANC leadership, with Mandela himself being the son of a minor Xhosa chieftain from the Transkei. Hence the Afrikaner nationalist regime and Inkatha were able to exploit the fears of traditional-minded Zulu villagers and backward Zulu workers that an ANC government would be a disguised form of Xhosa domination.

The Malan trial confirmed the extent to which elements in white ruling circles, particularly the Afrikaner military, promoted and funded Zulu tribalist terrorism against the ANC and the closely allied South African Communist Party (SACP). Undisputed testimony in the Malan case showed how 206 Inkatha supporters received paramilitary training under the auspices of Military Intelligence in the Caprivi strip in 1986. An obvious omission of the trial was the complicity of Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was involved in the military cover-up relating to "Operation Marion" in the Caprivi strip, but wasn't charged. The liberal *Weekly Mail* and *Guardian* (11 October) reports that at least 55 of the Caprivi trainees still work

Xhosa "self-defence units" in the embattled black townships around Johannesburg. As thousands were being killed in the so-called "Reef war" between Inkatha and the ANC, we wrote:

"What is needed is the formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist war."

— "South Africa and Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

The hoes continue to use interethnic rivalries as a weapon to suppress class struggle. Today, under the guise of "independent" unions such as Uwusa (United Workers Union), Inkatha organises Zulu miners as strikebreakers. But while the IFP won most of the rural vote in recent KwaZulu-Natal elections, the ANC garnered the biggest vote in the main cities and towns. This points to a significant distance from the IFP among urban Zulu workers and poses the possibility of *continued cross-ethnic organising among workers*. COSATU remains the only mass institution in the country embracing members of all racial and ethnic groups on a class basis. COSATU unions have even won over some white workers. Thus the labour movement can be a crucial bulwark against South Africa's sliding into a sewer of racial and tribal strife. As we wrote in Part One of "South Africa Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 603, 8 July 1994, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12): "Hard class struggle is the only way to cut through these poisonous ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced

## Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

### Bay Area

Thurs. 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)  
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

### Chicago

Tues. 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat. 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.  
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904  
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 454-4930

### New York City

Tues. 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St. (one block below  
Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Defend Affirmative Action Against Racist Attacks!

### California: Vote No on Prop 209!

OAKLAND—Proposition 209, the racist and grotesquely misnamed California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), calls for the destruction of all state affirmative action programs in education, hiring and contracting. With rising tuition rates forcing black and Latino youth out of the state's universities, the CCRI amounts to a racist purge of higher education. Public schools have already been resegregated, and the sharp cuts in education funding have led to a lack of books and adequate teaching staff. Taken together with the devastation of welfare by Clinton and Congress and the widespread destruction of manufacturing jobs, Prop. 209 is a declaration that no black person need ever be hired again.

The affirmative action programs established in response to the protests

and upheavals of the '60s were at best a limited gain for a tiny percentage of minorities and women; the racist rulers initially implemented hiring quotas with the intention of breaking the unions and exacerbating racial divisions in the workforce. Now, emboldened in its one-sided class war against working people, the ruling class has set its sights on the minimal access minority youth have to the race- and class-biased higher education system. Like the racist campaign against immigrants, this is a ploy to deflect domestic discontent into a "divide and rule" scheme to better exploit the whole working class.

The National Organization for Women and Jesse Jackson have run around the country in support of affirmative action, but their real message is

always: vote for Clinton. Yet the Democratic and Republican parties alike are determined to roll back every gain workers and minorities have wrested from the bosses through bitter class struggle. The fake leftists who tail Jackson have tried to restrict opposition to Prop. 209 to a narrow ballot issue. But simply defending existing affirmative action programs accepts the racial discrimination inherent in capitalist society. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs call on all working people, minorities and youth to vote "no" on Prop. 209. However, we understand that the right to an education and to employment will not be decided at the polls.

The strategy necessary to drive back this ruling-class assault is one which seeks to mobilize students and minori-

ties together with the power of the integrated labor movement in the fight for *open admissions with no tuition and free, quality education for all*. To combat massive unemployment, particularly among minorities, we raise the demand for *jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay*. To win such demands requires a struggle that transcends the framework of capitalist pressure politics and challenges the oppression of black people which is rooted in American capitalism. We fight for revolutionary integrationism—complete social, political and economic equality in a socialist society. We seek to build a multiracial workers party which can lead the working class in defense of all the oppressed through the struggle for proletarian revolution.

## Young Spartacus

### Racist Mob Attacks Black Students Courts Resegregate Boston Schools

#### For Free, Quality, Integrated Education and Housing!

BOSTON—Carloads of jeering white racist youths, armed with Mace, hockey sticks and baseball bats, viciously attacked black students last month outside the prestigious Boston Latin Academy in the Roxbury ghetto. The thugs wore "Southie Rules" T-shirts and taunted, "Southie's in the house!" Most of them came from South Boston, which in the 1970s was the focus of racist mobilizations against school busing, as black schoolchildren being transported to white schools were confronted by violent, howling mobs.

Today, 20 years after busing to integrate Boston's schools was killed on the streets, the city remains if anything more segregated than before. The beleaguered black population faces increasing attacks from both the city administration and emboldened racist thugs. Just a week before the Latin Academy attack, a house which had just been sold to a black family was burned down in predominantly white West Roxbury.

These vile racist attacks come as the Boston city government is about to formally finish off the remnants of school desegregation, and with it what slim chances black children currently have for a decent education. On August 22, Judge Arthur Garrity Jr. effectively overturned an affirmative action program at the elite Boston Latin public school, ordering the

admission of a white student pending the trial of her "reverse discrimination" suit (see "Boston Schools: Liberals Attack Affirmative Action," WV No. 631, 20 October 1995). Two weeks later, city officials announced plans to gut the affirmative action plans implemented under Garrity's original 1974 desegregation order, which reserved 35 percent of the seats in the city's three entrance exam high schools—Latin, Latin Academy, and John D. Bryant Math and Science—for minority students.

Meanwhile, the state Board of Education is leading the charge to repeal the "Racial Imbalance Act," which applies to any district (excluding Boston, which is under separate court order) with a school where more than 50 percent of enrollment is minority students. Pushing for the law's repeal is state "education czar" John Silber, who as the dictatorial head of Boston University was notorious for intimidating leftist professors and running an FBI-style surveillance file on student activists. Upon taking office last March, Silber wasted little time in expressing his contempt for minority students: "If we want to pontificate like God almighty and say all children are created equal, then we're talking rubbish" (*Boston Herald*, 15 March). This racist pig wants to return to the days when "separate and unequal" was the

law of the land.

Against the racist rollback being pushed by both Democrats and Republicans, we defend busing as well as affirmative action as minimal measures to enable minority youth to have some access to a decent education. But unlike those whose ultimate goal is only to assure a place in elite public schools and universities for a relative handful of middle-class black and Hispanic students, we demand: Free, quality, integrated education for all! For open admissions and a living stipend! But the question of school integration cannot be divorced from the pervasive segregation of the black and

Hispanic masses in impoverished ghettos and barrios. Any real fight to desegregate education must be linked to the struggle for integrated, quality low-cost housing for all.

#### The Battle for Busing in Boston

For the past 20 years the political leadership of Boston has been a rogues' gallery of those who built their careers on the racist mobilization against busing. Late City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw herself in front of buses carrying black students, rode her demagoguery into a Congressional seat. State

*continued on page 10*

Adaskaveg/Boston Herald



September 26:  
Cops manhandle  
black students at  
Boston Latin  
Academy, following  
attack by white  
racist mob.